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A grammar of Fwe

A Bantu language of Zambia and Namibia

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List of glosses

ADV	adverb
AUG	augment
APPL	applicative
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
CON	connective
COND	conditional
COP	copulative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
EMPH	emphatic (demonstratives)
EXT	extensive
FV	final vowel
HAB	habitual
IMP	impositive
INC	inceptive
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
LOC_PL	locative pluractional
NEAR_FUT	near future

NEG	negative
NEUT	neuter
NMLZ	nominalizer
NP	nominal prefix
NPST	near past
OM	object marker
PASS	passive
PERS	personal pronoun
PFV	perfective
PL	pluractional
POSS	possessive
PP	pronominal prefix
PROG	progressive
PRS	persistive
PST	past
REC	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM	remoteness
REM_FUT	remote future
SEP	separative
SBJV	subjunctive
SM	subject marker
STAT	stative
TENT	tentive
TR	transitive

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1 Introduction

This dissertation describes the grammar of Fwe, a Bantu language spoken in Zambia and Namibia. In this chapter background will be given about the language, its classification (section 1.1) and its sociolinguistic situation (section 1.2), an estimate of the language's vitality (section 1.3), and a brief overview of regional variation in Fwe (section 1.4). Section 1.5 discusses the small body of earlier research that mentions Fwe, and section 1.6 discusses the purpose of the current study and the data on which it is based.

The Fwe language is called *cìfwè* by its speakers; the initial syllable *ci-* is a prefix of noun class 7 indicating a language. As is common when referring to Bantu language names in English, the nominal prefix is omitted and the language is referred to as Fwe in this work. Another name that many speakers, as well as speakers of surrounding languages, use for the language is *sifwe*, where the prefix *si-* rather than *ci-* originates from the regional lingua franca Lozi.

1.1 Classification

Fwe is part of the Bantu language family, which is part of the Niger-Congo phylum, Africa's largest language family. Although Bantu languages clearly form a genetic unit, its subclassification is notoriously difficult because of extensive horizontal contact between Bantu languages. An influential attempt at subgrouping Bantu languages, not as genetic subgroups but mainly for referential purposes, was made by Guthrie (1948), though this did not feature Fwe. In the updated referential classification of Bantu languages by Maho (2009), Fwe is classified as K.402, sharing the K40 group with Ikuhane (Subiya) and Zambian and Namibian Totela.

Detailed genetic classification has placed Fwe in a subgroup called Bantu Botatwe (Bostoen 2009; de Luna 2010). Bantu Botatwe consists of an eastern branch, made up of Toka, Leya, Ila, Tonga, Sala, Lenje, Lundwe and Soli, and a western branch, made up of Shanjo, Fwe, Mbalangwe, Subiya and Totela (de Luna 2010: 69).¹ Within western Bantu Botatwe, Fwe is most closely related to Shanjo. Seidel (2005) also found a slight similarity between Fwe and Yeyi, although he contends, together with many others (Andersson 1997; Elderkin 1998; Sommer 1995), that Yeyi is an isolate within Bantu, and that its closest genetic relative, if any, is yet to be determined.

1.2 Sociolinguistic profile

Fwe is spoken on both sides of the Zambian–Namibian border. In Zambia, the Fwe-speaking area is concentrated in the southwestern tip of the Western Province, in the Imusho and Sinjembela areas, and parts of the Mutomena area. The western boundary of the Fwe-speaking area is the Kwando river, which also functions as the national border between Zambia and Angola. In Namibia, Fwe is spoken in the area formerly known as the Caprivi strip, which was renamed as Zambezi region in 2013. In the Zambezi region, Fwe is mainly spoken in the area surrounding the village of Kongo-

¹ According to Crane (2011: 54–55), only Namibian Totela is part of the western branch, and Zambian Totela should be grouped with the eastern branch.

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la, stretching north to the village of Singalamwe and into Zambia, east up to the village of Sibbinda, and south to the village of Lizauli. For a detailed overview of the areal distribution of the languages in the Zambezi region, see Seidel (2005). The following maps give an approximation of the area in which Fwe is spoken.

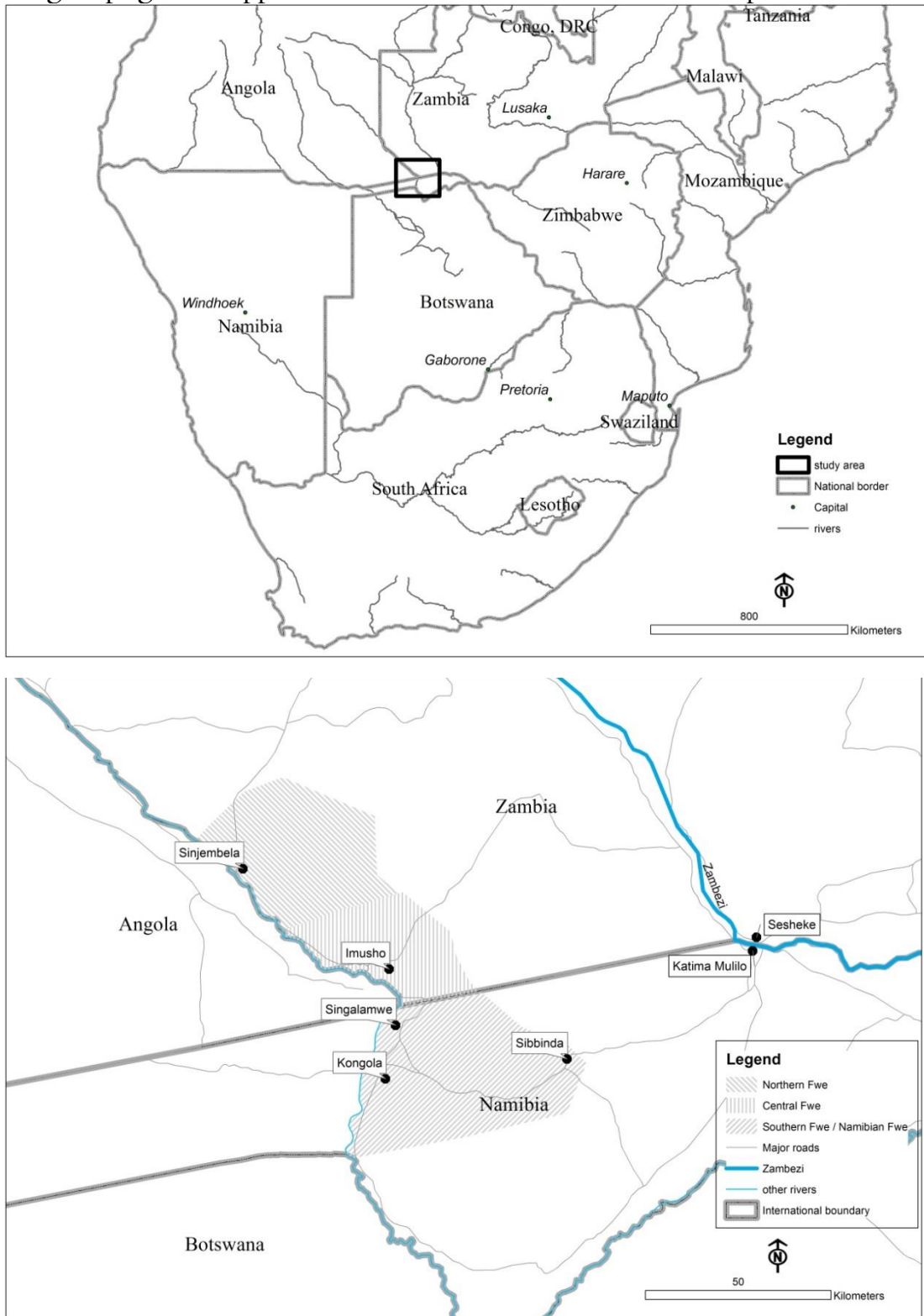


Figure 1: The distribution of Fwe²

² I am grateful to Jan Gunnink from TNO geomodelling for designing this map.

The area where Fwe is spoken is an area of high linguistic diversity. The Zambian Fwe-speaking area is bordered by a Kwamashi-speaking area in the north, and a Shanjo-speaking area in the north-east. In Namibia, the Fwe-speaking area borders on a Yeyi-speaking area in the south and a Totela-speaking area in the east. To the west lies the sparsely inhabited Caprivi Game Park. Whereas Totela is closely related to Fwe, Yeyi, although also Bantu, bears no close relationship to Fwe. In both Zambia and Namibia, Fwe-speaking villages are interspersed with Mbukushu-speaking villages, though Fwe speakers form a clear majority; Mbukushu is a Bantu language that is not closely related to Fwe, but instead to Kwamashi, and Manyo and Kwangali spoken further to the west in Namibia (Möhlig 1997). Larger numbers of Mbukushu speakers are found further east in Namibia and further south in Botswana. Small pockets of Khwe-speakers are also found living close to the Fwe-speaking area (Brenzinger 1998; Jones and Dieckmann 2014); Khwe is a Khoisan language of the Khoe family, formerly called Central Khoisan (see Güldemann 2014 for an overview of Khoisan linguistic classification).

In all of the Zambezi region and most of the Western province of Zambia, Lozi is the most important contact language. Lozi is recognized as one of Zambia's seven national languages, and is among the country's largest languages, in terms of both first and second language speakers (Marten and Kula 2008). Lozi is a Bantu language that came into being when speakers of Kololo, a southern Sotho variety, fled South-Africa in the nineteenth century and settled in western Zambia, where they came into contact with the local elite speaking Luyi, a Zambian Bantu language. The resulting Lozi language maintains a mostly Sotho grammar and lexicon, but with a clear Luyi phonology (Gowlett 1989). Because of its South African origin, Lozi is not mutually intelligible with any of the Bantu languages of the Western Province or the Zambezi region (Seidel 2005). Lozi plays an important role as language of wider communication, especially in Zambia, and virtually all Fwe speakers speak it fluently as a second language. In the Zambezi region in Namibia, Lozi presence is less prominent than in Zambia. Instead, English is widely used as a language of wider communication, and among older generations, Afrikaans. In addition to these languages of wider communication, many Zambian Fwe speakers also speak Mbukushu as a second language, especially those who live in mixed Fwe-Mbukushu villages. In Namibia, Yeyi, Totela and Subiya are common as second languages among Fwe speakers, especially for people in mixed marriages and their offspring. In general, multilingualism among Fwe speakers appears to be extremely common, and I interviewed several speakers who spoke up to eight different (Bantu) languages.

The number of native Fwe speakers is difficult to determine. National census data are too broad-meshed: The Population and Housing Census of Namibia from 2011 counts 22,484 households whose main language were 'Caprivi languages'. Ethnologue mentions 9,950 Fwe speakers in Namibia (Lewis *et al.* 2015). A preliminary report compiled as a preparation for a Bible translation project mentions an estimate of 12.000 to 14.000 Fwe speakers in Zambia, and a total of more than 20.000 (Sakuhuka *et al.* 2011). Estimates of second language speakers of Fwe are even more difficult, though I observed during my fieldwork numerous cases where adults moving to the

Fwe-speaking areas for work or family reasons learned Fwe as a second language. Second language acquisition of Fwe is also motivated by intermarriage.

Speakers of Fwe call themselves *māfwè*, where *ma-* is a prefix of noun class 6, indicating an ethnic group. In Namibia, the connection between the ethnic designation Mafwe and the use of the language Fwe is very complex. The German colonial administration, which had little active interest in the Caprivi strip, subsumed all but the Subiya under the label “Mafwe”: Totela, Mbukushu, Mbalangwe, Yeyi, and speakers of Khoisan languages, presumably Khwe. The use of Mafwe as an ethnic label covering a linguistically diverse group has since been accepted, and was taken over when the South African government took control of Namibia (then South-West Africa). This broad, non-linguistic use of the term “Mafwe” persisted after independence, and in Namibia the term “Mafwe” usually designates those inhabitants of the Zambezi region living between the town of Katima Mulilo up to the western boundary of the Zambezi region, and therefore includes speakers of Fwe as well as Yeyi, Totela, Mbukushu and Khwe. For a detailed history of the Zambezi region, see Kangumu (2011).

1.3 Language vitality

Some linguists estimate that within the next hundred years, half of the world’s languages will disappear (see, for instance, UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger*). Although speaker numbers are not a failsafe predictor of language endangerment, it is clear that languages with smaller numbers of speakers are more likely to become endangered. The number of Fwe speakers is small, and the Fwe speech community is further hindered by the national border that cuts across it. In neither Zambia nor Namibia does Fwe have any institutional support or recognition. In Zambia, Fwe is under pressure from Lozi, one of the national languages of Zambia that is used in education and other formal domains. In Namibia, Fwe is also under pressure from Lozi, as well as from Subiya, which at +- 30,000 speakers (Ethnologue) is a larger language than Fwe. Many Fwe speakers have at least a passive knowledge of Subiya, whereas few Subiya speakers speak or even understand Fwe. Both Fwe and Subiya speakers contend that Fwe is a “more difficult” language than Subiya.

All these factors indicate that the position of Fwe is not very strong, both in Zambia and Namibia. Its position becomes more positive when we consider its actual usage. Children in Fwe-speaking areas begin life with Fwe as their first and only language, and only start learning Lozi when they enter school. This also appears to be the case with children of Fwe-speaking parents who grow up in urban areas, where Fwe is not the dominant language. Migrants moving to Fwe-speaking areas mostly learn Fwe as a second language. Fwe speakers use their language online, on Facebook and WhatsApp, and in SMS’es. There is popular music in Fwe, and in Zambia, a Bible translation in Fwe is being prepared. The findings of Sakuhuka et al. (2011), who surveyed Fwe in Zambia, also underscore the stable use of Fwe across all social domains, with the exception of formal education, where both Fwe and Lozi are used, and church settings, where Lozi is preferred.

Speakers tend to have a positive attitude towards Fwe, and speaking Fwe is often considered an important part of one’s identity. Illustrative in this regard is an affair in

2008 where Fwe-speaking chiefs fined Yeyi-speaking chiefs for speaking Yeyi. They reasoned that Yeyi speakers are part of the Mafwe ethnic group, and as such should speak Fwe rather than Yeyi (Lieneke de Visser, personal communication). This incident is part of a long-standing and complex power struggle between various ethnic groups in the Zambezi region. It shows that speaking Fwe is considered a relevant component of identity and ethnic identification, and thus underscores the vitality of the language.

In conclusion, it appears that despite the strong functions of Subiya, Lozi, and English, and widespread bi- and multilingualism, Fwe does not appear to be endangered, and Fwe speakers opt for stable multilingualism instead.

1.4 Regional variation

Though I have not undertaken a dedicated study focusing on regional variation in Fwe, some observations can still be made. An obvious divide, both offered by speakers and seen in the data, is that between Zambian Fwe and Namibian Fwe. Differences between Zambian and Namibian Fwe are seen in the phonology; the main differences are summarized in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Main phonological differences between Zambian and Namibian Fwe

Zambian Fwe	Namibian Fwe
loss of clicks	maintenance of clicks
overgeneralization of /l/	[l] only as conditioned allophone of /r/
epenthetic [h] frequently used	epenthetic [h] rarely used

Morphological differences between the two varieties are most salient. Table 1.2 presents an overview of grammatical morphemes that differ between Zambian and Namibian Fwe. Two tendencies can be observed that distinguish the realization of grammatical affixes in Zambian Fwe from those in Namibian Fwe: the interchangeability of /s/ and /sh/ in Namibian Fwe, which is not seen in Zambian Fwe, and the correspondence between /a/ in Zambian Fwe with /i/ in Namibian Fwe. This correspondence is seen only in the remote past and inceptive prefixes, both verbal prefixes that occur at the very beginning of the verb.

Table 1.2: Morphological differences between Zambian and Namibian Fwe

	Zambian Fwe	Namibian Fwe
past	<i>na-</i>	<i>a-</i>
reflexive	<i>kí-</i>	<i>rí-</i>
remote past	<i>na-</i>	<i>ní-</i>
remote future	<i>na-</i>	<i>(á)ra-</i>
inceptive	<i>sha-</i>	<i>shi-</i>
connective	PP – <i>o</i>	PP – <i>a</i>
persistive	<i>shí-</i>	<i>shí- / -sí-</i>
negative imperative	<i>ásha-</i>	<i>ásha- / -ása-</i>
negative infinitive	<i>shá-</i>	<i>shá- / -sá-</i>

negative subjunctive	<i>sha-</i>	<i>sha-/-sa-</i>
near future	<i>mbo-/mba-</i>	<i>mbo-</i>

The linguistic border between Namibian and Zambian Fwe does not directly follow the national border; the Imusho area in Zambia, directly north of the border, displays many features also found in Namibian Fwe. Furthermore, not all regional differences follow the same geographic distribution.

1.5 Earlier research

Earlier research on the Fwe language is very limited, and mostly dates from after 2000. Many publications are primarily concerned with classification, and the data that they present is mostly limited, superficial and/or of poor quality. The earliest mention of Fwe in the scientific literature is in publications by Fortune (1963, 1970), which is limited to listing languages and their approximate geographic locations. Baumbach (1997) gives a grammar sketch of five languages of the (then) Eastern Caprivi, including an 18 page grammar sketch of Fwe. This is based, as he states in the introduction, “on very sketchy data” (Baumbach 1997: 308), which undoubtedly explains the many differences between his findings and those presented in this work, such as the omission of noun class 18, the analysis of three rather than four paradigms of demonstratives, or the analysis of stative verbs as present tense verbs and present tense verbs as future tense verbs, to name a few.

Seidel (2005) presents a dialectometrical classification of Caprivian languages, including Fwe, which he groups with Subiya, Mbalangwe and Totela, though disregarding Shanjo, which is not spoken in the Caprivi. As the focus of this article is on classification, it presents little in the way of analysis, though the appendix contains a small word list and a list of modern reflexes for reconstructed Bantu phonemes. Bostoen (2009) describes the synchronic phoneme inventory and its diachronic development of both Fwe and Shanjo; as shown in chapters 2 and 4, his findings on the phonology of Fwe mostly tally with mine. A discussion of the history of western Zambian peoples, including Fwe speakers, is presented by de Luna (2008; 2010), though it contains very little data, and the 100 word list presented suffers from incorrect and inconsistent transcription and a general lack of linguistic analysis. Bostoen and Sands (2012) discuss the use of clicks in Fwe as well as three other Bantu languages of northern Namibia; as discussed in 2.2.8, the click inventory that they present for Fwe differs slightly from the findings presented in this work. Crane (2012) discusses the use of the verbal suffix *-ite* in various Bantu Botatwe languages, including a brief discussion of its use in Fwe; her analysis of this suffix in Fwe is taken over in the current study (see section 11.3).

1.6 Current research and motivation

The current study aims at providing a first comprehensive grammatical description of Fwe. Despite a small number of previous studies who mention Fwe, such a comprehensive description is, as of today, still lacking.

The choice of Fwe is motivated by a general need for, and interest in, descriptions of African minority languages. Especially the Western Province of Zambia is an area

of high linguistic diversity, with many Bantu languages spoken by relatively small communities. Very few of these have been accurately described (or at all), and therefore this work is a contribution to a better documentation of the linguistic diversity in this area. It is hoped that the data and analysis presented here may be relevant for linguists interested in the comparative study of Bantu languages, for comparative, historical or typological purposes, and to cross-linguistic typology in general.

A second reason for making a linguistic description of the Fwe language the topic of this thesis is the history of language contact between Fwe and various Khoisan languages. Although Fwe is currently only in contact with small and scattered communities of Khwe speakers (see section 1.2), Fwe has acquired a number of linguistic features that are indicative of (historic) contact with Khoisan languages. The clearest sign of this contact is the acquisition of phonemic click consonants in Fwe (Bostoen and Sands 2012; Gunnink to appear; Gunnink *et al.* 2015, see also section 2.2.8). Clicks are typologically very rare phonemes, and their occurrence in Bantu languages is commonly assumed to be the result of contact with Khoisan languages (Pakendorf *et al.* 2017: 3). Furthermore, evidence for previous Fwe-Khoisan contact comes from genetic studies, which show that Fwe speakers carry up to 24% of genetic lineages in the female line that are typical of Khoisan speakers (Barbieri *et al.* 2013). The prehistoric contact situation between Fwe and Khoisan thus involved the inmarriage of Khoisan-speaking women into Fwe-speaking communities, which had a lasting effect on the Fwe language, namely in the use of phonemic clicks (see Pakendorf *et al.* 2017 for a detailed discussion of this contact situation from a genetic and linguistic perspective).

This raises the question if other linguistic features may be identified in Fwe that have also been influenced by contact with Khoisan languages. A preliminary study on Fwe as well as four other Bantu click languages spoken in the same area, Manyo, Mbukushu, Kwangali and Yeyi, identified further Khoisan influence in the shape of calques and head-final nominal compounds (Gunnink *et al.* 2015). One of the aims of this thesis is to provide a detailed description of Fwe language structure in order to identify possible other features that were the result of contact with Khoisan languages. Contact-induced changes rarely occur in isolation: a contact situation that was intense enough to permit the transfer of one feature, such as the acquisition of a new type of phoneme in the case of Fwe, likely caused the transfer of other features as well (Thomason 2006: 8). Such features can only be identified through a detailed synchronic description of the language's grammar. As no such description existed yet, the aim of this thesis is to document and describe the Fwe language, in order to allow the identification of possible contact-induced features.

This thesis focuses on the synchronic description of Fwe, pointing out when specific Fwe features are typical of Bantu languages in general, or when they deviate from what is expected from a Bantu perspective. In the epilogue in chapter 17, the question of Khoisan influence on Fwe structure is taken up again, and specific features are discussed for their likelihood that contact with Khoisan has played a role in their development.

1.7 Data collection and transcription

The data on which this study is based are all collected by me in the field over a total of 7 months, on four separate occasions. The first field trip took place between April and June 2013 and was mainly spent in the town of Sesheke, Zambia, as well as a week in the village of Imusho, Zambia. The second trip was undertaken in May and June 2014 and took place in the villages of Imusho and Sinjembela in Zambia. The third field trip, from July to September 2015, was mainly spent in the town of Katima Mulilo, Namibia, as well as a week in the village of Imusho, Zambia. A fourth field trip was undertaken in May 2017, and was spent in its entirety in Katima Mulilo, Namibia, combined with a one-day visit to Makanga village, about 70 kilometers east of Katima Mulilo. Although the towns of Sesheke and Katima Mulilo are not predominantly Fwe-speaking, many Fwe speakers can be found there, especially in Katima Mulilo, who have moved there recently from more rural areas.

As Fwe is a virtually undescribed language, data collection consisted mainly of elicitation, especially at the beginning stages. In elicitation, speakers were presented with as much detail and context as possible to ensure that the data were as close to natural speech as possible. With this method, a total of about 10,000 elicited phrases and sentences were collected, transcribed and translated, and a total of about 2,200 lexemes were collected.

In addition to elicitation, natural speech data were collected in the form of stories and conversational data. A total of 17 stories were collected: 11 fictional tales, five personal (true) narratives, and a Fwe version of the pear story (a small video clip without spoken text, frequently used in linguistic elicitation), amounting to about two hours of narrative. A 45-minute conversation between two speakers was recorded, which was almost completely transcribed and translated. I also acquired songs from the pop artist Tuzizyi, who performs in Lozi, Fwe, and Totela, and transcribed eight of his Fwe songs. Transcription and translation of all data was done by replaying the recording to a native speaker, who slowly repeated the recording sentence by sentence in Fwe, allowing for me to transcribe it, as well as supplying an English translation.

For all examples used in this work (except isolated words and short phrases), the source is indicated with a code NF for Namibian Fwe and ZF for Zambian Fwe, followed by Elic for elicited data, Narr for narrative data, Conv for conversational data, and Song for pop music. The number at the end of each code indicates the year the data were collected. For example, ‘ZF_Elic13’ represents elicited data from Zambian Fwe collected in 2013.

Fwe is mostly an oral language, but the increased use of cell phones has created the need for speakers to reduce it to writing. Fwe is usually written with an orthography inspired by the Lozi orthography, which is fairly suitable to this purpose thanks to the overlap between the phoneme inventories of both languages. An official orthography for Fwe is currently being developed as part of a Bible translation project (Bow 2013). The practical orthography used in this work deviates from this orthography in a number of respects. There are a number of reasons for not adopting the official orthography wholesale: firstly, it is developed in Zambia and for Zambian Fwe, and makes use of certain orthographical conventions that are common in Zambia, which are not well-known in Namibia, such as <zh> for [ʒ]. It also makes use of certain or-

thographical conventions that are not commonly used in Bantu languages, such as <ñ> for [ŋ], and in certain cases the orthography is not the most faithful representation of the spoken form, such as the use of <l> for /r/; although [l] is a conditioned allophone of /r/ in Fwe, it occurs in more restricted contexts than /r/, and therefore /r/ is clearly the underlying form. All these considerations are, of course, of minor importance for speakers, who will be able to deal with the official orthography as well or better than with the practical orthography used in this thesis. The practical orthography used in this thesis is therefore for the benefit of linguists, who have to do without pre-existing knowledge of the language, and therefore have need for a more detailed and cross-linguistically common orthography, which Fwe speakers can do without.

The orthographical symbols used in this practical orthography will be explained in chapter 2 on segmental phonology. Each Fwe example in this work consists of four lines. The first line, in italics, represents the phonetic realization of the entire sentence, phrase, or word, in which the surface realization of tones are marked. No punctuation is used, as this presumes an understanding of the syntactic structure that is not available for every example. Periods to indicate the end of sentences are not used, because it is often unclear to me where a sentence ends, and what criteria can be used to establish sentence boundaries. Capitalization is not used, as tone marking is difficult to read on capitalized vowels, and because capitalized words may have grammatical prefixes or clitics, and to avoid the question of which letter should be capitalized, capitalization is left out altogether. The second line of each example gives the underlying form, in which underlying tones are marked, and in which hyphens indicate morpheme boundaries. The third line gives a morpheme by morpheme gloss, and the last line gives a free translation into English. These orthographical conventions only apply to the Fwe data. Whenever data on other languages are cited, the orthography of the original source is maintained.

2 Segmental phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the segmental phonology of Fwe. Earlier treatments of the phonology of Fwe, often in function of classification, can be found in Baumbach (1997) and Seidel (2005), who describe the Namibian variety of Fwe, and Bostoen (2009), who describes the Zambian variety. Their findings mostly seem to tally with those presented in this chapter. An overview of the consonant inventory of Fwe is also given in the appendix in de Luna (2008), but is less reliable: the orthography used, for instance, is not made explicit, but appears to be a combination of IPA symbols and English-inspired symbols and digraphs (such as <sh> and <ch>), whose exact phonetic status is not discussed. Given the overall ambiguous status of the data presented, I will not highlight discrepancies between the analysis presented by de Luna and my own analysis.

2.2 Consonants

The following table gives an overview of the contrastive consonants of Fwe, in the practical orthography that is used in this thesis. Wherever this orthography deviates from the symbols used by the International Phonetic Alphabet, the corresponding IPA symbol is given between phonetic brackets. The practical orthography that I use is partly based on widespread Africanist or Bantuist conventions, such as the use of <y> for the palatal glide [j], partly on orthographical conventions that are commonly used in Zambia, such as <bb> for the voiced bilabial stop [b].

Table 2.1: Contrastive consonants

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	p bb [b]		t d		k g	
fricative	b [β]	f v	s z	sh zy [ʃ] [ʒ]		h
affricate				c [tʃ]		
nasal	m		n	ny [ɲ]	ŋ	
tap			r [ɾ]			
glide				y [j]	w	
click		ǀ				
prenasalized plosive	mp mb [^m p] [^m b]		nt nd [ⁿ t] [ⁿ d]		nk ng [^ŋ k] [^ŋ g]	

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prenasalized fricative		mf [^m f]	mv [^m v]	ns [ⁿ s]	nz [ⁿ z]	nsh [ⁿ ʃ]		
prenasalized affricate						nc [ⁿ tʃ] nj [ⁿ dʒ]		
prenasalized click		ⁿ ǀ ǀ	nǁ					

The following sections will discuss these phonemic consonants in more detail, giving examples, minimal pairs proving their status as phonemes, and possible allophonic and geographical variation.

2.2.1 Plosives

Of the six simple (non-prenasalized) stops in Fwe, only the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ and the voiceless velar stop /k/ are frequently attested. /t/ and /k/ are contrastive phonemes, as illustrated by the following minimal pair.

(1) /t - k/

<i>kùtò:rà</i> ³	-	<i>kùkò:rà</i>
ku-tó:r-a		ku-kó:r-a
INF-pick_up-FV		INF-cough-FV
‘to pick up’		‘to cough’

The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ as well as the three voiced stops /bb/, /d/ and /g/ are peripheral phonemes. The following (near-)minimal pairs show that they are contrastive phonemes.

(2) /p - h - g/

<i>kùpàrà</i>	-	<i>kùhàrà</i>	-	<i>kùgàrà</i>
ku-par-a		ku-har-a		ku-gar-a
INF-fail-FV		INF-scrape-FV		INF-search-FV
‘to fail, refuse’		‘to scrape’		‘to search/dig around’

(3) /d - g/

<i>kùdùnkà</i>	-	<i>kùgùnkà</i>
ku-dunk-a		ku-gunk-a
INF-swim-FV		INF-bump-FV
‘to swim’		‘to bump into; lean against’

³ Examples consist of four lines: the first gives a surface realization, the second line the underlying representation, including the underlying representation of tones, before the application of phonetic tone rules. The third line gives a gloss and the fourth a free translation.

(4) /bb - b/

<i>cìbbákù</i>	-	<i>cìbàkà</i>
ci-bbakú		ci-baka
NP ₇ -snake		NP ₇ -place
'snake sp.'		'place'

/p, bb, d, g/ are considered peripheral phonemes, because they are relatively infrequent in the lexicon: out of a 2200 word database, /bb/, /d/, and /g/ each occur in about 20 lexemes, and /p/ in about 80 lexemes. The plosives /p/, /bb/, /d/ and /g/ are not reflexes of *p, *b, *d and *g as reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (see Bostoen 2009), but mainly appear in loanwords. Their prenasalized counterparts, however, are regular phonemes and occur frequently in native words (see section 2.2.7).

The majority of Fwe words that use /p/ are identifiable as loanwords from the Bantu languages Lozi, Mbukushu, or Yeyi, or from English or Afrikaans, possibly via Lozi. Some words using /bb/, /d/ or /g/ are identifiable as borrowings from Mbukushu, English or Afrikaans.

(5) /p/ in borrowings

- a. *cìpùrà*
ci-purá
NP₇-chair
'chair'

from Lozi *sipula*⁴ 'chair' (Burger 1960: 27)

- b. *kùpàpàùrà*
ku-papaur-a
INF-divide-FV
'to divide a dead animal into pieces'

from Mbukushu *-papaghura* 'dismember (animal after skinning)'
(Wynne 1980: 175)

- c. *kúpàkà*
kú-pak-a
INF-carry-FV
'to carry on one's back (of a child)'

from Yeyi *-paka* 'to carry in a cradle on the back as a baby'
(Lukusa 2009: 140-141)

- d. *kàpíkírì*
ka-pikirí
NP₁₂-nail
'nail'

⁴ In citing other sources, I always maintain the orthography of the original source.

from Afrikaans *spyker* ‘nail’

- e. *kàpèrù*
ka-péru
NP₁₂-pail
‘pail’

from English *pail*

(6) /bb, d, g/ in borrowings

- a. *kùdàbbàmà*
ku-dabb-am-a
INF-plunge-IMP.INTR-FV
‘to jump into water’

from Mbukushu *-dabwama* ‘throw oneself, jump into water, dive’
(Wynne 1980: 393)

- b. *kùdùrà*
ku-dur-a
INF-be_expensive-FV
‘to be expensive’

from Afrikaans *duur* ‘expensive’

- c. *màgrázì*
ma-grazí
NP₆-glasses
‘glasses’

from English *glasses*

The peripheral phoneme /p/ is also found in a number of words that also contain a click, which may point to a Khoisan origin of the word. A Khoisan origin for words with voiced stops is also possible, as both Khwe and Ju have voiced stops in their phoneme inventories (Kilian-Hatz 2008: 23; Miller 2013). However, although Fwe borrowings from Khoisan languages such as Khwe and Ju are attested (Gunnink et al. 2015), so far no Khoisan etymologies have been found for Fwe words that contain the peripheral phonemes /p/, /bb/, /d/ and /g/ (with the possible exception of the example in (15) below). This may be due to the fact that so far, out of a list of 79 click words only 12 have been found to have a Khoisan etymology (Gunnink et al. 2015).

Possibly, some words with the voiced velar plosive /g/ are borrowings from Shanjo, because unlike Fwe, Shanjo has maintained proto-Bantu *g. Finding Shanjo sources for Fwe words with /g/ is problematic as, with the exception of examples presented by Bostoen (2009) and de Luna (2008), Shanjo is completely undocumented. However, contact between Shanjo and Fwe is likely, as the northwest of the Fwe-speaking area is bordered by the Shanjo-speaking area. The Fwe verb *-gùnk-àm-à*, ‘kneel’, is said by some Fwe speakers to be Shanjo rather than Fwe.

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Aside from loanwords, the peripheral phonemes /p, bb, d, g/ also occur in ideophones, and in words where the occurrence of the peripheral phoneme may be related to sound symbolism.

- (7) *bbùndù bbúndù*
‘ideophone expressing sudden appearance’

- (8) *cìsùbírà cò bbúkù*
ci-subir-á co bbúku
SM₇-be_red-FV DEM.III₇ ID
‘It is very red.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (9) *kùbbózà*
ku-bbóz-a
INF-bark-FV
‘to bark’

- (10) *kùdòkòrà*
ku-dokor-a
INF-belch-FV
‘to belch; to clear one’s throat’

In Namibian Fwe, the peripheral phonemes /p, bb, d, g/ also appear when nasal-consonant clusters lose their homorganic nasal as the result of a change in noun class; ò-*ndávù* ‘lion’, *kà-dávù* ‘small lion’. This process is further explained in section 5.1 on nominal prefixes. There are also a number of lexemes where /g/ appears as an apparently unconditioned allophone of /k/. This variation is partly geographical; free variation is seen in Namibian Fwe, but Zambian Fwe only uses the variant with /g/.

- (11) *cìkùrùbè ~ cìgùrùbè*
ci-kurube
NP₇-pig
‘pig’

- (12) *cìkébéngà ~ cìgébéngà*
ci-kebengá
NP₇-criminal
‘criminal’

- (13) *mùkwàkwà ~ mùgwàgwà*
mu-kwakwa
NP₃-road
‘road’

The voiced velar plosive /g/ also appears as an unconditioned allophone of the voiced oral click /ɠ/ (see section 2.2.8).

- (14) *mù^glé^{nè} ~ mù-gé^{nè}*
 mu-^glé^{nè}
 NP₁-thin
 ‘thin person’

/g/ is also found in words that do not have an alternative pronunciation with a click, but whose origin does suggest that they were borrowed from Khoisan language, and originally contained a click.

- (15) *mùgwégwèsì*
 mu-gwégwesi
 NP₃-ankle_bone
 ‘ankle bone’

from Neitsas/Nurugas !Xung *gwé*: ‘ankle’ (Doke 1925), or Jul’hoan *#hòè#hòè* ‘enkelknop [ankle bone]’ (Snyman 1975: 107)⁵

One word with /^g/ has an alternative pronunciation with either /g/ or /d/; possibly, other words that are realized with /d/ used to have an alternative pronunciation with a voiced click as well.

- (16) *^glúkùmù ~ gúkùmù ~ dúkùmù*
 ø-^glúkumu
 NP₅-fruit
 ‘fruit sp.’

2.2.2 Fricatives

As shown in Table 2.1, Fwe has eight fricative phonemes. The labiodental, alveolar and post-alveolar fricatives occur as both voiceless and voiced; (near-)minimal pairs are given in (17) and (18).

- (17) /v - f/

<i>kùvùrùrà</i>	–	<i>kùfùrà</i>
ku-vur-ur-a		ku-fur-a
INF-winnow-SEP.TR-FV		INF-pick-FV
‘to winnow’		‘to pick (fruit)’

- (18) /f - s - sh - z - zy/

<i>kùfùmà</i>	–	<i>kùsùmà</i>
ku-fúm-a		ku-súm-a
INF-become_rich-FV		INF-sew-FV
‘to become rich’		‘to sew’

⁵ I am indebted to Bonny Sands for suggesting these possible etymologies.

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<i>kùshúmà</i>	-	<i>kùzúmà</i>	-	<i>kùzyúmà</i>
ku-shúm-a		ku-zúm-a		ku-zyúm-a
INF-bite-FV		INF-hum-FV		INF-dry-FV
‘to bite’		‘to hum’		‘to dry’

The bilabial fricative /b/ has no voiceless counterpart. Its phonemic status is shown by the following (near-)minimal pairs.

(19) /b - f/

<i>kùbùrà</i>	-	<i>kùfùrà</i>
ku-búr-a		ku-fúr-a
INF-miss-FV		INF-sharpen-FV
‘to miss’		‘to sharpen’

(20) /b - mb/

<i>cìràbò</i>	-	<i>ràmbò</i>
ci-rabo		ø-rambo
NP ₇ -paddle		NP ₅ -pit
‘paddle’		‘pit’

Many speakers show signs of losing the contrast between the bilabial and labiodental voiced fricatives /b/ and /v/. /v/ is often realized as a bilabial fricative /b/, where comparative data and reconstructions suggest that /v/ is the older realization: /v/ in Fwe is the result of spirantization of *b or *g before a high back vowel (Bostoen 2009: 118, see also section 2.4.2). The loss of /v/ in favor of /b/ could be the result of the higher frequency of the latter; whereas /v/ only occurs before /u/, /b/ occurs in all environments, and is therefore much more common.

- (21) *kùvwàngà* ~ *kùbwàngà*
 ku-vwáng-a
 INF-wrap-FV
 ‘to wrap’

cf. *búang ‘mix’

- (22) *cìvwàngà* ~ *cìbwàngà*
 ci-vwáng-a
 NP₇-frog
 ‘frog’

The bilabial fricative tends to be more open than a canonical fricative, and is pronounced with only a minimal amount of friction, in between a fricative and an approximant. Previous descriptions of the phonology of Fwe also differ in classifying this phoneme as either an approximant (Seidel 2005: 228) or a fricative (Baumbach 1997: 398; Bostoen 2009: 113).

/s/ and /sh/ are only contrastive in lexical roots, as seen in the minimal pairs in (18), as well as the minimal pair in (23).

(23) /s – sh/

<i>kùsèkà</i>	–	<i>kùshèkà</i>
ku-sek-a		ku-shek-a
INF-insert-FV		INF-laugh-FV
‘to insert’		‘to laugh’

In grammatical prefixes, there is no contrast between /s/ and /sh/, and both sounds are allophones in free variation, as illustrated with the inceptive *she-*, which can be realized as *se-* or *she-*.

(24) *shèndìrèrè* ~ *sèndìrèrè*
she-ndi-re_Hre
INC-SM_{1SG}-sleep.STAT
‘I am now sleeping.’ (NF_Elic17)

The alternation between /s/ and /sh/ affects all grammatical prefixes in which the phoneme occurs. The only grammatical suffix with /s/ is the causative *-is/-es*, which is invariably realized with /s/, and is not attested with /sh/. A complete list of grammatical prefixes in which [s] and [sh] alternate freely is given in (25).

(25) <i>ásha-</i> ~ <i>ása-</i>	negative imperative
<i>sha-</i> ~ <i>sa-</i>	negative subjunctive
<i>shá-</i> ~ <i>sá-</i>	negative infinitive
<i>shí-</i> ~ <i>sí-</i>	persistive
<i>shi-</i> ~ <i>sí-</i>	inceptive
<i>shi-</i> ~ <i>sí-</i>	conditional
<i>shí-</i> ~ <i>sí-</i>	associative
<i>shaké</i> ~ <i>saké</i>	conditional

The alternation between [s] and [sh] in prefixes is partly geographical. The realization with [s] was not heard in Zambian Fwe, where only the realization with [sh] is used. In Namibian Fwe, the alternation between [s] and [sh] mostly concerns interspeaker variation, with each speaker consistently using his or her preferred pronunciation. A possible explanation for this variation and its geographic distribution is that it results from contact between Fwe and the closely-related languages Subiya and Totela; Fwe /sh/ corresponds to Subiya and Totela /s/ (Bostoen 2009: 116), and given the high mutual intelligibility between Fwe, Subiya and Totela, and wide-spread multilingualism, this may have led Fwe speakers in Namibia to interchange /sh/ with /s/. This may also explain why this free variation is not seen in Zambian Fwe, as this variety of Fwe is not in active contact with Totela and Subiya. It fails to explain, however, why /s~sh/ variation in Fwe only targets grammatical prefixes.

The phonemic status of the glottal fricative /h/ is shown by the following minimal pairs, which show the contrast between /h/ and /t/ (26), and between /h/ and zero (27).

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(26) /h - t/

<i>mùhàrà</i>	-	<i>mùtàrà</i>
mu-hara		mu-tara
NP ₃ -rope		NP ₃ -footprint
'rope'		'footprint'

(27) /h - ø/

<i>kùhùrà</i>	-	<i>kùùrà</i>
ku-hur-a		ku-ur-a
INF-arrive-FV		INF-buy-FV
'to arrive'		'to buy'

Though there are numerous cases where /h/ contrasts with zero, i.e. where /h/ cannot be omitted, [h] is also often used as an epenthetic consonant, in which case it freely commutes with [w], [y] and zero (see section 3.2.5). Phonemic /h/, on the other hand, cannot commute with a glide nor can it be dropped. Furthermore, phonemic /h/ can be accompanied by slight nasalization of the following vowel. Examples of phonemic /h/ are given in (28), showing that the following vowel may be nasalized, but that /h/ may not be dropped or interchanged with a glide. This effect is not seen with epenthetic [h], as in the examples in (29), where epenthetic [h] may be dropped or interchanged with a glide, and no nasalization of the following vowel is seen.

(28) Phonemic /h/

rùhátì ~ rùhátì
**rùwátì ~ rùátì*
 ru-hatí
 NP₁₁-rib
 'rib'

rúhò ~ rúhò
**rúwò ~ rúò*
 ru-úho
 NP₁₁-wind
 'wind'

(29) Epenthetic [h]

kùròhà ~ kùròwà ~ kùròà
**kùròhà*
 ku-ro-a
 INF-bewitch-FV
 'to bewitch'

rùsì' hízà ~ rùsì' yízà ~ rùsì' ízà
**rùsì' hízà*
 ru-síizá
 NP₁₁-darkness
 'darkness before rain'

2.2.3 Affricates

Fwe has one affricate (in addition to two prenasalized affricates, see 2.2.7), the voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/, written as <c>. Minimal pairs are given in (30) and (31).

(30) /c - sh/

<i>kùcírìrà</i>	-	<i>kùshírìrà</i>
ku-círìr-a		ku-shírìr-a
INF-follow-FV		INF-desire-FV
'to follow'		'to desire'

(31) /c - k/

<i>kùcá:nà</i>	-	<i>kùká:nà</i>
ku-cá:n-a		ku-ká:n-a
INF-hunt-FV		INF-reject-FV
'to hunt'		'to refuse, reject, divorce'

There are a few examples of a voiced postalveolar affricate /j/, but these are too limited to require an analysis of /j/ as a separate phoneme. In some instances, /j/ may alternatively be pronounced as a voiceless affricate /c/, as in (32), or a voiced fricative /zy/, as in (33).

(32) *kùjânà ~ kùcânà*

ku-ján-a
 INF-gape-FV
 'to gape'

(33) *rùjúù ~ rùzyúù*

ru-júu
 NP₁₁-pea
 'a pea'

2.2.4 Nasals

Fwe has four contrastive nasal consonants, bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, palatal /ɲ/ (written as <ny> in this thesis) and velar /ŋ/. Their phonemic status is attested by the following near-minimal pairs.

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(34) /ŋ - n/

<i>ɲàngà</i>	-	<i>nángà</i>
ø-ɲanga		nangá
NP _{1a} -doctor		
‘doctor’		‘even, even though’

(35) /ŋ - ny/

<i>ɲórò</i>	-	<i>cìnyôró</i>
ø-ɲoró		ci-nyóro
NP ₅ -letter		NP ₇ -plants
‘letter’		‘plant remains in the field’

(36) /ny - n/

<i>kùnyènsà</i>	-	<i>ká'nénsà</i>
ku-nyens-a		ká-nensá
INF-defeat-FV		NP ₁₂ -pink
‘to defeat’		‘pink, little toe’

(37) /ny - m/

<i>nyôta</i>	-	<i>móta</i>
N-nyóta		ø-motá
NP ₉ -thirst		NP ₅ -car
‘thirst’		‘car’

2.2.5 Tap

The alveolar tap /r/ is phonemic, as seen from its contrast with /d/ and /t/.

(38) /r - d/

<i>kùrùrà</i>	-	<i>kùdùrà</i>
ku-rur-a		ku-dur-a
INF-be_bitter-FV		INF-be_expensive-FV
‘to be bitter’		‘to be expensive’

(39) /r - t/

<i>kùrámbà</i>	-	<i>kùtámbà</i>
ku-rámb-a		ku-támb-a
INF-plaster-FV		INF-give_herbs-FV
‘to plaster’		‘to give herbs (as medicine)’

The alveolar tap /r/ has an allophone [l]. /r/ is realized as [l] before a high front vowel /i/ and as [r] elsewhere.

- (40) [mùlìrò]
mu-riro
NP₃-fire
'fire'
- (41) [kùkùrà]
ku-kúr-a
INF-grow-FV
'to grow'
- (42) [rùlímà]
ru-rimá
NP₁₁-bat
'bat'

Before the palatal glide /y/, /r/ is always realized as [l], because /y/ is often (but not always) an allophonic realization of /i/. Before the labial glide /w/, /r/ is always realized as [r], because /w/ is often (but not always) an allophonic realization of /u/.

- (43) [èzílyò]
e-zi-ryó
AUG-NP₈-food
'food'
- (44) [kùrwárà]
ku-rwár-a
INF-be_sick-FV
'to be sick'

In Zambian Fwe, /r/ is occasionally realized as [l] even when it is not followed by /i/. In Namibian Fwe, /r/ is only realized as [l] before a high front vowel, and as [r] elsewhere. The proliferation of [l] in Zambian Fwe may be the result of the growing influence of Lozi in this area. Lozi resembles Fwe in that [l] and [r] are allophones of the same phoneme, although their distribution is reversed with respect to Fwe; /l/ is realized as [r] before the high front vowel, and as [l] elsewhere (Gowlett 1989: 129).

2.2.6 Glides

Fwe has two glides, labial /w/ and palatal /y/. Glides often occur as allophones, either as allophonic realizations of the vowels /u/ and /i/, or as epenthetic consonants. Glides also occur in environments where their occurrence cannot be explained allophonically, and therefore must be considered phonemes.

Glides occur as epenthetic consonants to separate two adjacent vowels. A glide [w] can be inserted when the first of two vowels is a back vowel /u/ or /o/ (see section 3.2.5). When /w/ is preceded by a vowel other than /u/ or /o/, its occurrence is phonemic, as in the following examples.

- (45) *mbwáwà*
 ø-mbwáwa
 NP_{1a}-jackal
 ‘jackal’
- (46) *má'nshwáwánshàwà*
 má-nshawánshawa
 NP₆-berry
 ‘berries of *Grewia* sp.’
- (47) *bùnjèwè*
 bu-njewè
 NP₁₄-poor
 ‘poverty’
- (48) *cìwàkàkà*
 ci-wakaka
 NP₇-horned_melon
 ‘horned melon (*Cucumis metuliferus*)’

The glide [y] may be used as an epenthetic consonant when one of two adjacent vowels is a front vowel, or when both vowels are /a/ (see 3.2.5). The glide /y/ also occurs in other contexts, motivating its analysis as a phoneme.

- (49) *mòyà*
 mu-oya
 NP₃-wind
 ‘wind’
- (50) *ngúyà*
 ø-ngúya
 NP_{1a}-baboon
 ‘baboon’
- (51) *kùyáshìmìsà*
 ku-yáshimis-a
 INF-sneeze-FV
 ‘to sneeze’

The glides /w/ and /y/ may be preceded by another consonant. The glide /w/ may be preceded by any consonant; the glide /y/ may only be preceded by /r/ (in its allophonic realization [l]). In some cases, the use of a glide after a consonant is an allophonic realization of /u/ or /i/, for instance the nominal prefix *mu-*, which is realized as *mu-* when followed by a consonant-initial root, but as *mw-* when followed by a root with an initial vowel /a/, /e/, or /i/ (see also section 5.1 on nominal prefixes).

Not all instances of glides preceded by a consonant are allophonic realizations of an underlying /u/ or /i/, however. Root-internally, sequences of a glide followed by a non-back vowel and sequences of a vowel /u/ followed by a non-back vowel are both

attested. This shows that /u/ is not automatically devocalized to /w/ when followed by a non-back vowel, but instead that there is a phonemic contrast between /u/ and /w/.

- (52) *nkúwà*
N-kúa
NP₉-tick
'tick'

- (53) *mú'kwámè*
mú-kwamé
NP₁-man
'man'

The palatal glide may occur as an allophonic realization of the vowel /i/ before a vowel, but only when the preceding consonant is /r/ (in its allophonic realization [l], conditioned by the vowel /i/). This is seen for instance in the pronominal prefix of class 5 *ri-*, which is realized as *ri-* before a consonant and as *ry-* before a vowel (see also section 3.2.3 on glide formation). Root-internally, however, sequences of /ri/ are attested that are realized as /ri/, and not as /ry/, showing that /i/ is not automatically changed to a glide when preceded by /r/, and therefore that the glide /y/ must be analyzed as a contrastive phoneme. An example is given in (54), where the root *-ríya* contains a sequence /ri/ that is not changed to /ry/. The following glide is an epenthetic consonant inserted to separate the vowel /i/ from the vowel /a/ in the following syllable (see also section 3.2.5 on consonant epenthesis).

- (54) *rùríyà*
ru-ríya
NP₁₁-taro
'taro'

2.2.7 Prenasalized obstruents

Prenasalized obstruents are complex phonemes consisting of an obstruent, preceded by a homorganic nasal. Fwe distinguishes prenasalized plosives, fricatives and affricates. Prenasalized obstruents and their non-prenasalized counterparts are contrastive. With prenasalized stops, Fwe contrasts bilabial, alveolar and velar prenasalized stops. The following (near-)minimal pairs show the phonemic status of prenasalized stops.

- (55) /nt - t/
- | | | |
|------------------------|---|----------------------|
| <i>mántà</i> | - | <i>mátà</i> |
| ma-ntá | | ma-tá |
| NP ₆ -power | | NP ₆ -bow |
| 'power' | | 'bows' |

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(56) /d - nd/

<i>kùdùná</i>	-	<i>ìndúnà</i>
ku-dun-a		ø-induná
INF-stare-FV		NP _{1a} -induna
'to stare'		'induna (political figure)'

(57) /n - nk/

<i>mùné:</i>	-	<i>mùnké:</i>
mu-né:		mu-nké:
NP ₁ -four		NP ₁ -one
'four'		'one'

(58) /ng - g/

<i>bú:ngì:</i>	-	<i>è-gí:</i>
bú:-ngì:		e-ø-gí:
NP ₁₄ -many		AUG-NP ₅ -egg
'many'		'egg'

Fwe has both voiceless and voiced prenasalized stops. Voicing in prenasalized stops is contrastive, as shown by the following minimal pairs.

(59) /mp - mb/

<i>mpùndù</i>	-	<i>mbùndù</i>
N-pundu		N-bundu
NP ₉ -bush		NP ₉ -dew
'sandpaper raisin bush'		'dew'

(60) /nt - nd/

<i>ndítántà</i>	-	<i>ndítándà</i>
ndi-ta _H nt-a		ndi-ta _H nd-a
SM _{1SG} -overtake-FV		SM _{1SG} -chase-FV
'I overtake.'		'I chase.'

(61) /nk - ng/

<i>kùsìnkà</i>	-	<i>kùsìngà</i>
ku-sink-a		ku-sing-a
INF-patch-FV		INF-paint-FV
'to patch'		'to paint'

Fwe has two prenasalized post-alveolar affricates, voiceless /nc/ and voiced /nj/. The following near-minimal pairs show that these two phonemes are contrastive, even though the voiceless and voiced affricate without prenasalization are not (see 2.2.3).

(62) /nc - nj/

<i>bâncè</i>	-	<i>rùbánjè</i>
ba-áncè		ru-banjé
NP ₂ -child		NP ₁₁ -cannabis
'children'		'cannabis'

(63) /nc - nj/

<i>ncèrè</i>	-	<i>njèwè</i>
ø-ncere		ø-njewé
NP _{1a} -snake		NP _{1a} -poor
'snake sp.'		'poor person'

The contrast between prenasalized affricates and non-prenasalized affricates is more difficult to prove. The sound /j/, the non-prenasalized counterpart of the voiced prenasalized affricate /nj/, does occur, but it has a low frequency and mainly occurs in loanwords (see 2.2.3). When prenasalization is used as a morphophonological process, /nj/ commutes with /zy/ (see section 3.1 on prenasalization as a morphophonological process). The voiceless affricate /nc/ does have a non-prenasalized counterpart /c/ as a regular phoneme. There are, however, no minimal or near-minimal pairs to prove that /c/ and /nc/ are contrastive phonemes, though there is also no clear conditioning for the distribution of /c/ and /nc/, should they be analyzed as allophones.

Fwe also has prenasalized fricatives: the labiodental fricatives /mf/ and /mv/, the alveolar fricatives /ns/ and /nz/ and the postalveolar fricative /nsh/. Prenasalized fricatives contrast with non-prenasalized fricatives, as shown for the alveolar fricatives in the following minimal pair.

(64) /ns - s/

<i>bànsá</i>	-	<i>bàsá</i>
ba-nsá		ba-sá
NP ₂ -klipspringer		NP ₂ -thief
'klipspringers'		'thieves'

Prenasalized labiodental fricatives occur, though they are highly uncommon; only four examples of /mf/ and five examples of /mv/ are found. Examples of both voiceless and voiced prenasalized labiodental fricatives are given in (65).

(65) *mfùmò*

ø-mfumo
NP_{1a}-rhinoceros
'rhinoceros'

mvúra

ø-mvúra
NP_{1a}-rain
'rain'

Although Fwe does use prenasalization contrastively in fricatives, at least for the voiceless alveolar fricative as shown in (64), its contrastive function appears to be diminishing. The prenasalized fricatives /ns/, /nz/ and /nsh/ are occasionally pronounced without prenasalization. This variation seems to be unconditioned, and may be a sign that the contrastive use of prenasalization in fricatives is diminishing.

- (66) *mpási ~ mpánsi*
N-pansí
NP₉-grasshopper
‘grasshopper’
- (67) *kùbîzwà ~ kùbînzwà*
ku-bínzw-a
INF-ripen-FV
‘to ripen’
- (68) *rùshòshò ~ rùshòshò*
ru-shonsho
NP₁₁-tibia
‘tibia’

The post-alveolar fricative /sh/ is also occasionally realized as prenasalized /nsh/, even in words where comparative data and reconstruction suggest that the sound was never prenasalized. The addition of prenasalization may be related to the preceding /m/, though as seen in examples (66)–(68) above, variation between prenasalized and non-prenasalized fricatives also occurs outside this context.

- (69) *mùshémpù ~ mùnshémpù*
mu-shémpu
NP₃-load
‘load’
related to *kù-shémp-èk-à* ‘to shoulder a load’
- (70) *mùshú: ~ mùnshú:*
mu-shú:
NP₃-urine
‘urine’
related to *kù-shúb-à* ‘to urinate’, *-cò ‘urine’ (Bastin *et al.* 2002)

2.2.8 Clicks

As shown in Table 2.1, Fwe has four click phonemes. As clicks are not native phonemes in Bantu, but do occur as native phonemes in the languages of the three language families subsumed under Khoisan, it is clear that clicks in Fwe are the result of contact with speakers of one or more Khoisan languages. There are four other Bantu languages spoken in the relative vicinity of Fwe that have clicks, namely Mbukushu, Manyo, Kwangali and Yeyi (Bostoen and Sands 2012; Gunnink *et al.* 2015).

The functional load of clicks in Fwe is fairly low: Fwe has only four click phonemes, and up to now only 79 words with click have been found. Clicks are only used in the variety of Fwe spoken in Namibia. In the northernmost variety of Fwe spoken in Zambia, clicks are not used, but clicks do occur in the variety of Fwe spoken further south, closer to the Namibian border. This area forms a transition zone between northernmost Fwe and Namibian Fwe. A more detailed discussion of clicks in Fwe can be found in Gunnink (to appear).

Fwe uses different click types, the dental, lateral and post-alveolar, but click type is not contrastive; the same word may be realized with a dental, lateral or post-alveolar click without change in meaning.

- (71) *kùlápùrà ~ kùʔápùrà ~ kùllápùrà*
ku-lapur-a
INF-tear-FV
‘to tear’

Which click type is used depends mainly on the speaker, with the dental click being the most common. Of the thirteen speakers interviewed for a contrastive study, the majority only used the dental click, and those who used a click type other than the dental, would also use the dental click.

Voicing and nasality, on the other hand, are used contrastively on clicks, and Fwe distinguishes four click phonemes on the basis of a combination of these features: a voiceless oral click /ʔ/, a voiced oral click /ɓ/, a prenasalized voiceless click /ʔ̥/, and a voiced nasal click /ɓ̥/. Examples of the four click phonemes are given below.

- (72) voiceless oral click /ʔ/

rùlómà
ru-lomá
NP₁₁-papyrus
‘papyrus’

- (73) voiced oral click /ɓ/

kù^ɓárùmùkà
ku-^ɓárumuk-a
INF-shout-FV
‘to shout loudly’

- (74) prenasalized voiceless click /ʔ̥/

mù^{ʔ̥}ápì
mu-^{ʔ̥}apí
NP₃-frog
‘small frog sp.’

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(75) voiced nasal click /ⁿ/

kùⁿ/àmbùrà
 ku-ⁿlambur-a
 INF-strip-FV
 ‘to strip (a tree)’

Due to the small number of click words, the phonemic status of these four clicks is difficult to prove through minimal pairs. Two minimal pairs proving the contrast between the voiceless and voiced oral click are given below.

(76) /l - ʎ/

<i>kùl/àpùrà</i>	-	<i>kù^ʎ/àpùrà</i>
ku-lapur-a		ku- ^ʎ apur-a
INF-tear-FV		INF-stand-FV
‘to tear’		‘to stand with legs apart’

(77) /l - ʎ/

<i>kùl/òpòrà</i>	-	<i>kù^ʎ/òpòrà</i>
ku-lopor-a		ku- ^ʎ opor-a
INF-run-FV		INF-remove_flesh-FV
‘to run fast’		‘to remove flesh, an eye’

Minimal pairs to proving the contrastive use of nasality in clicks are not attested, but nasality does seem to be a contrastive feature. When comparing the pronunciation of clicks of thirteen different Fwe speakers, no variation was found in the realization of nasality: the same click words were consistently realized with a nasal click by all speakers. The following near-minimal pairs provide further support for the analysis of nasality as a contrastive feature in clicks.

(78) /ʎ - ⁿ/

<i>^ʎ/úmù</i>	-	<i>kùⁿ/úmà</i>
ø- ^ʎ umú		ku- ⁿ úm-a
NP ₅ -reed		INF-suck-FV
‘edible reed’		‘to suck out blood (to treat disease, injury or curse)’

(79) /l - ʎ/

<i>kùl/á’pwízà</i>	-	<i>kù^ʎ/ámpà</i>
ku-lámpwíz-a		ku- ^ʎ ámp-a
INF-click-FV		INF-be_flat-FV
‘to click in anger or resentment’		‘to be flat (of stomach)’

Minimal pairs to prove the contrast between clicks and non-click consonants are given in (80)-(82).

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(80) /ʘ/ – s/

<i>kùʘʎntà</i>	–	<i>kùsìntà</i>
ku-ʘʎnt-a		ku-sint-a
INF-thud-FV		INF-pour-FV
‘to make a thud’		‘to pour’

(81) /ʘ/ – h/

<i>kùʘʎázà</i>	–	<i>kùházá</i>
ku-ʘʎáz-a		ku-ház-a
INF-shiver-FV		INF-save-FV
‘to shiver’		‘to save’

(82) /ᵐ/ – b/

<i>cìᵐʎnà</i>	–	<i>cìbùnà</i>
ci-ᵐʎna		ci-buna
NP ₇ -grasshopper		NP ₇ -bush
‘grasshopper sp.’		‘bush’

Although click type is not used contrastively, and click types are often interchanged by speakers, there do seem to be a few words where there is a preference for a click type. This is the case for various interjection-like words, such as *!akuroko* ‘it’s not true!’, which always takes a post-alveolar click, and *ndi-llōse* ‘it’s true’, which always takes a lateral click. A preference for the lateral click is also seen in *kù-nllá’mpwíz-à* ‘to click in anger or resentment’; although the pronunciation with the dental click can also be heard, the pronunciation with the lateral click was preferred. This most likely relates either to the meaning of the word, which is to produce a lateral click as a sign of anger or resentment, or the origin of the word. It also occurs in Yeyi as *kùnnllàpìzà* ‘disapprove by making a lateral click’ (Seidel 2008: 43), which also has a lateral click.

Free variation between click types is also seen in other Bantu languages of the region that have clicks, such as Manyo (Möhlig 1967: 13–14) and Mbukushu (Fisch 1998: 4). In addition to the free variation between click types, speakers of Fwe in some areas also alternate clicks with non-click consonants. These non-click consonants share the voicing and nasality contrasts of their click counterparts, and are always velar, even though clicks are usually dental. The alternation between clicks and non-click consonants is the result of the loss of the front closure of the click, which is usually dental, so that only the back closure, which is always velar, remains (Gunnink to appear). The voiceless click may alternate with [k].

(83) *rùlómà* ~ *rùkómà*
 ru-lomá
 NP₁₁-papyrus
 ‘papyrus’

The voiced click may alternate with [g]. There is also one example of a voiced click alternating with either [g] or [d].

- (84) *è^ghìma ~ ègìma*
 e- \emptyset -^glima
 AUG-NP₅-fish
 ‘small fish sp.’
- (85) *^glúkùmù ~ gúkùmù ~ dúkùmù*
 \emptyset -^glúkumu
 NP₅-fruit
 ‘fruit sp.’

The prenasalized voiceless click may alternate with [ᵑk].

- (86) *mùⁿlápì ~ mù^ᵑkápì*
 mu-ⁿlápí
 NP₃-frog
 ‘frog sp.’

The voiced nasal click may alternate with [ŋ].

- (87) *kùⁿlúmèntà ~ kùᵑúmèntà*
 ku-ⁿlúment-a
 INF-kiss-FV
 ‘to kiss’

Free variation between clicks and non-click velars is mainly seen in the central region of the Fwe-speaking area, close to the Namibian/Zambian border, where the Zambian clickless variety and the Namibian click-using variety come into contact with each other. Although free variation between clicks and non-clicks mainly targets words that originally contained a click, the process is also occasionally reversed, where words that originally contained a velar non-click consonant acquire an alternative pronunciation with a click.

- (88) *kùᵑórà ~ kùⁿlórà*
 ku-ᵑór-a
 INF-wite-FV
 ‘to write’

from Lozi *ku ᵑola* ‘to write’ (Burger 1960: 168)

- (89) *kùkámà ~ kùlámà*
 ku-kám-a
 INF-milk-FV
 ‘to milk’

cf. Fwe *mù-kám-is-ò* ‘squeezing tool’; Proto-Bantu *-kám- ‘squeeze; wring’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

Click insertion is not only due to the free variation between click and non-clicks, but can also be motivated by sound symbolism (Bostoen and Sands 2012). This differs

from click insertion in the Nguni languages of South-Africa that have clicks, which is commonly attributed to the taboo language of *hlonipha* (Herbert 1990). A taboo practice similar to *hlonipha* is not observed among Fwe speakers.

Examples of Fwe words where the use of a click may be linked to sound symbolism are given below.

- (90) *kùⁿlúmèntà*
ku-ⁿlúment-a
INF-kiss-FV
‘to kiss’⁶

- (91) *kù⁹lóntà*
ku-⁹lont-a
INF-drip-FV
‘to drip’

cf. Ila *-londauka* ‘to drip’ (Smith 1964: 288), *-tón- ‘drip, rain, speckle, be speckled’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (92) *kùlásàùkà*
ku-lás-a-uk-a
INF-spark-PL1-SEP.INTR-FV
‘to sparkle, emit sparks’

- (93) *kùⁿlambùkà*
ku-ⁿlambuk-a
INF-burst-FV
‘to burst (of a *mukusi* pod)’

2.3 Vowels

This section discusses the vowels of Fwe. Fwe has five contrastive vowel phonemes, which are discussed in section 2.3.1 together with evidence for their phonemic status. Vowel length plays a role in Fwe in three different ways. Firstly, there is a phonemic distinction between long and short vowels, even though long vowels are quite rare (section 2.3.2). Secondly, Fwe makes use of two processes of automatic vowel lengthening: phonetic lengthening targets vowels preceded and followed by certain consonants (section 2.3.3), and prosodic lengthening targets vowels in the penultimate mora of a clause-final word (section 2.3.4). Although vowel length and the two processes of automatic lengthening differ in their conditioning, they are very parallel in their phonetic properties: phonemically long vowels, phonetically lengthened vowels and prosodically lengthened vowels are equally long, and the distinction between short vowels and long or lengthened vowels is very minimal and possibly diminishing, though their importance in the tonal system remains. Furthermore, both long vowels and phonetically lengthened (but not prosodically lengthened) vowels contain two tone-bearing units, rather than one.

⁶ This word also has a possible Khoe or Ju etymology (Gunnink et al 2015: 230).

2.3.1 Phonemic vowels

Fwe has five contrastive vowel phonemes, displayed in the following example.

(94) Contrastive vowels

/i/	/u/
/ɛ/	/ɔ/
/a/	

The following minimal pairs show that /a/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /u/ and /i/ are contrastive. Throughout this thesis, /ɛ/ will be written as <e> and /ɔ/ will be written as <o>.

(95) /u/ - /o/ - /a/

<i>kùkùmbà</i>	-	<i>kùkômbà</i>	-	<i>kùkâmbà</i>
ku-kúmb-a		ku-kómb-a		ku-kámb-a
INF-howl-FV		INF-lick-FV		INF-clap-FV
'to howl'		'to lick'		'to clap'

(96) /i/ - /e/

<i>kùminà</i>	-	<i>kùmènà</i>
ku-min-a		ku-men-a
INF-swallow-FV		INF-sprout-FV
'to swallow'		'to sprout (of wild plants)'

(97) /u/ - /i/

<i>kùsíkà</i>	-	<i>kùsúkà</i>
ku-sík-a		ku-súk-a
INF-light-FV		INF-descend-FV
'to light'		'to descend'

(98) /e/ - /o/

<i>kùré:tà</i>	-	<i>kùró:tà</i>
ku-ré:t-a		ku-ró:t-a
INF-bring-FV		INF-dream-FV
'to bring'		'to dream'

2.3.2 Phonemic vowel length

Fwe has a phonemic opposition between short and long vowels, as shown by the following minimal pairs. Phonemic vowel length is marked in the orthography used in this thesis with the symbol /:/.

(99) /u - u:/

<i>kùkùrà</i>	-	<i>kùkù:rà</i>
ku-kúr-a		ku-kú:r-a
INF-grow-FV		INF-shift-FV
'to grow'		'to shift, move house'

(100) /o - o:/

<i>kùkôrà</i>	-	<i>kùkô:rà</i>
ku-kór-a		ku-kó:r-a
INF-irritate-FV		INF-cough-FV
'to irritate'		'to cough'

All five vowel phonemes occur as either short or long; examples of /o:/ and /u:/ are given in (99)-(100) above. Examples of /a:/, /e:/ and /i:/ are given in (101)-(103) below. Long vowels can occur in any position of the word, and word-final long vowels are not shortened, as seen in (103)-(104).

(101) *kùrà:rà*
ku-rá:r-a
INF-sleep-FV
'to sleep'

(102) *kùkè:zyà*
ku-ke:zy-a
INF-come-FV
'to come'

(103) *ègí:*
e-ø-gí:
AUG-NP₅-egg
'egg'

(104) *yènké:*
ye-nké:
PP₁-one
'alone'

In some cases, a long vowel in Fwe is a reflex of a reconstructed long vowel or vowel sequence for Proto-Bantu, as in examples (105)-(107).

(105) *kùró:tà*
ku-ró:t-a
INF-dream-FV
'to dream'

from *-dóot- 'dream' (Bastin et al. 2002)

(106) *kùká:nà*
ku-ká:n-a
INF-reject-FV
'to reject, divorce'

from *-káan- 'deny, refuse' (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (107) *bùré:*
 bu-ré:
 NP₁₄-long
 ‘length’

from *-dàì ‘long’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

In other cases, a long vowel appears to be the result of the historical merger of two vowels across a morpheme boundary. The verb stem *-co:r-* historically consisted of a root *-cò-* and a separative suffix *-or*, as can be seen from the fact that the transitive separative suffix *-or* can be replaced by an intransitive separative suffix *-ok*. (For more on the separative derivation, see section 8.7.) The underived root *-co-* is not attested in Fwe.

- (108) a. *kùcò:rà*
 ku-co:r-a
 INF-break-FV
 ‘to break’
 from *-co-* ‘break’ + *-or* separative suffix
- b. *kùcò:kà*
 ku-co-ok-a
 INF-break-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘to break’

In other verb stems where the long vowel appears to result from a historical merger of two short vowels, the modern form of the verb no longer shows a commutation between two different suffixes. Nonetheless, formal similarity between the verb root and attested derivational suffixes in Fwe do show that the long vowels in these verb stems go back to a historical merger of the vowel of the root with the vowel of a derivational suffix, which has subsequently become unanalyzable. This is in line with the fact that many derivational suffixes in Fwe are lexicalized. Examples include the verb stem *-zì:k-* ‘hide’, which appears to contain the transitive impositional suffix *-ik* (for more on the impositional, see section 8.8), and the verb stem *-zù:r-* ‘undress’, which appears to contain the transitive separative suffix *-ur* (see section 8.7 for the various allomorphs of this suffix).

Long vowels only arise from historical processes of vowel juxtaposition; synchronic vowel juxtaposition does not always lead to vowel lengthening. This is discussed in more detail in section 3.2.

Vowel length plays an important role in the tonal system of Fwe. Long vowels are bimoraic, and a high tone can be assigned to either of the two moras. Subsequently, however, the high tone is copied onto the other mora of the vowel, so that the surface realizations of tones on bimoraic vowels is identical to the surface realization of tones on monomoraic vowels. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 4 on tone.

Long vowels are not common in Fwe: only 30 words (out of a 2,200 word list) with a long vowel have been identified. Furthermore, the phonetic realization of phonemic vowel length is fairly subtle, and its effects are mainly found in the tonal

system. It seems then that phonemic vowel length is becoming increasingly marginal in Fwe.

2.3.3 Phonetic vowel lengthening

In addition to phonemic vowel length, Fwe has automatic, non-contrastive vowel lengthening, which is conditioned by the nature of the consonants following and preceding the vowel. As this type of vowel lengthening is not phonemic, it is not marked in the orthography used in this thesis, with the exception of the examples given in this section, where lengthening is marked with the symbol [ː]. There are a number of different phonological environments that condition vowel lengthening. Firstly, vowels are lengthened when preceded by the glide /w/ or /y/. Lengthening can target vowels in medial position, as in (109), but also in word-final position, as in (110)–(111).

- (109) *kùtwáːrà*
 ku-twár-a
 INF-bring-FV
 ‘to bring’

- (110) *kúryàː*
 ku-rí-a
 INF-eat-FV
 ‘to eat’

- (111) *kàmwáː*
 ka-mwí
 NP₁₂-heat
 ‘heat; afternoon’

Vowels are also lengthened if directly followed by a prenasalized consonant.

- (112) *kùràːmbà*
 ku-rámb-a
 INF-plaster-FV
 ‘to plaster’

- (113) *kùtùːmpà*
 ku-tump-a
 INF-sprout-FV
 ‘to sprout (of wild plants)’

Vowel lengthening also occurs when a vowel /a/ is preceded by an alveolar fricative. Both the prenasalized fricatives /ns/ and /nz/ and the non-prenasalized fricatives /s/ and /z/ cause the following /a/ to lengthen, as shown in (114)–(116). The post-alveolar fricatives /ʃh/ and /zy/, however, do not cause the following vowels to lengthen, as shown in (117)–(118).

- (114) *kù:yáshìmìsà:*
 ku-yáshimis-a
 INF-sneeze-FV
 ‘to sneeze’
- (115) *ò:nsá:*
 o-ø-nsá
 AUG-NP_{1a}-klipspringer
 ‘klipspringer (antelope sp.)’
- (116) *kù:zà:nà*
 ku-zan-a
 INF-play-FV
 ‘to play’
- (117) *kù:shà:kà*
 ku-shak-a
 INF-want-FV
 ‘to want, like, love’
- (118) *kù:zà:bà:rà*
 ku-zyabar-a
 INF-dress-FV
 ‘to get dressed’

Lengthening of /a/ before alveolar fricatives is the last step in a process of sound change and analogical extension very similar to what is described for Ganda (Hyman 2003). In Ganda, a causative suffix -i caused spirantization of the last consonant of the root of the verb to /s/. The vowel /i/ of the causative was subsequently absorbed into the preceding consonant, combined with compensatory lengthening of the final vowel -a of the verb. In other verbs ending in /sa/, where no causative morphology is present, the lengthening was added analogous to the lengthening in causative verbs. A similar process appears to have taken place in Fwe, where an earlier causative suffix *i also triggered spirantization of the previous consonant to /s/ or /z/, leading to the loss of /i/ and compensatory lengthening⁷. Although this process is no longer productive in Fwe, numerous examples are attested that show that the commutation of a final stem consonant to /s/ or /z/ was part of causative formation (see section 8.4 for more examples).

⁷ In Ganda, this process involved glide formation from /i/ to /y/ (Hyman 2003). In Fwe, there is no clear evidence for glide formation, e.g. no causative verbs are attested where /s/ is followed by /y/. It is possible that glide formation historically took place, and that the glide was subsequently lost, as Fwe does not (or no longer) allow combinations of /s/ and /y/ (see section 2.4.2 on co-occurrence restrictions).

- (119) *kùtùkùtà*
 ku-tukut-a
 INF-become_warm-FV
 ‘to become warm’

kùtùkùsà:
 ku-tukus-a
 INF-become_warm.CAUS-FV
 ‘to warm (something) up’

from ku-tukut-i-a > ku-tukus-i-a > ku-tukus-a:

- (120) *kùhàrà*
 ku-hár-a
 INF-live-FV
 ‘to live’

kùhàzà:
 ku-ház-a
 INF-save.CAUS-FV
 ‘to save (lit. ‘make someone live’)

from ku-har-i-a > ku-haz-i-a > ku-haz-a:

The lengthening of the final vowel /a/ in causative verbs is the result of compensatory lengthening triggered by the loss of the earlier vowel /i/. Subsequently, all instances of /a/ after an alveolar fricative were lengthened, not only those that were the result of causative formation. Whereas in Ganda, this analogical extension was limited to /sa/ sequences at the end of a verb, in Fwe the analogical extension includes all instances of /a/ before an alveolar fricative, also when such a sequence is not the last syllable of a verb stem, as in (121)–(122), and even in nouns, as in (123)–(126).

- (121) *kùzà:nà*
 ku-zan-a
 INF-dance-FV
 ‘to dance, play’

- (122) *kùzà:rà*
 ku-zár-a
 INF-give_birth-FV
 ‘to give birth (of animals)’

- (123) *èsà:bùrè*
 e-ø-saburé
 AUG-NP₅-machete
 ‘machete’

- (124) *ká'nénsà:*
 ká-nensá
 NP₁₂-pink
 'pink, little toe'

- (125) *ⁿ/ór'ézà:*
 N-ⁿlórezá
 NP₉-resin
 'resin'

- (126) *nzá:sì*
 N-zási
 NP₁₀-spark
 'sparks'

That the lengthening of /a/ before /s/ and /z/ is the result of analogical extension, and not of individual cases of spirantization in each of the words that contain a /sa/ or /za/ sequence, can be seen from the fact that many words with /sa/ and /za/ sequences are borrowings, such as *mù-sá:* 'thief' from Khwe *tc'ǎ̀* 'to steal' (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 355)⁸, *kù-sèbèz-à:* 'to work', from Lozi *ku sebezà* 'to work' (Burger 1960: 168).⁹

Although phonemically long vowels and phonetically lengthened vowels differ in their conditioning, their behavior is otherwise very parallel. Both long vowels and lengthened vowels contain two tone-bearing units rather than one, an important distinction in the tonal system of Fwe (see chapter 4). Furthermore, the difference between both long vowels and lengthened vowels, and short vowels, is very minimal, and the actual length or lengthening is barely perceptible. This is a trait Fwe shares with closely-related Totela, which also lengthens vowels under conditions comparable to those in Fwe, but barely so. As Crane (2011: 71) states, "I found vowel length somewhat hard to perceive, especially in nouns, and speakers did not correct my productions for it as they corrected for tone and other segmental errors".

2.3.4 Prosodic vowel lengthening

A second type of predictable vowel lengthening is used in Fwe, which targets the penultimate mora of a clause-final word. The automatic lengthening of clause-final penultimate vowels is common in Bantu languages, and had already been noted for Fwe by Bostoen (2009: 111). This type of lengthening will be referred to here as prosodic lengthening. As prosodic lengthening is predictable, it is not marked in the orthography used in this thesis, with the exception of the examples in this section, where lengthening is marked with [ː].

Prosodic lengthening targets the penultimate mora of a clause-final word, as seen in the following examples.

⁸ In this case, however, the source word also has a long vowel.

⁹ An alternative explanation for the origin of lengthening of /a/ before /s/ and /z/ would be a more general rule of spirantization followed by glide absorption and compensatory lengthening, not only in causative verbs. This would fail to explain, however, why only the alveolar fricatives are affected, and not the labiodental fricatives, which are also the result of spirantization.

- (127) *cìbà:kà*
 ci-baka
 NP₇-place
 ‘place’

- (128) *kùbábàrè:rà*
 ku-bábarer-a
 INF-guard-FV
 ‘to guard’

Prosodic lengthening targets the penultimate mora, and not the penultimate syllable; if the last syllable of a clause-final word is bimoraic, such as the bimoraic last syllable *-kwa:* in example (129), penultimate lengthening does not target the penultimate syllable *-ro-*, but the penultimate mora of the last syllable. As such prosodic lengthening is realized on the last syllable rather than the penultimate syllable.

- (129) *kùkósòròkwà:*
 **kùkósòrò:kwa*
 ku-kósorokw-a
 INF-sleep-FV
 ‘to sleep until rested’

Prosodic lengthening can target phonetically lengthened vowels, in which case both types of length are cumulative; a phonetically lengthened vowel that is prosodically lengthened is pronounced with more length than a phonetically lengthened vowel that is not prosodically lengthened.

Prosodic lengthening can also target phonemically long vowels. In this case too, both types of length are cumulative, and long vowels that are prosodically lengthened are audibly longer than long vowels that are not prosodically lengthened. This is shown below with the verbal root *-co:k-*, which contains a long vowel /o:/. If the vowel /o:/ occurs in the penultimate syllable of an utterance, as in example (130), it is targeted by prosodic lengthening and as such pronounced with more length (indicated by a double : sign) than when the same vowel is used in a different syllable, not targeted by prosodic lengthening, as seen in example (131).

- (130) *càcò:kì*
 ci-a-cò:k-i
 SM₇-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘It broke.’

- (131) *cìcò:kétè*
 ci-co:k-éte
 SM₇-break-STAT
 ‘It is broken.’

This shows that phonetically, there is a three-way length distinction in Fwe. Short vowels are pronounced with the least length; intermediate lengthening is found with phonemically long vowels, and phonetically and prosodically lengthened vowels; and

vowels where prosodic lengthening combines with contrastive vowel length or phonetic lengthening are pronounced with the most length. This three-way distinction is not phonemic, however, because the difference between intermediate and long is determined by at least one non-contrastive factor, prosodic lengthening.

Prosodic lengthening is quite subtle, with only a very small difference between vowels with and without prosodic lengthening. Its phonetic realization is comparable to both phonemic vowel length and phonetic vowel lengthening, with the difference between short vowels on the one hand and either long vowels, phonetically lengthened vowels or prosodically lengthened vowels on the other hand being quite small.

Whereas long phonetically lengthened vowels are counted as bimoraic in the tonal system of Fwe (cf. 2.3.2), prosodically lengthened vowels are not counted as bimoraic, but as monomoraic. Prosodic lengthening does influence the tonal system, however, in that only on prosodically lengthened vowels high tones can be realized as falling under certain conditions (see section 4.1.5 of chapter 4 on tone).

2.4 Syllable structure

The following section discusses the phonotactic structure of Fwe. Section 2.4.1 discusses the different syllable types that are allowed in Fwe, and section 2.4.2 takes a closer look at the distribution of consonants and vowels with respect to each other, noting a number of restrictions on their co-occurrence.

2.4.1 Syllable types

Fwe has a strictly open syllable structure, where coda consonants are never allowed. Fwe allows for three different syllable types: CV, where the onset is a consonant and the nucleus a vowel, CGV, where the onset is a consonant followed by a glide, and V, which lacks an onset and consists of a vowel only. All three syllable types can be seen to occur in (132).

(132) [ò.kù.rwà]
‘to fight’

A syllable onset may also consist of a nasal followed by another consonant. These nasal-consonant combinations are analyzed as a single prenasalized phoneme rather than a combination of two phonemes, and have been discussed in section 2.2.7.

A syllable onset consisting of a consonant and a glide may be the result of vowel hiatus resolution, where a vowel is changed to a glide when followed by another vowel; see section 3.2.3 on glide formation. Consonant-glide combinations may also be phonemic; the following (near-)minimal pairs show this contrast.

(133) /r - rw/

<i>kùrèrà</i>	–	<i>kùrwèrà</i>
ku-rer-a		ku-rwer-a
INF-feed-FV		INF-watch-FV
‘to feed’		‘to watch’

(134) /r - ry/

<i>kùròwà</i>	-	<i>kùryôwà</i>
ku-ro-a		ku-ryó-a
INF-bewitch-FV		INF-be_sweet-FV
'to bewitch'		'to be sweet'

V syllables may occur word-initially or word-medially. In the latter case, the resultant V.V sequence is often broken up by an epenthetic consonant [h], [y] or [w] (see sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.5). Consonant epenthesis is not obligatory, however, and word-medial V.V sequences are allowed, as shown in the following examples. V.V sequences may contain two different vowels, as in (135), or two identical vowels, as in (136).

(135) V.V sequences of two different vowels

- a. *mà.rì.á.njò*
ø-mariánjo
NP_{1a}-virgin
'virgin'
- b. *mbó.'é.rà*
ø-mbóerá
NP_{1a}-wild_dog
'wild dog'
- c. *kù.fú.à.mà*
ku-fú-am-a
INF-approach-IMP.INTR-FV
'to approach'

(136) V.V sequences of two identical vowels

- a. *kù.bò.ò.rà*
ku-boor-a
INF-return-FV
'to return'
- b. *ndà.à.nò*
N-daano
NP₉-message
'message'
- c. *kù.cù.ù.nà*
ku-cuun-a
INF-limp-FV
'to limp'

Sequences of two identical vowels are distinct from long vowels, phonetically lengthened vowels and prosodically lengthened vowels (see sections 2.3.2-2.3.4). Se-

quences of two identical vowels are realized as longer than phonemically long vowels, phonetically or prosodically lengthened vowels. Sequences of two identical vowels also differ from phonemically or phonetically long vowels in their possible tonal realizations. Sequences of two identical vowels can each take a different tone; the patterns L-L, H-H, H-L, L-H and F-L are all attested. Long and lengthened vowels only take one of the following three tonal melodies: L, H, and F.

Table 2.2: Tonal patterns on vowel sequences and long vowels

	Sequences of two identical vowels		Lengthened vowels
LL	<i>kù.nyè.è.zà</i> ‘to annoy’	L	<i>kù.nè.ngà</i> ‘to dance, play’
HH	<i>mvú.ú</i> ‘hippopotamus’	H	<i>kù.tú.mbù.kà</i> ‘to burn’
HL	<i>mvú.ù</i> ‘hippopotamus’	F	<i>kù.bú.mbà</i> ‘to create, mould’
LH	<i>ndì.rà.á.nà</i> ‘I say goodbye.’		
FL	<i>ntú.ù</i> ‘hyena’		

The fact that both vowels can take a different tone shows that these vowels are sequences of two separate vowels of identical vowel quality, rather than long or lengthened vowels. Furthermore, vowel sequences can be broken up by an epenthetic consonant [h], [y] or [w], as shown with the vowel sequence /o.o/ in example (137) (see also section 3.2.5), but lengthened or long vowels can never be separated by an epenthetic consonant, as shown with the long vowel [o:] in (138).

- (137) [*kù.bò.ò.rà*] ~ [*kù.bò.hò.rà*]
 /kù-bòòr-à/
 INF-return-FV
 ‘to return’

- (138) [*kù.cò:kà*]
 **[kù.cò.hò.kà]*
 /ku-co:k-a/
 INF-break-FV
 ‘to break’

Vowel sequences and lengthened vowels are also distinct from a historical point of view; vowel sequences (of either identical or different vowels) mostly derive from original CV.CV sequences, from which the second consonant was lost through regular diachronic sound changes. This has affected *p and *g, which were both lost before non-high vowels (Bostoen 2009).

- (139) -*fwí.ì*
 -*fwíi*
 ‘short’

from *-kúpí ‘short’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (140) *njú.ù*
 N-juú
 NP₁₀-pea
 ‘peas’

from *-jùgù ‘groundnut’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (141) *njúò*
 N-júo
 NP₉-house
 ‘house’

from *-júgò ‘house’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

Long and lengthened vowels are not the result of the loss of an intervocalic consonant. Long vowels derive from earlier long vowels or vowel sequences, as discussed in section 2.3.2, and lengthened vowels are the result of predictable synchronic processes as discussed in sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4. Based on both synchronic and diachronic evidence, it is clear that vowel sequences of either identical or different vowels are distinct from long or lengthened vowels.

2.4.2 Co-occurrence restrictions

This section discusses a number of restrictions on which vowels can be preceded by which consonant. Co-occurrence restrictions are seen with labiodental and alveolar fricatives, which may only be followed by high vowels or glides. This is the result of the diachronic sound change of Bantu Spirantization, whereby stops followed by a high vowel changed into a fricative. No restrictions apply to the postalveolar fricatives /sh/ and /zy/, the bilabial fricative /b/ and the glottal fricative /h/ because they are not the result of Bantu Spirantization, but of a change of the reconstructed stops to fricatives before non-high vowels (Bostoen 2009).

The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ can only be followed by a high vowel /i/ or /u/, or a glide /w/. The same is true for the prenasalized alveolar fricatives /ns/ and /nz/. Examples are given for /s/ and /ns/ in (142), and for /z/ and /nz/ in (143).

- (142) a. *kùsíka*
 ku-sík-a
 INF-light-FV
 ‘to light’
- b. *mùsùmò*
 mu-sumo
 NP₃-pole
 ‘pole’
- c. *múswà*
 mu-swá
 NP₃-rope
 ‘small rope’

- d. *mùsúnsù*
 mu-súnsu
 NP₃-lower_leg
 ‘front part of lower leg’
- (143) a. *zìbà*
 ø-zìba
 NP₅-lake
 ‘lake’
- b. *cìzùmà*
 ci-zuma
 NP₇-basket
 ‘basket’
- c. *rùbénzwà*
 ru-bénzwa
 NP₁₁-pancreas
 ‘pancreas’

A number of exceptions are found, which are mostly borrowings.

- (144) *sákà*
 ø-saká
 NP₅-bag
 ‘bag’

 from Afrikaans *sak* ‘bag’
- (145) *kùsèpà*
 ku-sep-a
 INF-trust-FV
 ‘to trust, hope’

 from Lozi *ku sepa* ‘to trust’ (Burger 1960)
- (146) *mùsá*
 mu-sá
 NP₁-thief
 ‘thief’

 from Khwe *tc’ǎǎ* ‘to steal’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 355)

Combinations of alveolar fricatives with non-high vowels words are also attested in words where the alveolar fricative is part of a causative. The synchronically productive causative suffix *-is* can be followed by the vowels /a/ or /e/ functioning as inflectional suffixes, or the vowel /o/ functioning as a nominalizing suffix.

- (147) *kùùrìsà*
 ku-ur-is-a
 INF-buy-CAUS-FV
 ‘to sell’
- (148) *ònditúsè*
 o-ndi-tus-é
 SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-help-PFV.SBJV
 ‘You should help me.’
- (149) *cìkùrìsò*
 ci-kur-is-o
 NP₇-sweep-CAUS-INSTR
 ‘broom’

There are also instances of /s/ or /z/ that are the result of an earlier causative suffix *-i*, which caused spirantization of the preceding consonant. In these lexicalized causative forms, alveolar fricatives may also combine with vowels other than /i/ or /u/.

- (150) a. *kùbúsà*
 ku-bús-a
 INF-wake-FV
 ‘to wake (someone) up’
 from *-búk-* ‘wake up’ + causative
- b. *mbòndímùbúsè*
 mbo-ndí-mu-bu_Hs-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₁-wake-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will wake her/him up.’
- (151) a. *kùfwìnsà*
 ku-fwins-a
 INF-seal-FV
 ‘to seal’
 from *-fwink-* ‘become sealed’ + causative
- b. *cìfwìnsò*
 ci-fwins-o
 NP₇-seal-INSTR
 ‘stopper’

Alveolar fricatives followed by non-high vowels are also seen in the alternative pronunciation of grammatical prefixes with a post-alveolar fricative; some speakers of Namibian Fwe realize these as alveolar fricatives (see 2.2.2 for examples).

The labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /v/ are subject to even stronger co-occurrence restrictions; these phonemes can only be followed by a high back vowel /u/ or by the glide /w/.

- (152) *màfútà*
 ma-futá
 NP₆-oil
 ‘oil, lotion’
- (153) *kùfwèbà*
 ku-fweb-a
 INF-smoke-FV
 ‘to smoke’
- (154) *vùmò*
 ø-vumo
 NP₅-stomach
 ‘stomach’
- (155) *kùrívwàngà*
 ku-rí-vwang-a
 INF-REFL-wrap-FV
 ‘to put on a chitenge’

For the labiodental fricatives too, a few exceptions are found where a labiodental fricative is followed by a vowel other than /u/, which are mostly loanwords.

- (156) *fónì*
 ø-fóni
 NP₅-phone
 ‘phone’
 borrowed from English *phone*
- (157) *cìfàtéhò*
 ci-fatehó
 NP₇-face
 ‘face’

borrowed from Lozi *sifateho* ‘face’ (Burger 1960: 54)

All other fricatives, that is the postalveolar fricatives /sh/ and /zy/, the bilabial fricative /b/ and the glottal fricative /h/, are not subject to co-occurrence restrictions, but may be followed by any of the five vowels.

Another co-occurrence restriction concerns the velar stop /k/, which is not found with the high front vowel /i/. This is the result of the diachronic shift from *k to /c/ before /i/ (Bostoen 2009: 118-119). One of the main exceptions is the reflexive prefix *kí-*, used in Zambian Fwe. Namibian Fwe uses a different reflexive prefix *rí-*; in combination with the unexpected maintenance of /k/ before /i/, this suggests that the reflexive form *kí-* in northern Fwe may be a borrowing from another Bantu language. For more on the reflexive, see section 9.3.

Clicks also appear to be subject to certain co-occurrence restrictions. Although click words are not common in Fwe, in 78 out of 84 click words collected the click is

followed by a vowel /a/, /o/ or /u/. The only six click words in which clicks are followed by a front vowel /i/ or /e/ are listed below; the two words in (161) and (162) may be borrowings from Yeyi, and the words listed in (163) appear to contain the same (ideophonic) root. With the exception of the Yeyi borrowing in (161), all cases of clicks followed by front vowels involve a voiced click.

- (158) ⁹h̥mà
 ø-⁹lima
 NP₅-fish
 ‘small fish sp.’

- (159) cì⁹h̥njò
 ci-⁹linjo
 NP₇-tree
 ‘tree sp.’

- (160) kù⁹h̥intùrà
 ku-⁹lintur-a
 INF-lie-FV
 ‘to lie with bent knees’

- (161) ⁹h̥i⁹à
 N-⁹li⁹á
 NP₁₀-date
 ‘dates’

from Yeyi *zĩh̥la* ‘fruits of the date palm tree’ (Seidel 2008: 28)

- (162) -⁹l̥ènè
 ‘thin’

from Yeyi *nc’ene* ‘thin’

- (163) a. ⁹h̥i
 ‘sound of landing’
 b. kù⁹h̥inkità
 ku-⁹l̥inkit-a
 INF-pound-FV
 ‘to pound with short, sharp movements’
 c. kù⁹h̥intà
 ku-⁹lint-a
 INF-hop-FV
 ‘to crash/fall down noisily; to hop up and down’

Despite the low number of click words and the handful of counterexamples, there is thus a clear tendency for clicks to be followed by non-front vowels. Similar tendencies are observed in various Khoisan languages, where a Back Vowel Constraint

(BVC) assimilates front vowels to back vowels when preceded by certain clicks (Miller 2011). This only affects vowels preceded by labial, alveolar and lateral clicks, however, not vowels preceded by dental and palatal clicks. It is therefore surprising that Fwe shows such a strong preference for back vowels after clicks, as Fwe clicks are most commonly realized as dental. The preference of back vowels after clicks in Fwe could be the result of borrowing from languages such as Jul'hoan, where the BVC is active (Miller 2013). Another possible explanation is that the modern variation in click type, with a preference for the dental, has not always existed, but that Fwe at an earlier stage had a preference for alveolar or lateral clicks, thus explaining the prevalence of back vowels after clicks, or even used alveolar and/or lateral clicks phonemically.

Co-occurrence restrictions on glides are also attested. Glides may be preceded by another consonant; for the glide /w/, virtually all logically possible consonant-glide combinations are attested. There are a few possible combinations that are not attested, such as /dw/, /^qw/, /^mw/ and /ⁿw/. The absence of these combinations is probably the result of the low frequency of /d/, /^q/, /^m/ and /ⁿ/, and is unlikely to represent some underlying constraint on their co-occurrence with /w/, as /w/ does co-occur with other voiced stops, affricates and clicks, as shown in (164)–(167).

- (164) *sibbwé*
 ø-sibbwé
 NP_{1a}-jackal
 'jackal'

- (165) *kùgwà*
 ku-gw-a
 INF-fall-FV
 'to fall'

- (166) *bùcwàrà*
 bu-cwara
 NP₁₄-beer
 'beer'

- (167) *kùlwámpìzà* (variant of *-lámpwìzà*)
 ku-lwámpiz-a
 INF-click-FV
 'to click in anger'

A consonant followed by /w/ is never followed by a back vowel /o/ or /u/. This constraint is likely to be related to the historical development of /w/, which derives from an earlier vowel /u/ or /o/, as seen in the following examples.

- (168) *èbwè*
 e-ø-bwe
 AUG-NP₅-stone
 'stone'

from *-bòè 'stone' (Bastin et al. 2002)

(169) *kùkwátà*

ku-kwát-a

INF-touch-FV

‘to touch’

from *-kúat- ‘seize, grasp’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

(170) *kútwà*

ku-tw-á

INF-pound-FV

‘to pound’

from *-tó- ‘stamp, pound, bite’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

The vocalic origin of glides still has its effects on modern Fwe. As discussed in 2.3.2, vowel lengthening affects vowels preceded by a consonant-glide combination. This lengthening may be interpreted as the effect of the length of the earlier vowel.

Combinations of a consonant with the glide /y/ also exist, though they may only involve the consonant /r/, in which case /r/ is realized as [l]. This is part of the same allophony that causes /r/ to be realized as [l] before the high front vowel /i/ (see also section 2.2.5), because the palatal glide derives from an earlier vowel /i/. Examples of syllables with an onset /ry/ are given below.

(171) *kùryénkwètà*

ku-ryénkwet-a

INF-bribe-FV

‘to bribe’

(172) *shíryà*

ø-shiryá

NP₅-other_side

‘other/opposite side’

3 Morphophonology

3.1 Prenasalization

As shown in section 2.2 of the previous chapter, prenasalized consonants are part of the phoneme inventory of Fwe. Prenasalized consonants can be part of the underlying form of a lexical or grammatical morpheme, but they can also be the result of the addition of a prefix that consists of a homorganic nasal, which assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant, which in turn may assimilate in manner of articulation to the nasal, mostly by changing continuants into obstruents. These morphophonological changes are discussed in this section.

A homorganic nasal prefix plays a role in the formation of copulative prefixes, and an archaic form of the first person singular object marker, but is synchronically only productive as a nominal prefix of class 9/10 (see also section 5.1 on nominal prefixes). It is not always clear in nouns of class 9/10 what the initial segment of the root is without nasal prefix. Two sources for identifying the form of the root are available. The form of the root when used in a different noun class, which does not use a nominal prefix *N-*, shows the underlying form. Alternatively, some nouns derive from verbs (see section 6.1 on verb to noun derivation), which show the form of the root without nominal prefix.

When the class 9/10 nominal prefix *N-* combines with a root where the initial consonant is a stop, the stop will be prenasalized. This is the case for the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/. It also appears to be the case for the more peripheral voiced stop phonemes /bb, d, g/, though the number of examples is too limited to fully describe the behavior of voiced stops when prenasalized.

- (1) *ntòrókò*
N-torokó
NP₉-meaning
 ‘meaning’
 cf. *kù-tòròk-à* ‘to translate, explain’
- (2) *nká'mbámò*
N-kámbamó
NP₉-slope
 ‘upward slope’
 cf. *kù-kámbàm-à* ‘to ascend’
- (3) *mpákwà*
N-pákwa
NP₉-sling
 ‘sling’
 cf. *kú-pàk-à* ‘carry on one’s back (of a child)’ + *-w* passive

- (4) *mbórà*
 N-bborá
 NP₉-ball
 ‘ball’

 cf. *èbbórà*
 e-ø-bborá
 AUG-NP₅-ball
 ‘ball’

The effect of the prefix *N-* on fricatives is more varied. The alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ become /ns/ and /nz/, as in examples (5) and (6).

- (5) *nsúrùmùkò*
 N-súrumuko
 NP₉-slope
 ‘downward slope’

 cf. *kù-súrùmùk-à* ‘to descend’

 (6) *nzási*
 N-zási
 NP₁₀-spark
 ‘sparks’

 cf. class 11 *rù-zási* ‘spark’

The post-alveolar fricative /sh/ becomes /nsh/, but its voiced counterpart /zy/ changes from a fricative to an affricate /j/ when combined with *N-*.

- (7) *nshíkà*
 N-shiká
 NP₁₀-mangosteen
 ‘African mangosteens’

 cf. class 11 *rú-^lshíkà* ‘African mangosteen’

 (8) *njimbò*
 N-jímbo
 NP₁₀-song
 ‘songs’

 cf. *kù-zjimb-à* ‘to sing’

The bilabial fricative /b/ and the glottal fricative /h/ change to stops before *N-*: the fricative /b/ becomes a prenasalized stop /mbb/¹⁰, and fricative /h/ becomes a prenasalized stop /mp/.

¹⁰ As the bilabial fricative /b/ always changes to a stop before /m/, the prenasalized fricative is written as /mb/ in the practical orthography used in the rest of this thesis.

- (9) *mbbèzγò*
 N-bezyo
 NP₉-axe
 ‘small axe (for carving)’
 cf. *kù-bèzγ-à* ‘to carve’

- (10) *mpátì*
 N-patí
 NP₁₀-rib
 ‘ribs’
 cf. class 11 *rù-hátì* ‘rib’

The tap /r/ changes to a plosive /d/ before N-.

- (11) *ndúngàtì*
 N-dúngati
 NP₉-noise
 ‘noise’
 cf. *kù-rúng-à* ‘to make noise’

The combination of N- with a vowel-initial root results in a prenasalized velar stop /ng/. Most of the examples in which this occurs are stems that had an initial consonant /g/ originally, which is regularly lost in Fwe (Bostoen 2009: 115). One example is attested where a vowel-initial stem takes /ny/ when used with a prefix N-, even though this stem, too, is a reflex of a stem reconstructed with *g.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| (12) <i>màôma</i> | vs. | <i>ngôma</i> |
| ma-óma | | N-góma |
| NP ₆ -drum | | NP ₉ -drum |
| ‘drums’ | | ‘drum’ |

from *-gòma ‘drum’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------|
| (13) <i>ngùrìsò</i> | vs. | <i>kùùrìsà</i> |
| N-guriso | | ku-uris-a |
| NP ₉ -profit | | INF-sell-FV |
| ‘profit’ | | ‘to sell’ |

from *-gòd- ‘buy’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (14) *nyózì*
 ny-ozí
 NP₁₀-plant
 ‘plants (used for making ropes)’
 cf. class 11 *r-ózì* ‘plant (used for making ropes)’

from *-gòdí ‘string’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

The following rules summarize the changes to root-initial phonemes caused by the prefix *N-*.

(15) $zy \rightarrow nj / N_$

$b \rightarrow bb / N_$

$h \rightarrow p / N_$

$r \rightarrow d / N_$

$\emptyset \rightarrow g / N_$

These changes only apply to nouns inherently in class 9/10, or nouns shifted to these classes for inflectional purposes, e.g. to mark a singular or plural. Nouns that are shifted from class 9/10 to another class for derivational purposes lose their nasal prefix, but the realization of the initial consonant remains plosive, and does not change back to a fricative or tap. This is shown in (16) with the noun *mpúẓò* ‘question’, which is shifted to class 12 to derive a diminutive: the homorganic nasal prefix of class 9 is lost, but the consonant /p/ does not change to /h/.

- (16) a. *mpúẓò*
 N-puzó
 NP₉-question
 ‘question’
- b. *kàpúẓò*
 ka-puzó
 NP₁₂-question
 ‘small question’

Many nouns in class 1a also feature an initial nasal element, which partially functions as a nominal prefix: it is not lost when the noun is shifted to class 2 to mark a plural, but it is lost when the noun is shifted to a different noun class for derivational purposes. In this case it displays the same phonological behavior as noted for the class 9/10 prefix *N-* noted above, e.g. the homorganic nasals is lost but the root-initial consonant does not change its manner of articulation. This is discussed in section 5.1.

The subject and object marker of the first person singular, which consists of a homorganic nasal in some Bantu languages, is a syllabic prefix *ndi-* in Fwe and as such does not involve a prefix *N-*. There are traces, however, of a *N-* prefix marking first person singular object in an earlier stage of the language. The form in (17)a was offered by speakers as “archaic Fwe”: here, the first person singular object is marked by a nasal prefixed to the verb stem. This contrasts with the modern form in b), where the first person singular object is marked with the prefix *ndi-*. Another petrified trace of a first person singular object marker *N-* is seen in the personal name *Mùngúríkè* as shown in (18).

- (17) a. Archaic form
ntámbikè
 N-támbik-e
 OM_{1SG}-give-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Give me.’
- b. Modern form
ndítámbikè
 ndi-támbik-e
 OM_{1SG}-give-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Give me.’
- (18) a. *Mùngúríkè*
 ‘Mungurike (boy’s name)’
- b. Putative historic source
mùngúríkè
 mu-ng-urík-e
 SM_{2PL}-OM_{1SG}-name-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Name me.’
- c. Corresponding modern verb
kùùrìkà
 ku-urik-a
 INF-name-FV
 ‘to name’

In modern Fwe, however, a first person singular subject and object are both marked with a prefix *ndi-* (see chapter 9), not with a homorganic nasal prefix.

One of the two forms of the copulative prefix also consists of a homorganic nasal prefix; its phonological interaction with the phonemes it attaches to is different from what is described in this section, and is treated in detail in section 7.8 on copulatives.

3.2 Vowel hiatus resolution

Sequences of two adjacent vowels are found within morphemes, across morpheme boundaries, and across word boundaries. Fwe allows but disprefers sequences of two adjacent vowels, and has a number of vowel hiatus resolution strategies. Which strategy, if any, is used, depends on the morpheme in question, and is also partly lexically determined. This section discusses the various ways Fwe deals with vowel juxtaposition and which strategy is used under which conditions.

3.2.1 Maintenance of both vowels

As Fwe allows for syllables without a consonantal onset, one of the strategies applied to juxtaposed vowels is to maintain both vowels without any changes. This occurs, for instance, when a verbal prefix of CV- shape is added to a vowel-initial verb root, in which case both vowels are maintained unchanged. This is the case for the infini-

tive prefix *ku-*, and any subject or object marker, all of which have a (C)V- shape, as well as other verbal prefixes ending in a vowel, such as the past marker *na-* (see chapter 10 on tense), or the distal marker *ka-* (see section 13.1). Examples are given in (19), using the vowel-initial verb root *-ur-* ‘buy’.

- (19) a. Infinitive
 /*ku-ur-a*/ > *kùùrà*
 INF-buy-FV
 ‘to buy’
- b. Subject marker
 /*ndi-ur-á*/ > *ndìúrà*
 SM_{1SG}-buy-FV
 ‘I buy.’
- c. Object marker
 /*ku-í-ur-a*/ > *kùýìùrà*
 INF-OM₉-buy-FV
 ‘to buy it’
- d. TA marker
 /*ndi-na-ur-í*/ > *ndìnàúrí*
 SM_{1SG}-PST-buy-NPST.PFV
 ‘I bought.’
- e. Distal marker
 /*ndi-a-ka-ur-í*/ > *ndàkàúrí*
 SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-NPST.PFV
 ‘I bought there.’

Maintenance of both juxtaposed vowels may also occur when a nominal prefix of CV- shape directly precedes a vowel-initial nominal stem. Changes to one of the two vowels is also common in this case however, as discussed in the following sections.

- (20) /*mu-ono*/ > *mùòònò*
 NP₃-snoring
 ‘snoring’
- (21) /*ka-inga*/ > *kàìngà*
 NP₁₂-bowl
 ‘bowl made out of clay’
- (22) /*mi-ézi*/ > *mìêzì*
 NP₄-month
 ‘months’

Maintenance of two juxtaposed vowels can also occur in other environments, for instance when a verb root ending in a vowel is followed by a vowel-initial suffix.

- (23) /ku-bbu-a/ > *kùbbùà*
 INF-swim-FV
 ‘to swim, splash about’

Two adjacent vowels can also be maintained unchanged when they occur within a single lexical root.

- (24) /N-daano/ > *ndàànò*
 NP₉-message
 ‘message’

- (25) /N-júo/ > *njúò*
 NP₉-house
 ‘house’

- (26) /N-bao/ > *mbàò*
 NP₉-bird
 ‘bird sp.’

In many cases where maintenance of two juxtaposed vowels is possible, an alternative strategy for maintenance of both vowels is consonant epenthesis (see 3.2.5). Maintenance of both vowels without any changes is particularly common when the two juxtaposed vowels are identical.

- (27) /ma-amba/ > *mààmbà*
 NP₆-scale
 ‘scales (of a fish)’

- (28) /ku-zíiz-a/ > *kùzîzà*
 INF-imitate-FV
 ‘to imitate’

- (29) /ku-teen-a/ > *kùtèènà*
 INF-limp-FV
 ‘to limp’

- (30) /ku-uru/ > *kùùrù*
 NP₁₅-leg
 ‘leg’

3.2.2 Deletion of the first vowel

Another possible realization of two juxtaposed vowels is deletion of the first vowel. This often takes place when vowel-initial nominal roots are combined with a nominal prefix ending in a vowel (for an overview of nominal prefixes, see chapter 5 on noun classes). Nominal prefixes consist of a consonant followed by a vowel /i/, /a/ or /u/. When a nominal prefix with /i/ or /a/ is combined with a vowel-initial nominal root, the vowel of the nominal prefix can be deleted, as in examples (31)–(32).

- (31) /ci-úngu/ > *cúngu*
 NP₇-bird
 ‘bird sp. (with a red tail)’

- (32) /ma-ató/ > *mátò*
 NP₆-canoe
 ‘canoes’

Not all vowel-initial roots cause the vowel of the preceding nominal prefix to be deleted; maintenance of the vowel is also possible, and which strategy applies is lexically determined, although maintenance is more common than deletion. Deletion of one of two juxtaposed vowels does not lead to lengthening of the remaining vowel.

Another case where vowel juxtaposition may cause the deletion of the first of the two vowels is when a subject marker, which is always of (C)V shape (see section 9.1 on subject agreement), is combined with a vowel-initial verbal prefix, such as the past prefix *a-* or the remote future prefix *ára-*. In this case, the vowel /i/ or /a/ of the subject marker can be deleted.

- (33) /ndi-a-có:r-i > *ndàcò:rì*
 SM_{1SG}-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘I broke.’
- (34) /ní-ba-a-rá:r-a/ > *níbàrá:rà*
 REM-SM₂-PST-sleep-FV
 ‘They went to sleep.’
- (35) /ndi-ára-end-a/ > *ndàràyèndà*
 SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-go-FV
 ‘I will go.’

3.2.3 Glide formation

A third possible effect of vowel juxtaposition is glide formation. When the first of two juxtaposed vowels is a back vowel /u/ or /o/, this vowel may change to a glide [w]. Glide formation to [w] does not take place when the second vowel is also a back vowel; in this case, the first vowel is deleted, or both vowels are maintained. When the first of two juxtaposed vowels is a front vowel /i/ or /e/, this vowel may change to a glide [y]. Glide formation is always accompanied by lengthening of the following vowel (see section 2.3.3 on phonetic vowel lengthening).

Examples of glide formation to [w] are seen when a subject marker with /u/ or /o/ is followed by a vowel-initial prefix, such as the past prefix *a-* or the negative subjunctive *ásha-*, for instance the first person plural subject marker *tu-*, the second person singular marker *o-*, and the class 14 marker *bu-*.

- (36) Glide formation to [w] in subject markers

- a. ni-tú-a-rim-a > *nítwárìmà*
 REM-SM_{1PL}-PST-farm-FV
 ‘We farmed.’

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- b. o-ásha-ndi-dam-í > *wáshàndìdámì*
SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-OM_{1SG}-beat-NPST.PFV
'Don't beat me!'
- c. bu-a-hík-iw-a > *bwàhíkìwà*
SM₁₄-PST-cook-PASS-FV
'It [relish] is cooked.' (NF_Elic15)

In the same contexts, glide formation to [y] affects subject markers that contain a vowel /i/, but only those of class 4 (*i-*), 5 (*ri-*), and 9 (*i-*).

(37) Glide formation to [y] in subject markers *i-*, *ri-*

- a. /i-a-có:k-i/ > *yàcò:kì*
SM₄-PST-break-NPST.PFV
'They (pot legs) are broken.' (NF_Elic17)
- b. /ri-a-zyón-a-uk-i/ > *ryàzyónàùkì*
SM₅-PST-destroy-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
'It (field) is destroyed.' (ZF_Elic13)
- c. /i-ára-dur-a/ > *yàràdùrà*
SM₉-REM_FUT-be_expensive-FV
'It will be expensive.' (NF_Elic15)

Other subject markers with /i/, namely *ndi-* (first person singular), *ci-* (class 7), and *zi-* (class 8/10), never undergo glide formation.

(38) No glide formation to [y] in subject markers *ndi-*, *ci-*, *zi-*

- a. /ndi-a-pwac-úr-i/ > *ndàpwàcùrì*
SM_{1SG}-PST-break-SEP.TR-NPST.PFV
'I broke.'
- b. /ci-á-zyur-i/ > *cázyùrì*
SM₇-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV
'It is full.'
- c. /zi-a-ndi-bús-i/ > *zàndìbùsì*
SM₈-PST-OM_{1SG}-wake-NPST.PFV
'They woke me up.'

The reason for this conditioning of y-formation is that /ry/ and /y/ also occur phonemically in Fwe, where they are not the result of glide formation. Sequences such as /ndy/, /cy/ and /zy/ (not to be confused with <zy>, representing the voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ]), are not found elsewhere in the phonology, which explains why they may also not surface as the result of this morphophonological process.

Glide formation to [w] occurs when a nominal prefix with /u/ is combined with a vowel-initial root. Glide formation to [y] does not affect nominal prefixes with /i/, even when combined with a vowel-initial root.

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(39) Glide formation to [w] in nominal prefixes with /u/

- a. /mu-áncé/ > *mwáncè*
NP₁-child
'a child'
- b. /mu-iní/ > *mwínì*
NP₃-handle
'handle'
- c. /bu-eké/ > *bwékè*
NP₁₄-grain
'grains'
- d. /ru-áta/ > *rwâtà*
NP₁₁-crack
'crack'

(40) No glide formation to [y] in nominal prefixes with /i/

- a. /mi-áka/ > *mìákà*
NP₄-year
'years'
- b. /ci-ánda/ > *cándà*
NP₇-pole
'pole'
- c. /zi-ongo/ > *zìòngò*
NP₈-storage
'storage huts'

When a high-toned vowel is changed to a glide, the high tone is maintained and realized on the adjacent vowel. Examples are given with the high-toned subject markers *ú-* and *í-*; when these vowels are changed to glides, their high tones are realized on the following vowels.

(41) ni-ú-a-rih-iw-a > *nìwárhìwà*
REM-SM₃-PST-pay-PASS-FV
'It has been paid.' (NF_Elic15)

(42) ni-í-a-hond-iw-a > *nìyáhòndìwà*
REM-SM₀-PST-cook-PASS-FV
'It has been cooked.'

Glide formation not only occurs within words, but also across word boundaries, for example in (43), where the final vowel /u/ of *ndùndávú* is changed to a glide under influence of the initial vowel of the following word.

- (43) ndu-ø-ndavú á-shám-b-a > [ndùndávʷ' áshám-bà]
 COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-lion SM₁.REL-SWim-FV
 'It's a lion who swims.'

Glide formation across word boundaries is often triggered by an augment prefix on the second word; when the first of the two juxtaposed vowels is a back vowel /u/ or /o/, it can be changed to a glide under influence of the vowel of the augment in the following word.

- (44) e-ryó e-ø-kande > [èryw' ékàndè]
 AUG-DEM.III₅ AUG-NP₅-story
 'that story'

Glide formation across word boundaries is transcribed in the phonetic transcription with an apostrophe after the glide. In the phonological transcription, the underlying vowel is transcribed.

3.2.4 Vowel coalescence

Another vowel hiatus resolution strategy is vowel coalescence, the merger of the two juxtaposed vowels into a third vowel that combines properties of both. It often combines with glide formation if the first vowel is a back vowel /u/ or /o/. It does not lead to lengthening, except when vowel coalescence combines with glide formation.

Word-internally, vowel coalescence is rare, found only in Namibian Fwe in certain constructions where a prefix with a vowel /u/, such as the class 17 prefix *ku-*, is used with a noun that has an augment prefix *e-*. The resultant sequence /ku + e/ is realized as /kwi/, where the high back vowel /u/ changes to a glide, and the vowel /i/ combines the height property of /u/ with the front property of /e/.

- (45) kú-e-ø-ténde > [kwítêndè]
 NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-leg
 'on the leg'

Vowel coalescence is more common across word boundaries, when a vowel-initial word is preceded by another word which, due to the strictly open syllable structure of Fwe, invariably ends in a vowel. These juxtaposed vowels are often subject to vowel coalescence, where the two vowels merge into a single vowel which carries properties of both vowels. /i/ can coalesce with /o/ to become the vowel /u/, which carries the height feature of /i/ combined with the back feature of /o/, as in example (46). Vowel coalescence is represented in the phonetic transcription with an apostrophe in place of the lost vowel, similar to the representation of vowel deletion.

- (46) ndi-kwesí o-ø-mbwá > [ndikwès' úmbwà]
 SM_{1SG}-have AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 'I have a dog.' (ZF_Elic14)

When /u/ coalesces with /e/, both vowel coalescence and glide formation take place: /u/ is changed to a glide [w], and the vowel /e/ is raised to /i/, combined the height feature of /u/ with the front feature of /e/.

- (47) e-zi-ntú e-zo > [èzìntw' ízò]
AUG-NP₇-things AUG-DEM.III₈
'the things, that...'

Vowel coalescence is not observed in all cases of vowel juxtaposition across word boundaries, although it does not appear to correlate to syntactic boundaries; coalescence is often observed on juxtaposed vowels that are not only separated by a word boundary, but also by a syntactic boundary. This is the case in (48), where the vowels undergoing coalescence, the final vowel of *shunú* 'today' and the initial vowel of *en-yama* 'meat', are not only in different words, but in different clauses. Pronunciation without vowel coalescence was not accepted in this case.

- (48) *shùnùw' ínàyàmà yàtátìkì kùbòrà*
shunú e-N-nyama i-a-tátik-i ku-bor-a
today AUG-NP₉-meat SM₉-PST-start-NPST.PFV INF-rot-FV
'Today, the meat started to rot.' (NF_Elic15)

3.2.5 Consonant epenthesis

Vowel hiatus resolution may be achieved with an epenthetic consonant, [h], [y] or [w], which separates the juxtaposed vowels. Consonant epenthesis only takes place word-internally, either within a single morpheme or across morpheme boundaries, but never across word boundaries. The insertion of the glides [y] and [w] is conditioned by the quality of the juxtaposed vowels. The insertion of [h] is not conditioned by the surrounding vowels, but can occur in between any two vowels. Consonant epenthesis is optional; in any context where epenthetic consonants may occur, they may also be left out, as in (49), which shows that epenthetic [h] is optional.

- (49) *kùàmbàhàmbà ~ kùàmbààmbà*
ku-amba-amb-a
INF-PL2-talk-FV
'to talk a lot'

The palatal glide [y] can be inserted when the first or the second juxtaposed vowel is a front vowel /i/, as in (50), or /e/, as in (51). It is also occasionally used as an epenthetic consonant between /a/ and /a/, especially in Zambian Fwe, as seen in (52).

- (50) /mi-áni/ > *mìyání*
NP₄-mopane
'mopane trees'
- (51) /ku-bíraer-a/ > *kùbíràyèrà*
INF-complain-FV
'to complain'
- (52) /kú-ya-a/ > *kúyàyà*
INF-kill-FV
'to kill'

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The labial glide [w] can be used when the first of the juxtaposed vowels is a back vowel /o/ or /u/.

- (53) /N-kúa/ > *nkúwà*
NP₉-tick
'tick'

- (54) /ku-ko-a/ > *kùkòwà*
INF-blink-FV
'to blink'

[h] can be used as an epenthetic consonant between any two vowels. As such it is often used as a substitute for either [w] or [y], and is also often inserted in contexts where [w] or [y] usually do not occur, such as between /a/ and /a/ in example (57).

- (55) /ku-ko-a/ > *kùkòwà ~ kùkòhà*
INF-blink-FV
'to blink'

- (56) /N-peó/ > *mpéyò ~ mpéhò*
NP₉-cold
'cold, malaria'

- (57) /a-a_Hmb-a/ > *àhámhà*
SM₁-speak-FV
'S/He¹¹ is speaking.'

Epenthetic [h] should not be confused with phonemic /h/ (see also section 2.2.2). Phonemic /h/ can never be dropped nor realized as a glide [y] or [w]. Epenthetic [h] can be replaced by [y] or [w], depending on the vowels, or can be left out altogether. Furthermore, phonemic /h/ can be pronounced with slight nasalization, which is never the case with epenthetic [h]. In (58), examples of epenthetic [h] are given, which are contrasted with examples of phonemic /h/ in (59).

- (58) Epenthetic [h]
/ci-uru/ > *cìurù ~ cìwùrù ~ cìhùrù*
NP₇-hill
'hill'
**cìhùrù*

/bu-fwíi/ > *bùfwù ~ bùfwíyì ~ bùfwíhì*
NP₁₄-short
'shortness'
**bùfwíhì*

¹¹ As agreement markers of class I refer to a singular human being and do not express biological sex, examples such as this can be translated to English with 'he' or 'she'. In this thesis, I use 's/he' or 'her/him' in the translation of elicited examples. In natural text examples, and elicited examples where the referent is known through the context, 'he' and 'she' will be used as appropriate.

- (59) Phonemic /h/
/bu-háro/ > *bùhàrò* ~ *bùhầrò*

NP₁₄-life

‘life’

**bùwârò*

**bùârò*

/ku-hík-a/ > *kùhíkà* ~ *kùhĩ̀kà*

INF-cook-FV

‘to cook’

**kùíkà*

**kùyíkà*

Consonant epenthesis occurs in a variety of contexts. It can occur morpheme-internally, either in a lexical root as in (60), or in a derivational suffix as in (61).

- (60) /ma-roa/ > *màròhà* ~ *màròwà*

NP₆-blood

‘blood’

- (61) /ku-kósh-a-ur-a/ > *kùkóshàùrà* ~ *kùkóshàhùrà*

INF-cut-PL1-SEP.TR-FV

‘to cut up’

Consonant epenthesis can also affect juxtaposed vowels across a morpheme boundary, where vowel juxtaposition is the result of the addition of a prefix or suffix.

- (62) /ma-ira/ > *màyìrà* ~ *màhìrà*

NP₆-sorghum

‘sorghum’

- (63) /e-N-swí-ana/ > *ènsuíyà̀nà*

AUG-NP₁₀-fish-DIM

‘small fish’

3.3 Vowel harmony

Fwe has two related processes of vowel height harmony that affect a number of verbal derivational suffixes, as well as one inflectional suffix, the stative *-ite*. One process of vowel harmony targets the high front vowel /i/, which is lowered to /e/ when preceded by a syllable with a mid vowel. The other process of vowel harmony targets the high back vowel /u/, which is only lowered to /o/ when preceded by a mid back vowel /o/, not when preceded by a mid front vowel /e/. This pattern, where vowel harmony affects back vowels under more strict conditions than front vowels, is common in Bantu, and is referred to as asymmetric vowel height harmony (Hyman 1999).

3.3.1 Vowel harmony

This process of vowel harmony lowers the front vowel /i/ in verbal suffixes to /e/ when preceded by a mid vowel /e/ or /o/; when preceded by a vowel /i/, /u/ or /a/, the vowel /i/ remains high. The suffixes that undergo vowel harmony are the derivational causative *-is*, applicative *-ir*, transitive impositive *-ik*, and epenthetic causative/applicative *-ik* suffixes, as well as one inflectional suffix, the stative suffix *-ite*.

(64) Vowel harmony affecting the causative *-is*

<i>kù-fúm-ìs-à</i>	‘to make rich’
<i>kù-bìr-ìs-à</i>	‘to bring to a boil’
<i>kú-kàr-ìs-à</i>	‘to sit with someone’
<i>kù-shèk-ès-à</i>	‘to make laugh’
<i>kù-gòr-ès-à</i>	‘to make strong, insist’

(65) Vowel harmony affecting the applicative *-ir*

<i>kù-bútùk-ìr-à</i>	‘to run to’
<i>kù-zým-b-ìr-à</i>	‘to sing for’
<i>kù-kwát-ìr-à</i>	‘to hold for’
<i>kù-tènd-èr-à</i>	‘to do for’
<i>kù-shótòk-èr-à</i>	‘to jump into’

(66) Vowel harmony affecting the transitive impositive *-ik*

<i>kù-fúrùm-ìk-à</i>	‘to place upside down’
<i>kù-fwí-ìk-à</i>	‘to approach’
<i>kù-cànk-ìk-à</i>	‘to put a pot on the fire’
<i>kù-nyòng-èk-à</i>	‘to bend’
<i>kù-kór-èk-à</i>	‘to carry on the shoulder’

(67) Vowel harmony affecting the epenthetic causative/applicative *-ik*

<i>kù-búis-ìk-ìz-à</i>	‘to wake up for’
<i>kù-zìm-ìs-ìk-ìz-à</i>	‘to extinguish for’
<i>kù-kác-ìk-ìz-à</i>	‘to interrupt’
<i>kù-cèn-ès-èk-èz-à</i>	‘to clean for’
<i>kù-nyòns-èk-èz-à</i>	‘to nurse for’

(68) Vowel harmony affecting the stative *-ite*

<i>ndì-fúm-ítè</i>	‘I am rich.’
<i>ò-bíz-w-ítè</i>	‘It is ripe.’
<i>ndì-kwáng-ítè</i>	‘I am tired.’
<i>ndì-shésh-étè</i>	‘I am married.’
<i>cì-bór-étè</i>	‘It is rotten.’

Vowel height harmony does not affect the passive suffix *-(i)w*, even though it is formally similar to other derivational suffixes affected by vowel height harmony in

that it contains a high front vowel /i/. The following examples show that the passive is always realized as *-iw*, regardless of the height of the vowel of the verb stem.

(69) No vowel harmony affecting the passive *-iw*

<i>kù-shúm-iw-à</i>	‘to be bitten’
<i>kù-rìh-iw-à</i>	‘to be paid’
<i>kù-sànz-iw-à</i>	‘to be washed’
<i>kù-tém-iw-à</i>	‘to be chopped’
<i>kù-hònd-iw-à</i>	‘to be cooked’

Vowel harmony is only triggered by the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix, which can be part of the verb root or of a different derivational suffix. This means that a mid vowel in the verb root does not trigger vowel harmony in a suffix when a suffix with a low or high vowel intervenes, such as the transitive separative suffix *-uk* in example (70).

(70) *zìcèrúkìtè*
 zi-cer-úk-ite
 SM₈-tear-SEP.INTR-STAT
 ‘They are torn.’

Although vowel harmony is blocked by intervening low or high vowels, in a sequence of suffixes susceptible to vowel harmony that are adjacent, vowel harmony applies up to the last suffix.

Fwe has borrowed verbs from Lozi, a neighboring Bantu language that lacks vowel harmony, and where the causative is invariably realized as *-is*, the applicative as *-el*. In some of these Lozi borrowings, the rules of vowel harmony do not apply as they do to native Fwe verbs, because these verbs were borrowed from Lozi as complex verbs which include a derivational suffix. This is supported by the fact that many borrowed Lozi verbs only occur with the derivational suffix, not without it.

(71) *kùràtèrèrà*
 ku-rat-er-er-a
 INF-follow-INT-FV
 ‘to follow’

**kùràtè*

borrowed from Lozi *ku latelela* ‘to follow’

(72) *kùsèpìsà*
 ku-sep-is-a
 INF-trust-CAUS-FV
 ‘to promise’

borrowed from Lozi *ku sepisa* ‘to promise’

Some borrowed Lozi verbs occur either with or without a derivational suffix in Fwe. In these cases, the Fwe rules of vowel harmony do apply to the suffix, as in the following example.

- (73) *kùpángà*
 ku-páng-a
 INF-DO-FV
 ‘to do, make’

borrowed from Lozi *ku panga* ‘construct (a wooden frame)’

kùpángirà
 ku-páng-ir-a
 INF-DO-APPL-FV
 ‘to do for (someone)’

**kùpángèrà*

3.3.2 Back vowel harmony

A second, similar process of vowel height harmony exists in Fwe, which is only triggered by back vowels, not by front vowels. This type of vowel harmony affects derivational suffixes with a back vowel /u/, the separative suffixes *-ur* (transitive) *-uk* (intransitive). These suffixes are realized with a mid vowel /o/ when used with a verb stem with a mid back vowel /o/, but not when used with a verb stem with a front mid vowel /e/. Examples of the use of the separative suffix with verb stems with different vowels are given in (74).

- (74) *kù-⁹lòp-òr-à* ‘to widen (a hole)’
kù-cénk-ùr-à ‘to cut off half’
kù-àr-ùr-à ‘to open’
kù-nyùk-ùr-à ‘to uproot’
kù-vwìk-ùr-à ‘to uncover’

3.3.3 Vowel harmony with monosyllabic verb roots

The form of suffixes displaying vowel harmony is slightly different in verbs with a monosyllabic root. Monosyllabic verb roots that consist of a consonant-glide combination always take the *i-* form of the suffix.

Table 3.1: Vowel height harmony in -CG- verb roots

<i>kú-tw-à</i>	‘to pound’	<i>kù-tw-ír-à</i>	‘to be pounded’
<i>kù-gw-à</i>	‘to fall’	<i>kù-gw-ìs-à</i>	‘to drop’
<i>kú-nyw-à</i>	‘to drink’	<i>à-nyw-ìtè</i>	‘S/he is drunk.’
<i>kù-rw-à</i>	‘to fight’	<i>kù-rw-ìs-à</i>	‘to fight someone’
<i>kú-ry-à</i>	‘to eat’	<i>kù-r-ís-à</i>	‘to feed’

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There are two monosyllabic verb roots that consist of a consonant and a vowel, *-tá-* ‘say’ and *-há-* ‘give’. When used with a causative, applicative or passive suffix, the vowel /i/ of the suffix coalesces with the vowel /a/ of the root to become /e/ (see also section 3.2.4 on vowel coalescence).

Table 3.2: Vowel height harmony in -CV- verb roots

/ku-tá-a/ > kútà	‘to say’	/ku-tá-is-a/ > kùtésà /ku-tá-ir-a/ > kùtèrà /ku-tá-iw-a/ > kùtêwà	‘to accuse’ ‘to tell on behalf of’ ‘to be said’
/ku-há-a- / > kúhà	‘to give’	/ku-há-is-a/ > kùhèsà /ku-há-ir-a/ > kùhèrà /ku-há-iw-a/ > kùhéwà	‘to give with’ ‘to give on behalf of’ ‘to be given’

3.4 Nasal harmony

In addition to vowel harmony, certain derivational suffixes in Fwe are also be subject to nasal harmony. Nasal harmony affects all derivational suffixes with a consonant /r/, namely the applicative *-ir*, the transitive separative *-ur*, and the (highly lexicalized) extensive *-ar*. The consonant /r/ of the suffix is changed to /n/ when preceded by a verb stem ending in a nasal consonant. Like vowel harmony, this type of nasal harmony is a common Bantu phenomenon (Greenberg 1951).

(75) Nasal harmony in the applicative

- kù-rìm-in-à* ‘to farm for’
kù-tòm-èn-à ‘to charge dowry’
kù-zým-in-in-à ‘to become unconscious; to dry’

(76) Nasal harmony in the transitive separative

- kù-bbám-un-à* ‘to break’
kù-fúrùm-un-à ‘to put upright’
kù-nlòngòm-on-à ‘to hollow out’

(77) Nasal harmony in the extensive

- kù-fúrùm-an-à* ‘to become adult (of girls)’
kù-rém-an-à ‘to become injured’
kù-zým-an-à ‘to stop, stand up’

Nasal harmony is not triggered by prenasalized consonants, as shown in (78).

- (78) *kù-rìnd-ir-à* ‘to wait for’
kù-kámb-ur-à ‘to remove (from on top of each other)’
kù-súmb-ar-à ‘to be pregnant’

Like vowel harmony, nasal harmony is only triggered by the syllable immediately preceding the derivational suffix. No nasal harmony takes place when nasal roots consonants are separated from the derivational suffix by a non-nasal consonant. This is shown in (79), where the causative separating the root-final nasal /m/ from the applicative suffix *-ir* prevents the application of nasal harmony.

- (79) *kùzìmìsìrà*
 ku-zim-is-ir-a
 INF-be_extinguished-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to extinguish for’

Nasal harmony is not only conditioned by nasal consonants in the root, but also by nasal consonants in derivational suffixes, namely the intransitive impositive suffix *-am*. When combined with an applicative suffix, the applicative suffix follows the impositive, and as such is realized as *-in*.

- (80) *kùrísùngàmìnà*
 ku-rí-sung-am-in-a
 INF-REFL-bow-IMP.INTR-APPL-FV
 ‘to bow one’s own head’

Similar to vowel harmony, nasal harmony fails to apply in a number of borrowed verbs, such as *-fóna* ‘phone’, or the Lozi borrowing *-kopana* ‘meet’. Such verbs are likely to have been borrowed from or through Lozi, as Lozi does not regularly apply nasal harmony (Gowlett 1989: 141).

- (81) *kùfónèrà*
 ku-fón-er-a
 INF-phone-APPL-FV
 ‘to phone’

- (82) *kùkòpànèrà*
 ku-kopan-er-a
 INF-meat-APPL-FV
 ‘to meet at’

4 Tone

Like most Bantu languages, Fwe is a tone language: the relative pitch at which a vowel is articulated, is phonologically contrastive. This can be seen from tonal minimal pairs, words that are identical on the segmental level, but have different tones and a different meaning. Minimal pairs of lexically contrastive tone are given in (1)–(3).

- (1) *kùhàrà* – *kùhàrà*
 ku-hár-a ku-har-a
 INF-live-FV INF-scrape-FV
 ‘to live’ ‘to scrape’
- (2) *évù* – *èvù*
 e-ø-vú e-ø-vu
 AUG-NP₅-sand AUG-NP₅-wasp
 ‘sand, soil, land’ ‘wasp’
- (3) *màsírà* – *màsírà*
 ma-sirá ma-sira
 NP₆-cloth NP₆-dirt
 ‘pieces of cloth’ ‘dirt’

Tone also plays an important role in the grammar of Fwe. A tonal distinction is used, for instance, in distinguishing main clause verbs from relative clause verbs. A main clause verb has a low-toned subject marker, and a relative clause verb has a high-toned subject marker; other than these tonal differences, main clause verbs and relative clause verbs are identical in terms of segmental material (for most TAM constructions; a detailed overview of the tonal and other differences between relative clause verbs and main clause verbs is given in section 16.5.1).

- (4) *báncè bàzânà*
 ba-áncè ba-zán-a
 NP₂-child SM₂-play-FV
 ‘The children play.’
- (5) *báncè bázáânà*
 ba-áncè bá-zán-a
 NP₂-child SM₂.REL-play-FV
 ‘The children who play...’ (NF_Elic15)

Underlyingly, Fwe has a two-tone system. Through various tonal rules and processes, tones may be realized as high (H), low (L), falling (F) and downstepped high (‘H). These tonal processes, discussed in section 4.1, only affect high tones, showing that Fwe can be analyzed as having a privative system, where only high tones are represented underlyingly (Hyman 2001; Odden and Marlo in press). Toneless moras (symbolized as Ø) surface as low-toned, unless a melodic high tone is assigned, or the mora is targeted by a specific tonal process. Further evidence for the analysis of Fwe as

having a privative system is seen in the use of melodic tone, which are assigned by a specific tense/aspect/mood construction to a specific syllable or mora of the verb. Fwe only has melodic high tones, not melodic low tones; the use of melodic tone in verbal inflection is discussed in 10.1.1. Furthermore, Fwe has floating high tones (discussed in section 2.4 and 3.4), but no floating low tones. In the analysis of tone languages, the presence of a floating low tone is sometimes evoked to account for the occurrence of downstep. Although downstep occurs in Fwe, section 4.1.2 shows that it is a purely phonetic process, and is not influenced by putative underlying low tones.

The relevant unit for tonal analysis in Fwe is the mora, not the syllable. Long vowels and phonetically lengthened vowels consist of two moras, all short vowels and prosodically lengthened vowels consist of one mora (see section 2.3 on vowels). As phonetic lengthening is predictable, it is not rendered in the orthography used in this dissertation. In this chapter, however, phonetically lengthened vowels will be marked with [ː]. When necessary, bimoraic vowels are written with two vowel signs in between periods marking syllable boundaries, e.g. /ee./, as opposed to two vowels separated by a period, which mark two separate short vowels in two separate syllables, e.g. /e.e/. Prosodically lengthened vowels are not marked.

The following tonal transcriptions are used, both in this chapter and throughout this thesis. In the phonetic transcription (the first line of examples), high tones are marked with acute accent, low tones are marked with grave accent, falling tones are marked with a circumflex, down-stepped high tones are marked with ^ˈ preceding the high-toned vowel. In the phonological transcription (the second line of examples), underlying high tones are marked with acute accent, melodic high tones are marked by acute accent combined with underlining of the vowel, and underlying high tones that are deleted as the result of a specific melodic tone pattern are represented by _H (see also section 10.1.1 on melodic tones).

4.1 Tonal processes

This section discusses the tonal processes that play a role in Fwe. These tonal processes determine where and how an underlying high tone is maintained, deleted, shifted, copied or modified. Tonal processes are conditioned by their phonological, morphological and syntactic environments. Phonological criteria that influence tonal processes are vowel length and phonetic vowel lengthening; the latter is in turn is conditioned by the nature of the consonants following or preceding a vowel. Tonal processes are also influenced by prosodic vowel lengthening, which in turn is conditioned by syntactic criteria. Morphological criteria that can play a role in the application of tone rules are the morphological structure of the word and the position of morpheme boundaries; high tone spread (see section 4.1.6), for instance, is blocked by certain morpheme boundaries. The syntactic environment plays a role in the application of tonal rules, because some rules only apply to the last word of a clause.

Tonal processes also interact with each other. Certain tone rules only affect tones that are the result of an earlier rule, whereas others only apply to tones that are not the result of an earlier rule. This suggests that the application of tonal processes follows a set order, which is set out in section 4.1.7. A schematic overview of tone rules is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Tone rules

Rule	Schematization	Section
Meeussen's Rule	/HH/ > /HØ/	4.1.1
Downstep	HH > [H ¹ H] HLH > [HL ¹ H]	4.1.2
Bimoraic doubling	HØ. > HH. ØH. > HH.	4.1.3
H retraction	ØH# > [HL]#	4.1.4
H > F	H# > [F]# H.Ø > [F.L]#	4.1.5
H tone spread	ØH > [HH] ØØH > [HHH] ØØØH > [HHHH] etc.	4.1.6

4.1.1 Meeussen's Rule

Fwe makes use of Meeussen's Rule (MR), a tone rule that affects sequences of two adjacent high tones by deleting the second high tone, as schematized in (6).

(6) Meeussen's Rule (MR): /HH/ > [HL]

This tone rule is found in various Bantu languages (Kisseberth and Odden 2003), and has come to be known as Meeussen's Rule after Goldsmith (1984), who refers to Meeussen's (1963) description of the rule in Tonga. Meeussen's Rule is one of two tone rules in Fwe which follow the Obligatory Contour Principle, or OCP, a general tendency to avoid successive high tones (Kisseberth and Odden 2003; Odden and Marlo in press). The other tone rule that follows the OCP is downstep (see section 4.1.2), which affects two successive high tones by lowering the second high tone to a mid tone. Although both these tonal processes affect sequences of successive high tones, only Meeussen's Rule is a phonological rule, as it deletes underlying, phonemic tones, whereas downstep is a phonetic rule, which lowers the pitch of high tones but keeps them recognizable as high. There are a number of differences in the ways MR and downstep are conditioned. First, MR only affects high tones on adjacent moras, whereas downstep also affects high tones which are on adjacent syllables but are separated by a toneless mora. Second, MR does not occur across word boundaries, whereas downstep does. Third, MR does not target high tones that are the result of H retraction, whereas downstep does. MR is applied before downstep: in situations where both MR and downstep may apply, MR is applied instead of downstep. The diachronic application of MR in Fwe was already noted by Bostoen (2009: 122). This section shows that MR is still active synchronically in Fwe.

An example of the application of Meeussen's Rule is seen when a high-toned infinitive verb is combined with a high-toned object marker. The high tone of the object marker is directly followed by the high tone of the verb stem, causing the high tone of the verb stem to be deleted.

- (7) a. *kùbbátùrà*
 ku-bbát-ur-a
 INF-separate-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘to separate’
- b. *kùzíbátùrà*
 ku-zí-bbát-ur-a > ku-zí-bbat-ur-a
 INF-OM₈-separate-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘to separate them’

Another example of Meeussen’s Rule is seen in the near past perfective, which has a melodic high tone on the second stem syllable. When the first stem mora is high-toned, as is the case with verbs with a lexical high tone as shown in example (8), the second high tone, the melodic tone of the near past perfective, is deleted. When the first stem syllable lacks a high tone, as is the case with lexically toneless verbs such as the one in example (9), the melodic high tone of the near past perfective is not deleted by the preceding lexical high tone and as such surfaces on the second stem syllable.

- (8) a. *kùkácìkìzà:*
 ku-kácikiz-a
 INF-interrupt-FV
 ‘to interrupt’
- b. *ndàkácìkìzì*
 ndi-a-kácikiz-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-interrupt-NPST.PFV
 ‘I interrupted.’
- (9) a. *kùzùkàùrà*
 ku-zukaur-a
 INF-stir-FV
 ‘to stir’
- b. *ndàzùkàùrì*
 ndi-a-zukáur-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-stir-NPST.PFV
 ‘I stirred.’

Meeussen’s Rule is applied repeatedly from right to left: in a sequence of more than two high tones, all high tones are deleted except for the first, as schematized in (10), and illustrated in (11).

(10) Repeated application of Meeussen’s Rule: /HHH/ > [HLL]

- (11) *cázyùrì*
 ci-á-zyúr-í > ci-á-zyur-i
 SM₇-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV
 ‘It has become full.’

Meeussen's Rule only affects high tones on adjacent moras. When a high tone is followed by another high tone that is on an adjacent syllable, but not an adjacent mora, MR does not apply, as schematized in (12).

- (12) No Meeussen's Rule on HØ.H sequences:

/HØ.H/

HH.H bimoraic doubling: H is copied from the first to the second mora

[H:.H]

*[H:.L]

This is illustrated in the following example, where the high tone in the bimoraic syllable /tée/ does not trigger the application of MR to the high tone in the subsequent syllable /ndé/, because of the intervening toneless mora.

- (13) /ma.tée.ndé a.ngú/ > *màté:ndé 'á:ngù*

ma-téndé a-angú

NP₆-foot PP₆-POSS_{1SG}

'my feet'

Unlike the other tone rules in Fwe, Meeussen's Rule is a phonological rule, not a phonetic rule. Phonetic rules merely manipulate the surface realization of underlying high tones, but Meeussen's Rule actually erases underlying, phonemic high tones. The status of MR as a phonological rule also influences its conditioning. Firstly, MR only applies within the word. Adjacent high tones separated by a word boundary are not subject to MR. In the following example, the high tone of the syllable /njí/ does not cause the high tone of the following syllable /ndí-/ to be deleted, as the two high tones are separated by a word boundary.

- (14) *cìnjí 'ndímìtàhwî:rà?*

Ø-ci-njí ndí-mi_H-ta_Hhw-ír-a

COP-NP₇-what SM_{1SG}.REL-OM_{2PL}-divide-APPL-FV

'What can I give you?' (NF_Elic15)

Meeussen's Rule precedes all other tone rules, which are phonetic rather than phonological. This can be seen from the fact that high tones which have been influenced by other, phonetic tone rules are not subject to MR. This is the case for sequences of high tones that were created by H retraction (see section 4.1.4). In example (15), the high tone of the syllable *rú* and the high tone of the syllable *há* are only adjacent as the result of H retraction, and therefore are not affected by MR.

- (15) *rú'hátì*

rú-hatí

NP₁₁-rib

'a rib'

Adjacent high tones that are not subject to Meeussen's Rule, either because they are separated by a toneless mora, because they are separated by a word boundary, or be-

cause they are the result of phonetic tone rules, are subject to downstep. The use of downstep is discussed in the following section.

4.1.2 Downstep

Another manifestation of the Obligatory Contour Principle in Fwe is the rule of downstep, which lowers a high tone to a mid tone. Downstep applies to every high tone that is preceded by another high tone somewhere in the clause. Downstep affects adjacent high tones, as schematized in (16), but also high tones that are not in adjacent syllables, but are separated by one or more low-toned syllables, as schematized in (17).

(16) Downstep on adjacent high tones: HH > [H¹H]

(17) Downstep on non-adjacent high tones: HLH > [HL¹H]

Downstep across overt low-toned syllables is usually referred to as downdrift, or automatic downstep (Connell 2011). In Fwe, both downstep on adjacent high tones and downstep on non-adjacent high tones are manifestations of the same process, and downstep can be accurately analyzed as targeting any high tone but the first in a clause.

The occurrence of downstep in Fwe differs from the occurrence of downstep and downdrift in many other African languages, where they are analyzed as the result of an intervening low tone; a surface low tone in the case of downdrift, and an underlying low tone in the case of phonemic downstep (Yip 2002: 148). In Fwe, however, intervening low tones are not required to trigger downstep, because downstep also occurs on adjacent high tones where there is no overt intervening low tone. This is shown in (18), where the high tone of the syllable /mú/ is directly followed by that of the syllable /kwá/, causing the second to be downstepped.

(18) /mú-kwamé/ > mú-kwáme (H retraction) > [mú¹kwámè]
 NP₁-man
 ‘man’

It is not possible to analyze examples such as (18) by attributing downstep to the toneless mora that intervenes between the two high tones. Such a reanalysis would involve analyzing toneless moras as underlyingly low-toned, rather than underlyingly toneless, and there is no evidence for the existence of underlying low tones elsewhere in the tonal system. Furthermore, downstep across word boundaries gives clear examples of downstep not triggered by intervening toneless (or low-toned) moras, as in the following example.

(19) /ndi-y-á kú-mu-nzi/ > [ndi¹yá¹kúmù:nzì]
 SM_{1SG}-go-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘I go home.’

Downstep between any two high tones, without an intervening low tone, is also described for the Bantu language Shambaa (Odden 1982), and also appears to be the case for Totela (Crane 2011: 371). See Odden (1986) for a theoretical account of downstep not introduced by low tones.

Throughout this thesis, only downstep triggered by an immediately preceding high tone will be marked, in order to distinguish it from two adjacent surface high tones that are the result of high tone spread (see section 4.1.6). Downstep triggered by a high tone across one or more low tones (i.e. what is more commonly referred to as downdrift) will not be marked, except in the current section.

Downstep, like Meeussen's Rule, is a manifestation of the Obligatory Contour Principle: both processes reduce the number of high tones that are realized on the same pitch. The main difference between the two processes is that MR is a phonological rule, as it completely deletes underlying high tones, and downstep a phonetic rule, as it only lowers the pitch of high tones, but keeps them distinguishable from low tones. The main differences between the two processes are summed up in table Table 4.2, and will subsequently be discussed and illustrated.

Table 4.2: Differences between Meeussen's Rule and Downstep

Meeussen's Rule	Downstep
deletes high tones	lowers high tones
only affects adjacent moras	affects adjacent and non-adjacent moras
only word-internally	word-internally and across word boundaries
before H retraction	after H retraction

The difference in outcome between Meeussen's Rule and downstep is that MR deletes high tones, and downstep only lowers high tones. In other words, a mora where the high tone is affected by MR is pronounced at the same pitch as a mora where no high tone has been assigned, but a mora where the high tone is affected by downstep is pronounced at a higher pitch than a mora where no high tone has been assigned. This difference in pitch is illustrated in (20) and (21).

- (20) ku-bá-bón-a > /ku-bá-bon-a/ (after Meeussen's Rule)

[kùbábònà]

[_ - _]

INF-OM₂-see-FV

'to see them'

- (21) /bu-kábábu/ (after high tone retraction)

[bùká'ábù]

[_ - - _]

NP₁₄-problem

'problem'

There are also a number of differences between the conditioning of Meeussen's Rule and downstep. MR only applies word-internally, but downstep applies both word-internally, shown in example (21) above, and across word boundaries, shown in example (22).

- (22) /N-shukí zi-ó=mu-kéntu/ > [nshùkí 'zómùkê:ntù]

NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-CON=NP₁-woman

'the hair of the woman' (ZF_Elic14)

Both Meeussen's Rule and downstep occur word-internally, but the processes are conditioned differently. MR only applies to high tones that are on adjacent moras, whereas downstep applies to all high tones, including those separated by one or more toneless moras.

- (23) H-toned moras separated by one toneless mora: Downstep

/ku-táand-á ba-ntu/ [*kùtá:'ndá bántù*]
 INF-chase-FV NP₂-person
 'to chase people'

- (24) H-toned moras separated by more than one toneless mora: Downstep

mbo-ndí-ci_H-to_Hrok-é > [*mbò:ndícìtò'rókè*]
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-explain-PFV.SBJV
 'I will explain it.'

Furthermore, MR precedes the application of H retraction, but downstep follows H retraction, as can be seen from the fact that retracted high tones are subject to downstep, but not to MR.

- (25) /bu-kábabú/
 bu-kábábu high tone retraction
 bu-ká'bábu downstep
 [*bùká'bábù*]
 'problem'

Falling tones, occurring in the last or penultimate syllable of a clause, may also be subject to downstep, if they are preceded by at least one other high tone. When downstepped, falling tones are still realized with a falling contour, but the starting pitch of a downstepped falling tone is lower than the starting pitch of a falling tone that is not downstepped.

Downstep is progressive: for each subsequent high tone, the pitch is lowered. Examples of successive downsteps are given below: in each case, the downstep indicates an additional pitch lowering.

- (26) /N-mwa-Imushó ndí-ha_Hr-á/ > [*mwàimúshó 'ndí'hárà*]
 COP-NP₁₈-Imusho SM_{1SG}.REL-live-FV
 'I live in Imusho.'

- (27) /zi-ryó zí-cenyá / > [*zìryó 'zí'cényà*]
 NP₈-food NP₈-lion
 'the ears of the lion' (ZF_Elic_2014)

Although sequences of up to three successive downsteps have been attested, pitch cannot be lowered indefinitely, and at a certain point in speech, the pitch is reset to its original quality and a new series of downsteps may be initiated. More research is needed to determine at which point in speech the pitch is restored. One possibility is that the pitch ceiling is reset after the prosodic boundary that is marked by the pro-

cesses of penultimate lengthening, high tone retraction, and the realization of high tones as falling. Another possibility is that the pitch is reset when the speaker has reached his or her bottom reach and/or stops for breath, in which case the limits of downstepping may be related to the number of downsteps. More research is needed to clarify these issues.

4.1.3 Bimoraic doubling

As discussed in the introduction, the mora is the relevant tone-bearing unit, and syllables can have two moras, in the case of a phonemically long or phonetically lengthened vowel, or one mora. The two moras of a bimoraic syllable behave independently from each other when it comes to high tone assignment, and tone rules such as high tone retraction, Meeussen's Rule and downstep. After the assignment of high tones and the application of tone rules, however, a high tone associated with one mora of a bimoraic syllable will automatically be copied onto the second mora of that syllable. This is illustrated in the following example, where the high tone associated with the last syllable will retract to the second mora of the penultimate syllable in clause-final context, and is subsequently copied to the first mora of the penultimate syllable in order to avoid a rising tone.

- (28) /ka.roo.ngó/
 ka.roó.ngo# after H retraction
 [kà.róó.ngò] after bimoraic doubling

Bimoraic doubling serves to avoid all contour tones, both rising and falling. An example of bimoraic doubling to avoid a falling contour tone is given in (29), where a high tone assigned to the second mora of the bimoraic syllable -yíí is copied to the first mora to create a level high tone.

- (29) /N-ma-.yíí. ndí-hi_Hb-á/ > [mà.yíí: 'ndí'híbà]
 COP-NP₆-egg SM_{1SG}.REL-steal-FV
 'It's eggs that I steal.'

Although bimoraic doubling is obligatory, contour tones do occur in Fwe, namely falling tones and optional rising tones in the penultimate or final syllable. Contour tones are not restricted to bimoraic syllables, however, and can therefore not be analyzed as the realization of an underlying /HØ/ or /ØH/ respectively. Instead, it appears that after bimoraic doubling has taken place, both monomoraic and bimoraic syllables display the same behavior, and are subject to the same tone rules. The rules that create contour tones only apply in the last or penultimate syllable of a clause-final verb, and will be discussed in the following two sections.

4.1.4 H retraction

There are two tonal processes in Fwe that only apply at the end of a clause. High tones in the last syllable of a clause-final word are retracted to the previous syllable, an instance of what Odden and Marlo (in press: 9-10) call 'nonfinality'. The other tonal

process that only occurs clause-finally is the realization of high tones in the final or penultimate syllable as falling.

The process of high tone retraction causes a high tone on the last mora of a clause-final word to move to the preceding mora, as schematized in (30).

(30) H retraction: /ØH/# > [HL]#

H retraction can for instance be seen in disyllabic nominal stems with an underlying /ØH/ pattern, which surfaces as [LH] in non-final contexts, as in (31)a. If the same noun is used clause-finally, the high tone of the last syllable shifts to the preceding syllable, resulting in a [HL] surface pattern, as in (31)b.

- (31) a. /N-shukí zi-angú/ > [nshúkí 'zángù]
 NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my hair’
- b. N-shukí > [nshúkì]
 NP₁₀-hair
 ‘hair’

H retraction targets moras, not syllables. If a high tone is assigned to the last mora of a bimoraic syllable, H retraction causes it to move to the preceding mora, but not the preceding syllable. The retracted high tone then undergoes bimoraic doubling, and is subsequently subject to the rule that creates falling tones in the last or penultimate syllable of a clause. This is schematized in (32)a, and illustrated in (32)b-c.

(32) H retraction in clause-final /ØH/ syllables:

- a. /Ø.ØH/# > Ø.HØ # (H retraction)
 > Ø.HH # (bimoraic doubling)
 > [L.F] (H > F)
- b. /mu-.saá./ > [mùsá:]
 NP₁-thief
 ‘a thief’
- c. /ndi-tw-.aá./ > [ndítwá:]
 SM_{1SG}-pound-FV
 ‘I pound.’

If a high tone is assigned to the first mora of a bimoraic syllable, H retraction causes the high tone to move to the preceding mora, which is also the preceding syllable. This is schematized in (33)a, and illustrated in (33)b-c.

(33) H retraction in clause-final /HØ/ syllables

/Ø.HØ/# > [H.LL]

/mu-.twíi./ > [mútɰwì:]

NP₃-head

‘a head’

/ku-há-a/ > [kúhà:]

INF-give-FV

‘to give’

The rule that causes high tones in the penultimate syllable at the end of a clause to be realized as falling (see next section) does not apply to retracted high tones. Retracted high tones are never realized as falling in the penultimate, clause-final position; instead, they may be realized with a slight rising contour. Only high tones in the penultimate position that are not the result of H retraction are realized as falling. This is schematized in (34)a, and illustrated in (34)b-c.¹²

- (34) a. /Ø.H./# > [HL]# retracted high tones: realized as level high
 /H.Ø./# > [FL]# non-retracted high tones: realized as falling

b. /ku-s-áa/ > [kúsà:]

INF-dig-FV

‘to dig’

c. /ku-sí-w-a/ > [kùsí:wà]

INF-dig-PASS-FV

‘to be dug’

High tones can only be realized as rising if they have been retracted to the penultimate syllable, and can only be realized as falling if they are the manifestation of an underlying high tone in the penultimate syllable. In all other cases, high tones have to be realized as level high. There is thus a clear restriction of the occurrence of contour tones to the penultimate syllable, which can be explained as the result of the prosodic lengthening of this syllable. Note that neither phonemic lengthening, nor phonetic lengthening conditioned by the factors discussed in section 2.3.3 (i.e. a following NC cluster, a preceding glide, and several others), sanction the occurrence of contour tones.

4.1.5 H > F

Another clause-final tone rule in Fwe is the realization of high tones as falling, or H > F for short. This rule causes an underlying high tone in the last or penultimate mora

¹² Retracted high tones in the final, rather than the penultimate, syllable do become falling, see (32). There is some inter-speaker variation in the application of H > F to retracted high tones in the final syllable; some speakers apply H > F to retracted high tones in the final syllable, others never apply H > F to retracted high tones, either in the final or the penultimate syllable.

to be realized as falling in a clause-final word. Examples are given below, where the high tone of the verb stem is realized as falling if it occurs in the penultimate syllable, but is realized as high when the high tone is not on the penultimate syllable because of the addition of derivational suffixes.

- (35) a. /ku-kwáng-a/ > [kùkwáŋgà]
 INF-become_tired-FV
 ‘to become tired’
- b. /ku-kwáng-is-a/ > [kùkwáŋgìsà]
 INF-become_tired-CAUS-FV
 ‘to make [someone] tired’
- (36) a. /ku-gáb-a/ > [kùgábà]
 INF-block-FV
 ‘to block’
- b. /ku-gáb-urur-a/ > [kùgábùrùrà]
 INF-block-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘to unblock’

High tones are rarely found in the final syllable of a clause-final word, as such high tones are subject to H retraction (see previous section). High tones may only occur in a clause-final syllable if this syllable is bimoraic, in which case this high tone is realized as falling.

- (37) a. N-mu-.saá. ndí-bwe_Hne > [mùsá: 'ndìbwè:nè]
 COP-NP₁-thief SM_{1SG}-see.STAT
 ‘I see a thief.’
- b. ndi-bwe_Hné mu-.saá. > [ndìbwè:né mùsá:]
 SM_{1SG}-see.STAT NP₁-thief
 ‘I see a thief.’

The realization of high tones as falling in clause-final position is related to prosodic lengthening, the lengthening of vowels in the penultimate mora of a clause-final word (see section 2.3.4). The realization of high tones as falling does not correspond fully to prosodic lengthening, however, because penultimate high tones that are the result of H retraction are not realized as falling, even though these high tones are realized on a prosodically lengthened vowel (see also previous section).

- (38) /ndavú/ > [ndávù]
 *[ndávù]
 ‘lion’

The combination of H retraction and H > F, and the rule that H > F does not apply to high tones that are the result of H retraction, is also seen in Haya, a Bantu language (JE.22) spoken in northwestern Tanzania (Hyman and Byarushengo 1984).

Another context in which final or pre-final high tones are not realized as falling is in questions. Questions have a rising intonation on the final syllable. If the final syllable is low-toned, question intonation will create a rising tone. If the final syllable is high-toned, question intonation will create a level high tone, rather than a falling tone. In the following example, the high-toned syllable *-kwí* at the end of the clause is realized as high, rather than falling, as a result of question intonation.

- (39) *bànyòkò kòkwí:*
 ba-nyo-ko kokwí
 NP₂-mother-POSS_{2SG} where
 ‘Where is your mother?’ (NF_Elic15)

So far, both H retraction and H > F are tonal processes have been described as occurring clause-finally. However, their conditioning is slightly more complex than that. The antecedent of a relative clause, for instance, is not treated as a clause-final noun, even though the antecedent and the relative clause are in two different clauses. Copulative constructions display some ambiguity with respect to clause-final tonal processes. The noun *njúù* ‘house’ is treated as being at the end of a clause in (40)a, where the high tone becomes falling, but not in (40)b, where the high tone remains high.

- (40) a. *èyí njúù njétù*
 /e-í N-júo N-i-etú/
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-house COP-PP₉-POSS_{1PL}
 ‘This house is ours.’
 b. *yìn’ énjúù njìròtù*
 /yiná e-N-júo nji-rótu/
 DEM.IV₉ AUG-NP₉-house COP₉-beautiful
 ‘That house is beautiful.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Since the occurrence of H retraction and falling tones point towards a syntactic boundary, i.e. the end of a clause, they can also be used to diagnose where syntactic boundaries are placed. This is particularly relevant in the description of left dislocation, a topicalisation process which consists of moving a constituent to the sentence-initial position where it forms its own clause. This interaction between tone and syntax is discussed in section 16.2 on left dislocation.

4.1.6 High tone spread

High tones in Fwe may spread to the left onto underlyingly toneless syllables. An example is given in (41), where the high tone of the final syllable *-sá* spreads onto the two preceding, toneless syllables.

- (41) /ndi-ur-is-á ma-.yíi./ >[ndìúrisá: mà:yí:]
 SM_{1SG}-buy-CAUS-FV NP₆-egg
 ‘I sell eggs.’ (NF_Elic15)

This spread, however, is optional: the utterance in (41) may also be realized without the high tone spread, as in (42).

- (42) /ndi-ur-is-á ma-.yii./ > [ndiùrìsá: màyí:]
 SM_{1SG}-buy-CAUS-FV NP₆-egg
 ‘I sell eggs.’ (NF_Elic15)

H spread, when it does occur, may result in a sequence of tones with equally high pitch; most commonly, however, the final high tone (from which the spread originates) will have the highest pitch, and the preceding high tone(s) will be lower. In this way the rule of high tone spread conforms to the obligatory contour principle, which is also served by the processes of Meeussen’s Rule and downstep (see sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2), as the rule of high tone spread does not create high tones that are preceded by high tones of equally high pitch.

Leftward spread of high tones is an unbounded spread within its domain, not limited to a fixed number of syllables. In (43), the high tone of the final syllable *ri* of the noun *mumusipirí* ‘on a journey’ spreads to the two preceding syllables. In (44), the high tone associated with the final vowel suffix *-á* spreads three syllables.

- (43) N-mu-mu-sipirí ba-iná > mùmùsípírí ¹bénà
 COP-NP₁₈-NP₃-journey SM₂-be_at
 ‘She is on a journey.’
- (44) ba-sep-ahar-á cáha > bàséphárá ¹cáhà
 SM₂-trust-NEUT-FV very
 ‘They are highly respected.’ (NF_Elic15)

H spread stops at certain morpheme boundaries. Within verbs, high tones may spread across derivational suffixes, but not onto any pre-stem affixes, such as the object marker /mu/ in (45), or the distal marker /ka/ in (46).

- (45) ndàmùrémékì
 ndi-a-mu-remék-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-hurt-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve hurt her/him.’
- (46) àkàpótérá Kàmwi:
 a-ka-pot-er-á Kamwi
 SM₁-DIST-visit-APPL-FV Kamwi
 ‘S/he visits Kamwi.’ (NF_Elic15)

Within nouns, high tones may spread up to the first root syllable, but not onto the nominal prefix, augment, or any other grammatical prefix. An example is given in (47), where the high tone of the final syllable /zí/ spreads to the two preceding root syllables, but not to the nominal prefix /mu-/.

- (47) *mùsébézí 'wábò*
 mu-sebezi u-abó
 NP₃-work PP₃-DEM.III₂
 'his job'

H spread may affect the first high tone in an utterance, but also a subsequent high tone, which by default is downstepped. An example is given in (48): the first high tone of the utterance, on the syllable *cí*, is not downstepped, but the following high tone, which originates on the syllable *ngí*, is subject to downstep. Subsequently, the second high tone is subject to spread, copying onto the syllable *nyú*. Note that there is a pitch drop between the initial high tone on the syllable *cí* and the spread, downstepped high tone on the following syllable *'nyú*, as illustrated in the pitch trace.

- (48) *ndàc'nyúngínyùngì*
 [_ - - - _ _]
 ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
 SM₁-PST-OM₇-PL2-shake-NPST.PFV
 'I have shaken it.' (NF_Elic15)

The rule of leftward high tone spread in Fwe bears some resemblance to the rule of high tone anticipation, or leftward high tone shift, which causes a high tone to surface on one mora to the left. This system has been described for eastern Bantu Botatwe languages, including Tonga (Goldsmith 1984; Meeussen 1963), Ila and Lenje (Bostoen 2009), but also for the Zambian variety of Totela, which, like Fwe, is part of the western branch of Bantu Botatwe (Crane 2014; Crane 2011)¹³. As already observed by Bostoen (2009: 123), Fwe does not make use of HTA, as illustrated in the following examples, which show the reflexes of the reconstructed root *-kúpà 'bone'. In Totela, Tonga and Lenje, the high tone of the first root syllable shifts to the preceding syllable, whereas in Fwe, the high tone of the first root syllable does not shift.

- (49) Totela
èchí-fûwà
 'bone' (Crane 2014)
 Tonga
ící-fûwà
 'bone' (Carter 1962)
 Lenje
cí-fûwà
 'bone' (Kagaya 1987)

¹³ According to Crane (2011: 55) however, Zambian Totela should be considered as part of the eastern branch of Bantu Botatwe, rather than the western branch, based, among other criteria, on its use of HTA. Descriptions of the tone systems of other Western Bantu Botatwe languages, such as Subiya and Shango, will have to point out whether the occurrence of HTA is an innovation that defines the Eastern branch of Bantu Botatwe with respect to the Western branch. Bostoen's (2009) study of lexical tone in Shango indicates no trace of HTA in this language.

Fwe
 è-cì-fùhà
 ‘bone’

Although leftward high tone spread bears in Fwe some resemblance to high tone anticipation as it occurs in other Bantu Botatwe languages, since both rules cause high tones to move to the left, the crucial difference is that in Fwe, high tone spread does not cause high tones to move from their original position. Furthermore, because the original high tone tends to be pronounced with the highest pitch, the contrast between originally toneless and originally high-toned syllables is still maintained.

4.1.7 The order of tonal processes

The way in which tonal processes influence each other suggests that the application of tonal rules follows a set order, with each rule only being applied once; once the rule is applied, it cannot be applied again, even though a different rule may create the conditions for the rule to apply. The following order of tone rules is proposed: Meeussen’s Rule > H retraction > bimoraic doubling > H realized as F > downstep > optional high tone spread. This ordering explains why Meeussen’s Rule and downstep, both rules targeting successive high tones, both play a role, as the intervening rule of H retraction creates new sequences of high tones. The position of optional high tone spread as the last tonal processes explains why successive high tones created by H spread are not subject to Meeussen’s Rule or downstep. The position of H retraction before H > F explains why certain retracted high tones are realized as falling. Finally, it needs to be noted that the addition of melodic high tones precedes all these tonal processes; tonal processes, therefore, treat lexical and melodic tones in an equal fashion.

4.2 Tonal patterns on nouns

This section discusses the tonal patterns found on noun stems, organized by the number of syllables of the stem. A first inventory of tonal patterns has been given by Bostoen (2009). This section mostly confirms his findings, but also adds a number of less frequently occurring tonal patterns which were not yet discussed before.

4.2.1 Disyllabic nouns

Disyllabic noun stems can have five different surface tonal patterns in isolation: LL, HL, FL H-¹HL, and H-LL. For the latter two patterns, the initial high tone is a floating tone that attaches to any preceding syllable, usually the noun’s nominal prefix or augment. Examples of each of the surface patterns are given in (50).

(50) Tonal patterns on nouns with disyllabic stems

/ØØ/	[LL]	
/vumo/	vùmò	‘stomach’
/ma-ira/	mà-hìrà	‘sorghum’
/mu-riro/	mù-rìrò	‘fire’

/HØ/	[FL]	
/n-júo/	<i>njúò</i>	‘house’
/zyúba/	<i>zyúbà</i>	‘sun, day’
/ku-bóko/	<i>kù-bókò</i>	‘arm’
/ØH/	[HL]	
/mbufú/	<i>mbúfù</i>	‘bream’
/ndavú/	<i>ndávù</i>	‘lion’
/ci-shamú/	<i>cì-shámù</i>	‘tree’
/H-ØH/	[H- ¹ HL]	
/bú-cenyá/	<i>bú-¹cényà</i>	‘smallness’
/cí-monshó/	<i>cí-¹mó:nshò</i>	‘left’
/ká-nensá/	<i>ká-¹né:nsà</i>	‘pink, little toe’
/H-ØØ/	[H-LL]	
/mú-ngorwe/	<i>mú-ngòrwè:</i>	‘tree sp. (used to cure a curse)’
/ká-nsikwe/	<i>ká-nsìkwè:</i>	‘darkness’
/mí-ra:ra/	<i>mí-rà:rà</i>	‘leftovers’

Nouns with a LL surface pattern have no underlying high tones. Nouns with a FL tonal pattern in isolation represent an underlying /HØ/ pattern. The high tone of the first root syllable is realized as falling in isolation because high tones become falling tones at the end of a clause (see 4.1.5). The noun surfaces as [HL] when not in clause-final position, for instance when the noun is followed by a numeral, as in (51).

- (51) a. *màzyúò*
 ma-zyúo
 NP₆-house
 ‘houses’
- b. *màzyúò òbíré*
 ma-zyúo o-o=biré
 NP₆-house PP₆-CON=two
 ‘two houses’ (ZF_Elic14)

Given the productive use of Meeussen’s Rule in Fwe (see 4.1.1), turning a /HH/ sequence into /HØ/, nouns surfacing with a [FL] pattern could have an underlying /HØ/ or /HH/ pattern, as an underlying /HH/ pattern would automatically be transformed into /HØ/. Historically, Fwe nouns with a [FL] surface pattern are reflexes of nouns reconstructed as either *HH or *HL, for example Fwe *mà-fútà* ‘oil’, from *-kútà ‘oil, fat’, and Fwe *n-síngò* ‘neck’, from *-kíngó ‘neck’ (Bostoen 2009: 121). There is evidence, however, that [FL] nouns all have an underlying /HH/ tonal pattern synchronically. When these nouns are combined with the diminutive suffix /-ána/, they lose all but the first high tone, which is indicative of an underlying /HH/ pattern affected by repeated MR.

- (52) /ka-zyúru-ána/ > /ka-zyúru-ana/ > [kàzyúruàná]
 NP₁₂-nose-DIM
 ‘small nose’

All nouns with a [FL] tonal pattern have the same tonal pattern when combined with the diminutive *-ána*. No distinction is made between nouns that correspond to a historical *HL pattern and nouns that correspond to a historical *HH pattern, as shown in the following table.

Table 4.3: Tonal patterns of disyllabic /HH/ nouns with the diminutive *-ána*

Underived noun	Noun with diminutive /-ána/	Reconstruction
<i>n-jókà</i> ‘snake’	<i>n-jókààná</i> ‘small snake’	*-jókà ‘snake’
<i>rù-rímì</i> ‘tongue’	<i>kà-rímìàná</i> ‘small tongue’	*-dímì ‘tongue’
<i>mù-zìò</i> ‘load’	<i>mù-zìòàná</i> ‘small load’	*-dígò ‘load’
<i>mù-kúrù</i> ‘adult’	<i>mù-kúrùàná</i> ‘young adult’	*-kódó ‘adult’

Nouns with a HL surface pattern in isolation have an underlying /ØH/ pattern. Their surface realization as [HL] in isolation is the result of H retraction (see 4.1.3). Their underlying /ØH/ pattern surfaces when used in a non-final context, as in (53), where the /ØH/ noun *nshúkí* ‘hair’, is followed by a connective.

- (53) a. *nshúkì*
 N-shukí
 NP₁₀-hair
 ‘hair’
- b. *nshúkí* ¹*zómùkêntù*
 N-shukí zi-ó=mu-kéntu
 NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-CON=NP₁-woman
 ‘the hair of the woman’ (ZF_Elic14)

Nouns with a [H-¹HL] surface pattern in isolation represent noun stems with a /ØH/ tonal pattern and a floating tone. Only a handful of nouns with floating high tones are attested, which are discussed in 4.2.4.

4.2.2 Monosyllabic nouns

Four different patterns are found in nouns with a monosyllabic stem in isolation; L-L, H-L, F-L and L-F. As these stems are monosyllabic, only the second tone is realized on the noun root, and the first tone is realized either on the nominal prefix, or, when the nominal prefix lacks a vowel, on the augment prefix.

- (54) Tonal patterns on nouns with monosyllabic stems

/Ø-Ø/	L-L	
/mu-ntu/	<i>mù-ntù</i>	‘person’
/e-wa/	<i>è-wà</i>	‘field’
/ci-zo/	<i>cì-zò</i>	‘tradition’
/Ø-H/	H-L	
/ku-twí/	<i>kú-twì</i>	‘ear’
/e-vú/	<i>é-vù</i>	‘sand’
/e-zwí/	<i>é-zwì</i>	‘knee’

/H:- Ø/	F-L	
/rú:-ho/	<i>rú:-hò</i>	‘wind’
/bú:-ci/	<i>bú:-cì</i>	‘honey’
/Ø-H:/	L-F	
/mu-sá:/	<i>mù-sá:</i>	‘thief’
/e-gí:/	<i>è-gí:</i>	‘egg’

The [H-L] and [L-L] patterns are the most frequently occurring patterns. The surface pattern [L-L] corresponds to an underlyingly toneless noun. The surface pattern H-L corresponds to an underlying /Ø-H/ pattern, which is subject to H retraction in clause-final contexts. It surfaces as [L-H] in non-final contexts, for instance if the noun is followed by a possessive (example (55)b).

- (55) a. *císhì*
 ci-shí
 NP₇-country
 ‘country’
- b. *cìshí 'cá:ngù*
 ci-shí *ci-angú*
 NP₇-country PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my country’ (ZF_Elic14)

The tonal pattern L-F only occurs with nominal stems with a bimoraic vowel, which can be phonemically long (examples (56)–(57), or phonetically lengthened (examples (58)–(59); see section 2.3.3 for the conditions of phonetic lengthening).

- (56) *bùló:*
 bu-ló:
 NP₁₄-tasteless
 ‘tastelessness’
- (57) *bùré:*
 bu-ré:
 NP₁₄-long
 ‘length’
- (58) *rùkwé:*
 ru-kwé
 NP₁₁-grass
 ‘grass sp. (*Schoenoplectus brachyceras*)’
- (59) *mùsá:*
 mu-sá
 NP₁-thief
 ‘thief’

Monosyllabic noun stems with a [L-F] surface pattern can be analyzed as an underlying /Ø-ØH/ pattern, where the high tone is associated with the second stem mora. This high tone is subject to H retraction in isolation, causing the high tone to shift to the preceding mora, but not the preceding syllable. There are also monosyllabic noun stems with a bimoraic vowel where the high tone is not associated with the second, but with the first stem mora. These, too, are subject to H retraction in isolation, in which case the high tone shifts to the preceding mora, which is also the preceding syllable. This difference is illustrated in (60) and (61). Bimoraic noun stems that do not take a high tone at all are also attested, as in (62).

- (60) /o-Ø-mbwáa/ > [ómbwà:]

AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
'dog'

- (61) /e-N-shwáa/ > [èshwà:]

AUG-NP₁₀-termite
'termites'

- (62) /mu-nwee/ > [mùmwè:]

NP₃-finger
'finger'

Monosyllabic noun stems with the tonal pattern [F-L] have an extra mora before the first (and only) root consonant, causing the vowel of the nominal prefix to be lengthened. Monosyllabic noun stems taking the [F-L] pattern historically derive from disyllabic noun stems. The noun *cí-rì* 'adder' derives from a disyllabic noun root *-pídi 'puff adder'; the initial consonant /p/ is systematically lost in Fwe, and the vowel of the nominal prefix *ci-* and the initial vowel of the stem *-iri* have subsequently contracted. Only three other examples with this tonal pattern are found, which are presented in (63)-(65).

- (63) *bú:ci*

bú:-ci
NP₁₄-honey
'honey'

- (64) *rú:hò*

rú:-ho
NP₁₁-wind
'wind'

- (65) *bú:si*

bú:-si
NP₁₄-smoke
'smoke'

4.2.3 Polysyllabic noun stems

Noun stems with three or more syllables attest a number of different tone patterns. Among polysyllabic nominal stems are a number of deverbal nouns, reduplicated nouns, compounds, and animal names that contain a prefix *na-* or *shi-* followed by a former nominal prefix.

The most common tonal patterns for trisyllabic noun stems are HLL, corresponding to an underlying /HØØ/ pattern, and [LLL], corresponding to an underlying tone pattern without high tones.

(66) Trisyllabic noun stems with a /HØØ/ or /ØØØ/ pattern

/HØØ/	[HLL]	
o-nkúmbizi	ò-nkúmbìzì	‘beggar’
mu-kázana	mù-kázàná	‘girl’
mu-gwégwesi	mù-gwégwèsì	‘joint’
mpúbira	mpúbìrà	‘papaya’
/ØØØ/	[LLL]	
/o-ntimbira/	ò-ntìmbìrà	‘dung beetle’
/mu-cembere/	mù-cèmbèrè	‘old lady’
/e-n-daano/	è-n-dàànò	‘message’
/ci-wakaka/	cì-wàkàkà	‘horned melon (<i>Cucumis metuliferus</i>)’

The tonal pattern [H¹HLL] is also fairly common in trisyllabic noun stems. It represents an underlying /HØH/ pattern where the second H is retracted and subsequently downstepped (see section 4.1.2 on downstep and section 4.1.3 on H retraction).

(67) Trisyllabic noun stems with a /HØH/ pattern

/HØH/	[H ¹ HLL]	
/bu-shómaní/	bù-shó ¹ mání	‘bad luck’
/ru-vútamó/	rù-vú ¹ támò	‘lower stomach’
/bu-kábabú/	bù-ká ¹ bábù	‘problem’
/mu-túkutá/	mù-tú ¹ kútà	‘heat’

The tonal patterns /ØØØ/, /HØØ/ and /HØH/ are the most common with native nouns. A few more tonal patterns are found with trisyllabic noun stems, but these have a more restricted distribution and mainly occur with borrowings. Nouns with an underlying /ØØH/ pattern may surface as [HHL] or [LHL] in isolation. In both cases, the high tone of the final syllable retracts to the preceding syllable. This high tone may subsequently spread to the left; the optional leftward spread of high tones is discussed in 4.1.6.

(68) Trisyllabic noun stems with a /ØØH/ pattern

/ØØH/	[LHL] ~ [HHL]		source of borrowing
/ka-píkírì/	kà-píkírì	‘nail’	Afrikaans <i>spyker</i> ‘nail’
/mu-sebezí/	mù-sébézì	‘work, job’	Lozi <i>musebezi</i> ‘work’
/mu-sipírì/	mù-sípírì	‘journey’	Lozi <i>musipili</i> ‘journey’

/n-tauró/	<i>n-táúró</i>	‘headveil’	English <i>towel</i>
/ci-fatehó/	<i>cì-fàtéhò</i>	‘face’	Lozi <i>sifateho</i> ‘face’
/n-komokí/	<i>n-kòmókì</i>	‘cup’	Lozi <i>komoki</i> ‘cup’
/n-kereké/	<i>n-kèrékè</i>	‘church’	Afrikaans <i>kerk</i> ‘church’

Nouns with an underlying /ØHØ/ pattern may surface as HFL or LFL in isolation. The variability of the tone on the first syllable is related to optional high tone spread. The tonal pattern /ØHØ/ is mainly found with borrowings, and with verbs that are nominalized with the suffix *-ntu* (see section 6.1.3 for the tonal behavior of this suffix).

(69) Trisyllabic noun stems with an underlying /ØHØ/ pattern

/ØHØ/	[LFL] ~ [HFL]		
/ci-munántu/	<i>cì-múnántù</i>	‘domesticated animal’	cf. <i>-muna</i> ‘own’ + <i>-ntu</i>
/ci-tendántu/	<i>cì-téndántù</i>	‘action’	cf. <i>-tenda</i> ‘do’ + <i>-ntu</i>
/ma-hondéro/	<i>mà-hóndèrò</i>	‘kitchen’	cf. <i>-honda</i> ‘cook’
/hemére/	<i>hèmèrè</i>	‘bucket’	borrowed from Afrikaans <i>emmer</i> ‘bucket’
/mu-kotána/	<i>mù-kòtànà</i>	‘bag’	borrowed from Lozi <i>mukotana</i> ‘bag’

Nominal stems of four syllables are also attested. Many of these are reduplicated, though they are usually not attested in their unreduplicated form. The tonal patterns attested with nominal stems of four syllables are given below. Longer nominal stems are usually regularly derived from verbs, or compounds.

(70) Tonal patterns of nominal stems with four syllables

/HØØH/	[HLHL]	
/ma-síkusikú/	<i>mà-síkùsikù</i>	‘morning’
/njóvenjové/	<i>njòvènjòvè</i>	‘tree (<i>Abrus precatorius</i>)’
/HØHØ/	[HLFL]	
/ka-ríkuríku/	<i>kà-ríkùríkù</i>	‘hiccup’
/mu-rárambínda/	<i>mù-ràràmbíndà</i>	‘milky way’
/ØHØH/	[HH!HL] ~ [LH!HL]	
/ka-cióció/	<i>kà-cíyó'cíyò</i>	‘chick’
/maíwué/	<i>màyi'wúyè</i>	‘duck sp.’
/ØHØØ/	[LHLL]	
/ka-rurérure/	<i>kà-rùrérùrè</i>	‘plant sp.’
/kacípembe/	<i>kàcípèmbè</i>	‘mongongo beer’
/ØØØH/	[LLHL]	
/bbimbiriró/	<i>bbìmbìrìrò</i>	‘rubbish heap’
/harantené/	<i>hàrànténè</i>	‘cockroach’
/ØØØØ/	[LLLL]	
/ci-tukutuku/	<i>cì-tùkùtùkù</i>	‘hiccup’
/ci-tepwerere/	<i>cì-tèpwèrèrè</i>	‘thin porridge’

4.2.4 Noun stems with a floating high tone

Nominal prefix are underlyingly toneless, and as such are realized with a low tone with the majority of nouns (see sections 5.1 on nominal prefixes). There are, however, a number of nouns that have a high-toned nominal prefix. Nouns with a high tone on the prefix can have stems of two, three or more syllables. (In monosyllabic nouns, a high-toned nominal prefix is the result of H retraction; see 4.2.2)

(71) Nouns with a high tone on the nominal prefix

/H-ØH/	[H- ¹ HL]	
/mú-kwamé/	mú- ¹ kwá:mè	‘man’
/cí-nsozí/	cí- ¹ nsózi	‘tear’
/cí-ariso/	cí-àrìsò	‘latch’
/má-nshawáshawá/	má- ¹ nsháwáshàwà	‘berries sp.’

These nouns can be analyzed as having a floating high tone that precedes the nominal root. When the nominal root is preceded by a nominal prefix, the floating high tone will be realized on the nominal prefix. When the nominal root is not preceded by a (syllabic) nominal prefix, the floating high tone will be realized on the noun’s augment prefix. The augment prefix itself has a floating high tone that is realized on the syllable that directly precedes the augment prefix (if present), but the augment prefix itself is usually realized with a low tone, except with nominal roots that have a floating tone, as in the following examples.

(72) é¹nkórì
 é-N-korí
 AUG-NP₉-walking_stick
 ‘walking stick’

(73) é¹mpúndù
 é-N-pundú
 AUG-NP₁₀-berry
 ‘berries’

A number of nouns with a floating high tone are derived from verbs that also have a floating high tone preceding the verbal root (see section 4.3.4). The final vowels -o and -i respectively are derivational suffixes used in deriving nouns from verbs; the use of these derivations is explained in more detail in section 6.1. of chapter 6 on nominal derivation.

(74) *ciàzò* cf. *kùàrà*
 cí-azo kù-ar-a
 NP₇-door INF-close-FV
 ‘door’ ‘to close’

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|------------------|
| (75) | <i>cíyàzì</i> | cf. <i>kúyàà</i> |
| | <i>cí-yazi</i> | <i>kú-ya-a</i> |
| | NP ₇ -traitor | INF-kill-FV |
| | 'traitor' | 'to kill' |

For other nouns with a floating high tone, the origin of the floating tone is unclear. Out of about 1100 nominal stems, 33 nominal stems are attested that have a floating high tone, of which 7 are transparently derived from verbs that have a floating tone. The remaining 26 nouns are listed in (76).

(76) Underived nouns with a floating H tone

<i>é-^ltángányàmbè</i>	'calabash'
<i>mú-ngòrwè</i>	'tree sp. (used to cure a curse)'
<i>ká-nkàfwà</i>	'bat'
<i>ká-nsìkwè</i>	'darkness'
<i>ká-nshèrèrè</i>	'small mushroom sp.'
<i>rú-ngàmàzɔ̀bà</i>	'plant sp.'
<i>mú-ⁿlùryà ~ mú-ⁿlúryà</i>	'lizard'
<i>bú-^lcényà</i>	'smallness'
<i>mú-^lkwámè</i>	'man'
<i>cí-^lmónshò</i>	'left-hand side'
<i>é-^lmpúndù</i>	'berries of the sandpaper raisin bush'
<i>rú-ⁿlálà</i>	'sedge leaf'
<i>ká-^lnénsà</i>	'pink, little toe'
<i>é-n-^lkòrì</i>	'walking stick'
<i>bú-^lɔ̀mbà</i>	'plant (<i>Lannea edulis</i>)'
<i>ká-^lnsínsì</i>	'small blue bird sp.'
<i>cí-^lnsózì</i>	'tear'
<i>mú-^lnzúré</i>	'shadow; malaria'
<i>rú-^lshíkà</i>	'African mangosteen (<i>Garcinia livingstonei</i>)'
<i>é-^lsímà</i>	'well'
<i>má-^lsínzà</i>	'snot'
<i>rú-^lsúmà</i>	'jackalberry'
<i>ká-^lmpàfwà ~ ká-mpàfwà</i>	'bat sp.'
<i>má-^lnsháwànshàwà ~ má-^lnsháwà</i>	'shrub (<i>Grewia</i> sp.)'
<i>ká-^lnyángwényàngwè</i>	'shrub (<i>Mundulea sericea</i>)'

Nouns with a floating high tone before the nominal stem can have various tonal patterns on the nominal stem. Nouns with a floating high tone and an underlying /ØH/ pattern on the stem are realized as [H!HL] in isolation, as the result of H retraction and subsequent downstep.

- (77) /mú-kwamé/ > mú-kwámè (H retraction) > [mú-^lkwá:mè] (downstep)
 NP₁-man
 'man'

Nouns with an underlying /H-HØ/ tonal pattern are not subject to downstep, but to Meeussen's Rule, which deletes the second high tone, resulting in a [H-LL] surface pattern.

- (78) *cí-áriso* > /*cí-ariso*/ > *cí-àrìsò*
 NP₇-latch
 'latch'

It is possible that nouns that surface with a [H-LL] pattern correspond to an underlying pattern of either /H-ØØ/ or /H-HØ/; in either case, the high tone on the first root syllable would be deleted on account of Meeussen's Rule.

Floating high tones are also found with a number of verb stems (see section 4.3.4), and with certain grammatical forms, such as the augment (see section 5.2) and possessives (see chapter 7.4). In all cases, floating tones are realized on the first available mora to the left of the morpheme with which the floating tone is associated; no floating tones have been found that associate to the right edge of a morpheme.

4.3 Tonal patterns on infinitive verbs

This section discusses the tonal patterns found on infinitive verb forms, divided into infinitives with disyllabic, monosyllabic and polysyllabic (three syllables or more) stems. Infinitive verbs are similar to nouns, as they may take certain nominal modifiers and affixes. An infinitive consists of an infinitive prefix *ku-*, followed by the verb stem, which consists of a verbal base (the lexical root plus optional derivational suffixes), followed by a final vowel suffix *-a*. For the purpose of the tonal analysis, this suffix, which is underlyingly toneless and appears on all verbal infinitives (as well as a variety of verbal inflections), is taken as part of the verb stem; regardless of inflection, verbs may never appear without a final vowel suffix, and the final vowel *-a* is the most common, morphologically and semantically unmarked verbal suffix.

Verbs have a lexical tone contrast in their first stem syllable only, which can have a high tone or no tone. This lexical contrast is realized in infinitives as a contrast between high-toned initial stem syllables and low-toned initial stem syllables. Inflected verbs may or may not maintain lexical tone, and may assign additional high tones to specific moras or syllables of the verb. Tonal patterns on inflected verbs are discussed in section 10.1.1.

A first analysis of tonal patterns in Fwe by Bostoen (2009) already discussed most of the tonal patterns of mono- and disyllabic verb stems. This section mostly agrees with his findings, and also adds a description of tonal patterns found on polysyllabic verb stems, and of the fairly infrequent pattern where disyllabic verb stems have a floating high tone.

4.3.1 Disyllabic verbs

Disyllabic verb stems consist of a CVC root and a final vowel suffix *-a*, which is underlyingly toneless. Disyllabic verb stems have three possible tone patterns in the infinitive in isolation, FL, LL and the fairly marginal pattern H-LL, with a floating high tone that is realized on the infinitive prefix, which is discussed in section 4.3.4.

(79) Tonal patterns on disyllabic verb stems

/HØ/	FL	
ku-hár-a	<i>kù-hâr-à</i>	‘to live’
ku-zyímb-a	<i>kù-zýmb-à</i>	‘to sing’
ku-shésh-a	<i>kù-shésh-à</i>	‘to marry’
ku-rá:r-a	<i>kù-rá:r-à</i>	‘to sleep’
/ØØ/	LL	
ku-har-a	<i>kù-hâr-à</i>	‘to scrape’
ku-end-a	<i>kù-yè:nd-à</i>	‘to walk’
ku-shek-a	<i>kù-shèk-à</i>	‘to laugh’
ku-co:k-a	<i>kù-cò:k-à</i>	‘to break’
/H-ØØ/	H-LL	
kú-pak-a	<i>kú-pàk-à</i>	‘to carry on one’s back (of a child)’
kú-zyus-a	<i>kú-zýùs-à</i>	‘to fill’
kú-zyib-a	<i>kú-zýib-à</i>	‘to get to know’

Verb stems surfacing as LL have no underlying high tones. Verbs with a surface tone pattern of FL have an underlying high tone on the first syllable of the root; the pre-final high tone in disyllabic verb stems is realized as falling clause-finally and in isolation (see section 4.1.5).

4.3.2 Monosyllabic verbs

Monosyllabic verb stems consist of a root of a single consonant, a single vowel, or a consonant and a vowel, where the last vowel is glided or elided under influence of the final vowel suffix *-a*. Two surface patterns are found on monosyllabic verb stems, H-L and L-L. The first tone of the pattern verbs is realized on the infinitive prefix *ku-*.

(80) Tone patterns on monosyllabic verb stems

/Ø-H/	[H-L]	
ku-w-á	<i>kú-w-à</i>	‘to give’
ku-s-á	<i>kú-s-à:</i>	‘to dig’
ku-nyw-á	<i>kú-nyw-à:</i>	‘to drink’
/Ø-Ø/	[L-L]	
ku-gw-a	<i>kù-gw-à:</i>	‘to fall’
ku-rw-a	<i>kù-rw-à:</i>	‘to fight’
ku-zw-a	<i>kù-zw-à:</i>	‘to leave’

The high tone of a monosyllabic high-toned verb stem is realized on the infinitive prefix rather than the verb stem because of H retraction (see section 4.1.3). If a monosyllabic verb with a [H-L] pattern in isolation is extended, for instance with a derivational suffix, the high tone is realized on the verb stem itself.

- (81) *kútwà:*
 ku-tw-á
 INF-pound-FV
 ‘to pound’

kùtwíwà
 ku-tw-íw-a
 INF-pound-PASS-FV
 ‘to be pounded’

4.3.3 Polysyllabic verb stems

Verb stems with three or more syllables can also be divided into two tonal groups, verbs with a high tone and verbs without a high tone. If a verb has a high tone, this high tone is always realized on the first syllable of the stem. This is related to the fact that trisyllabic and longer verb stems consist of a root followed by derivational suffixes (though many of these are fossilized and no longer analyzable as such), and derivational suffixes in Fwe are invariably toneless (see chapter 8). Verb stems with more than four syllables follow the same patterns as verb stems with three or four syllables.

- (82) Tone patterns on polysyllabic verb stems

/ØØØ/	[LLL]	
ku-dokor-a	<i>kù-dòkòr-à</i>	‘to belch’
ku-hompwer-a	<i>kù-hò:mpwèr-à</i>	‘to hammer’
ku-kabir-a	<i>kù-kàbìr-à</i>	‘to enter’
/HØØ/	[HLL]	
ku-cécent-a	<i>kù-cécè:nt-à</i>	‘to winnow’
ku-círuk-a	<i>kù-círùk-à</i>	‘to jump’
ku-kárih-a	<i>kù-kárih-à</i>	‘to shout’
/ØØØØ/	[LLLL]	
ku-barakat-a	<i>kù-bàràkàt-à</i>	‘to flap (as a fish on dry land)’
ku-fufurerw-a	<i>kù-fùfùrèw-à:</i>	‘to sweat’
/HØØØ/	[HLLL]	
ku-káwuhany-a	<i>kù-káwùhàny-à</i>	‘to separate’
ku-súrumuk-a	<i>kù-sùrùmùk-à</i>	‘to descend’

4.3.4 Verb stems with a floating high tone

A number of verb stems have a floating high tone that is realized on any syllable that directly precedes the verb stem. In the infinitive form, the floating high tone is realized on the underlyingly toneless infinitive prefix *ku-*.

- (83) Verbs with a floating high tone

/H-ØØ/	[H-LL]	
/kú-ar-a/	<i>kú-àr-à</i>	‘to close’

/kú-kar-a/	<i>kú-kàr-à</i>	‘to sit’
/kú-kut-a/	<i>kú-kùt-à</i>	‘to become full’
/kú-min-a/	<i>kú-mìn-à</i>	‘to set (of the sun)’
/kú-pak-a/	<i>kú-pàk-à</i>	‘to carry on one’s back (of a child)’
/kú-swaner-a/	<i>kú-swànèr-à</i>	‘to be obliged to’
/kú-tab-a/	<i>kú-tàb-à</i>	‘to answer’
/kú-ya-a/	<i>kú-γà-à</i>	‘to kill’
/kú-zyib-a/	<i>kú-zyìb-à</i>	‘to get to know’
/kú-zyur-a/	<i>kú-zyùr-à</i>	‘to become full’

The floating high tone of these verb stems is realized on whatever syllable precedes the verb stem. In (84), the floating high tone of *-taba* ‘to answer’ is realized on the past prefix *a-*, a prefix without underlying high tone. In (85), the verb’s floating high tone is realized on the object marker *mu-*, also a prefix without an underlying high tone.

- (84) /ndi-á-tab-i/ > [ndátàbì]
 SM_{1SG}-PST-answer-NPST.PFV
 ‘I answered.’

- (85) /ku-mú-tab-a/ > [kùmútàbà]
 INF-OM₁-answer-FV
 ‘to answer him’

The surface realization of infinitives with a floating high tone may correspond either to an underlying tone pattern of /H-HØ/ or /H-ØØ/. Through Meeussen’s Rule, both tone patterns would surface as [H-LL]. Looking at verbs with floating high tones in certain verbal tense/aspect/mood constructions, however, makes it clear that these verbs have a /H-HØ/ pattern, as the melodic high tone assigned to the second stem syllable is deleted, which can only be the result of the repeated application of Meeussen’s Rule. No differences between different lexical verbs were observed, showing that all verbs with a floating high tone have a /H-HØ/ pattern.

- (86) ndi-á-táb-í > ndi-á-tab-i > [ndátàbì]
 SM_{1SG}-PST-answer-NPST.PFV
 ‘I answered.’
- (87) ndi-á-kút-í > ndi-á-kut-i > [ndákùtì]
 SM_{1SG}-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV
 ‘I am full.’
- (88) ci-á-zyúr-í > ci-á-zyur-i > [cázyùrì]
 SM₇-PST-become_full-PST
 ‘It is full.’ (NF_Elic15)

Which verbs do and do not use floating tones is lexically determined. All verb stems with a floating high tone attested in Fwe are listed in (83). Three more verbs are attested that occur both with and without a floating high tone; for two of them, which form is used appears to depend on the individual speaker’s preference, and no seman-

tic differences where observed. For one verb, there is a semantic difference between the two forms.

(89) Verbs that occur either with or without floating H

/kú-cirir-a/ ~ /ku-círir-a/	<i>kúcìrìrà ~ kùcìrìrà</i>	‘to follow’
/kú-hik-a/ ~ /ku-hík-a/	<i>kúhìkà ~ kùhìkà</i>	‘to cook’
/kú-min-a/	<i>kúmìnà</i>	‘to set (of the sun)’
/ku-min-a/	<i>kùmìnà</i>	‘to swallow’

Floating high tones mostly behave like lexical tones: in tense/aspect/mood constructions that delete underlying lexical tones, floating high tones are usually also deleted, though there are also some exceptions, that suggest that floating high tones have a status that differs from both lexical and melodic tones. This is discussed in section 10.1.1, which discusses the deletion of lexical tones in specific inflections.

The occurrence of a floating high tone with certain verb stems derives from an earlier high-toned vowel occurring at the stem-initial position, preceding the modern verb stem. This is suggested by the Totela cognates of Fwe verb stems with floating high tones, which have a high-toned vowel *i* as the first syllable of the verb stem, and by the Bantu reconstructions for certain verb stems with a floating high tone.

Table 4.4: The origin of floating high tones in Fwe verbs

Fwe		Totela (Crane 2011)		Bantu re- construction (BLR3)	
<i>kú-àr-ùr-à</i>	‘to open’	<i>òkwíjàlùlà</i>	‘to open’		
<i>kú-kàr-à</i>	‘to sit, stay’	<i>òkwíkàlà</i>	‘stay’		
<i>kú-γà-à</i>	‘to kill’	<i>òkwíjàyà</i>	‘to kill’		
<i>kú-kùt-à</i>	‘to become full’			*-jíkut-	‘be satiated’
<i>kú-tàb-à</i>	‘answer’			*-jítàb-	‘answer call’
<i>kú-zγìb-à</i>	‘to know’			*-jíjib-	‘know’
<i>kú-zγùr-à</i>	‘to become full’			*-jíjūd-	‘become full’

The loss of the high-toned vowel in Fwe but the maintenance of its high tone resulted in a floating high tone that is realized on any pre-stem morpheme. In some cases, the earlier vowel /i/ still surfaces. In the verb *kú-yàà* ‘to kill’, devocalization of /i/ may explain the occurrence of the root-initial glide /y/.

5 Noun classes

As is typical for Bantu languages, Fwe nouns are divided into genders, which are commonly referred to as noun classes in Bantu linguistics. Fwe uses 19 noun classes, which are numbered 1–18 (including 1a) according to the Bantu tradition. Noun class membership is marked on the noun itself by a nominal prefix; the form of these prefixes is discussed in section 5.1. In addition to the obligatory nominal prefix, nouns can take an augment; the form and functions of this prefix are discussed in section 5.2. Noun class membership triggers agreement on most dependents; adjectives, demonstratives, connectives, possessives and the verb. It is the agreement pattern, rather than the noun's nominal prefix, that determines its noun class, though there are no real mismatches. Fwe does not, for instance, make use of animate or human concord, where nouns referring to animate beings or humans take an agreement pattern different from that of their nominal prefix. Certain nominal prefixes, however, can be used as a secondary prefix, where the noun has a primary nominal prefix closer to the root, and a secondary prefix which precedes the primary prefix. Whether the agreement pattern of the primary or secondary prefix is used differs between classes and also between dependents; these issues will be discussed in this chapter.

A single nominal root usually occurs in two noun classes, one of which is used to express the singular and one to express the plural. Classes 1, 1a, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14 and 15 are mostly used to express the singular. Classes 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 13 are mostly used to express the plural. The singular and plural noun classes are paired, with each singular noun class having a dedicated plural noun class. The pairing of singular and plural noun classes is discussed in section 5.3.

Noun class membership is relatively fixed, with most nominal roots occurring in a single singular/plural noun class pairing. Noun class membership is partially governed by semantic criteria. Based on these semantic criteria, nominal roots can be shifted to another noun class to derive a different meaning. The semantic basis of noun classes and the derivational processes that are motivated by it are discussed in section 5.4. The locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18 have a different syntax than the other noun classes, and are therefore treated separately in 5.5. Finally, in section 5.6 some observations will be noted about noun class assignment of borrowed nouns.

5.1 Nominal prefixes

Nouns are marked for noun class with a nominal prefix, which directly precedes the nominal stem. Most nominal prefixes are of CV-shape, with the exception of the prefixes of class 1a and 5, which have a zero prefix, and the prefixes of class 9 and 10, which consist of a homorganic nasal only. The only vowels occurring in nominal prefixes are /a/, /i/ and /u/, never the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. In addition to the nominal prefix, nouns may be marked by an augment. The augment consists of a single vowel only. The augment is *o-* when the vowel of the nominal prefix is /u/, *e-* when the vowel of the prefix is /i/, and *a-* when the vowel of the prefix is /a/. The form and function of the augment is discussed in section 5.2.

The following table gives an overview of the nominal prefixes, their possible allomorphs and the form of the augment. It should be noted that, whenever a noun is presented as belonging to a certain class, this is backed up by its agreement pattern, e.g. it triggers agreement of that class on its dependents, such as demonstratives, adjectives, connectives, etc. For reasons of space, the relevant agreement patterns will not always be given.

Table 5.1: Nominal prefixes

	Nominal prefix	Augment	Example	Translation
1	<i>mu-</i> / <i>mw-</i> / <i>m-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>mù-ntù</i>	‘person’
2	<i>ba-</i> / <i>b-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>bà-ntù</i>	‘people’
1a	\emptyset - / <i>N-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>\emptyset</i> - <i>ɲàngà</i>	‘doctor’
3	<i>mu-</i> / <i>mw-</i> / <i>m-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>mù-bìrì</i>	‘body’
4	<i>mi-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>mì-bìrì</i>	‘bodies’
5	\emptyset - / <i>r(i)-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>ànjà</i>	‘hand’
6	<i>ma-</i> / <i>m-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>mà-ànjà</i>	‘hands’
7	<i>ci-</i> / <i>c-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>cì-pùrà</i>	‘chair’
8	<i>zi-</i> / <i>z-</i> / <i>bi-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>zì-pùrà</i> / <i>bì-pùrà</i>	‘chairs’
9	<i>N-</i> / \emptyset -	<i>e-</i>	<i>n-gìnà</i>	‘louse’
10	<i>N-</i> / \emptyset -	<i>e-</i>	<i>n-gìnà</i>	‘lice’
11	<i>ru-</i> / <i>rw-</i> / <i>r-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>rù-rímì</i>	‘tongue’
12	<i>ka-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>kà-shùtò</i>	‘fish hook’
13	<i>tu-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>tù-shùtò</i>	‘fish hooks’
14	<i>bu-</i> / <i>bw-</i> / <i>b-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>bù-zyúmì</i>	‘life’
15	<i>ku-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>kù-bókò</i>	‘arm’
16	<i>ha-</i>	-	<i>hà-mù-shànà</i>	‘on the back’
17	<i>ku-</i>	-	<i>kù-rù-wà</i>	‘at the field’
18	<i>mu-</i>	-	<i>mù-mù-nzì</i>	‘in the village’

The evidence for class 1a as a separate noun class is limited, because class 1a nouns mostly use the agreement pattern of class 1. The only differences between class 1 and class 1a is the nominal prefix, which is *mu-* for class 1 and zero (or *N-*) for class 1a, and the copulative prefix, which is *ndi-* for class 1 and *ndu-* for class 1a (see section 7.8 on copulatives). Especially the latter is a convincing argument to treat class 1a as a separate noun class, but it should be noted that with the exception of the copulative prefix, agreement patterns of class 1a are identical to those of class 1, and will be glossed as such.

The nominal prefix and corresponding agreement morphology of class 8 have a variant *bi-* in Zambian Fwe. This could be due to contact with either Lozi or Shanjo, as the class 8 prefix in both languages is *bi-* (Bostoen 2009: 120; Fortune 1977: 10).

There is a tendency to merge classes 5 and 9, which manifests itself in several different ways. Nouns in class 9 often take the class 5 copulative prefix *ndi-* rather than the class 9 copulative prefix *nji-*, and nouns of class 9 often take their plural in class 6, which is the canonical plural class for class 5 nouns, rather than class 10, which is the

canonical plural class for class 9 nouns. This is discussed in more detail in section 5.3 on singular and plural pairings.

As seen in Table 5.1, some nominal prefixes have one or two allomorphs. One of these is lexically conditioned: the allomorph *r(i)-* of class 5 only appears on two nouns, presented in (1). As the prefix *r(i)-* is lost when the noun is used in class 6 to mark a plural, the initial segment *r(i)-* can be analyzed as a prefix of class 5. The presence of /i/ in this allomorph cannot be proven, as the combination of the putative /i/ of the nominal prefix and the following /i/ of the nominal stem may account for the deletion of the initial /i/. Comparison with the paradigm of pronominal prefixes, where the class 5 prefix is *ri-* (see Table 7.1), suggests an underlying vowel /i/ is likely.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) | <i>rínò</i> | <i>ménò</i> |
| | ri-inó | ma-inó |
| | NP ₅ -tooth | NP ₆ -tooth |
| | ‘tooth’ | ‘teeth’ |
| | <i>ríshò</i> | <i>méshò</i> |
| | ri-ísho | ma-ísho |
| | NP ₅ -eye | NP ₆ -eye |
| | ‘eye’ | ‘eyes’ |

The other allomorphs of nominal prefixes are the result of two morphophonological processes that play a role when combining the prefix with the nominal root: vowel hiatus resolution and prenasalization. As discussed in section 3.2, vowel hiatus resolution may take place when a nominal prefix with a CV- shape combines with a vowel-initial noun stem. Nominal prefixes of class 1, 3, 11, and 14 have two allomorphs that are used with vowel-initial stems. One of these allomorphs is created by deleting the vowel /u/ of the prefix and replacing it with a glide /w/. This allomorph is used when the stem of the noun begins with a vowel /a/, /i/ or /e/; examples are given in (2).

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|----------------|----------------|
| (2) | class 1 | <i>mw-âncè</i> | ‘child’ |
| | class 3 | <i>mw-îndî</i> | ‘leg of a pot’ |
| | class 11 | <i>rw-âtà</i> | ‘crack’ |
| | class 14 | <i>bw-ékè</i> | ‘grain’ |
| | class 15 | <i>kw-àhà</i> | ‘armpit’ |

Nominal prefixes with /u/ have a second allomorph used with vowel-initial stems. This allomorph is created by deleting the vowel /u/ of the nominal prefix without glide formation. This allomorph is used before vowel-initial stems in which the initial vowel is a back vowel /o/ or /u/. Examples of these allomorphs are given in (3).

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------------|----------------|
| (3) | class 1 | <i>m-ôfû</i> | ‘blind person’ |
| | class 3 | <i>m-úzɣà</i> | ‘character’ |
| | class 11 | <i>r-ózì</i> | ‘rope’ |
| | class 14 | <i>b-ôzɣà</i> | ‘feathers’ |

The nominal prefixes that have a vowel /i/ or /a/ are usually not changed when combined with a vowel-initial root; representative examples are given in (4).

(4)	class 4	<i>mì-ákà</i>	‘years’
	class 6	<i>mà-ànjà</i>	‘hands’
	class 7	<i>cì-òngò</i>	‘storage’
	class 8	<i>zì-òngò</i>	‘storages’
	class 12	<i>kà-ìngà</i>	‘spot on the skin’

There are a few exceptions to this rule, which are lexically determined. With the following two vowel-initial noun stems, the vowel /i/ of the nominal prefix is deleted.

(5)	class 7/8	<i>c-ándà/ z-ándà</i>	‘pole(s)’
	class 7/8	<i>c-úngù/ z-úngù</i>	‘bird(s) sp.’

There are also vowel-initial stems where the vowel of the nominal prefix is not deleted, but merges with the vowel of the nominal root. This is seen in the plural form of certain nominal roots where the initial vowel is *i-*, as seen in their singular form.

(6)	class 1	<i>mw-ìkà</i>	‘slave’
	class 2	<i>/ba-ika/ > bèkà</i>	‘slaves’

A second set of nominal prefix allomorphs are those of class 9 and 10. The basic form of the prefixes of both class 9 and class 10 is a homorganic nasal that combines with the initial consonant of the nominal root. This homorganic nasal is glossed as *N-*. The addition of a homorganic nasal may involve changes to the initial consonant of the nominal root; these changes are discussed in section 3.1. That the homorganic nasal functions as a nominal prefix can be seen from the loss of the nasal when a nominal root is shifted from class 9/10 to another noun class which does not have a homorganic nasal as its nominal prefix, as shown in the following example.

(7)	class 9	<i>m-pòhò</i>	‘bull’
	class 6	<i>mà-pòhò</i>	‘bulls’

Even though examples such as those in (7) show that the homorganic nasal in class 9/10 nouns is a nominal prefix, there are also indications that the homorganic nasal is losing its function as a nominal prefix of class 9/10. Most nouns with an apparent *N-* prefix in class 9/10 do not lose the homorganic nasal when used in a different class, showing that in these nouns, the homorganic nasal has been reanalyzed as part of the nominal root, rather than a prefix. There seems to be no conditioning on where the homorganic nasal loses its status as a separate morpheme, and there is also inter-speaker variation in its realization.

(8) Reanalysis of the homorganic nasal as part of the nominal root

class 9	<i>m-pòndà</i>	‘spear’
class 6	<i>mà-mpòndà</i>	‘spears’
class 9	<i>n-kúnjù</i>	‘mortar’
class 6	<i>mà-nkúnjù</i>	‘mortars’

class 9	<i>m-bútò</i>	‘seed’
class 6	<i>mà-mbútò</i>	‘seeds’

Some borrowed stems that are assigned to class 9 take the *N-* prefix, otherstake a zero prefix. Note that in all cases, these nouns function as class 9 nouns, that is they trigger class 9 agreement on their dependents.

(9) class 9	<i>n-díshì</i>	‘dish’
class 9	<i>n-kèrékè</i>	‘church’ (borrowed from Afrikaans <i>kerk</i>)
class 9	<i>ø-ràyîsì</i>	‘rice’
class 9	<i>ø-fúrâyì</i>	‘airplane’

A number of class 9 nouns can also occur in class 5 with no difference in interpretation, which involves a change in nominal prefix and a change in agreement pattern, as shown in (10). The choice of noun class differs from speaker to speaker.

(10)	<i>èyí njókà ~ èrí zyókà</i>	
	<i>e-í N-jóka</i>	~ <i>e-rí ø-zyókà</i>
	AUG-DEM.I ₉ NP ₉ -snake	AUG-DEM.I ₅ NP ₅ -snake
	‘snake’	

Many nouns that were originally in class 9 are shifting to class 1a; this is especially (but not exclusively) the case for animal names. When the noun shifts to class 1a, the homorganic nasal prefix is reanalyzed as part of the nominal stem. The noun *ò-ngwè / è-ngwè* can be used in either class 1a or class 9, though the prenasalization of the initial root consonant suggests that class 9 membership is older.

(11) class 9	<i>è-n-gwè</i>	‘leopard’
class 1a	<i>ò-ngwè</i>	‘leopard’

In most cases, the shift of the noun from class 9 to class 1a is completed, and the noun can only be used in class 1a, and no longer functions as a class 9 noun; it takes agreement markers of class 1(a), and takes its plural in class 2 rather than class 10. This is the case for the noun *ò-njòvù* ‘elephant’; the prenasalization of the initial root consonant suggests that it was originally in class 9, but in modern Fwe, this nasal has been reanalyzed as part of the root, and the noun *ò-njòvù* functions as a class 1a noun only.

(12) a.	<i>ònjòvù</i>	
	<i>o-ø-njovu</i>	
	AUG-NP _{1a} -elephant	
	‘elephant’	
b.	<i>ònjòvù àryá</i>	
	<i>o-ø-njovu</i>	<i>a-ry-a_H</i>
	AUG-NP _{1a} -elephant	SM ₁ -eat-FV
	‘The elephant eats.’	

- c. *bànjòvù*
 ba-njovu
 NP₂-elephant
 ‘elephants’

In Zambian Fwe, the *N-* prefix becomes part of the nominal root when the noun shifts to class 1a, and no longer functions as a nominal prefix in any way. In Namibian Fwe, however, the homorganic nasal prefix in class 1a words which originate from class 9 words still partly functions as a prefix. This is seen when class 1a nouns shift to class 12 to express a diminutive, in which case the homorganic nasal is dropped. This is illustrated below with the noun *nshókò* ‘monkey’. In modern Fwe, this noun is in class 1a, as seen by the class 1 agreement on its dependents, but the initial nasal suggests that it was originally in class 9. When this nominal root is used in class 1a, the initial nasal is used, but when shifted to class 12 to express a diminutive, the initial nasal is lost. This shows that the nasal is used as a nominal prefix of class 1a. This only applies to Namibian Fwe. In Zambian Fwe, the nasal is not lost when the noun is shifted to class 12.

- (13) *òzyú 'nshókò*
 o-zyú ø-nshokó
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-monkey
 ‘this monkey’
- (14) *kàshókòànà*
 ka-shokó-ana
 NP₁₂-monkey-DIM
 ‘baby monkey’ (Namibian Fwe)
- (15) *kànshókòànà*
 ka-nshokó-ana
 NP₁₂-monkey-DIM
 ‘baby monkey’ (Zambian Fwe)

Any class 1a noun loses its homorganic nasal when shifted to class 12. The corresponding unprenasalized consonant has the same manner and place of articulation as the original prenasalized consonant, as well as the same voicing. Surprisingly, though, the morphophonological principles governing the changes that take place when a consonant is prenasalized do not apply here. These determine, for instance, that continuants turn into stops before *N-* (see section 3.1 on the use of prenasalization as a morphophonological process). The loss of prenasalization that is observed here, however, does not turn stops back into continuants. This means that /mb/, when it loses its homorganic nasal, changes to the bilabial stop /b/ (written here as <bb>), and not to the fricative /β/: class 1a *ómbwà* ‘dog’ becomes class 12 *ká-bbwà* ‘small dog’. Similarly, when /nd/ loses its homorganic nasal it changes to /d/, and not to /r/, e.g. class 1a *ndávù* ‘lion’ becomes class 12 *kà-dávù* ‘small lion’. /nj/ turns into /j/ rather than /z/, as seen in the class 1a noun *njòvù* ‘elephant’, that becomes class 12 *kàjòvù* ‘small elephant’;

and /ng/ turns into /g/ rather than being lost, as in the class 1a noun *ngìrì* ‘warthog’, that becomes class 12 *kà-gìrì* ‘small warthog’.

Not only does this go against the general rules that govern the correspondence between consonants with and without a homorganic nasal, it also results in a proliferation of otherwise uncommon phonemes. Voiced stops are phonemic in Fwe, but their use is limited and they are mainly found in loanwords. Their prenasalized counterparts, however, are very common phonemes found in native words as well. Therefore this surprising morphophonological alternation cannot be the result of nativization, because it makes the form of these words less, rather than more, native.

5.2 The augment

Nouns, as well as certain other nominal elements, can take an augment, a vocalic prefix with a floating tone that precedes the nominal prefix. A similar prefix occurs in different Bantu languages with different forms, where it is sometimes called pre-prefix (Gambarage 2013; Visser 2008, among others), or initial vowel (Allen 2014; Carter 1963, among others). In this thesis, following de Blois (1970), Katamba (2003), Maho (1999) and others, the term augment will be used. There is extensive variation in the conditioning of the augment in Bantu languages; mostly, the use of the augment is conditioned by syntactic, semantic, pragmatic or stylistic factors (de Blois 1970), or an intricate combination thereof, for instance in Luganda (Hyman and Katamba 1993). There are also Bantu languages where the use of the augment is optional without apparent conditioning (Maho 1998: 62), or where the use of the augment is becoming more and more optional, for instance in Kagulu (Petzell 2003), and in Namibian Totela (Crane 2011: 107–108). The following section describes the form of the augment in Fwe, showing that it consists of both a vowel and a floating high tone, which can occur independently of each other. Whether the augment has a grammatical function in Fwe is unclear: free variation between absence and presence of the augment appears to be the most common.

The nominal augment in Fwe consists of a single prefixed vowel *e-*, *a-* or *o-*, combined with a floating high tone that is realized on the syllable preceding the vowel of the augment. The augment vowel displays vowel harmony with the vowel of the nominal prefix. The form *e-* is used with nominal prefixes with a vowel /i/, which includes the prefixes of class 4 *mi-*, class 7 *ci-*, class 8 *zi-*, as well as classes 5, 9 and 10, which lack a syllabic nominal prefix. The form *o-* is used with nominal prefixes with a vowel /u/, which includes the prefixes of class 1 *mu-*, class 3 *mu-*, class 11 *ru-*, class 13 *tu-*, class 14 *bu-*, class 15 *ku-*, as well as the prefixless class 1a. The form *a-* is used with nominal prefixes with a vowel /a/, which includes the prefixes of class 2 *ba-*, class 6 *ma-*, and class 12 *ka-*. The locative classes 16, 17 and 18 do not have a nominal augment.

As Fwe does not allow closed syllables, the vowel-initial syllable of the augment is usually preceded by a word ending in a vowel. The ensuing sequence of two vowels is frequently subject to vowel hiatus resolution, either by deleting the vowel of the augment, as in (16); by deleting the final vowel of the preceding word, as in (17), or by merging the two vowels as in (18) and (19) (see also 3.2 on vowel hiatus resolution).

- (16) *ndìkwèsí bámbwà*
 ndi-kwesí a-ba-mbwá
 SM_{1SG}-have AUG-NP₂-dog
 ‘I have dogs.’
- (17) *ndìshák’ ènyàmà*
 ndi-shak-á e-N-nyama
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-NP₉-meat
 ‘I want meat.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (18) *kànt’ ú’ndávù*
 kantí o-n-davú
 then AUG-NP_{1a}-lion
 ‘Well, the lion...’ (NF_Narr15)
- (19) *vùmw’ énéne*
 ø-vumó e-ø-néne
 NP₅-stomach AUG-NP₅-big
 ‘a big stomach’ (ZF_Elic14)

The augment can be used on nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and infinitive verbs (which behave like nominals).

- (20) *òmùndàré ~ mùndàré*
 (o-)mu-ndaré
 AUG-NP₃-maize
 ‘maize’
- (21) *mùndàré òmùgéné ~ mùndàré mùgéné*
 mu-ndaré (o-)mu-géné
 NP₃-maize (AUG-)NP₃-thin
 ‘small maize’
- (22) *òwìná mùndàré ~ wìná mùndàré*
 (o-)winá mu-ndaré
 (AUG-)DEM.IV₃ NP₃-maize
 ‘this maize’
- (23) *òkùshàkà ~ kùshàkà*
 (o-)ku-shak-a
 (AUG-)INF-love-FV
 ‘to love’

Not all nouns can take the augment; the augment is never used with personal names, and with nouns that are marked with a secondary nominal prefix, such as that of class 2 to mark a honorific, or those of class 16, 17 or 18 to mark a location.

- (24) *(*ò)Mwèzì*
 ‘Mwezi’ (girl’s name)

- (25) (*à)bàmùkéntù wángù
 ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my wife’

- (26) (*ò)kùrùwà
 ku-ru-wa
 NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ‘at the field’

With these exceptions, there appears to be no conditioning for the use of the augment vowel on nouns. Nouns may be used with or without the augment vowel, and no change in meaning is observed, as shown with the noun *njìngà* ‘bicycle’ used without the augment vowel in example (27)a, and with the augment vowel in (27)b.

- (27) a. *nìndákàùrá njìngà*
 ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á N-jinga
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-FV NP₉-bicycle
 ‘I bought a bicycle.’
- b. *nìndákàùr’ énjìngà*
 ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á e-N-jinga
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy AUG-NP₉-bicycle
 ‘I bought a bicycle.’ (NF_Elic15)

For demonstratives, the augment vowel is optional but its presence is often governed by phonological well-formedness: monosyllabic demonstrative stems strongly prefer the use of the augment, and disyllabic demonstrative stems strongly disprefer the use of the augment (see section 7.2.1 on demonstratives).

The augment also has a floating high tone, which is realized on the vowel directly preceding the augment vowel. The augment vowel itself is normally realized as low-toned (unless a floating high tone is assigned by the nominal stem, see section 4.2.4 on nouns with floating tones). In (28)b, the floating high tone of the augment is realized on the preceding syllable, the final vowel suffix *-a* of the preceding infinitive verb, which is underlyingly toneless as seen in (28)a.

- (28) a. *kùkànkà*
 ku-kank-a
 INF-slaughter-FV
 ‘to slaughter’
- b. *kùkànká ènjòmbe*
 ku-kank-á e-N-ɲombe
 INF-slaughter-FV AUG-NP₉-COW
 ‘to slaughter a cow’

However, because vowel hiatus resolution rules frequently reduce sequences of adjacent vowels to a single vowel, the floating high tone of the augment may revert

back to the vowel of the augment, when the preceding vowel is deleted. This is seen in example (29), where the floating high tone of the augment *e-* attaches to the preceding syllable *-nka*, but when the *-a* merges with the vowel of the augment, the floating high tone returns to the vowel of the augment.

- (29) *kùkànk' éyòmbè*
 ku-kank-á e-N-ɲombe
 INF-slaughter-FV AUG-NP₉-COW
 'to slaughter a cow'

The vowel and the floating high tone of the augment can occur independently of each other. In (30), the augment's high tone is used, but its vowel is not. In (31), the augment vowel is used, but without the high tone of the augment. It is also possible for a noun to be used without either the vocalic or the tonal augment, as in (32).

- (30) *kùshàiyíká 'zíryò*
 ku-sháik-á zi-ryó
 INF-cook-FV NP₈-food
 'to cook food' (NF_Elic15)

- (31) *kùkùmbìrà èzwáyì*
 ku-kumbir-a e-ø-zwái
 INF-request-FV AUG-NP₅-salt
 'to ask for salt' (ZF_Narr13)

- (32) *kùzímìsà mùrìrò*
 ku-zím-is-a mu-riro
 INF-extinguish-CAUS-FV NP₃-fire
 'to extinguish fire' (NF_Elic15)

Even though the vowel and the high tone of the augment can occur independently of each other, they are clearly related to each other. This can be seen from the form of nouns that can never take a vocalic augment, such as personal names, nouns with a secondary, honorific class 2 prefix, and adverbs. When an augmentless noun follows a word with a low-toned final syllable, no high tone can be assigned to this syllable, and no vocalic augment can be used on the noun.

- (33) *ndìzyì: nyàmbè*
 ndi-zyi:_H nyambe
 SM_{1SG}-know Nyambe
 'I know Nyambe.'

**ndìzyí: nyàmbè* (NF_Elic15)

- (34) *ndìsháká kùhòndèrà báma*
 ndi-shak-á ku-hond-er-a ba-ø-má
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-APPL-FV NP₂-NP_{1a}-mother
 'I want to cook for my mother.'

**ndìsháká kùhòndèrá 'bámà*

- (35) *ndìsháká kùhòndà shúnù*
 ndi-shak-á ku-hond-a shúnu
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-FV today
 'I want to cook today.'

**ndìsháká kùhòndá shúnù* (NF_Elic17)

Like its vowel, the use of the augment's high tone is also optional, as shown with the noun *mà-shéréjì* 'money' in example (36). This noun causes the use of a high tone on the preceding syllable in (36)a. This high tone may also be absent, seen as in (36)b. No difference in meaning was observed between the two different realizations.

- (36) a. *ndìsháká òkùkòròtá màshéréjì*
 ndi-shak-á o-ku-korot-á ma-sheréjì
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₆-money
 'I want to borrow some money.'
- b. *ndìsháká òkùkòròtá màshéréjì*
 ndi-shak-á o-ku-korot-a ma-sheréjì
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₆-money
 'I want to borrow some money.' (NF_Elic17)

A question that requires further investigation is if the augment is completely optional, or if the presence or absence of the augment correlates with a certain change in meaning. One of the factors that may condition the use of the augment in Bantu languages is referentiality, where the augment is absent on non-referential nouns (Van de Velde forthcoming). This does not appear to be the case in Fwe: on non-referential nouns, the augment may be present, as in (37)a, where the augment's high tone is discernable on the final vowel of the preceding infinitive verb, or absent, as in (37)b, where the final vowel of the preceding verb does not bear a high tone.

- (37) a. *ndìsháká kùhònd' ènkókò*
 ndi-shak-á ku-hond-á e-N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-FV AUG-NP₉-porridge
 'I want to cook some porridge.'
- b. *ndìsháká kùhònd' ènkókò*
 ndi-shak-á ku-hond-a e-N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-FV AUG-NP₉-porridge
 'I want to cook some porridge.' (NF_Elic17)

Another factor that can play a role in the conditioning of the augment in Bantu languages is focus, where the absence of the noun correlates with focus (for instance Luganda, Hyman and Katamba 1993). This, too, does not appear to be the case in Fwe. The main strategy for expressing focus is the use of a cleft construction, which is incompatible with the use of the augment (see section 16.6 on cleft constructions). Nouns that are not clefted are rarely in focus, but when they are, both absence and

presence of the augment is attested. Example (38) is the answer to the question: ‘What did you buy?’, so the noun *njìngà* ‘bicycle’ in the answer is in focus. The vowel of the augment can be present, as in (38)a, or absent, as in (38)b.

- (38) a. *nìndákàùr’ énjìngà*
 ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á e-N-jinga
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-FV AUG-NP₉-bicycle
 ‘I bought a bicycle.’
- b. *nìndákàùrá njìngà*
 ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á N-jinga
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-FV NP₉-bicycle
 ‘I bought a bicycle.’ (NF_Elic15)

Examples where the presence of the tonal augment on a noun that is in focus can be discerned, are currently not attested. The fact that the tone and vowel of the augment can appear independent from each other complicates the analysis of the possible functions of the augment in Fwe, leaving the possibility that the augment’s tone and vowel are not conditioned by the same factors. Furthermore, the presence of the augment vowel cannot always be discerned, in cases where it may have undergone coalescence with the final vowel of a preceding word. The presence of the high tone of the augment is even more difficult to establish, as it may only surface when the noun is preceded by another word ending in a toneless syllable. A future analysis of the functions of the augment in Fwe needs to take all these factors into account.

5.3 Singular and plural pairings

Noun classes are paired; singular nouns are found in classes 1, 1a, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14 and 15, and their corresponding plurals in classes 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 13. The majority of nominal roots can occur in both singular or plural form, some only occur in a singular or only in a plural form. An overview of the combinations of singular and plural classes that are attested is given in (39).

(39) Singular	Plural
1	2, 6
1a	2
3	4
5	6
7	8
9	10, 6
11	10, 6, 13, 14, 1a
12	13, 5
14	6
15	6

The majority of nouns that occur in class 1 in the singular occur in class 2 in the plural form.

5 Noun classes

(40)	class 1	<i>mù-ntù</i>	‘person’
	class 2	<i>bà-ntù</i>	‘people’
	class 1	<i>mù-àmbì</i>	‘speaker’
	class 2	<i>bà-àmbì</i>	‘speakers’

Exceptions, where the plural form is in class 6 rather than class 2, are names for ethnic groups, and borrowings from Lozi.

(41)	class 1	<i>mù-búrù</i>	‘Afrikaner’
	class 6	<i>mà-búrù</i>	‘Afrikaners’
	class 1	<i>mù-rútì</i>	‘teacher’
	class 6	<i>mà-rútì</i>	‘teachers’

As discussed in 5.1, class 1a nouns often follow the behavior of class 1 nouns. This is also true for their singular plural pairings; like class 1 nouns, all nouns that have their singular in class 1a have their plural in class 2.

(42)	class 1a	<i>ø-nzìkè</i>	‘single person’
	class 2	<i>bà-nzìkè</i>	‘single people’
	class 1a	<i>ø-nyátì</i>	‘buffalo’
	class 2	<i>bà-nyátì</i>	‘buffaloes’

Nouns that have their singular in class 3 have their plural in class 4.

(43)	class 3	<i>mù-bìrì</i>	‘body’
	class 4	<i>mì-bìrì</i>	‘bodies’
	class 3	<i>mw-ìngà</i>	‘thorn’
	class 4	<i>mì-ìngà</i>	‘thorns’

For a small number of nouns, use in class 4 does not represent the plural of its use in class 3, but a different meaning, which is not as predictable as a change from singular to plural but nonetheless clearly semantically related; some examples are given in (44).

(44)	class 3	<i>mù-rèzù</i>	‘chin’
	class 4	<i>mì-rèzù</i>	‘beard’ (*‘chins’)
	class 3	<i>mù-ròmò</i>	‘mouth’
	class 4	<i>mì-ròmò</i>	‘lips’ (*‘mouths’)

Nouns that have their singular in class 5 have their plural in class 6 (example (45)), and nouns that have their singular in class 7 have their plural in class 8 (example (46)).

(45)	class 5	<i>ø-sèsì</i>	‘bullfrog’
	class 6	<i>mà-sèsì</i>	‘bullfrogs’
	class 5	<i>ø-nókà</i>	‘hip’
	class 6	<i>mà-nókà</i>	‘hips’

5 Noun classes

(46)	class 7	<i>cì-bàtá</i>	‘scar’
	class 8	<i>zì-bàtá</i>	‘scars’
	class 7	<i>cì-fwìnsò</i>	‘stopper’
	class 8	<i>zì-fwìnsò</i>	‘stoppers’

Some nouns that have their singular in class 9 have their plural in class 10, as in (47). Other nouns that have their singular in class 9 have their plural in class 6, as in (48).

(47)	class 9	<i>m-búfù</i>	‘bream’
	class 10	<i>m-búfù</i>	‘brems’
	class 9	<i>m-pámpà</i>	‘forked stick’
	class 10	<i>m-pámpà</i>	‘forked sticks’
	class 9	<i>n-cùpà</i>	‘whip’
	class 10	<i>n-cùpà</i>	‘whips’
(48)	class 9	<i>n-júò</i>	‘house’
	class 6	<i>mà-zγúò</i>	‘houses’
	class 9	<i>n-gómà</i>	‘drum’
	class 6	<i>mà-ómà</i>	‘drums’
	class 9	<i>n-ká' mbámò</i>	‘slope’
	class 6	<i>mà-nká' mbámò</i>	‘slopes’

Nouns that have their singular in class 11 have their corresponding plural in class 10, as in the examples in (49), or in class 6, as the examples in (50). Class 11 is also used as a singulative; examples are given in section 5.4.

(49)	class 11	<i>rù-kànì</i>	‘jaw’
	class 10	<i>n-kànì</i>	‘jaws’
	class 11	<i>rù-shòshò</i>	‘shinbone’
	class 10	<i>n-shòshò</i>	‘shinbones’
(50)	class 11	<i>rù-nákà</i>	‘horn’
	class 6	<i>mà-nákà</i>	‘horns’
	class 11	<i>rù-tàngò</i>	‘story, proverb’
	class 6	<i>mà-tàngò</i>	‘stories, proverbs’

Nouns that have their singular in class 12 have their plural in class 13.

(51)	class 12	<i>kà-cíyó'cíyò</i>	‘chick’
	class 13	<i>tù-cíyó'cíyò</i>	‘chicks’
	class 12	<i>kà-nyàndì</i>	‘fishing net’
	class 13	<i>tù-nyàndì</i>	‘fishing nets’

Class 14 contains mostly nouns that occur only in the singular. Nouns with their singular in class 14 that do have a plural have their plural in class 6.

- | | | | |
|------|----------|------------------|-------------|
| (52) | class 14 | <i>bú-tà</i> | ‘bow’ |
| | class 6 | <i>má-tà</i> | ‘bows’ |
| (53) | class 14 | <i>bù-kwízyù</i> | ‘fig tree’ |
| | class 6 | <i>mà-kwízyù</i> | ‘fig trees’ |

Only four nouns are attested that have their singular in class 15. These have their plural in class 6. In addition to these four nouns, class 15 only contains nominalized infinitives, which have no corresponding plural form.

- | | | | |
|------|----------|---------------|-----------|
| (54) | class 15 | <i>kú-twì</i> | ‘ear’ |
| | class 6 | <i>má-twì</i> | ‘ears’ |
| (55) | class 15 | <i>kw-àhà</i> | ‘armpit’ |
| | class 6 | <i>m-àhà</i> | ‘armpits’ |

Some nouns occur only in a singular class, and have no corresponding plural. These are found in most classes, except those that are dedicated plurals, and class 1, which is restricted to human referents. Many of these refer to abstract concepts, uncountable objects or mass nouns, i.e. objects where counting is irrelevant or impossible.

- | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| (56) | class 1a | <i>shómbò</i> | ‘cassava leaves’ |
| | class 1a | <i>mvùrà</i> | ‘rain’ |
| | class 3 | <i>mù-mè</i> | ‘dew’ |
| | class 3 | <i>mù-rízìngè</i> | ‘ivy’ |
| | class 5 | <i>dùdùsá</i> | ‘dust’ |
| | class 5 | <i>húzyà</i> | ‘breath’ |
| | class 7 | <i>cì-fwè</i> | ‘Fwe (language)’ |
| | class 7 | <i>cì-nyùngèrà</i> | ‘type of dish’ |
| | class 9 | <i>m-bùndù</i> | ‘mist’ |
| | class 9 | <i>nyòtà</i> | ‘thirst’ |
| | class 11 | <i>rú-hò</i> | ‘wind’ |
| | class 11 | <i>rù-nèmbwè</i> | ‘cannabis’ |
| | class 12 | <i>kà-mwí</i> | ‘heat; mid-day’ |
| | class 12 | <i>ká-nsìkwè</i> | ‘darkness’ |

Fwe has also a number of nouns that occur only in a plural noun class, without a corresponding singular form. These are mainly found in class 6, as well as in class 8 and 10, and include mass nouns, especially liquids, as well as certain abstract concepts.

- | | | | |
|------|---------|--------------------|------------------|
| (57) | class 6 | <i>m-énjì</i> | ‘water’ |
| | class 6 | <i>mà-shéshwà</i> | ‘marriage’ |
| | class 6 | <i>mà-síkù</i> | ‘night’ |
| | class 8 | <i>zí-ryò</i> | ‘food’ |
| | class 8 | <i>zì-zyàmbìrò</i> | ‘gathered foods’ |

class 10	<i>n-shúkì</i>	‘hair’
class 10	<i>n-kúnì</i>	‘firewood’
class 10	<i>n-tètè</i>	‘berries sp.’

5.4 The semantics of noun classes

Some noun classes have clear semantic rules that govern membership, other noun classes are used for a variety of different nouns with no clear semantic coherence. An overview of the semantics of each noun class is given in (58).

(58) The semantics of noun classes

- 1 humans
- 2 plural of class 1, 1a
- 1a mainly animates
- 3 nature, tree and plant names; single body parts; tools; miscellaneous
- 4 plural of class 3
- 5 no clear semantics
- 6 plural of class 5; mass nouns, liquids; deverbal nouns; miscellaneous
- 7 no clear semantics
- 8 plural of class 7
- 9 no clear semantics
- 10 plural of class 9, 11
- 11 elongated objects; singulative; miscellaneous
- 12 diminutives, miscellaneous
- 13 plural of class 12
- 14 abstract nouns, mass nouns, miscellaneous
- 15 body parts, verbs
- 16 location: on, at or near
- 17 location, direction
- 18 location: inside

The semantic principles underlying the noun class system are also used for derivation. Nouns may be shifted from their inherent noun class to a different noun class, involving a change in semantics. Examples of this will be given in this section.

Class 1 (and the corresponding plural class 2) is exclusively used for nouns referring to humans.

(59) Semantics of class 1 nouns

<i>mù-ntù</i>	‘person’
<i>mù-sá</i>	‘thief’
<i>mù-rámù</i>	‘brother-in-law’
<i>mù-shèrè</i>	‘friend’
<i>mù-súmbà</i>	‘pregnant woman’

Class 1a is mainly used for animate nouns, some human, including personal names, some non-human, although it also contains a few inanimates, mainly edible plants.

(60) Semantics of class 1a nouns

Humans	<i>kàpàsò</i>	‘policeman’
	<i>màriánjò</i>	‘virgin’
	<i>ɲàngà</i>	‘doctor’
	<i>mfúzi</i>	‘blacksmith’
Names	<i>nyàmbè</i>	‘Nyambe (boy’s name)’
	<i>nèzyúbà</i>	‘Nezyuba (girl’s name)’
Animals	<i>mvwì</i>	‘kudu’
	<i>ɲárò</i>	‘chameleon’
	<i>ngwènà</i>	‘crocodile’
	<i>nkàngà</i>	‘guinea fowl’
Plants	<i>(kà)ngùrù</i>	‘sweet potato’
	<i>mbwítì</i>	‘horned melon’
	<i>shómbò</i>	‘cassava leaves’
	<i>ndôngò</i>	‘groundnuts’
Inanimates	<i>mvúrà</i>	‘rain’
	<i>(m)pótò</i>	‘pot’

Nouns referring to humans are rarely found in classes other than class 1 and 1a, except nouns inherently belonging to class 1 or 1a that are shifted to another noun class as a derivational process. Nouns referring to humans in class 1a are mainly restricted to borrowings, e.g. the English or Afrikaans borrowing *ò-dokota* ‘doctor’, the Lozi borrowing *ò-kàpàsò* ‘policeman’ and the Mbukushu borrowing *ò-ngenda* ‘traveler’. Other human nouns in class 1a are kinship terms, e.g. *mámà* ‘grandmother’, *mâyè* ‘mother’, *bbábbà* ‘grandfather’.

The majority of nouns in class 1a are words for animals. All these nouns have a prenasalized consonant as their initial consonant. These nouns were originally in class 9, which has a homorganic nasal as a nominal prefix, but have shifted to class 1a without losing their nasal prefix. Synchronic variation supporting this is seen with the use of the noun *-ngwè* ‘leopard’, which can occur in class 1a or class 9 (see also 5.1). There is no semantic coherence as to which animal names are found in class 1a: this class includes names for both wild and domesticated animals, large and small, animals used by humans for various purposes and animals that have no such use.

A group of nouns in class 1a that cuts across semantic groupings is nouns with a derivational prefix *shi-/si-* or *na-*. These nouns, which can refer to humans, animals or plants, are invariably assigned to class 1a. For more on this derivational strategy, see section 6.2.2.

Class 2 is not only used as the standard plural class for nouns that take their singular in class 1 or 1a (see previous section), but also to refer to one person in a respectful way. This use of class 2 differs from the plural use of class 2 because the prefix is used as a secondary prefix; it precedes, rather than replaces, the original nominal prefix. Nouns where the class 2 prefix is used as a secondary prefix can never take an augment.

- (61) (*à)bàmùkèntù
 ba-mu-kéntu
 NP₂-NP₁-woman
 ‘a woman, lady; wife’

- (62) (*à)bàmùrúí
 a-ba-mu-rutí
 NP₂-NP₁-teacher
 ‘a teacher’

Though nouns with a secondary class 2 prefix keep their original nominal prefix, they do take the class 2 agreement pattern, as shown in (63), where the noun *bàmùrúí*, derived with the class 2 prefix, triggers the use of a pronominal prefix of class 2.

- (63) *bàmùrúí bó'ngánà*
 ba-mu-rutí ba-ó=nganá
 NP₂-NP₁-teacher PP₂-CON=smart
 ‘a smart teacher’

This differs from the use of the locative classes 16, 17 and 18, whose prefixes are also used in addition to the nouns original prefix, but who keep the agreement pattern of the original noun class (see section 5.5). Even more complicated agreement patterns are seen with the nouns *mùkèntù* ‘wife’ and *múkw'ámè* ‘husband’; when used with a possessive, the possessive is marked with class 1 agreement even when the head noun is marked with a class 2 honorific prefix. Other modifiers, however, do take class 2 agreement, as is the case with the demonstrative in (65), and the subject and object marker referring to *bàmùkèntù wángù* ‘my wife’, used in (66).

- (64) *bàmùkèntù wángù*
 ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my wife’

- (65) *àbá bàmú'kwámè wénù*
 a-bá ba-mú-kwamé u-enú
 AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-NP₁-husband PP₁-POSS_{2PL}
 ‘this husband of yours’ (NF_Narr15)

- (66) *hàibà bàmùkèntù wángù bàkwèsì nyàzì mbòndíbàkà:nè*
 háiba ba-mu-kéntu u-angú ba-kwesi N-nyazi
 when NP₂-NP₁-wife PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₂-have NP₉-lover
 mbo-ndí-ba_H-ká_Hn-e
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₂-refuse-PFV.SBJV
 ‘If my wife has a lover, I will divorce her.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The honorific use of *ba-* is required when the speaker wants to refer to anyone older than himself, as well as to anyone who generally commands respect, such as teach-

ers, policemen, chiefs and other figures of authority. The honorific prefix can also be used with personal names.

(67) *bá-nyàmbè*
'Mr. Nyambe'

(68) *bà-klàwùdìà*
'Mrs. Claudia'

Plurality as a marker of respect is not restricted to the use of class 2 morphology on nouns. Even when no noun is used, class 2 agreement can be used to refer to a singular person in a respectful way, such as the use of the class 2 subject marker in (69), or the class 2 object marker, in (70).

(69) *bàzyíbéhèrè*
ba-zyi_Hb-éhere
SM₂-know-NEUT.STAT
'S/he is well-known.'

(70) *mùbàhé cìpùrà bàkàréhò*
mu-ba_H-ha_H-é *ci-pura* *ba-ka_Hr-e=hó*
SM_{2PL}-OM₂-give-PFV.SBJV NP₇-chair SM₂-sit-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₆
'Give her a chair to sit on.' (NF_Elic15)

The use of plural forms as a marker of respect is also used for the second person; this use is discussed for subject and object markers in sections 9.1-9.2, and for personal pronouns in section 7.6.

Class 3 contains nouns from various semantic fields: trees, plants, or other natural phenomena in the broad sense of the word; body parts, mainly those who occur on their own rather than in pairs; tools, for instance used in cooking, hunting, medical procedures, or for general chores. Many other nouns in class 3 do not fall in either of these categories.

(71) Semantics of class 3/4 nouns

Trees	<i>mù-swítì</i>	'magic guarri (<i>Euclea divinorum</i>)
	<i>mù-táfùnànjòvù</i>	'acacia'
	<i>mù-kùsì</i>	'Zambezi teak (<i>Baikiaea plurijuga</i>)'
Plants	<i>mù-nshàrè</i>	'sugar cane'
	<i>mù-shwátì</i>	'sugar cane'
	<i>mù-tébè</i>	'reed (<i>Typha capensis</i>)'
Natural phenomena	<i>mw-ézi</i>	'moon, month'
	<i>mù-fwè</i>	'stone'
	<i>mù-nùnkò</i>	'(bad) smell'
	<i>mú-'nzúré</i>	'shadow; malaria'
	<i>m-òyà</i>	'wind'

5 Noun classes

Unpaired body parts	<i>mù-cìrà</i>	‘tail’
	<i>m-òzyò</i>	‘heart’
	<i>mù-rívù</i>	‘windpipe’
	<i>mù-shànà</i>	‘back’
Tools	<i>mù-shúwì</i>	‘horn for sucking blood from a wound’
	<i>mù-sókwànì</i>	‘stirring stick’
	<i>mù-nséfà</i>	‘sieve’
	<i>mw-ìnshì</i>	‘pestle’
	<i>mù-wàýò</i>	‘arrow’
Miscellaneous	<i>mù-zìò</i>	‘load’
	<i>mù-zwákêrà</i>	‘poison’
	<i>mù-súngà</i>	‘belt’
	<i>mù-sébézì</i>	‘work’

Class 5 contains nouns with varying semantics: nouns referring to paired body parts; other paired items; mass nouns. Class 5 also contains many loanwords from non-Bantu languages; their incorporation into class 5 is the result of the zero nominal prefix of this class.

(72) Semantics of class 5 nouns

Paired body parts	<i>háfù</i>	‘lung’
	<i>nshwé</i>	‘breast’
	<i>rákàtà</i>	‘gill’
	<i>r-ìshò</i>	‘eye’
Other paired items	<i>nyàtérà</i>	‘sandal’
	<i>nyìnyámì</i>	‘earring’
	<i>sìkíò</i>	‘earring’
	<i>kàmbà</i>	‘river bank’
Mass nouns	<i>shékèshékè</i>	‘sand’
	<i>tàpà</i>	‘mud’
	<i>tú’kútà</i>	‘dirt’
	<i>é-twè</i>	‘ash’
	<i>sútù</i>	‘chaff’
Loanwords	<i>fònì</i>	‘phone’
	<i>jókwè</i>	‘yoke’
	<i>sákà</i>	‘bag’; borrowed from Afrikaans <i>sak</i> ‘bag’
	<i>hèmèrè</i>	‘bucket’; borrowed from Afrikaans <i>emmer</i> ‘bucket’
	⁹ <i>lúmù</i>	‘edible reed’; borrowed from Ju <i>g#kò’m</i> ‘milky sap’ (Gunnink et al. 2015: 227)

As discussed in the previous section, many nouns that occur only in the plural form are found in class 6. These include non-count nouns, especially those referring to liquids; paired items that are always referred to with a plural form, or only occur in the plural; abstract concepts, and deverbal nouns.

(73) Semantics of class 6 nouns

Non-count nouns	<i>mà-hìrà</i>	‘sorghum’
	<i>mà-shérèjì</i>	‘money’
	<i>mà-béré</i>	‘millet’
Liquids	<i>mà-bìsì</i>	‘sour milk’
	<i>mà-ròhà</i>	‘blood’
	<i>m-énjì</i>	‘water’
Paired items	<i>mà-gìrázì</i>	‘(eye-)glasses’
	<i>mà-shángànjìrà</i>	‘crossroads’
	<i>mà-zγòvù</i>	‘twins’
Abstract concepts	<i>mà-ntà</i>	‘power’
	<i>mà-rwézyà</i>	‘taboo’
Deverbal nouns	<i>mà-hóndérò</i>	‘kitchen’; cf. <i>kù -hònd-à</i> ‘to cook’
	<i>mà-kwátìrò</i>	‘handle’ cf. <i>kù-kwát-à</i> ‘to grab’
	<i>mà-ràrò</i>	‘room’ cf. <i>kù-ràr-à</i> ‘to sleep’

Nouns in class 7 mostly refer to inanimate objects, including those derived from verbs, or to the names of languages.

(74) Semantics of class 7 nouns

Miscellaneous inanimate	<i>cì-zùmà</i>	‘basket with lid’
	<i>cì-byà</i>	‘household item’
	<i>cì-mátè</i>	‘wall’
Deverbal nouns	<i>cì-fwìnsò</i>	‘stopper, seal’, cf. <i>kù-fwìns-à</i> ‘to seal’
	<i>cì-fò</i>	‘poison used in hunting’, cf. <i>kù-fw-à</i> ‘to die’
	<i>cì-àzò</i>	‘door’ cf. <i>kù-àrà</i> ‘to close’
	<i>cì-bónàntù</i>	‘something visible’, cf. <i>kù-bón-à</i> ‘to see’
	<i>cì-téndàntù</i>	‘action’ cf. <i>kù-tènd-à</i> ‘to do’
Language names	<i>cì-fwè</i>	‘Fwe’
	<i>cì-búrù</i>	‘Afrikaans’
	<i>cì-kúwà</i>	‘English’
	<i>cì-rwízyì</i>	‘Lozi’

Some nouns in class 7 have a derogatory meaning, or express something that is useless, bad, or broken. The derogatory meaning of class 7 may be seen in underived nouns; class 7 contains the names of diseases, of dysfunctional or undesirable body

parts, of animals that are useless or harmful to humans, and of humans of low social status, or with physical disabilities; the latter, however, may also occur in class 1.

(75) Class 7 nouns with a derogatory meaning

Diseases	<i>cì-kázi</i>	‘women’s disease’
	<i>cì-shá’mátwà</i>	‘kind of illness (involving nau-sea)’
Disfunctional/ undesirable body parts	<i>cì-sóngò</i>	‘kind of illness’
	<i>cì-rwârù</i>	‘disease (generic)’
	<i>cì-tùkùtùkù</i>	‘sweat’
	<i>cì-bâtà</i>	‘scar’
	<i>cì-ⁿlúshù</i>	‘sore’
	<i>cì-rábì</i>	‘wound’
Useless or harm- ful animals	<i>cì-mbòtwè</i>	‘frog’
	<i>cì-sínzì</i>	‘termite’
	<i>cì-shúmì</i>	‘biting insect’
	<i>cì-rì</i>	‘puff-adder’
	<i>cì-bàtànà</i>	‘predator, wild animal’
Humans with physical disabili- ties or low social status	<i>cì-nkómbwà</i>	‘slave’
	<i>cì-púrùpúrù</i>	‘deaf and dumb person’
	<i>cì-dàkwà</i>	‘heavy drinker, alcoholic’
	<i>cì-kébéngà</i>	‘criminal’
	<i>cì-hórè</i>	‘disabled person’
	<i>cí-yàzì</i>	‘traitor’

A derogatory meaning can also be derived by shifting a noun to class 7, for instance *ó-m-bwà* ‘dog’, inherently in class 1a, can be shifted to class 7 *cí-bbwà* ‘stupid/ugly dog’ to derive a derogative. Class 7 agreement may also be used to express a derogative meaning. The following excerpt from a story is illustrative in this regard. The speaker relays how he cuts off his own eye that has been wounded. The word for ‘eye’, *rínshò*, is used in its inherent class 5 as long as it is attached to his body; once cut off, he refers to the eye with agreement concords of class 7. This is in line with the tendency for class 7 to contain dysfunctional body parts.

- (76) *àhà ndíkè:zyà kùtèyè èrì rínshò ndìzèràzèrà ndìrikóshórèkò búryò*
a-ha ndí-ke:zy-a kutéye e-rí ri-ínsho
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-come-FV that AUG-DEM.I₅ NP₅-eye
ndi-zera-zer-á ndi-ri_H-ko_Hshór-e=ko bu-ryó
SM_{1SG}-PL2-dangle-FV SM_{1SG}-OM₅-cut-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇ NP₁₄-just
‘Then, when I saw that the eye was dangling, let me just cut it.’

- (77) *àhà ndákùcíkòshòrà*
a-ha ndí-aku-cí-koshor-a
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-NPST.IPFV-OM₇-cut-FV
‘When I had cut it...’ (ZF_Narr14)

The semantics of nouns in class 9/10 is very varied; it contains words for manufactured objects, for a wide variety of mental and physical sensations, abstract concepts, especially those derived from verbs, and animals, especially those that are useful for humans, which includes but is not limited to domesticated animals. This is not an exhaustive list of categories; many nouns in class 9/10 do not fit these semantic criteria.

(78) Semantics of class 9/10 nouns

Manufactured objects	<i>ɲòmézò</i>	‘button’
	<i>zándò</i>	‘fishing trap (made out of reed)’
	<i>n-gòmà</i>	‘drum (musical instrument)’
	<i>n-kwánà</i>	‘pot for beer or water’
Mental and physical sensations	<i>fúfà</i>	‘jealousy’
	<i>nyótà</i>	‘thirst’
	<i>m-péhò</i>	‘cold; malaria’
	<i>n-zózi</i> ¹⁴	‘dreaming’
	<i>n-sépò</i>	‘hope’
	<i>ɲónzì</i>	‘sleep, drowsiness’
Abstract concepts	<i>n-tùkèrò</i>	‘responsibility, right’
	<i>n-gàzyàrò</i>	‘plan’
	<i>n-kàwùhànò</i>	‘divorce’
	<i>n-gùrìsò</i>	‘profit’
Useful animals	<i>n-gù</i>	‘sheep’
	<i>ɲòmbè</i>	‘cow’
	<i>m-pénè</i>	‘goat’
	<i>m-bòmà</i>	‘python’ ¹⁵
	<i>n-swì</i>	‘fish’
	<i>m-púkà</i>	‘bee’

Class II contains many nouns referring to elongated objects, including grass and reed species.

(79) Semantics of class 11 nouns

Reed species	<i>rù-tàkà</i>	‘reed’
	<i>rù-ⁿlálà</i>	‘sedge-leaf (<i>Kylinga alba</i>)’
	<i>rù-lómà</i>	‘papyrus’
	<i>rù-kwé</i>	‘reed (<i>Schoenoplectus corymbosus</i>)’
Grass species	<i>rù-gwàràrà</i>	‘grass (<i>Juncus kraussii</i>)’
	<i>rù-síwù</i>	‘grass (<i>Cyperus fulgens</i>)’
	<i>rù-fíyérò</i>	‘grass (<i>Stipagrostis uniplumis</i>)’
Other elongated objects	<i>rù-kwákwà</i>	‘fence’
	<i>rw-ízγì</i>	‘river’
	<i>rù-hátì</i>	‘rib’

¹⁴ Fwe distinguishes *nzózì*, the process of dreaming, from *cì-ròtò*, the content of the dream.

¹⁵ As I was told by my informants, the python is the only snake that is eaten.

5 Noun classes

<i>rù-shòshò</i>	‘tibia’
<i>rù-òngòrà</i>	‘backbone’

Class II is also used as to derive a singulative; a noun stem can be shifted to class II to express a singular entity of something that usually does not occur by itself.

(80) Singulative use of class 11

class 3	<i>mù-tàkà</i>	‘reeds’
class 11	<i>rù-tàkà</i>	‘a single reed’
class 1a	<i>ò-ndôngò</i>	‘groundnuts’
class 11	<i>rù-ndôngò</i>	‘a single groundnut’
class 10	<i>m-bàrè</i>	‘seeds, pips’
class 11	<i>rù-bàrè</i>	‘a single seed, pip’
class 14	<i>bw-ékè</i>	‘grains’
class 11	<i>rw-ékè</i>	‘a single grain’

Class 12/13 is the diminutive class; it contains a number of nouns that only occur in class 12/13, mostly nouns referring to small things, including small animals, and also a number of utensils and tools used in food preparation.

(81) Semantics of class 12 nouns

Small items	<i>kà-shòtò</i>	‘fish hook’
	<i>ká-nshèrèrè</i>	‘small mushroom sp.’
	<i>kà-nyùndwè</i>	‘pebble’
	<i>kà-shùtò</i>	‘fishing hook’
Small animals	<i>kà-nàmání</i>	‘calf’
	<i>kà-cíyó’cíyò</i>	‘chick’
	<i>kà-bérébèrè</i>	‘centipede’
	<i>kà-mbàryàmbàryà</i>	‘lizard sp.’
Small body parts	<i>kà-téntèrè</i>	‘xiphoid bone’
	<i>ká-^lnénsà</i>	‘pink, little toe’
	<i>kà-síyè</i>	‘forehead wrinkle’
Utensils	<i>kà-túò</i>	‘spoon’
	<i>kà-súbà</i>	‘dish’
	<i>kà-róngò</i>	‘pot’
	<i>kà-nkúnè</i>	‘smoking shelve’ (for smoking foods, such as fish)
	<i>kà-fùrò</i>	‘knife’
	<i>kà-ìngà</i>	‘bowl’

Class 12/13 is productively used to derive a diminutive from nouns that occur in other classes.

(82) Diminutive derivation with class 12

5 Noun classes

class 1	<i>mw-âncè</i>	‘child’
class 12	<i>k-âncè</i>	‘small child’
class 5	<i>hànjà</i>	‘hand’
class 12	<i>kà-hànjà</i>	‘small hand’
class 7	<i>cì-pùrà</i>	‘chair’
class 12	<i>kà-pùrà</i>	‘stool’
class 9	<i>n-júò</i>	‘house’
class 12	<i>kà-júò</i>	‘small house’

Nouns in this class may also be combined with the diminutive suffix *-ána*. For more on the use of the diminutive suffix, see section 6.2.1.

Class 14 contains mainly words for abstract concepts, but also a few mass nouns, and a few words for types of trees, especially large trees.

(83) Semantics of class 14 nouns

Abstract concepts	<i>bú-sò</i>	‘front’
	<i>bù-hàrò</i>	‘life’
	<i>bù-zúnzù</i>	‘loneliness’
	<i>bù-sírù</i>	‘stupidity’
	<i>bù-shèbè</i>	‘gossip’
Mass nouns	<i>bù-cì</i>	‘honey’
	<i>bw-ékè</i>	‘grains’
	<i>bù-sùnsò</i>	‘relish’
Trees	<i>bù-kwízyù</i>	‘fig tree’
	<i>bù-hómà</i>	‘mongongo tree (<i>Schinziophyton rautanenii</i>)’
	<i>bù-zýíyì</i>	‘tree (<i>Berchemia discolor</i>)’

Abstract nouns can also be derived from other nouns by shifting to class 14. The addition of the class 14 nominal prefix also derives abstract nouns from adjectives.

(84) Derived abstract nouns in class 14

class 1	<i>mù-ntù</i>	‘person’
class 14	<i>bù-ntù</i>	‘humanity’
class 1	<i>mù-ròzì</i>	‘witch’
class 14	<i>bù-ròzì</i>	‘witchcraft’
class 1	<i>mù-kúwà</i>	‘white person’
class 14	<i>bù-kúwà</i>	‘town; any area dominated by white people’
adjective	<i>-kúrù</i>	‘old’
class 14	<i>bù-kúrù</i>	‘old age’

adjective	-ré:	‘long’
class 14	bù-ré:	‘length’

Class 15 contains only four nouns, all referring to parts of the body (see examples (54)–(55) in section (34)). Some of these are being reassigned to class 5, e.g. *kú-twì* ‘ear’ and *kù-bókò* can also function as class 5 nouns, losing their class 15 prefix *ku-*. The remainder of this class consists of infinitives, which can function as nouns: an infinitive can for instance function as a subject, triggering subject agreement of class 15 on the verb.

- (85) *òkùhísà kwàndikwángìsì*
 o-ku-ís-a ku-a-ndi-kwáng-is-i
 AUG-INF-burn-FV SM₁₅-PST-OM_{1SG}-tire-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 ‘The heat has made me tired.’ (NF_Elic15)

Classes 16, 17 and 18 are locative classes. Very few nouns have inherent class 16, 17 or 18 membership, and these classes are mainly used derivational; their semantics are discussed in section 5.5.

5.5 The locative noun classes

Class 16, 17 and 18 are locative classes; they indicate a location on (class 16), at (class 17) or in (class 18) an object. Only one nominal root occurs inherently in the locative noun classes; the root *-ntu*, which may occur in class 16 *ha-ntu*, class 17 *ku-ntu*, and class 18 *mu-ntu*. This same nominal root occurs also in other, non-locative noun classes, e.g. class 1 *mu-ntu* ‘person’, class 7 *ci-ntu* ‘thing’, class 11 *ru-ntu* ‘pupil (of the eye)’, and class 14 *bu-ntu* ‘humanity’. The nouns *ha-ntu* / *ku-ntu* / *mu-ntu* are inherent members of the locative classes, as the locative prefix is the only nominal prefix they take, and the agreement pattern they take is that of the locative classes, as shown for the class 16 noun *hàntù* ‘place’, in the following example.

- (86) *hàntù hònké:*
 ha-ntu ha-o=nké:
 NP₁₆-place PP₁₆-CON=one
 ‘one place, the same place’

Nouns that are not inherent members of the locative classes can also be used in the locative classes, in which case the locative prefixes is used as a secondary prefix. The locative prefix precedes the noun’s own nominal prefix.

- (87) *hàmùkwàkwà*
 ha-mu-kwakwa
 NP₁₆-NP₃-road
 ‘on the road’

- (88) *kùrùwà*
 ku-ru-wa
 NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ‘at the field’

- (89) *mùmùnzi*
 mu-mu-nzi
 NP₁₈-NP₃-village
 ‘in the village’

Locative nominal prefixes surface as low-toned at the beginning of an utterance, including in isolation, as in the previous examples. Locative nominal prefixes are realized with a high tone when the locative noun is not the first element in the sentence.

- (90) Sentence-initial: low-toned locative prefix
kùmùnzi òkò ndí'kàrà nkùré:
 ku-mu-nzi o-ko ndí-kar-á N-ku-ré:
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-stay-FV COP-NP₁₇-long
 ‘The village where I live is far.’

- (91) Sentence-medial: high-toned locative prefix
ndìshàká cáhà kùyà kùmùnzi
 ndi-shak-á cáha ku-y-a kú-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV very INF-go-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘I really want to go home.’ (NF_Elic15)

Nouns that are marked with a secondary locative prefix keep the agreement pattern of their original noun class, and do not use the agreement pattern of the locative class. This is seen in (92), where the class 3 noun *mù-twí* ‘head’ is used with the class 16 locative prefix *ha-*, but the possessive modifying it takes class 3 agreement rather than class 16 agreement. A similar example is given in (93), where the class 7 noun *cì-bàkà* ‘place’, is used with the class 17 locative prefix *ku-*, but triggers class 7 agreement on its dependents.

- (92) *hàmùtwí 'wángù*
 ha-mu-twí u-angú
 NP₁₆-NP₃-head PP₃-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘on my head’

- (93) *ndìshàmbà kúcìbàkà címwìnyà córwízyì*
 ndi-shám-b-a kú-ci-baka cí-mwinya ci-ó=ru-ízyi
 SM_{1SG}-swim-FV NP₁₇-NP₇-place PP₇-other PP₇-CON=NP₁₁-river
 ‘I swim to the other side of the river.’ (NF_Elic15)

When the locative prefix is used on a demonstrative, the demonstrative usually retains its augment vowel.

- (94) *hèrìn' ésháshà*
 ha-e-riná e-ø-shásha
 NP₁₆-AUG-DEM.IV₅ AUG-NP₅-mat
 'on that mat' (NF_Elic17)
- (95) *rìyá kwábà bàkázàná básishèshìwá*
 ri-y-á kú-a-ba ba-kázana bá-si_H-she_Hsh-iw-á
 SM₅-GO-FV NP₁₇-AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-lady SM₂.REL-PRS-marry-PASS-FV
 'It [the story] goes to these ladies who are not yet married.' (NF_Narr17)

When the locative prefix is used on a noun, the noun usually drops its augment vowel. An exception occurs only in Namibian Fwe, and only with nouns that take an augment *e-*, and that lack a syllabic noun class prefix, e.g. those of class 5, 9 or 10. The regular rules of vowel hiatus resolution apply (see section 3.2), resulting in the forms *ha-* *e-* > *he-* for class 16, *ku-* *e-* > *kwi-* for class 17, and *mu-* *e-* > *mwi-* for class 18. Influence of the augment is never seen in sentence-initial forms; as the high tone on the locative prefix is also never used sentence-initially, and the augment is associated with a floating high tone (see section 5.2 on the augment), it is likely that these two phenomena are related.

- (96) *ndìrá:rà hésháshà*
 ndi-rá_H-a há-e-ø-shásha
 SM_{1SG}-sleep-FV NP₁₆-AUG-NP₅-mat
 'I sleep on a mat.' (NF_Elic15)
- (97) *mbòndìshùmin' ómùhàrà kwíténdè*
 mbo-ndí-shu_Hmin-é o-mu-hara kú-e-ø-ténde
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-tie-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₃-rope NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-foot
 'I will tie the rope to my foot.' (NF_Narr15)
- (98) *kùshàmbà mwízìbà*
 ku-shamb-a mú-e-ø-ziba
 INF-SWIM-FV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-lake
 'to swim in the lake'

These forms are not found in Zambian Fwe, and even in Namibian Fwe, the change of *ku-* and *mu-* to *kwi-* and *mwi-* before *e-* is optional; this could be related to the optional status of the augment vowel (see section 5.2), where the *ku-* and *mu-* forms indicate that the noun is used without an augment.

The locative prefixes of class 17 and 18 have an allomorph that is used with names; *kwa-* for class 17 and *mwa-* for class 18. The locative prefix of class 16 *ha-* remains unchanged when used with names.

- (99) *hàMàkàngà*
 ha-Makángà
 NP₁₆-Makanga
 'at Makanga'

- (100) *kwàMòngù*
 kwa-Mongu
 NP₁₇-Mongu
 ‘in Mongu’

- (101) *mwàNàmìbià*
 mwa-Namibia
 NP₁₈-Namibia
 ‘in Namibia’

If a locative prefix is used with a place name that begins with a vowel, an extra *sh* is added to avoid the coalescence of two vowels.

- (102) *mwàshímúshò*
 mwa-sh-Imúsho
 NP₁₈-LOC-Imusho
 ‘in Imusho’

When a noun has a pronominal modifier, the locative prefix is prefixed to this modifier, rather than to the noun itself. Examples are given in (103) with the demonstrative, whose canonical position is before the noun it modifies (see section 7.2 on demonstratives), and in (104) with the possessive, which is pre-nominal when used contrastively (see section 7.5 on possessives).

- (103) *mòwíná múnzì*
 mu-o-winá mu-nzi
 NP₁₈-DEM.IV₃ NP₃-village
 ‘in that village’

- (104) *mùwètú mùshòbò*
 mu-u-etú mu-shobo
 NP₁₈-PP₃-POSS_{1PL} NP₃-language
 ‘in *our* language’

The three locative noun classes each have their own semantics. Class 16 is used to mark a location on something, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (105) *kúkàrà háci-purà*
 kú-kar-a há-ci-purá
 INF-sit-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-chair
 ‘to sit on a chair’

- (106) *àrà:rà hámùmbétà*
 a-rá:_{HR}-a há-mu-mbetá
 SM₁-sleep-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-bed
 ‘S/he sleeps on the bed.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (107) *àkè:zyà kùzyímanà hékàmbà*
 a-ké:zy-a ku-zyíman-a há-e-ø-kamba
 SM₁-come-FVINF-stand-FV NP₁₆-AUG-NP₅-bank
 ‘He comes to stand on the river bank.’ (NF_Narr15)

The class 16 locative can also be used to indicate a more general location at or near something, as in (108) and (109).

- (108) *tùzànà hámu:kítì*
 tu-zán-a há-mu-kití
 SM_{1PL}-dance-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-party
 ‘We dance at the party.’

- (109) *àzyíméné hácìzyì*
 a-zyi_Hméne há-ci-zyi
 SM₁-stand.STAT NP₁₆-NP₇-door
 ‘S/he stands at the door.’ (NF_Elic15)

When combined with the verb *-zwà* ‘come out’, the class 16 locative can be used to indicate a motion away from an original point.

- (110) *àmàròhà àzwá hàcìrábì*
 a-ma-roha a-zw-á ha-ci-rabí
 AUG-NP₆-blood SM₆-come_out-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-wound
 ‘Blood comes from the wound.’ (NF_Elic15)

The class 17 locative is mostly used to express a more general location at or near something, as in (111)–(112), or a direction, as in (113).

- (111) *àbàncè kùcìkóró kábàkénà shúnù*
 a-ba-ánce ku-ci-koró ka-bá-kena shúnu
 AUG-NP₂-child NP₁₇-NP₇-school PST.IPFV-SM₂-be_at today
 ‘The children were at school today.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (112) *ndàmùsíyì kù kùnjìrà*
 ndi-a-mu-sí-i ku ku-N-jira
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-leave-NPST.PFV DEM.I₁₇ NP₁₇-NP₉-path
 ‘I’ve left him there, on the path.’ (ZF_Narr13)

- (113) *ndìyá 'kúmùnzì*
 ndi-y-á kú-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-go-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘I go home.’ (NF_Elic15)

The class 18 locative is used to express a location inside something, as in (114)–(115). With verbs of motion, the class 18 locative expresses a movement into, or out of, a location inside an object, as in (116)–(117).

- (114) *ndìkèrè múnjúò*
 ndi-ke_Hre mú-N-júo
 SM_{1SG}-sit.STAT NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 ‘I’m sitting in the house.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (115) *ècìkúni càkùrí kùdànsì múnjírà*
 e-ci-kúni ci-aku-rí ku-dáns-i mu-N-jíra
 AUG-NP₇-stick SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be INF-lie-IMP.STAT NP₁₈-NP₉-path
 ‘The stick was lying on the path.’
- (116) *àshòtòkérá mùménjì*
 a-sho_Htok-er-á mu-ma-ínji
 SM₁-jump-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-water
 ‘S/he jumps into the water.’
- (117) *òzwé mùkàmwí*
 o-zw-é mu-ka-mwí
 SM_{2SG}-come_out-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₁₂-sun
 ‘Come out of the sun.’ (NF_Elic15)

The locative prefixes also have a number of non-locative uses. The class 16 and 18 locatives can be used to express a location in time rather than in space. The temporal use of class 16 is also seen in the demonstrative of class 16 (see section 7.2.2 on the functions of demonstratives).

- (118) *hàrùmwí*
 ha-ru-mwí
 NP₁₆-NP₁₁-summer
 ‘in summer’
- (119) *mùnàkò yómvúra*
 mu-N-nako i-ó=ø-mvúra
 NP₁₈-NP₉-time PP₉-CON=NP_{1a}-rain
 ‘in the rainy season’

The class 17 locative can be used to express a partitive, as in example (120). It can also be used to mark a polite request, as in (121); this use is related to its partitive use, e.g. the request for the phone is “softened” by asking for only part of the phone. The use of class 17 to express a partitive or polite request is also seen with the class 17 locative clitic *-ko* (see section 9.4 on locative clitics).

- (120) *bàtómá 'kwínyàmà*
 ba-tom-á kú-e-N-nyama
 SM₂-share-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-meat
 ‘S/he shares from the meat.’

- (121) *ndìór' òkùkàrimà kwífoní 'yénù*
 ndi-ó-r-a o-ku-kárim-a kú-e-ø-phoní i-enú
 SM_{1SG}-can-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-phone PP₉-POSS_{2PL}
 'Can I borrow your phone?' (NF_Elic17)

The class 17 locative *ku-* can be used to mark an agent in a construction where an agent cannot be marked as a core argument, for instance verbs with the passive derivation, such as in example (122), or nouns, as in (123). The class 17 prefix *ku-* may also be used to express less canonical agents, as in (124), or even peripheral arguments functioning as a reason or circumstance, rather than an agent, as in (125). The agentive use of the class 17 prefix is also seen in various other Bantu languages (Fleish 2005).

- (122) *nàshúmìwà kúmbwà*
 na-shúm-iw-a kú-ø-mbwá
 SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-dog
 'He was bitten by a dog.' (NF_Elic17)
- (123) *ndó'rúfù rùbànyámùzàmbàràrà kúnjòvù*
 ndó-ru-fú ru-ba-nyá-muzambarara kú-ø-njovu
 COP.DEF₁₁-NP₁₁-death PP₁₁-NP₂-mother-Muzambarara NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-elephant
 'That is the death of Mrs. Muzambarara by the elephant.' (ZF_Narr15)
- (124) *ècìzyábaró 'cángù càbúrúkì kú'rú:hò*
 e-ci-zyabaró ci-angú
 AUG-NP₇-shirt PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ci-a-bur-úk-i kú-rú:ho
 SM₇-PST-blow-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-wind
 'My shirt was blown away by the wind.' (NF_Elic15)
- (125) *èzìzwátò zìnàbómì kúmvúra*
 e-zi-zwátò zi-na-bómb-i kú-ø-mvúra
 AUG-NP₈-cloth SM₈-PST-become_wet-NPST.PFV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-rain
 'The clothes have become wet because of the rain.' (NF_Elic15)

5.6 Noun class assignment of loanwords

Because every noun in Fwe is a member of a noun class, new words that enter the language through borrowing also need to be assigned to a noun class. This section is about the principles that are used in noun class assignment of loanwords. Differences are observed between loanwords originating from other Bantu languages, which also have a noun class system often quite similar in form and function as that of Fwe, and loanwords originating from non-Bantu languages, which lack noun classes. Borrowings from Bantu languages are often assigned to the noun class whose prefix is formally most similar to the prefix of the borrowed word. Borrowings from non-Bantu languages use other processes, notably assignment to a default class, but also the more uncommon process of paralexification (Gunnink et al. 2015).

Fwe words that have been identified as borrowings from another Bantu language mainly come from Lozi, and a small number of words can be identified as borrowings from Mbukushu and Yeyi. It is very likely that Fwe has also borrowed words from other Bantu languages, for instance Totela, Subiya and Shanjo, but these cannot be identified due to the lacking lexical documentation of these languages, but also because due to their similarity to Fwe, such borrowings would likely be difficult to distinguish from native Fwe words.

As can be seen from Table 5.2, Lozi borrowings are usually incorporated in the same noun class in Fwe as in Lozi. For most noun classes, this may simply be the result of the similar forms of nominal prefixes, for instance for class 1 and 3, where the nominal prefix is *mu-* in both Fwe and Lozi, or class 7, where the nominal prefix is *ci-* in Fwe and *si-* in Lozi. More unexpectedly, however, borrowed nouns also retain their noun class when Fwe and Lozi do not have similar nominal prefixes. This is the case for nouns of class 5, where Fwe has a zero prefix but Lozi uses the prefix *li-*. The assignment of nouns that are in class 5 in Lozi to class 5 in Fwe may be the result of their plural; in both Lozi and Fwe the plural corresponding to class 5 takes the class 6 prefix *ma-*. The assignment of borrowings to corresponding noun classes, even in the absence of a similar nominal prefix, may be the result of the fairly extensive Fwe-Lozi bilingualism in Fwe-speaking communities.

Table 5.2: Lozi loanwords in Fwe

	Fwe		Lozi	
1	<i>mù-rúti</i>	‘teacher’	1	<i>mu-luti</i> ‘teacher’
3	<i>mù-ràhò</i>	‘law’	3	<i>mu-lao</i> ‘law’
3	<i>mù-rákà</i>	‘kraal’	3	<i>mu-laka</i> ‘kraal’
5	<i>rápà</i>	‘courtyard’	5	<i>li-lapa</i> ‘courtyard’
5	<i>zúpà</i>	‘wet clay’	5	<i>li-zupa</i> ‘clay’
5	<i>kòndè</i>	‘banana’	5	<i>li-konde</i> ‘banana’
7	<i>cì-pátù</i>	‘duck’	7	<i>si-pato</i> ‘duck’
7	<i>cì-rìmò</i>	‘season, year’	7	<i>si-limo</i> ‘year’
9	<i>nyàzì</i>	‘lover’	9	<i>nyazi</i> ‘concubine’

Fwe has also borrowed words from various Khoisan languages, notably the Khoe language (West-Capriivi) Khwe, and the Kx’a language Ju (Gunnink et al. 2015). Nouns borrowed from these noun classes have been assigned to a noun class in Fwe, and as the donor language is not a Bantu language, formal similarities between the noun class system of the donor language and that of Fwe cannot have played a role. Instead, many Khoisan borrowings in Fwe have been assigned to a noun class on the basis of the noun class of a semantically similar or identical native Fwe word, such as Fwe *mú-ⁿlùryà* ‘type of lizard’, which was assigned to noun class 3 on the basis of its synonym *mù-shúndùkìrè*, a native Fwe word with the same meaning which is also in class 3 (Gunnink et al. 2015: 207). This process is referred to as ‘paralexification’ (Mous 2001), and is not commonly used as a strategy for noun class assignment of borrowings by Bantu languages. The paralexification of Khoisan borrowings in Fwe and related languages, and the implications this has for the analysis of the contact situation, are dis-

cussed in more detail in Gunnink et al. (2015). Not all Khoisan borrowings have been assigned to a noun class on the basis of the paralexification of an existing noun; examples where evidence for paralexification is lacking (though it may have taken place on the basis of a noun that has since been lost) are given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Possible Khwe and Ju (!Xung!/Xun!/Xuun/Jul'hoan) loanwords in Fwe

noun class	Fwe word	translation	putative source word
3	<i>mù-</i>	'ankle'	<i>gwé:</i> 'ankle' (Neitsas/Nurugas !Xung, Doke 1925)
	<i>gwégwèsi</i>	'bone'	<i>ʃ'hòèʃ'hòè</i> 'ankle bone' (Jul'hoan, Snyman 1975: 107)
5	<i>shèngà</i>	'liver'	<i>cíj</i> 'liver' (Northwestern !Xun, König and Heine 2008: 18)
			<i>tchín (ka)</i> 'liver' (Jul'hoan, Dickens 1994: 108)
			<i>ʃɿ</i> 'liver' (Central !Xuun, Doke 1925)
II	<i>rù-kànì</i>	'jaw'	<i>gllǎŋ</i> 'chin' (Northwestern !Xun, König and Heine 2008: 34)
			<i>g!aihn</i> 'chin' (Jul'hoan, Dickens 1994: 54)
			<i>gyànù</i> 'chin' (Khwe, Kilian-Hatz 2003: 51)

In recent times, Fwe has also borrowed from English and Afrikaans. These borrowings are usually assigned to class 5 or 9, both noun classes with minimal morphological marking.

Table 5.4: English and Afrikaans loanwords in Fwe

5	<i>bòtèrà</i>	'bottle'	English <i>bottle</i>
5	<i>bùkà</i>	'book'	English <i>book</i>
5	<i>fòni</i>	'phone'	English <i>phone</i>
9	<i>n-kèrékè</i>	'church'	Afrikaans <i>kerk</i>
9	<i>bbóra</i>	'ball'	English <i>ball</i>
9	<i>n-dìshì</i>	'dish'	English <i>dish</i>
9	<i>n-súndà</i>	'week'	Afrikaans <i>sondag</i> 'Sunday'

One example is attested of a borrowed noun assigned to class 1a, the English borrowing noun *pótò* 'pot', which functions as a class 1a noun in Zambian Fwe, but as a class 9 noun in Namibian Fwe, as seen by their respective agreement patterns.

- (126) *òzɿú 'pótò*
 o-zyú ø-potó
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-pot
 'this pot' (Zambian Fwe)

- (127) *èyí 'mpótò*
 e-í N-potó
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-pot
 'this pot' (Namibian Fwe)

Fwe words that appear to be borrowed from English or Afrikaans in Fwe are not necessarily direct borrowings, but can also be indirect borrowings, where Lozi borrowed the word from Afrikaans or English and Fwe borrowed the word from Lozi. As the direct contact between Fwe and both English and Afrikaans is far more limited than the direct contact between Fwe and Lozi, it seems likely that many original English and Afrikaans words ended up in Fwe via Lozi. This also means that the way in which these borrowings are integrated into the Fwe noun class system may have followed the Lozi pattern rather than the Fwe pattern.

6 Nominal derivation

Fwe has a number of strategies to derive nouns from existing nominal or verbal stems. Verb to noun derivation makes use of the suffixes *-i*, *-o*, *-u*, *-e*, *-a*, and *-ntu*, as discussed in section 6.1. Noun to noun derivation, discussed in section 6.2, is done through various affixes. Noun class shift is also productively used to derive new meanings from nominal roots; this process has been discussed in section 5.4 on the semantics of noun classes. Nominal compounding and reduplication are also used as strategies for word formation, though both processes are unproductive.

6.1 Verb to noun derivation

Nouns can be derived from verbs by the addition of a suffix *-i*, *-o*, *-u*, *-e*, *-a*, or *-ntu*. With the exception of *-ntu*, they are all common Bantu suffixes see (Schadeberg 2003). A single noun can contain maximally one derivational suffix. The derivational suffixes differ in function and in productivity. The agentive suffix *-i*, the instrumental suffix *-o*, and the general nominalizer *-ntu* are all fairly productive. The suffixes *-u*, *-e* and *-a* are not productive, occurring in a restricted number of words and with very varied semantic functions. Table 6.1 gives an overview of the deverbal derivational suffixes, their functions and their productivity; details are given in the following sections.

Table 6.1: Deverbal suffixes

Form	Function	Productivity
<i>-i</i>	agentive (human)	mostly productive
<i>-o</i>	instrumental, patientive, action, result, place, time	mostly productive
<i>-ntu</i>	general nominalizer	mostly productive
<i>-u</i>	instrumental, patientive, abstract	unproductive
<i>-a</i>	instrumental, patientive, agentive (non-human)	unproductive
<i>-e</i>	instrumental, agentive (non-human)	unproductive

6.1.1 Agentive *-i*

The suffix *-i* derives an agent noun from a verb, indicating ‘a person who does X’. On account of the noun referring to a human being, the noun is usually assigned to noun class 1. Nouns derived with a suffix *-i* always maintain the tonal profile of the verb from which they are derived.

Table 6.2: Agent nouns derived with *-i*

<i>-bar-</i>	‘read’	<i>mù-bàrì</i>	‘reader’
<i>-bùmb-a</i>	‘make pottery’	<i>mù-bùmbì</i>	‘potter’
<i>-fùm-</i>	‘become rich’	<i>mù-fùmì</i>	‘rich person’
<i>-fúr-</i>	‘sharpen, weld’	<i>mù-fúrì</i>	‘blacksmith’
<i>-ru-</i>	‘fight’	<i>mù-rwì</i>	‘fighter’
<i>-zyák-</i>	‘build’	<i>mù-zyákì</i>	‘builder’

There are five words where the agentive suffix *-i* causes the preceding consonant to change to /z/, shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Agent nouns with spirantization

<i>-fúr-</i>	‘forge’	<i>mù-fúzi ~ mù-fúri</i>	‘blacksmith’
<i>-fwèb-</i>	‘smoke’	<i>mù-fwèzi</i>	‘smoker’
<i>-kúmbir-</i>	‘beg, request’	<i>ø-nkúmbìzi</i>	‘beggar’
<i>-ròw-</i>	‘perform witchcraft’	<i>mù-ròzi</i>	‘witch’
<i>’-ya-</i>	‘kill’	<i>cí-yàzi</i>	‘traitor’

The alternation between /z/ in the agent noun and a different consonant in the undervived verb root is a lexicalized trace of the earlier sound change of Bantu Spirantization, the change from stops to fricatives before high vowels; in Fwe, this sound change has changed all voiced stops to /z/ before the reconstructed high vowel *i (Bostoen 2009: 117–118). In words other than those listed in Table 6.3, the agentive suffix *-i* does not cause spirantization of the final consonant of the verb root (see the examples in Table 6.2). Spirantization in agent nouns is not phonologically determined; the verb roots that undergo spirantization end in a different consonants, and other verb roots ending in the same consonant do not undergo spirantization. Instead, this is a case of what Bostoen (2008) calls ‘limited agent noun spirantization’: spirantization is only attested in a handful of nouns derived with the agentive suffix *-i*, and most nouns derived with this suffix do not undergo spirantization. Languages that exhibit this pattern of agent noun spirantization are mainly found in the central and southwestern regions of the Bantu-speaking area, and includes some of Fwe’s direct geographical (but not genetic) neighbors, such as Mbukushu. What is more, in languages where only a handful of nouns undergo agent noun spirantization, the same nouns are often affected, especially reflexes of *-dògì ‘witch’ and *-jíbì ‘thief’. In Fwe the reflex of *-dògì ‘witch’, *mù-ròzi* ‘witch’, is in fact one of the nouns undergoing spirantization. The reflex of *-jíbì ‘thief’ was lost in Fwe, probably as it was replaced by the borrowing *mù-sá* ‘thief’.

The derivation of agent nouns with the suffix *-i* may incorporate verbal derivational suffixes, such as the causative *-is*.

Table 6.4: Agent nouns incorporating a causative suffix

<i>-ré:t-</i>	‘give birth’	<i>mù-ré:t-is-i</i>	‘midwife’
<i>-ur-</i>	‘buy’	<i>mù-ùr-is-i</i>	‘seller’
<i>-end-</i>	‘walk’	<i>mù-yènd-ès-i</i>	‘supervisor’

Derivation with the suffix *-i* is fairly productive: it can be used with most verbs, always deriving an agentive noun.

6.1.2 Instrumental -o

Instrumental nouns can be derived from verbs by addition of the suffix *-o*. Nouns derived with this suffix can be assigned to various noun classes, though never to class 1/2;

6 Nominal derivation

class 7/8 seems to be the most common choice. Nouns derived with the suffix *-o* usually maintain the tonal pattern of the verb from which they are derived.

Table 6.5: Nouns derived with *-o*

Underived verb root <i>-nunk-</i> ‘smell’	Derived noun in class 3/4 <i>mù-nùnkò</i> ‘(bad) smell’
<i>-shánd-</i> ‘suffer’	Derived noun in class 5/6 <i>shándò</i> ‘suffering’
<i>-ró:t-</i> ‘dream’	Derived noun in class 7/8 <i>cì-ròtò</i> ‘dream’
<i>-tend-</i> ‘do, make’	<i>cì-tèndò</i> ‘action’
<i>-zan-</i> ‘play’	<i>cì-zànò</i> ‘game’
<i>-zwát-</i> ‘dress’	<i>cì-zwátò</i> ‘garment’
<i>-zyabar-</i> ‘dress’	<i>ci-zyàbàrò</i> ‘bottom garment’
<i>-zyar-</i> ‘spread a bed’	<i>cì-zyàrò</i> ‘mat’
<i>-tus-</i> ‘help’	Derived noun in class 9 <i>n-túsò</i> ‘help’
<i>-súrumuk-</i> ‘descend’	<i>n-súrùmùkò</i> ‘downward slope’
<i>-zyimb-</i> ‘sing’	Derived noun in class 11 <i>rù-zyimbò</i> ‘song’
<i>-fúr-</i> ‘sharpen, weld’	Derived noun in class 12 <i>kà-furò</i> ‘knife’
<i>-hár-</i> ‘live’	Derived noun in class 14 <i>bù-hàrò</i> ‘life’
<i>-suns-</i> ‘dip porridge in relish’	<i>bù-sùnsò</i> ‘relish’

Semantically, most nouns derived with *-o* refer either to the patient or the instrument of the verb. The derivation of an instrument noun often involves the incorporation of the causative suffix *-is/-es*. As discussed in 8.4, instrumental is one of the functions of the causative derivation. Less commonly, the derivational suffix *-o* derives a place, a time or a result of the action described by the verb, or the action itself. Table 6.6 gives an overview of the different semantics functions of nouns derived *-o*.

Table 6.6: Semantics of nouns derived with *-o*

Patient nouns with <i>-o</i>			
<i>-zyimb-</i> ‘sing’	<i>rù-zyimbò</i>	‘song’	
<i>-rí-</i> ‘eat’	<i>zì-ryò</i>	‘food, crops’	
Instrumental nouns with <i>-o</i>			
<i>-bezzy-</i> ‘carve (wood)’	<i>m-bèzyò</i>	‘small axe for making surfaces smooth’	
<i>-shut-</i> ‘fish (with line)’	<i>kà-shùtò</i>	‘fish hook’	
Instrumental nouns with <i>-o</i> incorporating a causative suffix			
<i>-ar-</i> ‘close’	<i>cì-àr-ìs-ò</i>	‘door’	
<i>-bbukur-</i> ‘blow on fire’	<i>cì-bbùkùr-ìs-ò</i>	‘bellows’	
<i>-fwink-</i> ‘plug with a stopper’	<i>cì-fwìnk-ìs-ò</i>	‘stopper’	

Action			
-end-	‘go, travel’	<i>rù-yèndò</i>	‘journey’
-tend-	‘do’	<i>cì-tèndò</i>	‘action’
Result			
-ur-	‘buy’	<i>n-gùr-ìs-ò</i>	‘profit’
-zyambir-	‘gather’	<i>zì-zyàmbirò</i>	‘gathered fruits’
Place			
-hond-	‘cook’	<i>mà-hònd-èr-ò</i>	‘kitchen’
-rí-zík-	‘hide oneself’	<i>mà-rí-[!]zíkò</i>	‘hiding place’
Time			
-rim-	‘cultivate, farm’	<i>cì-rìmò</i>	‘season, year’

Derivation with the suffix *-o* is common, but not entirely productive. Certain non-systematic formal differences can be observed between the derived noun and its verbal source, such as the change of the last stem consonant *n* to *ng* in the noun *cì-shàmbàng-ò* ‘place to play in water’, from the verb *kù-shàmbàn-à* ‘to play in water’. In the derived noun *rùtàngò* ‘story, proverb’, the separative transitive suffix *-ur* of the source verb *kù-táng-ùr-à* ‘tell a story’ is lost in the derived noun. Non-systematic tonal differences can also be observed, for instance in the derived noun *n-tús-ò* ‘help’, which displays a high tone that is not used in the source verb *kù-tùs-à* ‘to help’; the inverse case is seen in *kà-fùr-ò* ‘knife’, which has lost the high tone of the source verb *kù-fùr-à* ‘to sharpen, weld’.

6.1.3 General nominalizer *-ntu*

The suffix *-ntu* is a general nominalizer, that can be added to a verb stem to derive a noun. The lexical tone of the verb stem is maintained, but unlike other derivational suffixes, the suffix *-ntu* also adds its own high tone, which is assigned to the second syllable of the verb it combines with. These tones are subsequently subject to the tone rules that occur in Fwe, namely Meeussen’s Rule in the case of a disyllabic, high-toned verb stem, as shown in example (1).

- (1) *ci-byár-á-ntu* > [*cìbyáràntù*]
 NP₇-plant-FV-NMLZ
 ‘something that is planted’
 cf. *kù-byár-à* ‘to plant’

When the verb has no lexical high tone, the high tone assigned to the second syllable of the verb usually spreads to the preceding syllable as the result of high tone spread (see section 4.1.6 on optional high tone spread).

- (2) *ci-rim-á-ntu* > [*cìrímánù*]
 NP₇-plough-FV-NMLZ
 ‘something that is ploughed’
 cf. *kù-rìm-à* ‘to plough’

The origin of the high tone that is added in compounds is unclear. There are no other nominalizing suffixes that have their own tonal profile, and melodic tones are otherwise only assigned by verbs inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and negation (see section 10.1.1).

The use of *-ntu* to derive nouns from verbs is highly productive, and may commute with other strategies for deriving nouns from verbs, such as the nominalizing suffix *-o*.

- (3) a. *cìtèndò*
 ci-tend-o
 NP₇-do-NMLZ
 ‘action’
- b. *cìténdántù*
 ci-tend-á-ntu
 NP₇-do-FV-thing
 ‘action’
- cf. *kù-tènd-à* ‘to do’

The semantics of nouns derived with *-ntu* are predictable. When used with a transitive verb, the deverbal noun designates its object. With an intransitive verb, the deverbal noun designates its subject. In each case, human involvement is key to derivation with *-ntu*; the derived noun *cìbyáràntù* ‘plant’ specifically refers to a plant cultivated by humans, and the derived noun *cìbúmbwàntù* ‘creature’ specifically refers to human beings.

- (4) Nouns derived from transitive verbs
cìbyáràntù
 ci-byár-á-ntu
 NP₇-plant-FV-NMLZ
 ‘(domesticated) plant’
- cf. *kù-byár-à* ‘to plant’
- (5) Nouns derived from intransitive verbs
cìbúmbwàntù
 ci-búmb-w-á-ntu
 NP₇-create-PASS-FV-NMLZ
 ‘creature’
- cf. *kù-búmb-w-à* ‘to be created’

The derivation of deverbal nouns with *-ntu* differs from other deverbal derivational processes: the suffix consists of an NCV syllable rather than a single vowel; it adds a high tone to the second stem syllable; and as a deverbal derivational strategy, it is neither a common Bantu strategy nor reconstructed for Proto-Bantu. Instead, derivation with *-ntu* in Fwe has grammaticalized from a verb-noun compound with the nominal root *-ntu* as the second element. This root is still used in the nouns *mù-ntù* ‘person’, *cì-ntù* ‘thing’, and *bù-ntù* ‘humanity’. In grammaticalizing into a derivational suffix, the

second member of the compound lost its nominal prefix. A similar grammaticalization has led to the creation of the diminutive suffix *-ána* (see 6.2.1), which also lost its nominal prefix as it developed into a nominal suffix.

Verb-noun compounds are not common in Fwe, and the few compounds that do exist lack the systematic semantic correspondence between the simple verb and the verb-noun compound that is seen in nouns derived with *-ntu*. Instead, the development of compounds with the root *ntu*, which led to the grammaticalization of this root into a nominalizing suffix, could be the result of contact with the Khoisan language Khwe. Khwe productively uses a suffix *-khòè* deriving nouns from verbs; although it synchronically functions as a suffix, it clearly has its origin in a compound in which the second member is the noun *khòè* ‘person’ (Kilian-Hatz 2008: 90–91). Possibly, the Fwe construction is a calque of this Khwe construction, similar to what has been proposed for the development of diminutive suffixes (see 6.2.1 for a discussion).

6.1.4 Unproductive *-u*, *-e* and *-a*

The derivational suffixes *-u*, *-e* and *-a* are unproductive: their occurrence in the lexicon is limited, their semantics mostly unpredictable and there are often unsystematic phonological and morphological differences between the verb and the derived nouns. There are also verbal and nominal stems which are clearly related, but where the direction of derivation is difficult to establish. As *-u*, *-e* and *-a* are equally unproductive, these suffixes will be discussed together.

Deverbal nouns usually maintain the lexical tone of the verb from which they derive. This is also the case for nouns derived with *-u*, *-e* and *-a*, but there are also many nouns derived with these suffixes that display an unexpected tonal difference between the derived noun and the source verb. A high tone can be added to a noun derived from a toneless verb, or, less commonly, a toneless noun can be derived from a high-toned verb. As these tonal differences are only seen in a subset of nouns derived with *-u*, *-e* and *-a*, tone changes cannot be analyzed as part of the derivational process.

Another phonological irregularity between verbs and nouns derived with *-u*, *-e* and *-a* is the addition of a nasal to the initial root consonant in certain nouns; as these nouns are not used in class 9/10, where the initial nasal is a nominal prefix, the addition of this nasal cannot be analyzed as a regular morphological process.

Table 6.7: Nominal derivation with *-u*, *-e* and *-a*

Maintenance of lexical tone			
<i>kù-bòmb-à</i>	‘to become wet’	<i>mà-bòmb-à</i>	‘blisters’
<i>kù-fw-à</i>	‘to die’	<i>rù-fù</i>	‘death’
<i>kù-kákàtìr-à</i>	‘to stick’	<i>rù-kákàtìr-à</i>	‘burdock’
Addition of high tone			
<i>kù-kòh-à</i>	‘to blink’	<i>n-kòh-è</i> (cl 10)	‘eyelids’
<i>kù-kyèr-à</i>	‘to cut with scissors’	<i>cì-kéré</i>	‘pair of scissors’
<i>kù-hùzy-à</i>	‘to breathe’	<i>ø-hùzy-à</i> (cl 5)	‘breath’
<i>kù-tùk-à</i>	‘to insult’	<i>mà-tùk-à</i>	‘insults’
<i>kù-bòr-à</i>	‘to rot’	<i>bù-bóz-ù</i>	‘something rotten’
<i>kù-gòr-à</i>	‘to be strong’	<i>mù-kóz-ù</i>	‘strength’

Loss of high tone			
<i>kù-tár-ùk-à</i>	‘to take a step’	<i>mù-tàr-à</i>	‘footprint’
Addition of nasal			
<i>kù-séf-à</i>	‘to sieve’	<i>mù-nséf-à</i>	‘sieve’
<i>kù-kún-ik-à</i>	‘to prepare food by smoking’	<i>kà-nkún-è</i>	‘smoking shelve’

In the case of the suffix *-u*, there are two cases where its use involves spirantization of the preceding consonant in a similar way as the agentive suffix *-i* discussed above: *bù-bóz-ù* ‘something rotten’, from *kù-bòr-à* ‘rot’, and *mù-kózù* ‘strength’, from *kù-gòr-à* ‘be strong’. Aside from spirantization, these examples are also deviant in their tonal pattern and in the realization of the velar stop as voiceless in the noun *mù-kózù* and as voiced in the verb *kù-gòr-à*. This suggests that there may have been two deverbal suffixes in Fwe, a high vowel **-u* causing spirantization, and a lowered high vowel **-o* not causing spirantization, possibly also with a tonal difference. As the high and lowered high vowels merged (cf. Bostoen 2009), the difference between the two suffixes was lost. (Meeussen 1967: 95) also reconstructs two different deverbal suffixes, **-ú* and **-ó*, though both with the same tone.

Two deverbal suffixes are reconstructed, a high vowel suffix **-ú*, and a lowered high vowel suffix **-ó*. The high vowel suffix **-ú* would have caused spirantization of a preceding consonant.

Morphological differences between nouns derived with *-u*, *-e* or *-a* and their corresponding verbs may also occur, for instance the addition of an apparent applicative suffix *-ir/-er*, which does not seem to carry the typical benefactive, locative or directional semantics of applicatives (see section 1.1 on the applicative derivation). The inverse is also possible, where suffixes used on the verb stem are not maintained in the derived noun. In all these cases, the verbs are not attested without derivational affixes. The close semantic relationship between these noun-verb pairings strongly suggest a common origin, but the direction of derivation in these cases could also be from noun to verb rather than from verb to noun.

Table 6.8: Verbal derivational suffixes in nouns derived with *-u*, *-e*, or *-a*

Addition of applicative suffix			
<i>kù-tóng-à</i>	‘to become ill’	<i>mà-tòng-ér-à</i>	‘illness’
<i>kù-shèng-à</i>	‘to sharpen’	<i>mù-shèng-èr-à</i>	‘sharp tip’
<i>kù-tìmb-à</i>	‘to push’	<i>n-tìmb-ir-à</i>	‘dung beetle’
Loss of derivational suffix			
<i>kù-kùmb-ùr-à</i>	‘to cut strips (as building material)’	<i>mà-kùmb-à</i>	‘strips (for building)’
<i>kù-kúzɣ-ùr-à</i>	‘to peel a mongongo nut’	<i>ø-kúzɣ-à</i> (cl 5)	‘outer peel of a mongongo nut’
<i>kù-shèb-èk-à</i>	‘to gossip’	<i>bù-shèb-è</i>	‘gossip’
<i>kù-shémp-èk-à</i>	‘to shoulder a load’	<i>mù-shémp-ù</i>	‘load’
<i>kù-súmb-àr-à</i>	‘to become pregnant’	<i>bù-súmb-à</i>	‘pregnancy’

The semantic functions of the suffixes *-u*, *-e* and *-a* are very varied, and some functions are shared among all three suffixes, whereas others are more specific. One of the

recurrent functions is instrumental, a function carried by all three suffixes (and also found with the more productive suffix *-o*). Another recurrent function is the expression of a patient, again shared with the more productive suffix *-o*. The suffixes *-e* and *-a* are also used to indicate a non-human agent, in contrast with the suffix *-i* which is exclusively used to derive human agents. The suffix *-u*, on the other hand, can be used to derive an abstract concept.

Table 6.9: Semantics of nouns derived with *-u*, *-e*, and *-a*

Instrumental			
<i>kù-bùkùt-à</i>	‘to sharpen’	<i>mà-bùkùt-à</i>	‘skin used for sharpening’
<i>kù-tém-à</i>	‘chop’	<i>kà-tém-ù</i>	‘axe’
<i>kù-kékèr-à</i>	‘to plough’	<i>cì-kékèr-è</i>	‘disc plough’
Patient			
<i>kù-shémp-èk-à</i>	‘to shoulder a load’	<i>mù-shémp-ù</i>	‘load’
<i>kù-nyùng-à</i>	‘to shake’	<i>cì-nyùng-èr-à</i>	‘food prepared by shaking’
Non-human agent			
<i>kù-timb-à</i>	‘to push’	<i>n-timb-ìr-à</i>	‘dung beetle’
<i>kù-rí-zìng-à</i>	‘to twist oneself’	<i>mù-rí-zìng-è</i>	‘vine’
Abstract concept			
<i>kù-fw-à</i>	‘to die’	<i>rú-fù</i>	‘death’
<i>kù-rùr-à</i>	‘to be bitter’	<i>bù-rùr-ù</i>	‘bitterness’

6.2 Noun to noun derivation

Different kinds of processes exist in Fwe to derive nouns from other nouns: a diminutive derivation with the suffix *-ána* (6.2.1); two derivational prefixes *shi-/si-* and *na-*, used to derive personal names, association or ownership (6.2.2); nominal compounding (6.3); and reduplication (6.4). Changes in noun class membership are also used as a derivational mechanism; these have been described in section 5.4 of the previous chapter.

6.2.1 Diminutive

As discussed in the previous section 5.4 on the semantics of noun classes, a diminutive can be created by shifting the relevant noun root to class 12/13. Another diminutive marking strategy uses the diminutive suffix *-ána* after the nominal root. A diminutive can be expressed by a shift to class 12/13, by a diminutive suffix or both; no clear differences in semantics were observed.

(6) Combination of diminutive strategies

- a. *ómbwà*
o-ø-mbwá
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘dog’

- b. *kámbwà*
 ka-mbwá
 NP₁₂-dog
 ‘small dog; puppy’
- c. *mbwáàná*
 ø-mbwá-ana
 NP_{1a}-dog-DIM
 ‘small dog; puppy’
- d. *kàmbwáàná*
 ka-mbwá-ana
 NP₁₂-dog-DIM
 ‘small dog; puppy’

Vowel juxtaposition takes place when the vowel-initial suffix *-ána* is added to a noun, which invariably ends in a vowel. In most cases, no changes affect either of the vowels, except when the last vowel of the noun is /a/, in which case it may merge with the vowel /a/ of the diminutive suffix.

- (7) /ka-mbwá-ana/ > [kàmbwáàná] ~ [kàmbwâná]
 NP₁₂-dog-DIM
 ‘small dog; puppy’

In certain more petrified forms with a diminutive suffix, however, the last vowel of the nominal stem has elided even though it was not a vowel /a/, but /i/ as in the following examples.

- (8) *mùkázàná*
 mu-kázana
 NP₁-girl
 ‘girl’

cf. *-kázì* ‘female’ + *-ána* diminutive

The suffix *-ána* has a high tone on its first syllable, which may interact with the tone of the last syllable of the root to which it attaches according to the regular tone rules of Fwe. When the diminutive is added to a noun with a final high tone, the high tone of the diminutive suffix is deleted as the result of Meeussen’s Rule, which deletes the second of two adjacent high tones within a single word (for more on this tonal process, see section 4.1.1).

- (9) /ka-shokó-ána/ > *kàshòkóàná*
 NP₁₂-monkey-DIM
 ‘small monkey’
- (10) /ci-shamú-ána/ > *cìshàmúàná*
 NP₇-tree-DIM
 ‘small tree’

The tonal behavior of the diminutive suffix with nouns with a /HØ/ tonal pattern is unexpected, as these nouns cause the high tone of the diminutive suffix to be deleted, even though the root-initial high tone and the high tone on the suffix are separated by a toneless mora, which normally blocks the application of Meeussen's Rule (see section 4.1.1).

(11) /zyúru/

kàzyúrùàà
 ka-zyúru-ana
 NP₁₂-nose-DIM
 'small nose'

(12) /mwáncé/

mwáncèàà
 mu-áncé-ana
 NP₁-child-DIM
 'small child'

The tonal pattern of these nouns suggest that they have an underlying HH pattern; this analysis is laid out in more detail in section 4.2.1 where the tonal patterns of disyllabic noun stems are discussed.

The use of a diminutive suffix *-ána* (or cognate forms) is also seen in other Bantu languages, mainly of zones R and S. Güldemann (1999) shows that these diminutive forms must have grammaticalized from a head-final nominal compound involving reflexes of **-jánà* 'child' (Bastin et al. 2002). Although the grammaticalization of a diminutive from a noun with this meaning is highly common, its function as a suffix is not what would be expected as the result of language-internal grammaticalization, as Bantu languages have a strict head-initial noun phrase structure. Instead, the development of the suffix is the result of contact with Khoisan languages that have a head-final structure. This is also the case for Fwe, and other Bantu languages in the area in which this (and other) nominal suffixes occur. The occurrence of the nominal suffix seems to be correlated to the extent of Khoisan influence that these languages experienced, evidenced by their incorporation of clicks. Mbukushu, Kwangali and Manyo, Bantu click languages spoken in northern Namibia, all have a form of the diminutive suffix. Manyo also has two other nominal suffixes, and in Mbukushu the productivity of the diminutive is extended to verbal use (Dammann 1957; Fisch 1977; Möhlig 1967). In Yeyi, the diminutive suffix occurs, but it is no longer productive (Seidel 2008: 135). The diminutive suffix is also attested for Subiya, one of Fwe's closest genetic relatives (Jacottet 1896), but not for any of the other, more distantly related Bantu Botatwe languages; it is not mentioned in the fairly extensive grammars on Ila, Tonga and Lenje (Collins 1962; Madan 1908; Smith 1964). On Shanjo, Fwe's closest genetic relative, no data are available. This supports Güldemann's (1999) argumentation that the existence of nominal suffixes is the result of contact with Khoisan, and that the number and productivity of nominal suffixes corresponds to the intensity of contact between the Bantu language and Khoisan. In addition to the use of the diminutive suffix

in Fwe and other languages that have a history of contact with Khoisan, there are also a number of head-final compounds referring to plant names in Mbukushu, Manyo and Fwe, providing further evidence that Bantu-Khoisan contact has influenced, to a very limited extent, the nominal structure of the Bantu languages involved (Gunnink et al. 2015). The same is true of the development of the nominalizing suffix *-ntu*; as discussed in section 6.1.3, this suffix goes back to an earlier head-final verb-noun compound, uncommon for Bantu languages but highly common in Khoisan.

6.2.2 Associative

Fwe has two derivational prefixes *shi-* (alternatively realized as *si-*; see section 2.2.2 on the interchangeability of /s/ and /sh/ in grammatical prefixes) and *na-*, which can be prefixed to nouns to express a number of functions: to derive personal names, to derive animal or plant names, and to derive ownership of, or association with, a concept. The associative meaning appears to be the largest common denominator, and these prefixes are therefore glossed as associative ‘AS’.

The prefixes *shi-/si-* or *na-* are prefixed before the nominal prefix of the underived noun, which is no longer indicative of the noun class of the derived noun: a noun derived with *shi-/si-* or *na-* invariably changes its agreement pattern to that of class 1a/2.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (13) | <i>màndwá</i>
ma-ndwá
NP ₆ -fight
‘fight’ | > | <i>shímàndwá</i>
ø-shí-ma-ndwá
NP _{1a} -AS-NP ₆ -fight
‘fighter’ |
|------|---|---|---|

The prefixes *si-* and *na-* are productively used to derive personal names from nouns. The prefix *si-* is used to derive a man’s name, and the prefix *na-* is used to derive a woman’s name. The prefixes *si-* and *na-* precede the original nominal prefix of the underived noun. In this context, the prefix *si-* does not have an alternative realization *shi-*, but is consistently realized as *si-*.

(14) Derivation of personal names

- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | <i>màsíkù</i>
ma-síku
NP ₆ -night
‘night’ |
| b. | <i>nàmàsíkù</i>
na-ma-sikú
AS _F -NP ₆ -night
‘Namasiku (name given to a girl born at night)’ |
| c. | <i>simàsíkù</i>
si-ma-sikú
AS _M -NP ₆ -night
‘Simasiku (name given to a boy born at night)’ |

As personal names refer to humans, names derived with a prefix *si-* or *na-* take the agreement pattern of class 1, which is identical to the agreement pattern of class 1a with the exception of the form of the nominal prefix, or class 2, in case of a respectful plural. The same is true for all nouns referring to humans, including names not derived with a prefix *si-* or *na-*, and therefore is not necessarily a property of this derivational strategy. However, as shown below, other nouns derived with these prefixes take the same agreement pattern.

The prefix *shi-* can be used to derive association with, or ownership of, a certain concept. This function is not available with the prefix *na-*. In all attested cases, the derived noun refers to a human.

- (15) *bàshígémù bàshí'záwà, àbò báboná èzipáu*
 ba-shí-gému ba-shí-zawá a-bo bá-bo_Hn-á e-zi-páu
 NP₂-AS-game NP₂-AS-Zawa AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-see-FV AUG-NP₈-animal
 'The game people, the Zawa¹⁶ people, those who guard the wild animals...'
 (ZF_Narr15)
- (16) *nábò bàshíbwátò ngá nìbàkànànúkà*
 ná=bo ba-shí-bu-áto ngá ni=ba-ka-nanuk-á
 COM=DEM₂ NP₂-AS-NP₁₄-canoe COP.DEM.I₁₆ COM=SM₂-DIST-lift-FV
 'And those with the canoe [those who have the canoe/are sailing in the canoe], that's when they started coming.' (NF_Narr15)
- (17) *èswé túbàsí'nkútà, mbòtúmìààtùrè*
 eswé tu-ba-sí-N-kutá mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-AS-NP₉-court NEAR_FUT-SM_{1PL}-OM_{2PL}-judge-PFV.SBJV
 'Us, the people of the court, we will pass judgment on you.' (NF_Narr17)

There are a number of lexicalized cases of derivation with the prefixes *si-/shi-* and *na-*, where the derivational prefix is followed by what is formally identical to one of the nominal prefixes, such as *ka-* of class 12, *mu-* of class 1/3, *ru-/rw-* of class II or a homorganic nasal of class 9. These presumed nominal prefixes have been indicated with hyphens in the following tables for ease of identification, though it should be noted that they no longer function as prefixes but have become part of the noun stem.

Table 6.10: Lexicalized derivational prefix *shi-/si-* and *na-*

Derived noun	Translation	Putative source
<i>shíká'nkózè</i>	'falcon'	
<i>shikàrìmbìrè</i>	'kite'	
<i>shímú'lópwè ~</i> <i>mú'lópwè</i>	'fish sp.'	cf. <i>-lòhà</i> 'be tasteless' (this fish species is considered edible but not tasty)
<i>shínténgwè ~</i> <i>sínténgwè</i>	'red-winged starling'	

¹⁶ ZAWA refers to the Zambian Wildlife Authority, charged with managing and protecting Zambia's wildlife.

<i>shírùbùmbìrà</i>	‘mud wasp’	cf <i>-bùmbà</i> ‘create, make pottery’
<i>síbbwé</i>	‘jackal’	cf. <i>mbwáwà</i> ‘jackal’ ?
<i>síkùcèrà</i>	‘mole’	
<i>síyàbàrìrà</i>	‘black mamba’	
<i>nàmúntàbùrà</i>	‘flower sp. (<i>Commelina subulata</i>)’	
<i>nàmùróbá’róbà</i>	‘wild hyacinth (<i>Scilla natalensis</i>)’	
<i>nákàrà</i>	‘acacia’	
<i>nàrùnkàrámbà</i>	‘praying mantis’	cf. <i>nkàrámbà</i> ‘old person’
<i>nàrwézá’ézà</i>	‘chameleon’	

Although many lexicalized derivations with *shi-/si-/na-* appear to feature a former nominal prefix, in most cases, no underived noun is attested. However, it is likely that the resemblance to nominal prefixes is not accidental, because some of the nominal roots become analyzable once the presumed former nominal prefix is disregarded. If *na-ru-nkaramba* is analyzed as consisting of a root *-nkaramba* and two prefixes, derivational *na-* and a former nominal prefix *ru-* of class II, the root can be recognized as a Fwe word with the meaning ‘old person’; in *shi-ru-bumbira*, the root *-bumbira* can be analyzed as derived from the verb *-bumba*, ‘make pottery, create’.

Maho (1999: 75) notes the use of prefixes similar to *si-/shi-* and *na-* used in nouns of class 1a across a number of Bantu languages, expressing masculine and feminine respectively. These prefixes go back to words for mother (**nyàngó* ‘my mother’ and variant forms) and father (**cángó* ‘my father’ and variant forms) respectively (Schadeberg 2003: 86). Reflexes with these meanings are also found in Fwe. The stem *-sh(o)-* ‘father’ is found in constructions such as *bá-shw-’ábò* ‘his father’ and *bá-shw-’étù* ‘our father’, related to the derivational prefix *shi-/si-*, and the root *-ny-* used in constructions such as *bà-ny-òkò* ‘your mother’ and *bà-ny-inà* ‘his mother’, related to the derivational prefix *na-*. The masculine semantics of *shi-/si-*, and the feminine semantics of *na-*, is still seen in the use of these prefixes to form personal names, but not in the formation of plant and animal names, nor in the formation of nouns expressing ownership or association.

6.3 Nominal compounds

Compounding, the creation of new words by concatenating two existing lexical stems, is a strategy for forming new words, though it differs from derivational processes in that it does not use specific grammatical markers. Fwe uses both verb-noun and noun-noun compounds, though neither compounding strategy is productive.

In compounds consisting of a noun and a verb, the verb is always the first element of the compound. The verb form used in these compounds is the verb stem, that is the verb root with the final vowel suffix *-a*. The second element, the noun, is used in its full form, consisting of a nominal stem and a nominal prefix. Both elements of the compound retain their underlying tonal pattern, with the application of the usual tone rules that function in Fwe.

- (18) *mùtáfùnànjòvù*
 mu-táfunanjovu
 NP₃-acacia
 ‘acacia’

cf. *kù-táfùn-à* ‘to chew, graze’, *njòvù* ‘elephant’

- (19) *kàryábàcànì*
 ka-ryábacáni
 NP₁₂-geranium
 ‘geranium sp.’

cf. *kú-ry-à* ‘to eat’, *bà-cànì* ‘hunters’

- (20) *mùbèzγàmpámpà*
 mu-bezyampámpa
 NP₃-tree
 ‘tree sp.’

cf. *kù-bè:zγ-à* ‘to carve (wood)’, *m-pámpà* ‘forked stick’

This compounding strategy is not productive, and few examples are found. The majority of the attested verb-noun compounds are plant names.

Compounds consisting of two nouns are often kinship terms, combining existing kinship terms such as *mwáncè* ‘child’ or *máye* ‘mother’ into new terms.

- (21) *bámáyèmwàncè*
 ba-máyemwance
 NP₂-maternal_aunt
 ‘maternal aunt’

cf. *maye* ‘mother’, *mw-áncè* ‘child’

- (22) *bàtátánkàzì*
 ba-tatankázi
 NP₂-paternal_aunt
 ‘paternal aunt’

cf. *tatá* ‘father’, *-kázi* ‘female’

- (23) *mùkwérùmè*
 mu-kwérume
 NP₁-father_in_law
 ‘father in law’

cf. *mu-kwé* ‘in-law’, *-rume* ‘male’

Noun-noun compounds that are not kinships are very uncommon, and only two examples have been found.

- (24) *étángányámbè*
 é-tanganyambé
 AUG-NP₅-calabash
 ‘calabash’

cf. *tàngà* ‘pumpkin’, *nyámbè* ‘god’

- (25) *òngwébùnà*
 o-ngwébuna
 AUG-NP_{1a}-plant
 ‘plant sp.’

cf. *ngwè* ‘leopard’, *bùnà* ‘leaf’

6.4 Noun reduplication

Reduplication of nouns is not a productive derivational strategy (unlike verbal reduplication, which is a productive inflectional process, see section 8.9.2), but many noun stems exhibiting reduplication are attested. An underived, non-reduplicated noun stem is not attested for any of these nouns, but for some are apparently derived from or related to verbs, such as *mùrímbùrímbù* ‘ignorance’, related to *kùrímbàùzà* ‘to not pay attention’, or *cìtùkùtùkù* ‘sweat’, related to *kùtùkùtù* ‘to be warm’. Reduplication targets both segmental and tonal material (as opposed to verbal reduplication, which targets segmental material only).

(26) Reduplicated nouns

/ka-cióció/	<i>kàcìyó'cíyò</i>	‘chick’
/ka-haráhará/	<i>kàhàrá'hára</i>	‘African finger millet’
/ci-sikísikí/	<i>cìsìkí'síkì</i>	‘tree stump’
/ka-ríkuríku/	<i>kàríkùrìkù</i>	‘hiccup’
/mu-rímburímbu/	<i>mùrímbùrímbù</i>	‘ignorance’
/ci-gorogoro/	<i>cìgòrògòrò</i>	‘seasonal stream’
/ci-kurukuru/	<i>cìkùrùkùrù</i>	‘lock’
/ka-mbaryambarya/	<i>kàmbàryàmbàryà</i>	‘lizard’
/m-birimbiri/	<i>mbìrìmbìrì</i>	‘pepper’
/m-furemfure/	<i>mfùrèmfùrè</i>	‘small insect that goes backward’
/ci-paupau/	<i>cìpàùpàù</i>	‘basket with lid; purse, briefcase’

7 The noun phrase

This chapter discusses the modifiers, quantifiers, pronouns and clitics that may occur in the noun phrase. Noun class agreement is pervasive throughout the noun phrase. Agreement is marked either with a nominal prefix, identical to those used on nouns, or with a pronominal agreement prefix. An overview of these prefixes for each noun class is given in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Nominal agreement

Noun class	nominal prefix (NP)	pronominal prefix (PP)
I	<i>mu-</i>	<i>u-/zyu-</i>
2	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-</i>
Ia	<i>ø-/mu-</i>	<i>u-/zyu-</i>
3	<i>mu-</i>	<i>u-</i>
4	<i>mi-</i>	<i>i-</i>
5	<i>ø-/ri-</i>	<i>ri-</i>
6	<i>ma-</i>	<i>a-</i>
7	<i>ci-</i>	<i>ci-</i>
8	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>
9	<i>N-/ø-</i>	<i>i-</i>
IO	<i>N-/ø-</i>	<i>zi-</i>
II	<i>ru-</i>	<i>ru-</i>
I2	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
I3	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>
I4	<i>bu-</i>	<i>bu-</i>
I5	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
I6	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ha-</i>
I7	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>
I8	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>

Nominal prefixes are glossed as NP with a subscript number indicating the noun class. Nominal prefixes are always toneless, and are realized as low-toned unless a floating high tone is assigned. They are used on nouns, and to mark agreement on adjectives. Pronominal prefixes are glossed as PP with a subscript number indicating the noun class. Pronominal prefixes are usually toneless, though their tonal behavior is quite variable. They are used to mark agreement on connectives and possessives. Demonstratives are derived from pronominal prefixes.

7.1 Adjectives

In many Bantu languages, the question of whether there is a distinct category of adjectives is quite complex. Manyo, for instance, is claimed to lack adjectives (Möhlig 1967), but for many other Bantu languages the category of adjective is recognized. For Zulu, the existence of the adjective is subject of a long-standing debate (see

Posthumus 2000; van der Spuy 2001, among others). In most languages where adjectives are recognized, the category of adjectives is quite small (Maho 1999: 105). Frequently invoked criteria for analyzing adjective stems as separate from other parts of speech are syntactic, such as the ability to modify nouns, and semantic, where adjectives are described as denoting properties such as size, shape and color. This correlates also with findings by Dixon (2004) that it is cross-linguistically common that the concepts of dimension, age, value and color are encoded by adjectives.

In Fwe, there is a small class of words that function as adjectives. They are distinct from both nouns and verbs on the basis of their morphosyntactic properties, albeit in sometimes subtle ways, and in certain syntactic contexts, the distinction between adjectives and nouns becomes blurred. This section discusses the use of adjectives in Fwe, and shows that they are distinct from other parts of speech on the basis of their morphosyntactic properties.

Adjectives are marked for agreement with the noun they modify through nominal prefixes. The form of nominal prefixes used on adjectives is identical to those used on nouns (see Table 7.1). One exception is class 1a; class 1a nouns follow the agreement pattern of class 1, and this is also the case for adjectives. Adjectives agreeing with a class 1a noun use the class 1 prefix *mu-*, and not the class 1a nominal prefix, which is zero, as shown in the example in (1). The difference in nominal prefix between class 1a nouns and class 1a adjectives is a first indication that adjectives are a category that is distinct from nouns.

- (1) *ndàvú mùcècè*
 Ø-ndavú mu-cece
 NP_{1a}-lion NP₁-small
 ‘a small lion’ (ZF_Elic14)

The obligatory nominal prefix on adjectives may be preceded by an optional augment prefix. The augment is also found on other words, such as nouns and demonstratives (see section 5.2 for the form and function of the augment as it appears on nouns). The function of the augment on adjectives is not yet well understood, but its form is identical to the form of the augment as used with nouns, namely a single vowel preceding the nominal prefix. As with nouns and other nominals that may take an augment, the use of the augment with adjectives is optional.

- (2) *mùndàrè mùgéné ~ mùndàrè òmùgéné*
 mu-ndaré (o-)mu-géne
 NP₃-maize (AUG-)NP₃-thin
 ‘small maize’
- (3) *bàntú bàròtù ~ bàntú àbàròtù*
 ba-ntú (a-)ba-rótu
 NP₂-person (AUG-)NP₂-beautiful
 ‘beautiful people’ (ZF_Elic14)

The vowel of the augment, if it is used on an adjective, is subject to vowel hiatus resolution rules, resulting in, for instance, vowel coalescence and/or glide formation (see also section 3.2).

- (4) *òmbw' ó'múbbì*
 o-ø-mbwá o-mu-bbí
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP₁-ugly
 'an ugly dog' (NF_Elic15)

- (5) *vùmw' énéne*
 ø-vumó e-ø-néne
 NP₅-stomach AUG-NP₅-big
 'a big stomach' (ZF_Elic14)

Like the augment used with nouns, the adjectival augment may also take a floating high tone. This high tone is realized on the syllable preceding the vowel of the augment, though when the vowel of the augment merges with the preceding syllable, the high tone comes to be realized on the vowel of the augment itself.

- (6) a. *rùtàkà*
 ru-taka
 NP₁₁-reed
 'a reed'
- b. *rùtàká òrùré: ~ rùtàk' órùré:*
 ru-taká o-ru-ré:
 NP₁₁-reed AUG-NP₁₁-long
 'a long reed' (ZF_Elic14)

The floating high tone of the adjectival augment can even be used when the vocalic augment is absent. This, too, is a property the adjectival augment shares with the nominal augment (see section 5.2).

- (7) a. *mùntù*
 mu-ntu
 NP₁-person
 'person'
- b. *mùntú mùré:*
 mu-ntú mu-ré:
 NP₁-person NP₁-tall
 'a tall person' (ZF_Elic14)

As can be seen from the previous examples, the adjective always follows the noun it modifies when used adnominally. Adjectives can also be used predicatively, in which case the adjective is marked with a copulative prefix that agrees in noun class with the head noun it modifies (for more on the copulative construction, see chapter 7.8).

- (8) *èhámbà ndìnénè*
 e-ø-ámba N-ri-néne
 AUG-NP₅-hoe COP-NP₅-big
 ‘The hoe is big.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (9) *yìn’ énjúò n̄jiròtù*
 iná e-N-júo n̄ji-rótu
 DEM.IV₉ AUG-NP₉-house COP₉-beautiful
 ‘That house is beautiful.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Adjectives can also be used nominally, in which case the adjective takes a prefix that agrees with the noun class of the noun it describes. This is seen in (10), where the nominally used adjective *ómùré* ‘long’ takes the prefix of class 3, as it refers to a class 3 noun *mù-hàrà* ‘rope’.

- (10) *ndìshàk’ ómùré:*
 ndi-shak-á o-mu-ré:
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-NP₃-long
 ‘I want the long one.’ (Answer to: ‘Which rope do you want?’) (ZF_Elic14)

The number of adjectival stems in Fwe is limited. The following list shows all stems that are found so far that show the morphosyntactic behavior of adjectives.

(11) Adjective stems in Fwe

<i>-bbí</i>	‘bad’ (Namibian Fwe only)
<i>-cé:</i>	‘few’
<i>-cékù</i>	‘sharp’
<i>-cényà</i>	‘small’
<i>-dànà</i>	‘small’
<i>-fwíyì</i>	‘short’
<i>-⁹lénè</i>	‘thin’
<i>-hùbà</i>	‘light’
<i>-ká’bábù</i>	‘difficult’ ¹⁷
<i>-kâtà</i>	‘weak’ ¹⁸
<i>-kúrù</i>	‘old’
<i>-mángò</i>	‘bad’ (Zambian Fwe only)
<i>-néne</i>	‘big’
<i>-nínì</i>	‘small’
<i>-ré:</i>	‘tall, long, far’
<i>-rému</i>	‘heavy’ ¹⁹
<i>-ròtù</i>	‘good, beautiful’
<i>-téké</i>	‘fresh’
<i>-tòrè</i>	‘soft, easy’

¹⁷ Most speakers prefer to use the noun *bù-ká’bábù* ‘problem, something difficult’.

¹⁸ Most speakers prefer the use of the verb *-kat-* ‘become weak’.

¹⁹ Most speakers prefer the use of the verb *-rem-* ‘be heavy’.

7 The noun phrase

-yá	‘new’
-lò:	‘tasteless’

Three adjective stems appear to be derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-u*, also used to derive nouns from verbs (see section 6.1.4): *-kùrù* ‘old’, from *-kúr-* ‘grow’, *-rémù* ‘heavy’, from *-rem-* ‘become heavy’, *-cékù* ‘sharp’, from *-cékur-* ‘cut oneself’.

Adjectives may be reduplicated, mostly to given an intensifying or emphatic meaning, as in the following examples.

- (12) *ndákàkùrímìnà éwà ènénenéne*
 ndi-á-ka-ku-rím-in-a
 SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-DIST-OM_{2SG}-farm-APPL-FV
 e-ø-wá e-ø-néne-néne
 AUG-NP₅-field AUG-NP₅-big-big
 ‘I could cultivate a very big farm for you.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (13) *kàcírì cìrótùrótù ècí cìbàkà*
 ka-cí-ri ci-rótu-rótu e-cí ci-baka
 PST.IPFV-SM₇-be NP₇-nice-nice AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-place
 ‘It was very nice, this place.’ (NF_Narr17)

In other cases, the reduplicated meaning differs in an unexpected manner from the unreduplicated meaning, as with the adjective *-kùrù* ‘old’: its unreduplicated form is used to describe animates, and its reduplicated form *-kùrùkùrù* describes inanimates.

That adjectives are marked with almost the same prefixes as nouns (with the exception of class 1a), and also use the augment in the same way as nouns, may suggest that adjectives should be treated as nouns as well. Another similarity between nouns and adjectives is that many adjective stems also occur as nouns, although many of these are abstract nouns, which are likely to be derived from adjectives, rather than vice versa. A non-exhaustive list is given in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Adjective stems that also occur as nouns

Adjective		Noun	
<i>-bbì</i>	‘bad’	<i>bù-bbì</i>	‘evil’
<i>-dàná</i>	‘small’	<i>mù-dàná</i>	‘child’
<i>-kùrù</i>	‘old’ (of animates)	<i>mù-kùrù</i>	‘elder, elder sibling/ cousin’
<i>-ré:</i>	‘tall, long, far’	<i>bù-ré:</i>	‘length’
<i>-rémù</i>	‘heavy’	<i>bù-rémù</i>	‘weight’
<i>-rótù</i>	‘good, beautiful’	<i>bù-rótù</i>	‘goodness’

Despite these similarities, adjectives display syntactic behavior that is distinct from that of nouns, because they can modify nouns without the use of additional morphological material. Although nouns can also modify other nouns, for instance through the use of a connective clitic, a comitative clitic or a copulative prefix, nouns cannot modify other nouns through mere juxtaposition. Adjectives, however, do modify nouns through juxtaposition, as long as a prefix is used that agrees with the noun class of the

modified noun. This syntactic construction is limited to the adjectival stems listed in (11), which shows that the category of adjective is a distinct part of speech in Fwe.

Another characteristic that sets adjectives apart from nouns is that adjective stems may occur in any noun class, as long as agreement with the head noun is maintained. Noun stems, however, belong to a single set of noun classes only. Although nominal stems may be shifted to a different noun class as a result of derivation (see section 5.4), this influences the meaning of the noun, and the number of noun classes in which a single nominal stem can be used is limited; it is not possible to use a single nominal stem in any noun class.

Another reason for treating adjectives as a distinct word class is that only adjectives can be combined with the suffix *-h* to derive a verb. The deadjectival suffix *-h* is fully productive; it can be added to any adjective to derive a verb. Some verbs are attested where the deadjectival suffix is realized as *-mp* instead of *-h*.

Table 7.3: Deadjectival verbs

Derived verb		Undersived adjective	
<i>-rè:-h-à</i>	‘become tall’	<i>-rè:</i>	‘tall, long’
<i>-néne-h-à</i>	‘become big’	<i>-néne</i>	‘big’
<i>-tòrè-h-à</i>	‘become soft’	<i>-tòrè</i>	‘soft’
<i>-lò:-h-à</i>	‘become tasteless’	<i>-lò:</i>	‘tasteless’
<i>-bbí-h-à</i>	‘become bad’	<i>-bbí</i>	‘bad’
<i>-fwû-mp-à</i>	‘become short’	<i>-fwû</i>	‘short’
<i>-kúrù-mp-à</i>	‘become old’	<i>-kúrù</i>	‘old’

The deadjectival suffix *-h* derives an intransitive change-of-state verb, whereby the state that is entered into is the state described by the undersived adjective.

7.2 Demonstratives

Fwe has an extensive demonstrative paradigm which distinguishes four series of demonstratives, depending on the relative distance between the referent and the speaker and hearer. These four series have demonstratives forms for each of the 19 noun classes, to mark agreement with the noun the demonstrative modifies or refers to. Section 7.2.1 discusses the form of the demonstrative series.

Demonstratives are used to situate a referent in space, where the relative position of the referent to the speaker and hearer is relevant, but also to track referents in discourse, where the degree to which the referent is known to the hearer is relevant. These various functions of the demonstratives are discussed in section 7.2.2. Demonstratives are also used to introduce relative clauses; this use is discussed in section 16.5.1.

7.2.1 The form of demonstratives

Fwe has four paradigms of demonstratives (commonly called “series” in Bantu linguistics, see e.g. Nicolle (2012); van der Wal (2010)), that are distinguished by the relative distance between the referent and the speaker and hearer. The exact meaning of each demonstrative paradigm will be discussed in the following section; for now they will be referred to as series I, II, III and IV. The table below gives the form for each noun

class for each demonstrative series. Each demonstrative form has an optional augment prefix, formally identical to the augment used on nouns.

Table 7.4: Demonstratives

	series I	series II	series III	series IV
I	<i>o-zyu</i>	<i>o-zyuno / o-zyunu</i>	<i>o-zyo</i>	<i>o-zywina</i>
2	<i>a-ba</i>	<i>a-bano / a-banu</i>	<i>a-bo</i>	<i>a-bena</i>
1a	<i>o-zyu</i>	<i>o-zyuno / o-zyunu</i>	<i>o-zyo</i>	<i>o-zywina</i>
3	<i>o-u</i>	<i>o-uno / o-unu</i>	<i>o-o</i>	<i>o-wina</i>
4	<i>e-i</i>	<i>e-ino / e-inu</i>	<i>e-yo</i>	<i>e-ina</i>
5	<i>e-ri</i>	<i>e-rino / e-rinu</i>	<i>e-ryo</i>	<i>e-rina</i>
6	<i>a-a</i>	<i>a-ano / a-anu</i>	<i>a-o</i>	<i>a-ena</i>
7	<i>e-ci</i>	<i>e-cino / e-cinu</i>	<i>e-co</i>	<i>e-cina</i>
8	<i>e-zi</i>	<i>e-zino / e-zinu</i>	<i>e-zo</i>	<i>e-zina</i>
9	<i>e-i</i>	<i>e-ino / e-inu</i>	<i>e-yo</i>	<i>e-ina</i>
10	<i>e-zi</i>	<i>e-zino / e-zinu</i>	<i>e-zo</i>	<i>e-zina</i>
11	<i>o-ru</i>	<i>o-runo / o-runu</i>	<i>o-o</i>	<i>o-rwina</i>
12	<i>a-ka</i>	<i>a-kano / a-kanu</i>	<i>a-ko</i>	<i>a-kena</i>
13	<i>o-tu</i>	<i>o-tuno / o-tunu</i>	<i>o-to</i>	<i>o-twina</i>
14	<i>o-bu</i>	<i>o-buno / o-bunu</i>	<i>o-bo</i>	<i>o-bwina</i>
15	<i>o-ku</i>	<i>o-kuno / o-kunu</i>	<i>o-ko</i>	<i>o-kwina</i>
16	<i>a-ha</i>	<i>a-hano / a-hanu</i>	<i>a-ho</i>	<i>a-hena</i>
17	<i>o-ku</i>	<i>o-kuno / o-kunu</i>	<i>o-ko</i>	<i>o-kwina</i>
18	<i>o-mu</i>	<i>o-muno / o-munu</i>	<i>o-mo</i>	<i>o-mwina ~ o-muna</i>

The series I demonstrative paradigm is identical to the paradigm of pronominal prefixes. For class I and 1a, where there are two different pronominal prefixes, demonstratives are based on the form *zyu* rather than the form *u*. The other three demonstrative series are derived from series I by the addition of suffixes. Series II is derived by the addition of a suffix *-no* (Zambian Fwe) or *-nu* (Namibian Fwe) to the series I form²⁰. Series III is derived from series I by addition of a suffix *-o*. Series IV is derived from series IV by addition of a suffix *-ina*. This creates a vowel sequence of the last vowel of the demonstrative stem and the vowel /i/ of the suffix *-ina*. The regular rules of vowel hiatus resolution through vowel coalescence, vowel deletion, and glide formation apply (see section 3.2), resulting in the forms listed in Table 7.4.

The tonal realization of demonstratives depends on their syntactic position. Adnominal demonstratives have a high tone on the last mora of the demonstrative stem, as in example (14). Adverbial demonstratives have a high tone on the first mora of the demonstrative, see example (15). Demonstratives used as relativizers are realized without any high tones, as in example (16) (see also section 16.5.1 on relative clauses). The tonal behavior of pronominal demonstratives requires further study: various patterns

²⁰ This is in contrast with Nicolle (2012), who lists Fwe as a language that lacks a reflex of **-no*, based on Baumbach (1997). As noted in section 1.5, Baumbach's grammar sketch of Fwe is very limited and numerous differences between it and my data exist.

are attested, and it is unclear what, if anything, conditions their use; some examples of the variable tonal behaviour of pronominal demonstratives are given in (17).

- (14) Adnominal demonstratives: final high tone

èrí hànjà
e-rí hanja
AUG-DEM.I₅ hand
'this hand' (ZF_Elic14)

- (15) Adverbial demonstratives: initial high tone

ndìkáràngà kúnu
ndi-kar-àng-a kúnu
SM_{1SG}-sit-HAB-FV DEM.II₁₇
'I normally stay here.' (NF_Elic17)

- (16) Demonstratives as relativizers: no high tone

àmàshéréjì àò nìtwáshàngàúrà
a-ma-sheréjì a-ò ni-tú-a-sha_Hngaur-á
AUG-NP₆-money AUG-DEM.III₆ REM-SM_{1PL}-PST-contribute-FV<REL>
'the money that we contributed' (NF_Elic17)

- (17) Pronominal demonstratives: various patterns attested

a. ndìsháká kùùrà cínà ~ cìnà
ndi-shak-á ku-ur-a cínà ~ cínà
SM_{1SG}-want-FV INF-buy-FV DEM.IV₇
'I want to buy that one.'

b. àké:zyà zywínà ~ zywínà
a-ké:zy-a zywínà ~ zywínà
SM₁-come-FV DEM.IV₁
'S/he is coming, that one.' (NF_Elic17)

As seen in Table 7.4, each demonstrative may occur either with or without an augment prefix. The augment on demonstratives, similar to the augment on nouns and adjectives²¹, consists of a single vowel that displays vowel harmony with the demonstrative stem: the augment *e-* is used with demonstrative stems with a front vowel *i*, the augment *o-* is used with demonstrative stems with a back vowel *u*, and the augment *a-* is used with demonstrative stems with the vowel *a*. When the suffix *-ina* for the series IV demonstrative is used with demonstratives with a stem in *u*, the vowel *u* is changed to a glide, yet the augment remains *o-*.

Demonstratives may be used with an augment, as in (18), or without an augment, as in (19).

²¹ Augments used on nouns also have a floating high tone, which surfaces on the syllable immediately preceding the vocalic augment. It is not clear if the augment on demonstratives has this same tonal realization, as the number of contexts in which it could be realized is very limited. This matter requires further investigation.

- (18) *àbèná bàkèntù bàám̀bà wàwà*
 a-bená ba-kèntu ba-ám̀b-a wawa
 AUG-DEM.IV₂ NP₂-woman SM₂-talk-FV very
 ‘Those women talk a lot.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (19) *bèná bàntù*
 bená ba-ntu
 DEM.IV₂ NP₂-person
 ‘those people’

The form of the augment on demonstratives is identical to the form of the augment used on nouns (see section 5.2). Its conditioning, however, is slightly different; whereas the vowel of the augment on nouns is completely optional, the vowel of the augment on demonstratives is influenced by a number of factors. Firstly, the vowel of the augment is more commonly used with the monosyllabic series I and III demonstratives, and is more commonly dropped with the disyllabic series II and IV demonstratives. The use of the vocalic augment on demonstratives is also influenced by the function of the demonstrative. Demonstratives used to introduce a relative clause often occur without an augment vowel, even if they are monosyllabic (see 16.5.1 on relative clauses).

In addition to the demonstrative forms listed in Table 7.4, an emphatic demonstrative can be created by prefixing the basic demonstrative stem of series I to the demonstrative, e.g. *o-zyo* ‘that one’, *zyu-zyo* ‘that very one’. This derivation can be applied to demonstratives of all four series; in each case, it is the basic demonstrative stem of series I that is prefixed to the demonstrative stem. The derived demonstrative indicates extra emphasis on the demonstrative, translated as ‘this/that very (same)’.

- (20) *ákùbá'téyè shári z̀yùz̀yù mwáncè nìndá'yéndà néyè nìnindámàn' ó'káfwà*
 á-ku-bá-téye shári zyu-zyú mu-áncè
 CON₁-INF-OM₂-say_that if EMPH-DEM.I₁ NP₁-child
 ni-ndí-a-énd-a ne=ye
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV<REL> COM=PERS_{3SG}
 ni-ni-ndí-a-man-á o-ka-fw-á
 REM-REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-FV AUG-INF.DIST-die-FV
 ‘She told them: if not for this very child, that I went with, I would have died there.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (21) *ríryò shèné ób̀wèné ndíwè*
 rí-ryo ø-shene ó-bwe_Hne ndi-wé
 EMPH-DEM.III₅ NP₅-worm SM_{2SG}.REL-see.STAT COP-PERS_{2SG}
 ‘This very worm that you see, it's you.’ (NF_Song17)

Demonstratives always show noun class agreement. Adnominal demonstratives agree in noun class with the noun they modify, as seen in examples (22)–(23). Pronominal demonstratives agree in noun class with the noun they replace or refer to, as shown in the example in (24), taken from a narrative, which contains the class 1a

demonstrative *òzwyínà* ‘that one’, referring back to an earlier mentioned elephant, *njòvù*, which is a class 1a noun.

- (22) *òzyú mùntù*
 o-zyú mu-ntu
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
 ‘this person’
- (23) *òkú 'kútù*
 o-kú ku-twí
 AUG-DEM.I₁₅ NP₁₅-ear
 ‘this ear’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (24) *bókùndìsùndà òzwyínà*
 bá-o-ku-ndi-sund-a o-zywiná
 CON₂-INF-OM_{1SG}-show-FV AUG-DEM.IV₁
 ‘They showed him to me.’ (ZF_Narr13)

The unmarked position of adnominally used demonstratives is before the noun they modify, as in examples (22) and (23) above. There are two environments where the demonstrative may follow the noun it modifies: when the noun is marked by a copulative prefix, as in (25) and (26), or when the noun phrase is the object of an imperative or subjunctive verb, as in (27) and (28).

- (25) *mùndár' ówù*
 N-mu-daré o-ú
 COP-NP₃-maize AUG-DEM.I₃
 ‘It’s maize, this.’
- (26) *ndùngúy' òzyù*
 ndu-ø-nguyá o-zyú
 COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-baboon AUG-DEM.I₁
 ‘It’s a baboon, this one.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (27) *òzìmìsé mùrìrò ówù*
 o-zi_Hm-is-é mu-riro o-ú
 SM_{2SG}-extinguish-CAUS-PFV.SBJV NP₃-fire AUG-DEM.I₃
 ‘Extinguish this fire.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (28) *òtùsé òmùntú zyò*
 o-tus-é o-mu-ntú zyo
 SM_{2SG}-help-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁-person DEM.III₁
 ‘Help that person.’ (NF_Elic17)

The post-nominal demonstrative with a noun marked with a copulative is a case of right-dislocation: constituents can move to the right edge of the clause when they function as definite (see section 16.3 for discussion and examples). As demonstratives are frequently used anaphorically, referring to a referent that is identifiable to both speaker and hearer (as discussed in section 7.2.2), they are frequently subject to right-

dislocation. The lack of prosodic boundary between right-dislocated constituents and the rest of the clause is also seen with many other right-dislocated constituents, as discussed in section 16.3.

The post-nominal position of the demonstrative in a noun phrase that functions as the object of a subjunctive or imperative verb is more difficult to explain. This order is only found with subjunctive or imperative verbs expressing an order, not with other functions of the subjunctive. Even in this context, both pre-nominal and post-nominal demonstratives are allowed, as shown in example (29).

- (29) a. *òtùsé òmùntú zyo*
 o-tus-é o-mu-ntú zyo
 SM_{2SG}-help-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁-person DEM.III₁
 ‘Help that person.’
- b. *òtùsé òzyó mùntù*
 o-tus-é o-zyó mu-ntu
 SM_{2SG}-help-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
 ‘Help that person.’ (NF_Elic17)

So with the exception of noun phrases that are the object of an imperative or subjunctive order verb, all adnominal demonstratives appear before the noun they modify. All other nominal modifiers in Fwe canonically appear after the noun they modify. The preferred pre-nominal position of the demonstrative in Fwe is also uncommon for Bantu languages in general, which, like Fwe, have a strict head – dependent order which also determines the placement of the demonstrative. In a sample of 138 Bantu languages, Van de Velde (2005) found only five possible languages in which the demonstrative always precedes the noun it modifies. Languages in which the demonstrative may either follow or precede the noun are more common, and are also found among Fwe’s closest linguistic relatives such as the western Bantu Botatwe language Subiya (Jacottet 1896: 33), and the eastern Bantu Botatwe language Tonga (Carter 2002: 40; Collins 1962: 83) and Ila (Smith 1964: 105). Even among Bantu Botatwe languages, however, Fwe appears to be the only language in which the pre-nominal demonstrative is much more common than the post-nominal demonstrative.

7.2.2 Functions of the demonstratives

Demonstratives have a situational use, with which the demonstrative singles out a referent in the physical surroundings of the speaker, and a non-situational use, with which the demonstrative singles out a referent that is known through general knowledge or the earlier discourse. The distinction between situational and non-situational demonstratives is known under different labels in the literature, such as exophoric/endophoric (Diessel 1999); following Himmelmann (1996), I will refer to demonstratives that describe the physical location of a referent as situational, and all other demonstratives as non-situational.

The situational use of the series I demonstratives is to indicate that a referent is generally close to both the hearer and the speaker. An example of the use of the series I

demonstrative is given in (30), referring to shoes that are in the immediate vicinity of both the speaker and the hearer.

- (30) *èzí nshàngù zìcénà*
 e-zí N-shángu zi-cen-á
 AUG-DEM.I₁₀ NP₁₀-shoe SM₁₀-be_clean-FV
 ‘These shoes are clean.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The series II demonstratives are used to indicate that a referent is close to the speaker, but not to the hearer. An example is given in (31), from an elicitation context in which a bag of beans was lying on the table next to the speaker.

- (31) *èzínó nyàngù*
 e-zinó N-nyangu
 AUG-DEM.II₁₀ NP₁₀-bean
 ‘these beans’ (ZF_Elic13)

Series III demonstratives are used to indicate that a referent is close the hearer, but not close to the speaker. In example (32), in which the speaker warns the hearer of an approaching elephant, a series III demonstrative is used as an indication of the elephant’s location close to the hearer.

- (32) *bbónàdì bbónàdì shá ònjòvú zyú’ ákè:zy’ ókò*
 bbónadi bbónadi shá
 Bonard Bonard sir
 o-ø-njovú zyú á-ke:zy-á o-kó
 AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant DEM.I₁ SM₁-come-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₇
 ‘Mr Bonard, Mr Bonard! There is an elephant coming to you!’ (ZF_Narr13)

Series IV demonstratives are used to indicate that a referent is far from both the speaker and the hearer. An example from a narrative is given in (33), where the speaker uses a series IV demonstrative *énà* to refer to teeth that are hidden at a place far away from the speaker and the hearer.

- (33) *émé ndìhíndè énà ménò*
 emé ndi-hínd-e ená ma-inó
 PERS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}-take-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₆ NP₆-tooth
 ‘Me, I will take those teeth.’ (NF_Narr15)

Demonstratives also have various non-situational uses. One of these is the use of a demonstrative for discourse deixis, i.e. referring back not to the particular referent of one specific (pro)noun that was used in earlier discourse, but to the general information referent of a larger, broader chunk of discourse. An example of the use of a demonstrative for discourse deixis is given in (34) below, where the series III demonstrative *èryó* ‘that’ refers back to the topic of the preceding discourse in its entirety, which has described the attack of an old lady by elephants.

- (34) *kónàkùrì èryó kàndè ryábànjòvù*
 kónakuri e-ryó ø-kande ri-á=ba-njovu
 because AUG-DEM.III₅ NP₅-story PP₅-CON=NP₂-elephant
 ‘Because of this story of the elephants...’ (ZF_Narr15)

Within discourse, demonstratives are often used anaphorically, to refer back to earlier mentioned entities and participants. In the anaphoric use of demonstratives, Fwe uses each of the demonstrative series in a different way, depending on the salience of the referent in the discourse. Series III demonstratives are used to refer back to a referent that is still highly salient. An example is given in (35), where in the first sentence a new referent, a village, is introduced by means of the noun *mùnzì*. In the following sentence the aforementioned village is mentioned again, marked by the series III demonstrative *òwó* ‘this’.

- (35) *kàkwín’¹ ómùnzì òmù kàmwí’ná bàntù*
 ka-kú-iná o-mu-nzi
 PST.IPFV-SM₁₇-be_at AUG-NP₃-village
 o-mu ka-mú-iná ba-ntu
 AUG-DEM.I₁₈ PST.IPFV-SM₁₈-be_at NP₂-person
 ‘There was a village, where people were living.’

òwó mùnzì kàwínà shíryà yórwízyì
 o-ó mu-nzi ka-ú-ina
 AUG-DEM.III₃ NP₃-village PST.IPFV-SM₃-be_at
 ø-shírya i-ó=ru-ízyi
 NP₉-other_side PP₉-CON=NP₁₁-river
 ‘This village was at the other side of the river.’ (NF_Narr15)

Salience, or accessibility (Ariel 2001), describes how easy it is for the listener to the retrieve the intended referent from the discourse. Accessibility is influenced by various factors, such as the number of times the referent was mentioned, the time elapsed since the last mention and the number of potentially competing referents that were introduced since then. In example (35), the recent use of the word *mùnzì* ‘village’ has caused its referent to be highly salient, and therefore referred to with the series III demonstrative. An example where the frequent earlier mention of the referent has contributed to its salience is given in (36), taken from the middle section of a longer narrative in which a man, his wife and the wife’s younger sister are the main participants. All three main characters have been mentioned frequently in the previous discourse, hence allowing one of them, the man, to be referred to with the series III demonstrative.

- (36) *òzyó mú’kwámè ákùhìndá kàtémù*
 o-zyó mú-kwamé á-ku-hind-á ka-tému
 AUG-DEM.III₁ NP₁-man PP₁-INF-take-FV NP₁₂-axe
 ‘That man took an axe...’ (NF_Narr15)

To refer back to referents that are not salient in the discourse, the series IV demonstrative is used. An example of this is given in (37), taken from the same narrative

about the man, his wife and the wife's little sister. This example, however, is taken from the beginning of the story. The wife's sister has been introduced, but only briefly and since she was last discussed, the focus of the story has been on the man and his wife. Now the wife's sister, referred to by means of *kèná káncè* 'that small child', is reintroduced into the story, but with a series IV rather than a series III demonstrative as the result of this participant's low salience.

- (37) *kàntí kèná káncè ká'yéndà nákò*
 kantí kená ka-ánce ka-á-énd-a ná=ko
 then DEM.IV₁₂ NP₁₂-child PST.IPFV-SM₁-go-FV COM=DEM.III₁₂
 'Then that small child that she was coming with...' (NF_Narr15)

The anaphoric use of demonstratives is restricted to the series III demonstrative for salient referents and the series IV demonstrative for non-salient referents. The series I and II demonstratives do not have an anaphoric use, but do have other non-situational uses. The series I demonstrative's non-situational use is to introduce a new referent. This is illustrated in (38), where the series I demonstrative *òzyú* is used to introduce a participant which has so far not yet been part of the story.

- (38) *néy' òzyú mú'kwámè àkèzyà*
 né=o-zyú mú-kwamé a-ké:zy-a
 COM=AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-man SM₁-come-FV
 'And another man came.' (NF_Narr15)

The series II demonstratives can be used with expressions of time, to indicate the current time period.

- (39) *èyìnó nsúndà*
 e-inó N-súnda
 AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week
 'this week' (ZF_Elic14)
- (40) *mwáìnò ènàkò shítú'hàrà*
 mwá-ino e-N-nako shi-tú-ha_Hr-á
 CON₁₈-DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-time INC-SM_{1PL}.REL-live-FV
 'In this time where we are now living...' (ZF_Conv13)

This temporal function of the series II demonstrative is also reflected in the use of locative demonstrative of class 16. When the series II demonstrative of class 16 is used adverbially, it gives the interpretation '(right) now'.

- (41) *àbàntù hánù sùbàyèndàngàkò nèmótà*
 a-ba-ntu hanú si-ba-end-ang-a=kò ne=N-motá
 AUG-NP₂-person DEM.II₁₆ INC-SM₂-go-HAB-FV=LOC₁₇ COM=NP₉-car
 'People, now, they go there with cars.' (as opposed to earlier, when they would go with ox carts) (NF_Narr17)

- (42) *òmwáncè kàrí kàákìshùwírè nénjà*
 o-mu-áncé ka-rí ka-á-ki_H-shu_Hw-íre nénja
 AUG-NP₁-child NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM₁-REFL-feel-STAT well
kònó hànó shàákìshùwírè nénjà
 konó hanó sha-a-ki_H-shu_Hw-íre nénja
 but DEM.II₁₆ INC-SM₁-REFL-feel-STAT well
 ‘The child was not feeling well (earlier), but now she is feeling well.’
 (ZF_Elic14)

Aside from expressing a temporal adverb, which is restricted to the demonstratives of locative class 16, demonstratives of all three locative classes, 16, 17 and 18, can be used as locative adverbs as well. These demonstratives can describe general locations for class 16 and 17, and a contained location, e.g. “in there/here”, for class 18.

- (43) *bàzyíménè hénà*
 ba-zyi_Hmén-e hénà
 SM₂-stand-STAT DEM.IV₁₆
 ‘S/he stands there.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (44) *wáshàkè:zyì kúnò kùshàmbà ndíshàmbà*
 o-ásha-ké:zy-i kúnò ku-shamb-a ndí-shàmb-a
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-COME-NEG DEM.II₁₇ INF-bath-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-bath-FV
 ‘You cannot come here, I am bathing.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (45) *bàrèrè mwínà*
 ba-re_Hre mwínà
 SM₂-sleep-STAT DEM.IV₁₈
 ‘They are asleep in there.’ (NF_Elic17)

7.3 Connectives

Connective constructions are used to link two nouns or pronouns. A (canonical) connective construction consists of a head noun, a connective clitic and a dependent noun. The connective clitic itself consists of a stem and a pronominal prefix marking agreement with the head noun. An example of a connective construction in Fwe is given in (46). The head of the construction *mìnwè* ‘fingers’, is followed by the dependent *mwáncè* ‘child’, marked with the connective *yó* which is marked with a pronominal prefix of class 4, agreeing with the head noun *mìnwè*.

- (46) *mìnwè yómwáncé*
 mi-nwe i-ó= mu-áncé
 head connective dependent
 NP₄-finger PP₄-CON= NP₁-child
 ‘the fingers of the child’ (ZF_Elic14)

Similar markers to relate two nouns are found in many Bantu languages, and labels that have been applied include connective, associative, genitive and connexive (see Van de Velde 2013). One of the points on which Bantu languages differ is the degree

to which the connective is phonologically integrated into the noun. As I will argue in this chapter, in Fwe the connective behaves like a clitic, as it is phonologically integrated into the host noun, but displays the syntactic behavior of a free word.

The following sections discuss the formal properties of the connective (7.3.1), and the different meanings that it may express (7.3.2).

7.3.1 The form of the connective clitic

The connective clitic consists of a connective stem and a pronominal prefix, which agrees with the noun class of the head of the connective construction. The connective stem consists of a single vowel. The combination of the pronominal prefix with the connective stem results in vowel hiatus resolution, namely glide formation, coalescence, or deletion (see 3.2 for an overview of vowel hiatus resolution rules).

The quality of the vowel of the connective stem is determined by the noun class of the dependent of the connective construction, though in this case there are significant differences between Zambian and Namibian Fwe. In Namibian Fwe, the connective stem is identical to the vowel of the augment. This is illustrated in the following examples with a connective clitic that has a pronominal prefix of class 3, which is realized as *w-o-*, *w-a-* or *w-e-*, depending on the augment of the following noun.

- (47) a. *òndávù*
 o- \emptyset -ndavú
 AUG-NP_{1a}-lion
 ‘lion’
- b. *mùcírà wó'ndávù*
 mu-círa u-ó- \emptyset =ndavú
 NP₃-tail PP₃-CON=NP_{1a}-lion
 ‘the tail of a lion’
- (48) a. *ènjúò*
 e-N-júo
 AUG-NP₉-house
 ‘house’
- b. *mùbára 'wènjúò*
 mu-bará u-é-N=júo
 NP₃-color PP₃-CON=NP₉-house
 ‘the color of the house’
- (49) a. *àmàbúna*
 a-ma-búna
 AUG-NP₆-leaf
 ‘leaves’

- b. *mùbára 'wámàbúnà*
 mu-bará u-á=ma-búna
 NP₃-color PP₃-CON=NP₆-leaf
 'the color of the leaves' (NF_Elic15)

In Zambian Fwe, the vowel of the connective stem is always /o/, regardless of the augment of the noun with which the connective is used.

- (50) a. *òndávù*
 o-ø-ndavú
 AUG-NP_{1a}-lion
 'lion'
- b. *té'ndé 'ryó'ndávù*
 ø-téndé ri-ó=ø-ndavú
 NP₅-leg PP₅-CON=NP_{1a}-lion
 'the leg of the lion'
- (51) a. *ènjúò*
 e-N-júo
 AUG-NP₉-house
 'house'
- b. *cítúwá cònjúò*
 ci-tuwá ci-ó=N-júo
 NP₇-roof PP₇-CON=NP₉-house
 'the roof of the house'
- (52) a. *àkàzyùnì*
 a-ka-zyuni
 AUG-NP₁₂-bird
 'bird'
- b. *té'ndé 'ryókàzyùnì*
 ø-téndé ri-ó=ka-zyuni
 NP₅-leg PP₅-CON=NP₁₂-bird
 'the leg of the bird' (ZF_Elic14)

In addition to the regional variation in the form of the connective, there is also some syntactically conditioned variation, determined by the nature of the dependent noun. When the dependent noun is a noun that cannot take an augment, the vowel of the connective stem is always /a/. This is the case in both Namibian and Zambian Fwe. Nouns that cannot take an augment include proper names; the realization of the connective stem as /a/ with names is shown in (53).

- (53) *hànjà ryaRebecca*
 hanja ri-a=Rebecca
 hand PP₅-CON=Rebecca
 'Rebecca's hand' (ZF_Elic14)

Adverbs also do not take augments. When an adverb takes a connective clitic, the /a/ form of the clitic is used. This is shown in example (54) with the adverb *shúnu* ‘to-day’, where the connective is realized as *a-*.

- (54) *èzààmbò zàshúnu n-zí-cí-koró 'cámàyùnì*
 e-zi-ambo zi-a=shúnu N-zí-ci-koró ci-á=mayuni
 AUG-NP₈-topic PP₈-CON=today COP-PP₈-NP₇-school PP₇-CON=Mayuni
 ‘Today’s topic is Mayuni school.’ (NF_Song17)

Another group of nouns that may never take an augment are nouns marked with a locative prefix of class 16, 17 or 18. With these nouns, however, the vowel of the connective is not consistently realized as *a-*, but as *o-* with class 17 and 18, and as *a-* with class 16. These forms resemble the augment, which is determined by vowel harmony with the nominal prefix, and therefore the expected augment with class 16 would be *a-*, and *o-* with class 17 and 18, even though these nouns may never take an augment.

- (55) Connective clitic with a dependent of class 16: *a-*

zíryó zàhámùkítì
 zi-ryó zi-a=há-mu-kití
 NP₈-food PP₈-CON=NP₁₆-NP₃-party
 ‘the food at the party’

- (56) Connective clitic with a dependent of class 17: *o-*

bàntù bókúmùnzì
 ba-ntu ba-o=kú-mu-nzi
 NP₂-person PP₂-CON=NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘the people of the village’

- (57) Connective clitic with a dependent of class 18: *o-*

zíryó 'zómùrùwà
 zi-ryó zi-o=mú-ru-wa
 NP₈-food PP₈-CON=NP₁₈-NP₁₁-field
 ‘the crops of the field’

Nouns that take a secondary class 2 prefix (used to mark respect; see also section 5.1) may also never take an augment. When such a noun takes a connective clitic, the connective stem is reduced to zero.

- (58) *ndó' rufù rùbànyámùzàmbàràrà kúnjòvù*
 ndó-ru-fú ru-ø=ba-nyá-muzambarara
 COP.DEF₁₁-NP₁₁-death PP₁₁-CON=NP₂-mother-Muzambarara
 kú-ø-njovu
 NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-elephant
 ‘That is the death of Mrs. Nyamuzambarara by an elephant.’ (ZF_Narr15)

The following table gives an overview of the different forms of the connective clitic found in Fwe.

Table 7.5: Connective clitics

	Connective clitics (including pronominal prefix)			
	used with nouns with an augment /a/; certain augmentless nouns	used in Zambian Fwe; used with nouns with an augment /o/	used with nouns with an augment /e/	used with honorifics
I	<i>wa</i>	<i>o/w</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>u</i>
2	<i>ba</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>ba</i>
1a	<i>wa</i>	<i>o/w</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>u</i>
3	<i>wa</i>	<i>o/wo</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>u</i>
4	<i>ya</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>i</i>
5	<i>rya</i>	<i>ryo</i>	<i>rye</i>	<i>ri</i>
6	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>
7	<i>ca</i>	<i>co</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ci</i>
8	<i>za</i>	<i>zo</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>zi</i>
9	<i>ya</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>i</i>
10	<i>za</i>	<i>zo</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>zi</i>
11	<i>rwa</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>rw</i>	<i>ru</i>
12	<i>ka</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ka</i>
13	<i>twa</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>twe</i>	<i>tu</i>
14	<i>bwa</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>bwe</i>	<i>bu</i>
15	<i>kwa</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kwe</i>	<i>ku</i>

The large number of allomorphs and regional variants of the connective can mostly be explained historically as the result of vowel hiatus resolution between a putative earlier connective stem **-a* and the vowel of the augment. That the original form of the connective was *-a* is shown by its use with certain nouns that cannot take an augment. This is in line with the analysis of a canonical Bantu connective construction by Van de Velde (2013), where the connective stem is *-a*, as well as with its reconstruction for Proto-Bantu by Meeussen (Meeussen 1967). The forms of the connective where the vowel has changed to *-e* or *-o* are the result of coalescence with the vowel of the augment. In Zambian Fwe, a further development has taken place where the connective stem with the vowel *o*, as a result of coalescence with the augment *o-* of class I, 1a, 3, 11, 13, 14 and 15, was extended to nouns of all other classes, where the augment is *a* or *e*. This process of analogical leveling has not affected Namibian Fwe.

Synchronically, the different forms of the connective can no longer be explained as coalescence of a vowel *a-* of the connective stem with the augment of the dependent noun, especially not in Zambian Fwe, where the vowel *o-* is even used with nouns that do not take *o-* as their augment. Even in Namibian Fwe, if the different forms of the connective were the result of coalescence with the augment, forms where coalescence does not take place would also be expected, because the augment vowel in Fwe is optional (see section 5.2).

Both the connective stem and the pronominal prefix used in the connective construction are underlyingly toneless. The connective clitic may be realized as high-toned only when the floating high tone of the nominal augment attaches to it. As dis-

cussed in section 5.2, the augment consists of a vocalic prefix and a high tone realized on any syllable preceding the noun; this high tone may occur independently of the augment's vocalic prefix. When the noun that functions as the dependent of a connective construction has a tonal augment, this augment is assigned to the syllable preceding the noun, namely the connective clitic, causing it to be realized with a high tone. Examples of high-toned connective clitics are given in (59)–(60).

- (59) *mùcírà wó'ndávù*
 mu-círa u-ó=Ø-ndavú
 NP₃-tail PP₃-CON=NP_{1a}-lion
 'tail of a lion'
- (60) *ènshùkí 'zómùkèntù*
 e-N-shukí zi-ó=mu-kéntu
 AUG-NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-CON=NP₁-woman
 'the hair of the woman' (ZF_Elic14)

When the connective is used with a dependent noun that can never take an augment, the connective stem is consistently realized as low-toned. This is the case for nouns that have a secondary locative prefix; these nouns never take an augment, and therefore cannot assign a high tone to the connective stem.

- (61) *mìnwè yòkúmàànjà*
 mi-nwe i-o=kú-ma-anja
 NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=NP₁₇-NP₆-hand
 'fingers of the hands' (ZF_Elic14)
- (62) *bàntù bòmúnjúò*
 ba-ntu ba-o=mú-N-júo
 NP₂-person PP₂-CON=NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 'people of the house' (NF_Elic15)

Van de Velde (2013) notes that the connective element in Bantu languages generally has an intermediate position between affix and word, and therefore analyzes it as a proclitic. The same applies to the connective in Fwe, which behaves like a separate word morphosyntactically, but is fully dependent on the head noun phonologically. The phonological integration is seen from the fact that the vowel of the connective stem interacts with the augment of the noun it attaches to. The tonal behavior of the connective clitic also confirms its phonological integration into the noun. The connective clitic may be the target for high tone shift, shown in (63), where the high tone of the syllable *mú* spreads onto the preceding connective *ry-ó*. H spread is a tone process that never crosses word boundaries (see 4.1.6), thus proving the phonological integration of the connective clitic into the head noun.

- (63) *èzwáyí 'ryómúbùsùnsò*
 e-Ø-zwaí ri-o=mú-bu-sunso
 AUG-NP₅-salt PP₅-CON=NP₁₈-NP₁₄-relish
 'the salt of the relish' (NF_Elic15)

Syntactically, the connective clitic behaves like a separate word. This can be seen in its behavior when combined with nouns that have a pre-nominal modifier, such as a demonstrative. If a noun preceded by a demonstrative is the dependent of a connective construction, the connective clitic will be marked on the demonstrative, not the noun itself. This shows that the connective behaves like a phrasal clitic, rather than a nominal affix.

- (64) *òmùkití 'wábèná bàntù mànì wàràtèndàhàrà*
 o-mu-kití u-á=bená ba-ntu
 AUG-NP₃-party PP₃-CON=DEM.IV₂ NP₂-person
 mani o-ára-tend-ahar-a
 when SM₃-REM_FUT-do-NEUT-FV
 'Those people's party, when will it take place?' (NF_Elic17)

- (65) *èmísi yècí cìshámù mùshámù*
 e-mi-ísi i-e=cí ci-shamú N-mu-shamú
 AUG-NP₄-root PP₄-CON=DEM.I₇ NP₇-tree COP-NP₃-medicine
 'The roots of this tree are medicine.' (ZF_Elic14)

It is also possible for the head of the connective construction to be left unexpressed, so the construction consists of a dependent only. In this case, the noun class of the pronominal prefix is determined by the intended or implied noun. In example (66)a, a speaker asks where her chitenge is; the response in (66)b uses headless connectives to ask for a description of the chitenge, marked for agreement with the class 7 noun *chitenge* with class 7 pronominal prefixes.

- (66) a. *nòndìbònèni ècìtèngé 'cángù*
 no-ndi-bón-en-i e-ci-tengé ci-angú
 SM_{2SG}.PST-OM_{1SG}-see-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₇-chitenge PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 'Have you seen my chitenge?'
 b. *cómùshòbònjí cókùsùbìrà cókùsìhà cókùtùbà*
 ci-ó=mu-shobo-njí ci-ó=ku-subir-a
 PP₇-CON=NP₃-type-what PP₇-CON=INF-be_red-FV
 ci-ó=ku-sih-a ci-ó=ku-tub-a
 PP₇-CON=INF-be_black-FV PP₇-CON=INF-be_white-FV
 'What kind? A red one, a black one, a white one?' (NF_Elic15)

It is also possible for the dependent of the connective construction to be a pronominally used demonstrative. In this case, the vowel of the connective is realized as *a-* (as opposed to when the connective is used with an adnominal demonstrative, in which case the vowel of the connective is determined by the augment of the demonstrative; see example (64)-(65) above).

- (67) *bànyúmbù nèmìcìrà yábò*
 ba-nyumbu ne=mi-círa i-á=bo
 NP₂-wildebeest COM=NP₄-tail PP₄-CON=DEM.III₂
 'The wildebeests and their tails.' (NF_Song17)

- (68) *ècìntù nècìntù cìkwèsì òbùrótù bwácò nòbùbbí 'bwácò*
 e-ci-ntu ne=ci-ntu ci-kwesi o-bu-rótu
 AUG-NP₇-thing COM=NP₇-thing SM₇-have AUG-NP₁₄-good
 bu-a=có no=bu-bbí bu-a=có
 PP₁₄-CON=DEM.III₇ COM=AUG-NP₁₄-bad PP₁₄-CON=DEM.III₇
 'Everything has its advantage and its disadvantage.' (ZF_Conv13)

7.3.2 The functions of the connective

In a connective construction, the head noun is modified by the dependent noun. This modification can have many different meanings. A connective can be used to indicate possession, where the dependent is the possessor and the head the possessee.

- (69) *mùndaré òbàmùrútì*
 mu-ndaré u-o=ba-mu-rutí
 NP₃-maize PP₃-CON=NP₂-NP₁-teacher
 'the maize of the teacher'
- (70) *njúò yámùyé'nzángù*
 N-júo i-á=mu-énz-angú
 NP₉-house PP₉-CON=NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
 'the house of my friend' (ZF_Elic14)

The relationship expressed by a connective construction may be a relationship of qualification, where the dependent describes some property of the head.

- (71) *mwánà wècìsìzání*
 mu-ána u-e=ci-sizaní
 NP₁-child PP₁-CON=NP₇-female
 'a female child'
- (72) *cí'kwámé cá'mári*
 cí-kwamé ci-á=marí
 NP₇-man PP₇-CON=polygamy
 'a polygamous man' (NF_Elic15)
- (73) *ràpá 'ryókùcèná*
 rapá ri-ó=ku-cen-a
 courtyard PP₅-CON=INF-be_clean-FV
 'a clean courtyard' (ZF_Elic14)

A connective may also express the location of the head with respect to the dependent, in which case the dependent is marked with a locative prefix of class 16, 17 or 18.

- (74) *mìnwè yòkúmàànjà*
 mi-nwe i-o=kú-ma-anja
 NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=NP₁₇-NP₆-hand
 'fingers of the hands' (ZF_Elic14)

- (75) *bàntù bòmúùmùnzì*
 ba-ntu ba-o=mú-mu-nzi
 NP₂-person PP₂-CON=NP₁₈-NP₃-village
 ‘people from the village’ (NF_Elic17)

When the connective is used on an infinitive verb, it may take up some properties of a separate clause. The infinitive verb may, for instance, have its own object, either marked through a separate noun in (76), or with an object marker on the verb in (77).

- (76) *ndààzyá màshéréñi òkùkwèrès’ é’mótà*
 ndi-aazyá ma-sheréñi
 SM_{1SG}-have_not NP₆-money
 a-ó=ku-kwer-es-á e-N-motá
 PP₆-CON=INF-board-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-car
 ‘I don’t have money for a taxi.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (77) *mùròrà òkùtúsànzìsà*
 mu-rora u-ó=ku-tú-sanz-is-a
 NP₃-soap PP₃-CON=INF-OM₁₃-wash-CAUS-FV
 ‘soap for washing them (dishes) with’ (NF_Elic17)

7.4 Quantifiers

Fwe has the following quantifiers: *-onshé:* ‘all’, *-ngí:* ‘many’, *-mwi(nya)/-munya* ‘some, other, a certain’. (Another quantifier, *-cé:* ‘few’, functions as an adjective; see section 7.1.) Quantifiers display agreement with the noun through use of pronominal prefixes. For class I and Ia, where two forms of the pronominal prefix are attested, the form *zyu* is used rather than the form *u*.

The quantifier *-onshé:* is used with the meaning ‘all, every, each, any’. It can be used either before or after the noun it modifies, though the post-nominal position is more common. The pronominal prefix used with this quantifier is realized as low-toned.

- (78) *èyòmbè zòonshé: nàzáùrìsìwà*
 e-N-ɲombe zi-onshé: na-zí-a-ur-is-iw-a
 AUG-NP₁₀-COW PP₁₀-all REM-SM₁₀-PST-buy-CAUS-PASS-FV
 ‘All the cattle have been sold.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (79) *yòonshé: èntúsó èyò ndí’órà òkùkùtùsà*
 i-onshé: e-N-tusó
 PP₉-all AUG-NP₉-help
 e-yo ndí-ó:r-a o-ku-ku-tus-a
 AUG-DEM.III₉ SM_{1SG}.REL-can-FV AUG-INF-OM_{2SG}-help-FV
 ‘Any help that I can provide to you...’ (NF_Narr17)

The quantifier *-onshé:* may also be used with pronominal prefixes of the first and second person, with an interpretation of ‘all of us/you; us/you together’.

- (80) *kùààzyá òzyò áshàká òkúfwà twèns hé tùsháká 'búmì*
 ku-aazyá o-zyo á-shak-á o-ku-fw-á
 SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₁ SM₁-REL-want-FV AUG-INF-die-FV
tu-enshé: tu-shak-á bu-mí
 PP_{1PL}-all SM_{1PL}-want-FV NP₁₄-life
 'There is no one who wants to die, we all want to be alive.' (NF_Song17)
- (81) *tùyéndè twèns hé*
 tu-énd-e tu-enshé
 SM_{1PL}-walk-PFV.SBJV PP_{1PL}-all
 'Shall we walk together?' (NF_Elic15)
- (82) *háibà mwèns hé mùbèrékà*
 háiba mu-enshé: mu-berek-á
 if PP_{2PL}-all SM_{2PL}-work-FV
 'If you all are working...' (ZF_Conv13)

The quantifier *-ngí*: 'many; other' may be used before or after the noun it modifies, though the post-nominal position is the most common.

- (83) *zíngí: èmbúkà bábàrá bò*
 zí-ngí: e-N-búka bá-bar-á bo
 PP₁₀-many AUG-NP₁₀-book SM₂-REL-read-FV DEM.III₂
 'S/he reads many books.' (NF_Elic15)
- (84) *zìzyùnì zíngí:*
 zi-zyuni zí-ngí:
 NP₈-bird PP₈-many
 'many birds' (ZF_Elic14)
- (85) *nàdàmwá 'kúbàntù bángí:*
 na-dam-w-á kú-ba-ntu bá-ngí:
 SM₁.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP₂-person PP₂-many
 'S/he was beaten by many people.' (NF_Elic17)

The quantifier *-mwi* can be realized as *-mwi*, *-mwinya*, or *-munya*, without observable changes in meaning. This quantifier is used with the meaning 'some, other, another, a certain'. It may be used before or after the noun.

- (86) *kùààzyá kùmwí òkò nèmúkàwánè òbùháro bùmùnyà*
 ku-aazyá ku-mwí o-ko ne-mú-ka-wán-e
 SM₁₇-be_not PP₁₇-other AUG-DEM.III₁₇ REM-SM_{2PL}-DIST-find-PFV.SBJV
o-bu-háro bú-munya
 AUG-NP₁₄-life PP₁₄-other
 'There is nowhere where you can find another life.' (ZF_Conv13)

- (87) *zyúmwì mú'kwámè*
 zyú-mwi mú-kwamé
 PP₁-other NP₁-man
 'a certain man' (ZF_Elic14)

Like adjectives and other nominal modifiers, quantifiers may also be used nominally, replacing instead of modifying a noun. In this case, the quantifier takes the pronominal prefix that agrees with the noun class of the noun it replaces or refers to, e.g. a class 2 prefix in (88) to indicate plural human referents, and a class 1 prefix in (89) to indicate a single human referent.

- (88) *bònshé: bàrwàrà kàmpòrwe*
 ba-onshé: ba-rwá_Hr-a ka-mporwe
 PP₂-all SM₂-be_ill-FV NP₁₂-diarrhea
 'They all suffer from diarrhea.' (NF_Elic17)

- (89) *bàkèntù bóbìrè zyúmwì ákùzàrà òmùntù zyúmwì ákùzàrà ènwàrárà*
 ba-kéntu ba-o=biré zyú-mwi á-ku-zár-a
 NP₂-woman PP₂-CON=two PP₁-other PP₁-INF-give_birth-FV
 o-mu-ntu zyú-mwi á-ku-zár-a e-ø-ɲwarará
 AUG-NP₁-person PP₁-other PP₁-INF-give_birth-FV AUG-NP₅-crow
 'Two women. One gave birth to a human being, the other one gave birth to a crow.' (NF_Narr17)

Used with a pronominal prefix of class 16, this quantifier may have a temporal interpretation, e.g. 'sometimes'.

- (90) *hámùnyà kàzì'yángà kwàrìzàùrì hámùnyà kàtù'zwángà kwàmakanga tùyá*
kwàrìnyántì
 há-munya ka-zí-y-áng-a kwa-rizáuli
 PP₁₆-other PST.IPFV-SM₁₀-GO-HAB-FV NP₁₇-Lizauli
 há-munya ka-tù-zw-áng-a kwa-makanga
 PP₁₆-other PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-COME.out-HAB-FV NP₁₇-Makanga
 tu-y-á kwa-rinyánti
 SM_{1PL}-GO-FV NP₁₇-Linyanti
 'Sometimes they would go to Lizauli. Sometimes, we would go from Makanga to Linyanti.' (NF_Narr17)

7.5 Possessives

Fwe has a small set of possessives to express ownership of, or association with, a referent by a first, second or third person. The full paradigm of possessives, marked with their underlying tone patterns, is listed in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: Possessives

	singular	plural
1	-angú	-etú
2	-akó	-enú
3	-akwé	(-abó)

Possessives are used as nominal modifiers, agreeing with the noun they modify, but can also be used nominally, replacing a noun. A possessive consists of a possessive stem and a pronominal prefix marking agreement with the head noun. An example is given in (91), where the possessive stem *-etú* of the first person plural is marked with a pronominal prefix *u-* of class 3, agreeing with the head noun *mùnzí* ‘village’.

- (91) *mùnzí* ¹*wétù*
 mu-nzí u-etú
 NP₃-village PP₃-POSS_{1PL}
 ‘our village’

Fwe lacks a dedicated possessive stem for the third person plural. Instead, the demonstrative of class 2 (the class for plural human nouns) is used, *-abó*. As all possessive stems are vowel-initial, vowel hiatus resolution affects the sequence of vowels created by the pronominal prefix and possessive stem, e.g. vowel deletion, with or without glide formation (see section 3.2 for an overview of the processes of vowel hiatus resolution).

All possessives have a high tone on the last mora, and a floating high tone which surfaces on the mora preceding the possessive, usually the last mora of the noun it modifies. An example is given in (92), where the low-toned noun *vùmò* ‘stomach’, is followed by the possessive *ryángù* ‘my’. The floating high tone of the possessive is assigned to the last syllable of the preceding noun *vùmò*, which surfaces as *vùmó*.

- (92) a. *vùmò*
 ø-vumo
 NP₅-stomach
 ‘stomach’
 b. *vùmó* ¹*ryángù*
 ø-vumó ri-angú
 NP₅-stomach PP₅-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my stomach’ (ZF_Elic14)

As seen in Table 7.6, all possessive stems have the same tonal pattern, with a high tone on the last syllable. The third person singular possessive *-akwé* also has a stem-final high tone, but its surface realization differs from that of the other possessives because *-akwé* has a bimoraic second syllable (on account of the glide /w/, which automatically lengthens the following vowel; see section 2.3.3 on phonetic vowel lengthening). The high tone of the second syllable is associated with the second of the two moras, and therefore in utterance-final context only shifts to the preceding mora, but

remains within the same syllable. As a consequence, the high tone of *-àkwé* is not shifted to the preceding syllable in a clause-final context.

- (93) *múkwàmé wàkwé*
 mú-kwamé u-akwé
 NP₁-man PP₁-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘her husband’

Possessives may be used adnominally, modifying a noun, or nominally, replacing a noun. When used adnominally, the possessive follows the noun it modifies, as in the previous examples. A possessive may also precede the noun it modifies, in which case focus lies on the possessive. This is the case in (94), the start of a story. In this setting, another speaker has just finished telling a short story. The speaker focuses the possessive ‘my’ here to indicate that his story, too, is short.

- (94) *rwàngú rùtàngò ndùfwíhì nórò*
 ru-angú ru-tángo N-ru-fwíi no=ró
 PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₁-story COP-NP₁₁-short COM=DEM.III₁₁
 ‘My story is also short.’ (NF_Narr17)

When a possessive is not used to modify a noun but to replace a noun, the entity referred to can be inferred from context, and also provides the agreement prefix used on the possessive. In (95)a, the speaker discusses a cow; in the response in (95)b, the possessive *yángù* is used independently to refer back to this cow, and also agrees in noun class by taking the pronominal prefix of class 9.

- (95) a. *ndàbónì èyòmbè kúrwízyì njákò*
 ndi-a-bón-i e-N-ɲombe kú-ru-ízyi
 SM_{1SG}-PST-see-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-COW NP₁₇-NP₁₁-river
 N-i-akó
 COP-PP₉-POSS_{2SG}
 ‘I saw a cow at the river. Is it yours?’
- b. *íngà yángù kùnmùnzi íkèrè*
 ínga i-angú ku-mu-nzi í-ke_Hre
 no PP₉-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₇-NP₃-village SM₉.REL-stay.STAT
 ‘No, mine is at home.’ (ZF_Elic13)

In some cases, the possessive stem may fuse with the noun it modifies as a suffix. This is restricted to a closed set of nouns referring to humans, more specifically expressing social or family relations, such as *-yenz-* ‘friend’, *-ana* ‘child’, *-isho* ‘father’.

- (96) *mùyé'nzángù*
 mu-énz-angú
 NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my friend’

- (97) *béshwétù*
 ba-ísho-etú
 NP₂-father-POSS_{1PL}
 ‘our father’
- (98) *àbá'nénù*
 a-ba-án-enú
 AUG-NP₂-child-POSS_{2PL}
 ‘your (PL) children’

Unlike possessives that have not merged with the noun they modify, suffixed possessives are not marked for agreement, but the possessive stem without agreement prefix is suffixed to the noun. Otherwise, the forms of the suffixed possessive stems are very similar to the forms of the independently used possessive stems, except those the second and third person singular, which have been reduced from *-akó* and *-akwé* in their independent form to *-ó* and *-é* in the suffixed form. The following table gives the forms of the suffixed possessive stems in Fwe.

Table 7.7: Suffixed possessive stems

	singular	plural
1	<i>-àngú</i>	<i>-ètú</i>
2	<i>-ó</i>	<i>-ènú</i>
3	<i>-é</i>	<i>-àbó</i>

Some nouns that take suffixed possessives cannot occur without a possessive. Other nouns take suffixed possessives for the second and third person singular, and independent possessives, for other persons, such as the noun *mu-kúru* ‘elder sibling’.

- (99) a. *mùkúrwé*
 mu-kúrw-é
 NP₁-elder_sibling-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘my (elder) sister’
- b. *mùkúru wángù*
 mu-kúru u-angú
 NP₁-elder_sibling PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my (elder) sister’ (ZF_Elic14)

7.6 Personal pronouns

Fwe has a set of personal pronouns that are used to refer to the first, second and third person singular and plural. The forms of these personal pronouns are given in Table 7.8. The personal pronoun for the third person plural is identical to the demonstrative form *àbó*, which is also used as a third person plural possessive (see section 7.5). In Namibian Fwe, the initial vowel of the personal pronouns can be either *e-* or *i-*.

Table 7.8: Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
first person	<i>emé / imé</i> ('I')	<i>eswé / iswé</i> ('we')
second person	<i>ewé / iwé</i> ('you')	<i>enwé / inwé</i> ('you')
third person	<i>eyé / iyé</i> ('he/she')	<i>(abó)</i> ('they')

Personal pronouns are only used for human referents; to refer to non-human referents, demonstratives are used (see section 7.2).

The involvement of a first, second or third person as a subject or object is usually marked with subject and object markers on the verb. When the first, second or third person is used with a comitative or a copulative, however, the personal pronoun is required.

- (100) *mbùryó 'ndízà à néwè*
 mbu-ryó ndí-zan-a ne=wé
 only SM_{1SG}-play-FV COM=PERS_{2SG}
 'I'm just joking with you.' (NF_Elic15)

- (101) *ndìmé 'Sánètì Cábòrà*
 ndi-mé sáneti cáborà
 COP-PERS_{1SG} Saneti Chabola
 'I am Saneti Chabola.' (NF_Narr17)

Personal pronouns are also involved in marking topic and focus. To mark a first, second or third person as topic, a personal pronoun is used in the left-dislocated position (see also section 16.2 on left dislocation).

- (102) *cwàré éyè kàzýí: kùñòrà*
 cwaré eyé ka-a-zýí: ku-ñór-a
 then PERS_{3SG} NEG-SM₁-know.STAT INF-write-FV
 'But she, she doesn't know how to write.' (ZF_Conv13)

- (103) *émè kwààzý' ómò sàké ndìmùpángìrè*
 émè ku-aazyá
 PERS_{1SG} SM₁₇-be_not
 o-mo saké ndi-mu-pang-ír-e
 AUG-DEM.III₁₈ if SM_{1SG}-OM₁-do-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 'Me, there is nothing I can do for her.' (NF_Narr17)

Personal pronouns are also used to express focus on the first, second or third person, in which case the pronoun is used as the clefted element of a cleft construction (see also section 16.6 on cleft constructions). An example of a clefted pronoun marking exclusive focus ('only she, no one else') is given in (104), and an example of a clefted pronoun marking information focus is given in (105).

- (104) *ndéyè búryó 'árè:tà èzìbyà mwí'rápà*
 ndi-eyé bu-ryó á-re_Ht-a
 COP-PERS_{3SG} NP₁₄-only SM₁.REL-bring-FV
 e-zi-bya mú-e-ø-rápá
 AUG-NP₈-item NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-courtyard
 'She is the only one who can bring items into the courtyard.' (ZF_Conv13)
- (105) *èyí ènjúò ndímé nìbáyìzyà:kírà*
 e-í e-N-júo
 AUG-DEM.I₉ AUG-NP₉-house
 ndi-mé ni-bá-a-i_H-zya:k-ir-á
 COP-PERS_{1SG} REM-SM₂-PST-OM₉-build-APPL-FV<REL>
 'This house, it is me that it is was built for.' (NF_Elic15)

Personal pronouns for the second person are frequently used as term of address.

- (106) *íwè cìnjí àhò kórà:rì*
 iwé ø-ci-njí a-ho ka-ó-rá:r-i
 PERS_{2SG} COP-NP₇-what AUG-DEM.III₁₆ NEG-SM_{2SG}-sleep-NEG
 'You! Why are you not sleeping?' (NF_Narr15)
- (107) *íwè òtèzè 'kúmù*
 iwé o-te_Hez-é kunú
 PERS_{2SG} SM_{2SG}-listen-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₇
 'You, listen here.' (NF_Narr17)

7.7 Comitatives

The comitative clitic *nV* (where *V* stands for a harmonizing vowel) expresses a variety of meanings, some of which are captured by the English translation 'and'. It functions as a proclitic, with a vowel that assimilates to the augment of the nominal it attaches to. When used with augmentless words, the vowel of the comitative marker varies between /a/, /e/ and /i/, making it difficult to posit an underlying analysis. The comitative may be used to express coordination of nouns, pronouns, or inflected verbs, it may be used to express a comitative ('with X') meaning, to express an instrumental, or to express additive focus; a full account of the functions of this morpheme is given in section 7.7.2.

7.7.1 Form of the comitative

The comitative has the form *nV*, where *V* stands for a vowel /a/, /e/, /o/, or /i/. When used with nouns that can take an augment, the vowel of the augment determines the vowel of the comitative.

- (108) a. *òngwè:nà*
 o-ø-ngwena
 AUG-NP_{1a}-crocodile
 'a crocodile'

- b. *nòngwènà*
 no=Ø-ngwena
 COM=NP_{1a}-crocodile
 ‘and a crocodile’
- (109) a. *énswì*
 e-N-swí
 AUG-NP₉-fish
 ‘a fish’
- b. *nénswì*
 ne=N-swí
 COM=NP₉-fish
 ‘and a fish’
- (110) a. *àkàfùrò*
 a-ka-furo
 AUG-NP₁₂-knife
 ‘a knife’
- b. *nàkàfùrò*
 na=ka-furo
 COM=NP₁₂-knife
 ‘and a knife’

The comitative *nV* in Fwe is a reflex of a marker **na* reconstructed for Bantu as an “associative index” by Meeussen (1967). Traces of the original vowel /a/ in this marker are no longer found in Fwe; the vowel of the comitative fully assimilates to the augment of the noun to which it prefixes. There are also cases where the comitative in Fwe does not take over the vowel of the augment, as discussed below, but even in these cases, the original vowel /a/ never surfaces.

When the comitative is cliticized to a word that cannot take an augment, it is realized as *na-*, *ne-*, or *ni-*. This is the case with inflected verbs, where the comitative is realized as *na-* in Zambian Fwe (III), and as *ni-* (II2) or *ne-* (II3) in Namibian Fwe. The variation in the vowel of the comitative cannot be analyzed as coalescence with the augment, because inflected verbs never take an augment.

- (111) *kàndìpàkítè mwáncè nàndìkwèsì ndìtòmbwèrà*
 ka-ndì-pak-íte mw-áncè
 RPP-SM_{1SG}-carry_on_back-STAT NP₁-child
 na=ndi-kwesi ndi-tombwér-a
 COM=SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-weed-FV
 ‘I was carrying my child on my back while I was weeding.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (112) *ndàkùrí kùbútùkà ñìndìzìmbùrùkà ègráùndì*
 ndi-aku-rí ku-bútuk-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-be INF-run-FV
 ni=ndi-zì_Hmburuk-á e-ø-gráundi
 COM=SM_{1SG}-surround-FV AUG-NP₉-sports_field
 ‘I was running around the sports field.’ [lit.: ‘I was running while surrounding the sportsfield.’] (NF_Elic15)
- (113) *ndìzyìmaná ñèndìóntwére*
 ndi-zyì_Hman-á ne=ndi-to_Hntwére
 SM_{1SG}-stand-FV COM=SM_{1SG}-be_cold.STAT
 ‘I stand up quietly.’ [lit. ‘I stand up while I am quiet’] (NF_Elic15)

There are also certain nouns in Fwe which never take an augment, so that the form of the comitative clitic with these words is not determined by coalescence with the augment. This includes nouns with a secondary prefix *ba-* (used to mark respect; see also section 5.4), where the form of the comitative may be *na-* or *ne-* in Zambian Fwe, and *ni-* in Namibian Fwe.

- (114) *kàtúrèrè kúrùwà ñèbàmùkèntù wángù*
 ka-tú_H-re_Hre kú-ru-wa
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-sleep.STAT NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ne=ba-mu-kèntu u-angú
 COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘My wife and I were sleeping at the field.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (115) *ñàbàmùkèntù wángù*
 na=ba-mu-kèntu u-angú
 COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘And also my wife.’ (ZF_Narr15)
- (116) *ndìhárá ñìbàmùkèntù wángù nàbànàngù*
 ndi-ha_Hr-á ni=ba-mu-kèntu u-angú na=ba-ána-angu
 SM_{1SG}-live-FV COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG} COM=NP₂-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘I live with my wife and children.’ (NF_Elic15)

The same variation in the realization of the comitative is seen with other nouns referring to kinship terms or social relations, even though these nouns do take an augment. This is seen with the noun phrase *mùkèntù wàkwé* ‘his wife’, which is preceded by a comitative *ne*, rather than the expected form *no*. Another example is seen with the noun *mwànè* ‘her child’, where the form of the comitative is *ne*.

- (117) *káhùpùrà iyé téma ñèmùkèntù wàkwé mómò àkàràrè*
 ka-á-hupur-á iyé téma ne=mu-kèntu u-akwé
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-think-FV that maybe COM=NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 N-ó-mo a-ka-ra_Hr-é
 COP-AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁-DIST-sleep-PFV.SBJV
 ‘He thought that maybe his wife would also be sleeping in there.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (118) *òmùbèrékì kàsàwànéké kùkè:zyà kúnò nèmuvánè*
 o-mu-beréki ka-a-swaneré
 AUG-NP₁-worker NEG-SM₁-must
 ku-ke:zy-a kúnò ne=mu-án-e
 INF-COME-FV DEM.II₁₇ COM=NP₁-child-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘A worker must not come here with her child.’ (ZF_Conv13)

In Namibian Fwe, the use of the *ne* form of the comitative with nouns that do not have an *e-* augment, is restricted to a handful of nouns referring to kinship relations. In Zambian Fwe, the *ne* form of the comitative is more wide-spread. It not only occurs with nouns referring to kinship and social relations, but is also frequently found with nouns of class 6 or 12. These nouns take an augment *a-*, and therefore the expected comitative form would be *na*, as in the Namibian Fwe example in (119); in Zambian Fwe, the comitative with these nouns is often realized as *ne*, as in (120).

- (119) Namibian Fwe
ndìbyàrà òmùndàré nàmàbérè
 ndi-byàr-a o-mu-ndaré na=ma-beré
 SM_{1SG}-plant-FV AUG-NP₃-maize COM=NP₆-millet
 ‘I grow maize and millet.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (120) Zambian Fwe
mùndàré nèmàhìrà
 mu-ndaré ne=ma-ir-a
 NP₃-maize COM=NP₆-sorghum
 ‘maize and sorghum (ZF_Elic14)

The *ne* form of the comitative with nouns with an *a-* augment is not obligatory in Zambian Fwe, though. Both the *ne* and *na* forms of the comitative are found with nouns with an *a-* augment, as seen in the following example.

- (121) *òmbwá nàkàsè ~ òmbwá nèkàsè*
 o-ø-mbwá na/ne=ka-sé
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog COM=NP₁₂-cat
 ‘a dog and a cat’²² (ZF_Elic14)

The comitative functions as a proclitic; it is phonologically dependent on the word to which it is attached, but syntactically behaves like a free word. The phonological dependence of the comitative is seen from its interaction with the augment, which

²² There is even an example of a comitative *no-* used with a noun that takes an augment *e-*. The only occurrence of this is with the noun *e-mi-nwe* ‘fingers’ used in counting; in this case the comitative is always realized as *no-*.

zònè: nòmìnwè yòbìrè
 zi-o=né: no-mi-nwe i-o=biré
 PP₁₀-CON=four COM-NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=two
 ‘six (lit. four and two fingers)’

determines the quality of the vowel. The lack of morphosyntactic integration of the comitative is manifested in several ways. The comitative precedes all other prefixes. When added to a noun, the comitative precedes the noun's (primary) nominal prefix, but also its secondary nominal prefix, such as those of the locative classes 16–18, as shown in (122), or the secondary use of the nominal prefix of class 2, as seen in (123).

- (122) *ndìkwèsí njúò mwàimúshò ñòkwásìnjèmbèrà*
 ndi-kwesí N-júo mwa-imúshono=kwá-sinjembera
 SM_{1SG}-have NP₉-house NP₁₈-Imusho COM=NP₁₇-Sinjembela
 'I have a house in Imusho and in Sinjembela.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (123) *ñàbàmùkèntù wángù*
 na=ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 'And also my wife.' (ZF_Narr15)

The position of comitative at the very left edge of the phrase proves its status as a phrasal clitic. This is further supported by the fact that it may attach to any word: nouns, pronouns, infinitives, and inflected verbs. Another nominal proclitic is the connective (see 7.3), and the arguments for its clitic status are largely the same as those for the comitative, e.g. phrase-initial position and augment interaction. There are also differences between the connective and comitative clitic, however. Firstly, whereas the connective may be targeted by H spread, a tone process that never crosses word boundaries, H spread never targets the comitative clitic. Furthermore, when the comitative and connective are combined, the comitative precedes the connective clitic, as seen in (124).

- (124) *ñàkìhùrìrì mùròrà wàkwé ñòwámùkèntù wàkwé*
 na-kí-ur-ir-i mu-rora u-akwé
 SM₁-PST-REFL-buy-APPL-NPST.PFV NP₃-soap PP₃-POSS_{3SG}
 no=u-á=mu-kéntu u-akwé
 COM=PP₃-CON=NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{3SG}
 'He has bought soap for himself and his wife.' (ZF_Elic14)

Finally, whereas the comitative may attach to any word, including inflected verbs, the connective is limited to nominal elements. These facts suggest that the connective clitic is more closely integrated into the word it attaches to than the comitative, though both can be considered clitics.

7.7.2 Functions of the comitative

The comitative clitic has a wide range of functions: it can express comitative or conjunctive functions, it may express an instrumental, it may replace agreement marking on the consecutive form of a verb, it may express additive focus, it may express simultaneous action, or it may be used to mark direct speech. The functions of the comitative are discussed in this section.

One of the main functions of the comitative is to express conjunctive coordination, for instance of two nouns, as in (125), or of two pronouns, as in (126).

- (125) *ndávú nònjòvù*
 Ø-ndavú no=Ø-njovu
 NP_{1a}-lion COM=NP_{1a}-elephant
 ‘a lion and an elephant’

- (126) *émé nêwè*
 emé né=we
 PERS_{1SG} COM=PERS_{2SG}
 ‘you and me’ (ZF_Elic14)

When the comitative is used with a conjunctive function, the comitative usually appears as a prefix on the second conjunct only. The comitative may also be repeated on both conjuncts to express additive focus (or emphatic coordination, in Haspel-math’s (2007) terminology).

- (127) *nòmwáncè nòmùkèntù kwàázɣ’ écò kàbàzɣí:*
 no=mu-áncè no=mu-kéntu
 COM=NP₁-child COM=NP₁-woman
 ku-aazyá e-có ka-ba-zyi-í
 SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₇ PST.IPFV-SM₂-know.STAT-NEG
 ‘Both the child and the wife, they knew nothing.’ (NF_Narr15)

The comitative can be used with an infinitive to express subsequent action. The infinitive does not allow for inflectional marking for subject or tense/aspect. Therefore the comitative can only be used on an infinitive when the subject is identical to the subject of the previous verb. The event described with a coordinated infinitive is always interpreted as succeeding the previously mentioned event described with an inflected verb. This is the so-called ‘consecutive’ form of the verb, whose forms and functions are discussed in more detail in section 10.5.

- (128) *àpàpàùrà nòkùhìnd’ òmùzìò*
 a-papaur-á no=ku-hind-a o-mu-zío
 SM₁-divide-FV COM=INF-take-FV AUG-NP₃-load
 ‘He divides the animal into pieces and takes it as a load.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (129) *ndàtò:’rí cìshámù nòkùdámá zɣókà*
 ndi-a-tó:r-í ci-shamú
 SM_{1SG}-PST-pick_up-NPST.PFV NP₇-stick
 no=ku-dam-á Ø-zyóka
 COM=INF-beat-FV NP₅-snake
 ‘I took a stick and beat the snake.’ (ZF_Narr13)

The comitative can also be used with inflected verbs, which are then interpreted as simultaneous with the previous inflected verb. The comitative may only be used with verbs in the present tense construction; their temporal implications are determined by the inflection of the preceding inflected verb, which may be used in various tense/aspect constructions. If the previous verb is inflected for present tense, both verbs receive a present reading, as in (130), where both the events of the speaker hear-

ing and the elephant shouting are situated in the present. If the preceding verb is in the past tense, the verb with the comitative also receives a past interpretation, and the event expressed by the second verb is interpreted as co-occurring with the event expressed by the first verb, as in (131), where both the events of the speaker seeing and the children running are situated in the past.

- (130) *ndìshúwírè ònjòvù nàjwéngà*
 ndi-shu_H-íre o-ø-njovu na=a-jwéng-a
 SM_{1SG}-hear-STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant COM=SM₁-shout-FV
 ‘I hear an elephant shouting.’

- (131) *ndàbónì bàncè nìbàbùtúkà*
 ndi-a-bón-i ba-áncè ni=ba-bu_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PST-see-NPST.PFV NP₂-child COM=SM₂-run-FV
 ‘I saw children running.’ (NF_Elic15)

A second major function of the comitative clitic in Fwe is to express comitative meaning, roughly translatable as ‘(together) with’.

- (132) *kàbáyéndà nàbàmbwá 'bábò*
 ka-bá-énd-a na-ba-mbwá ba-abó
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-go-FV COM=NP₂-dog PP₂-DEM.III₂
 ‘She was walking with her dogs.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (133) *nènyàzì yákw' 'ákèrè*
 ne=N-nyazi i-akwé á-ke_Hre
 COM=NP₉-lover PP₉-POSS_{3SG} SM₁.REL-sit.STAT
 ‘She is with her lover.’ (ZF_Conv13)

- (134) *ndìsháká èntí nòmùzírì*
 ndi-shak-á e-N-tí no=mu-zíriri
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-NP₉-tea COM=NP₃-fresh_milk
 ‘I want tea with fresh milk.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Fwe can also use the comitative for a type of conjunction called ‘inclusory conjunction’ (Haspelmath 2007). This involves adding a nominal marked with the comitative which refers to a participant that is already implied by a plural pronoun or subject marker. In the following example, the subjects are the first and second person singular (‘you and I’), which are both covered by the first person plural subject marker *tu-* ‘we’ on the verb. The second person singular is expressed again through a personal pronoun *ewe* ‘you (SG)’, preceded by a comitative clitic.

- (135) *mbòtúyèndèrèrè néwè kwí'táwúni*
 mbo-tú-end-er-er-é ne=wé ku-é-ø-tawuní
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1PL}-go-INT-PFV.SBJV COM=PERS_{2SG} NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-town
 ‘I will walk with you to town.’ (NF_Elic15)

An example of inclusory conjunction involving a full noun rather than a pronoun is given in (136), which describes the speaker and his wife; although *bàmùkèntù wángù*

‘my wife’, is expressed as a comitative, the agreement on the verb is plural ‘we’, indicating that both ‘I’ and ‘my wife’ are subjects of the verb.

- (136) *kàtúrèrè kúrùwà nèbàmùkèntù wángù*
 ka-tú-re_Hre kú-ru-wa
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-sleep.STAT NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ne=ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘My wife and I were sleeping at the field.’ (ZF_Narr13)

Inclusory conjunction is also possible when both the conjuncts are full noun phrases. An example is given in (137), where the noun *bàntù* ‘people’ is in the plural, and is supplemented by an inclusory conjunct *nòmùshèrè* ‘and [his] friend’.

- (137) *ònkómbwè nèḡwáràrà kàbàrí bàntù nòmùshèrè*
 o-ø-nkombwe ne=ø-ḡwarará
 AUG-NP_{1a}-tortoise COM=NP₅-crow
 ka-bá-rí ba-ntu no=mu-shére
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-be NP₂-person COM=NP₁-friend
 ‘Tortoise and crow, they were friends.’ (lit.: ‘They were people and [his] friend.’) (NF_Narr17)

Inclusory conjunction is not obligatory. In example (138), the subjects of the verb are the speaker and his dog, but the verb shows first person singular agreement, rather than first person plural.

- (138) *hàcítúngù ndàyèndérèrè nòmbwá 'wángù*
 ha-ci-túngu ndi-a-end-ér-er-i no=ø-mbwá u-angú
 NP₁₆-NP₇-hut SM_{1SG}-PST-go-INT-NPST.PFV COM=NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘From the hut, I left with my dog.’ (ZF_Narr13)

Crucial in determining whether a nominal marked with the comitative marker *nV-* is treated as an inclusory conjunct is the degree of control by the comitative-marked subject over the action. In the examples of inclusory conjunction (135) and (136), the subjects expressed by a comitative are human (*ewe* ‘you’, (135), and *bamukentu wangu* ‘my wife’, (136)), and therefore equally in control of the action as the speaker. In the examples without inclusory conjunction, such as (138), the speaker (‘I’), as a human, is more in control of the action than the comitative subject *nòmbwá 'wángù* ‘my dog’.

In addition to its basic functions of conjunctive coordination and comitative, the comitative also has a few more minor functions. One of these is to express an instrumental.

- (139) *shìbàràkàsírì nòbwátò*
 shi-ba-na-ka-sír-i no=bu-ató
 INC-SM₂-PST-DIST-sail-NPST.PFV COM=NP₁₄-canoe
 ‘He has sailed with the canoe.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (140) *kùkànkà ndí'kánkà ècìkúnì nàkàtému*
 ku-kank-a ndí-kánk-a e-ci-kuní na=ka-tému
 INF-cut-FV SM_{1SG}-cut-FV AUG-NP₇-tree COM=NP₁₂-axe
 'I chop the tree with an axe.' (NF_Elic15)

Another strategy Fwe uses to express an instrumental is the verbal causative suffix (see section 8.4 on the causative). The use of the comitative can be combined with the causative to express focus on the instrument; see example (60) in section 8.4.3.

The comitative can also be used to express additive focus, translatable as 'also', 'too' or 'as well'.

- (141) *nèmu'kèntù wángù nàshwénì wáwà*
 ne=mu-kèntu u-angú na-shwén-i wáwa
 COM=NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₁.PST-be_tired-NPST.PFV very
 'My wife has also become very tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (142) *nèshúnù hánù ndìshínì mú'céci yá'péntékòsiti*
 ne=shunú hanú ndi-shi_H-ní mú-céci i-á-péntékòsiti
 COM=today DEM.II₁₆ SM_{1SG}-PER-be NP₁₈-church PP₉-CON=Pentecoste
 'Even today/up to this very day, I am still in the Pentecost church.'
 (ZF_Narr15)

Rather than marking the focused noun with a comitative, additive focus can also be expressed by adding a co-referential personal pronoun marked with the comitative.

- (143) *néyè mùkèntù ákùbúkà*
 ne=yé mu-kèntu á-o-ku-búk-a
 COM=PERS_{3SG} NP₁-woman CON₁-AUG-INF-wake-ITR-FV
 'The wife also wakes up.' (NF_Narr15)

- (144) *òmú'kwámè néyè zàkwé zézìzì*
 o-mú-kwámé ne=yé zi-akwé zé-zi-zi
 AUG-NP₁-man COM=PERS_{3SG} PP₁₀-POSS_{3SG} COP.DEF₈-EMPH-DEM.I₈
 'The husband, too, his things are this and that.' (ZF_Conv13)

Another function of the comitative is that it can be used as a marker of direct speech. It is affixed to a personal pronoun indicating the speaker of the quotation.

- (145) *òmú'kwámé néyè shìbànràrì*
 o-mú-kwámé ne=yé shi-ba-na-rá:r-i
 AUG-NP₁-man COM=PERS_{3SG} INC-SM₂-PST-sleep-NPST.PFV
 'The man said: they are asleep now.' (NF_Narr15)

- (146) *némè ndùngwè*
 ne=mé ndu-ø-ngwe
 COM=PERS_{3SG} COP-NP_{1a}-leopard
 'I said: it was a leopard.' (ZF_Narr14)

- (147) *mwáncè néyè máyè máyè màshèné*
 mu-áncè ne=yé ø-máye ø-máye N-ma-shene
 NP₁-child COM=PERS_{3SG} NP_{1a}-mother NP_{1a}-mother COP-NP₆-worm
 ‘The child said: mother, mother, there are worms.’ (NF_Narr15)

The comitative can be used to coordinate two identical nominals, giving the interpretation ‘every’.

- (148) *òmùntù nòmùntù*
 o-mu-ntu no=mu-ntu
 AUG-NP₁-person COM=NP₁-person
 ‘everyone’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (149) *èzyúba nèzyúba káyàngà kùrùwà*
 e-ø-zyúba ne=ø-zyúba ka-á-y-ang-a ku-ru-wa
 AUG-NP₅-day COM=NP₅-day PST.IPFV-SM₁-go-HAB-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ‘Every day she would go to the field.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (150) *ècìntù nècìntù cìkwèsì òbùrótù nòbúbù*
 e-ci-ntu ne=ci-ntu
 AUG-NP₇-thing COM=NP₇-thing
 ci-kwesi o-bu-rótu no=bu-bbí
 SM₇-have AUG-NP₁₄-good COM=NP₁₄-bad
 ‘Everything has advantages and disadvantages.’ (ZF_Conv13)

7.8 Copulatives

A copulative prefix is used in non-verbal sentences to link the subject to a predicate. The copulative prefix has two forms, a basic form, which consists of a homorganic nasal, and a form that is used only on definite nouns, which has a CV-shape. Table 7.9 gives the forms of the copulative prefixes as used with different noun classes.

Table 7.9: Copulative prefixes

	Nominal prefix	Basic copulative (combined with nominal prefix)	Definite copulative
1/2/3 SG		<i>ndi-</i>	<i>ndé-</i>
1	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>ndó-</i>
2	<i>ba-</i>	<i>mba-</i>	<i>mbá-</i>
1a	<i>ø-</i>	<i>ndu-</i>	<i>ndó-</i>
3	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>ngó-</i>
4	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>njé-</i>
5	<i>ø-</i>	<i>ndi-</i>	<i>ndé-</i>
6	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ngá-</i>
7	<i>ci-</i>	<i>ci-</i>	<i>cé-</i>
8	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zé-</i>
9	<i>N-</i>	<i>nji-</i>	<i>njé-</i>
10	<i>N-</i>	<i>zi-</i>	<i>zé-</i>

I1	<i>ru-</i>	<i>ndu-</i>	<i>ndó-</i>
I2	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ká-</i>
I3	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>(n)tó-</i>
I4	<i>bu-</i>	<i>mbu-</i>	<i>mbó-</i>
I5	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kó-</i>
I6	<i>ha-</i>	<i>mpa-</i>	<i>mpá-</i>
I7	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kó-</i>
I8	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mó-</i>

The homorganic nasal of the basic copula is added to the noun's nominal prefix, causing certain phonological changes. When the nominal prefix begins with a nasal consonant, the homorganic nasal is absorbed by the nasal consonant, leading to homophony between the nominal prefix and nominal prefix combined with a copulative. This is the case for the nominal prefixes of class 1 *mu-*, class 3 *mu-*, class 4 *mi-*, class 6 *ma-*, and class 18 *mu-*. For these classes, a simple noun can be interpreted as either with or without the copulative, as shown with the class 1 noun *mu-ntu* 'person', which is ambiguous between 'a person' and 'it is a person'.

- (151) a. *mùntù*
 mu-ntu
 NP₁-person
 'a person'
- b. *mùntù*
 N-mu-ntu
 COP-NP₁-person
 'It is a person.'

The only formal distinction between nouns with and without a basic copulative prefix is that nouns with a copula may not take a vocalic augment, whereas nouns without a copula do. So whereas *mu-ntu* can be interpreted as with or without a copulative, *o-mu-ntu* is necessarily interpreted as without a copula.

- (152) *òmùntù*
 o-mu-ntu
 AUG-NP₁-person
 'a person' (*'It's a person.')

When the nominal prefix begins with a voiceless stop, the homorganic nasal of the basic copula is not realized. This is the case for the prefixes of class 7 *ci-*, class 12 *ka-*, class 13 *tu-*, class 15 *ku-*, and class 17 *ku-*. The homorganic nasal of the copula is also not realized with the prefix of class 8 *zi-*, which begins with a voiced fricative. In Namibian Fwe, the nasal prefix can occasionally be heard in these cases. The loss of a nasal before a voiceless stop is not a regular morphophonological rule in Fwe; as discussed in 3.1, homorganic nasals that mark noun classes 9/10 are maintained on voiceless stops, and as shown in 2.2.7, prenasalized voiceless stops are regular phonemes in Fwe, both morpheme-internally and as the result of morphophonological processes.

Therefore the loss of the homorganic nasal of the copula before voiceless stops is specific to the copulative prefix.

Nominal prefixes with the bilabial fricative /b/, the alveolar tap /r/ or the glottal fricative /h/, change their initial consonant to a stop when combined with the copulative prefix *N-*. This is the case for the prefixes of class 2 *ba-*, class 11 *ru-*, class 14 *bu-*, and class 16 *ha-*, but also for class 5, where the regular prefix is zero, but the allomorph *ri-* is used when combined with the homorganic nasal of the copulative, creating *ndi-*.

The nominal prefix of class 1a is zero, and the prefixes of class 9 and 10 are a homorganic nasal only. When used with the basic copula, the nominal prefix of class 1a is realized as *ndu-*, the nominal prefix of class 9 is realized as *nji-*, and the nominal prefix of class 10 is realized as *zi-*. The forms *nji-* and *zi-* for class 9/10 resemble the historical form of the augment, reconstructed as **ji-* for class 9 and **ji-* for class 10 (Meeussen 1967: 99). Many Bantu languages have lost or reduced the earlier CV augment, but traces of it can still be seen in certain contexts, such as the copulative (de Blois 1970). The form of the basic copulative prefixes for class 9 and 10 in Fwe have been created by combining a homorganic nasal with the historical augment of these classes, resulting in the modern *nji-* and *zi-* forms.

The copulative form *ndi-* is not only the regular realization of the basic copula *N-* with the nominal prefix of class 5 *ri-*, but also shows signs of being extended to other classes. In certain cases, it is used on nouns of class 1 and 1a, as in (153) and (154). The form *ndi-* is also seen as an alternative to the realization of the copulative with class 9 nouns, which is regularly *nji-*, but can also be *ndi-*, as in (155). The use of the copulative *ndi-* on class 9 nouns is not an indication that they are reanalyzed as class 5 nouns; as the agreement on the adjective in example (156) shows, the noun *nako* ‘time’ functions as a class 9 noun, even though it takes the copulative prefix *ndi-*.

- (153) *éni ndimwáncù wángú 'ndírindíre*
 éni ndi-mu-áncu u-angú ndí-rind-ír-e
 yes COP-NP₁-younger_sibling PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}.REL-wait-APPL-STAT
 ‘Yes, I am waiting for my younger brother.’

- (154) *zywín' ómú'kwámè ndíbbábbà*
 zywiná o-mú-kwamé ndi-ø-bbábba
 DEM.IV₁ AUG-NP₁-man COP-NP_{1a}-grandfather
 ‘That man is my grandfather.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (155) *ndìnyàmà ~ njìnyàmà*
 ndi-N-nyama ~ nji-N-nyama
 COP₅-NP₉-meat ~ COP₉-NP₉-meat
 ‘It is meat.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (156) *ndìnàkw' é'ncényà bùryò*
 ndi-N-nakó e-N-cenyá bu-ryo
 COP-NP₉-time AUG-NP₉-small NP₁₄-only
 ‘Just a short time...’ (ZF_Narr13)

The basic copula *N-* can also be used with nouns or pronouns that are marked with a pronominal prefix, which causes the same phonological changes as the combination of the homorganic nasal with nominal prefixes. With vowel-initial pronominal prefixes, the use of the homorganic nasal causes a velar stop /g/ to surface in the case of class 1, 1a, 3, and 6, resulting in the forms *ngu-* for class 1/1a and 3, and *nga-* for class 6. With the vowel-initial pronominal prefix of class 9, the addition of the homorganic nasal creates an additional /j/, resulting in the form *nji-*.

In addition to the basic copula consisting of a homorganic nasal, Fwe also has a paradigm of definite copulative prefixes. These have a CV shape and are added to the nominal prefix without phonological interaction. Examples are given with the class 11 noun *ru-tángo* ‘story’, with a basic copula *N-* in (157)a) and a definite copula in (157)b).

- (157) a. *ndùtángò*
 N-ru-tángo
 COP-NP₁₁-story
 ‘It’s a story.’
- b. *ndórùtángò*
 ndó-ru-tángo
 COP.DEF₁₁-NP₁₁-story
 ‘It is the story.’

Historically, the paradigm of definite copulative prefixes is the result of the combination of the copula *N-* with a historic CV form of the augment. The initial consonant of these earlier augments has disappeared in Fwe, but has been maintained in these copulative forms. This is the case for instance for the class 3 definite copulative *ngó-*, which results from the combination of the homorganic nasal with the earlier augment *gu-.

The form of definite copulas has also been influenced by the modern vocalic augment, as seen by the use of mid vowels /e/ and /o/ rather than high vowels /i/ and /u/; these are the result of influence of the modern vocalic augment, which consists of a mid (or low) vowel. The high tone used in definite copulas may also be attributed to the augment, which has a high tone which usually associates to the left of the augment (see section 5.2).

The influence of the augment on the definite forms may also be the reason for their definite interpretation; there are Bantu languages in which the augment plays a role in expressing definiteness, such as Dzamba (Bokamba 1971). In modern Fwe, the function of the augment is unclear (see section 5.2), but unlikely to be related to the expression of definiteness, as augmented nouns have frequently been found both with definite and indefinite interpretations.

The copula is used to combine a nominal head with a nominal predicate, by marking the latter with the copulative prefix. The nominal head of the construction can be a noun, as in example (158), where the head of the copulative construction is *bàwáyìsì* ‘the vice (leader)’, followed by the predicate *mbàmùkéntù* ‘wángù’ ‘is my wife’.

- (158) *bàwáyìsì mbàmùkèntù 'wángù*
 ba-wáyisi N-ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 NP₂-vice COP-NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 'The vice is my wife.' (ZF_Narr15)

The head of the copulative construction can also be an infinitive verb functioning as a noun, as in example (159); or a pronoun, such as a demonstrative pronoun in example (160), or a personal pronoun, as in (161).

- (159) *òkùhíbà nkúbì*
 o-ku-híb-a N-ku-bbí
 AUG-NP₁₅-steal-FV COP-NP₁₅-bad
 'Stealing is bad.'
- (160) *àbá mbàrìmì*
 a-bá N-ba-rimi
 AUG-DEM.I₂ COP₂-farmer
 'They are farmers.' (NF_Elic15)
- (161) *émé 'ndónjòvù*
 emé ndó-ø-njovu
 PERS_{1SG} COP.DEF_{1a}-NP_{1a}-elephant
 'I am the elephant.' (NF_Narr15)

The copulative construction does not always consist of both a head and a predicate: the head of the copulative is often absent. Example (162) represents the use of the copulative predicate *njinswì* 'is a fish' preceded by a head *mbúfù* 'a bream'. Example (163) represents the use of the same copulative predicate without a head, giving the interpretation '(it) is a fish'.

- (162) *mbúfù njinswì*
 N-bufú nji-N-swí
 NP₉-bream COP₉-NP₉-fish
 'A bream is a fish.'
- (163) *njinswì*
 nji-N-swí
 COP₉-NP₉-fish
 'It's a fish.' (ZF_Elic14)

When a copulative construction lacks an overt, nominal head, the intended referent is often inferable from the discourse, as in the following examples. The intended referent of *nji-nene* '(it) is big' is the speaker's house, a topic which has been brought into the discussion by the previous speaker, and is therefore readily inferable.

- (164) a *ènjúò yákò njìnéne kápá ndí'ncényà*
 e-N-júo i-akó nji-N-néne kápá ndí-N-cenyá
 AUG-NP₉-house PP₉-POSS_{2SG} COP₉-NP₉-big or COP₅-NP₉-small
 'Is your house big or small?'

- b. *njìnénè*
 nji-N-néne
 COP₉-NP₉-big
 ‘It [=my house] is big.’ (ZF_Elic13)

The second element of the copulative construction is the predicate, which consists of the copulative prefix followed by a nominal. This nominal element can be a noun, as in the previous examples, or an infinitive verb used as a noun, as in (165), or an adjective, in which case the copulative agrees in noun class with the head noun, as in example (166). Other nominal elements that may be marked by a copulative prefix are demonstratives, as in (167), possessives, as in (168), or personal pronouns, as in (169).

- (165) *òmùsèbèzí 'wángù nkùùrìsà*
 o-mu-sebezi u-angú N-ku-urisa
 AUG-NP₃-work PP₃-POSS_{1SG} COP-NP₁₅-sell
 ‘My job is selling.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (166) *èyí nswí njì-nénè*
 e-í e-N-swí nji-N-néne
 AUG-DEM.I₉ AUG-NP₉-fish COP₉-NP₉-big
 ‘This fish is big.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (167) *òbùkà'ábù mbó'búbù mbó'búbù*
 o-bu-kábabú mbó-bu-bú mbó-bu-bú
 AUG-NP₁₄-problem COP.DEF₁₄-EMPH-DEM.I₁₄ COP.DEF₁₄-EMPH-DEM.I₁₄
 ‘The problem is such and such.’ (ZF_Conv13)
- (168) *àbá 'bámbwà mbángù*
 a-bá ba-mbwá N-ba-angú
 AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-dog COP-PP₂-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘These dogs are mine.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (169) *ndínwè èè ndímè*
 ndi-nwé ée ndi-mé
 COP-PERS_{2PL} yes COP-PERS_{1SG}
 ‘Are you the one?’ ‘Yes, I’m the one!’ (ZF_Narr13)

Prosodically, the head and the predicate of a copulative construction each form their own clause, as shown by the application of clause-final tone processes on the final syllables of both the head and the predicate. This is shown in (170), where the tonal process of high tone retraction, which only affects the last syllable of a clause-final word, affects both the head *mbufu* ‘bream’, and the predicate *njinswi* ‘is a fish’.

- (170) *mbúfù njinswì*
 N-bufú nji-N-swí
 NP₉-bream COP₉-NP₉-fish
 ‘A bream is a fish.’ (ZF_Elic14)

To negate a copulative construction, an auxiliary verb *ri* ‘be’ is required in addition to the copulative prefix. This construction is discussed in chapter 14 on negation.

7.9 Appositives

This section discusses apposition, a construction combining a first or second person referent with a co-referential, full noun through use of an appositive prefix. Table 7.10 gives an overview of appositive prefixes.

Table 7.10: Appositive prefixes

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>nde-</i>	<i>tu-</i>
Second person	<i>we-</i>	<i>mu-</i>

Appositive prefixes are used on a noun, to mark the identity between the referent of the noun and the intended person. Examples are given for each appositive prefix.

- (171) *émé ndènyòkò*
 emé nde-ø-nyoko
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1SG}-NP_{1a}-your.mother
 ‘I, your mother...’

- (172) *èwé wèmwá'nángù*
 ewé we-mu-án-angú
 PERS_{2SG} APP_{2SG}-NP₁-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘You, my child...’

- (173) *èswé túbàntù*
 eswé tu-ba-ntu
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-person
 ‘Us, people...’

- (174) *ènwé mùbá'nángù*
 enwé mu-ba-án-angú
 PERS_{2PL} APP_{2PL}-NP₂-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘You, my children...’ (NF_Elic17)

Appositive prefixes may be combined with a co-referential personal pronoun, as in the previous examples, or without personal pronoun, as in the following examples.

- (175) *tùbakéntù kàtùnákùtíyàngà cáhà*
 tu-ba-kéntu ka-tu-náku-tí-ang-a cahá
 APP_{1PL}-NP₂-woman PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-HAB-FV very
 ‘Us women, we did not used to fear often.’ (NF_Narr17)

- (176) *néwè òshùmékò wènkómbwè*
 né=we o-shu_Hm-e=kó we-ø-nkómbwe
 COM=PERS_{2SG} SM_{2SG}-bite-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇ APP_{2SG}-NP_{1a}-tortoise
 ‘And you must also bite, you tortoise.’ (NF_Narr17)

The appositive prefixes are also used on the stem *-íni* ‘self’, used as an emphatic reflexive; see examples (24)–(26) in section 9.3 on the reflexive.

The appositive prefixes of the first person singular *nde-*, and first and second person plural *tu-* and *mu-*, resemble the first person singular subject marker *ndi-*, the first person plural subject marker *tu-*, and the second person plural subject marker *mu-* respectively (see chapter 9 on subject and object marking). However, the difference in vowel between the first person singular appositive prefix *nde-* and the first person singular subject marker *ndi-* shows that appositive prefixes are not identical to subject markers. Furthermore, the second person singular appositive *we-* does not resemble the second person singular subject marker *o-*, but rather the second person singular personal pronoun *ewe/iwe* (see section 7.6 on personal pronouns). So although the appositive prefixes show certain formal similarities to other markers of first and second person singular and plural, they should be analyzed as separate affixes.

8 Verbal derivation

8.1 Introduction to verbal morphology

Like most Bantu languages, Fwe has a rich verbal morphology. The following chapters describe the derivational and inflectional processes that may affect verbs. Given the complexity of verbal morphology, this section gives an overview of the structure of verbs in Fwe, before discussing verbal derivation (section 8.2 and onwards).

The morphological structure of the inflected verb in Bantu languages is usually represented as a series of morphological slots, i.e. positions in the inflected verb in which various affixes can occur (Meeussen 1967; Nurse 2008). (1) gives the full list of morpheme slots that are available in the verb in Fwe.

- (1) pre-initial – subject – post-initial – object – root – derivational suffixes – pre-final – final vowel – clitic

Not every slot is required or even available in every verb form. It is possible to have more than one morpheme in the slot for the pre-initial, the post-initial, the object and the derivational suffixes. The slots for the subject, the root, the final vowel and the clitic can each take only one morpheme. Inflection for tense, aspect, and mood makes use of the pre-initial, post-initial, and final vowel slot.

The smallest analyzable element of the verb is the lexical root. A verb root can be combined with one or more derivational suffixes, which are often referred to as extensions in Bantu studies (Schadeberg 2003). This process is discussed in more detail in the introduction to verbal derivation in section 8.2.

Another element that may occur after the verb root is the inflectional suffix *-ang* expressing a habitual (see section 11.2.1). This suffix resembles the derivational suffixes in its –VC form, lack of tone, and post-stem position, but differs because of its inflectional, rather than derivational, function, and its position after all other derivational suffixes, but before the (inflectional) final vowel. In his analysis of verb structure in Proto-Bantu, Meeussen (1967: 110) assigns this morpheme to a separate “pre-final” slot, and this analysis also seems to be applicable to Fwe.

The verb root together with its derivational suffixes forms the verb base, which needs to be combined with a final vowel suffix to form the verb stem. As verb bases can never occur without a final vowel suffix, and rarely without one or more prefixes, verb bases cited in isolation are marked by preceding and following hyphens.

Fwe has four final vowel suffixes, *-a*, *-e*, *-i* and *-ite*. The suffix *-a* (glossed as ‘FV’) is the “default” final vowel suffix. It has little semantic import, and of the final vowel suffixes, the *-a* suffix is used in the highest number of TAM constructions, which have little in common in terms of semantics: the present, remote past perfective, remote future, remote and near past imperfective, as well as the infinitive form of the verb.

The final suffix *-e* occurs in the imperative and subjunctive perfective, and the near future construction, which is built on the subjunctive. The final suffix *-i* is used in the near past perfective and in the negated form of the verb. Neither negative *-i* nor past *-i* trigger spirantization of the preceding consonant, unlike certain other suffixes with

the vowel /i/, such as the agentive suffix *-i* which causes spirantization in isolated cases (see section 6.1), and the final vowel suffix *-ite*, which causes spirantization in a number of verbs (see section 11.3). It is likely that negative *-i* and near past perfective *-i* are accidentally homophonous, as there is no obvious semantic connection between the two. Two separate (but tentative) reconstructions have been proposed, a negative **-i* (Meeussen 1967: 110; Nurse 2008: 38), and a suffix **-i*, with ‘anterior/near past/stative’ meaning (Nurse 2008).

The fourth final vowel suffix in Fwe is the suffix *-ite*. It has a single function, to express stative aspect. Although it functions as a final vowel, occurring after derivational suffixes and incompatible with other final vowels, there are some formal differences between *-ite* and other final vowel suffixes. *-ite* is the only final vowel suffix consisting of a disyllabic *-VCV* sequence, rather than a single vowel. It is also the only final vowel suffix to participate in vowel harmony, which otherwise only affects derivational suffixes (see section 3.3). Further details on the different forms of *-ite* and its interaction with the verb base are given in section 11.3.1.

The verb base together with its final suffix forms the verb stem. The verb stem is preceded by a complex of prefixes marking subject and object, tense, aspect, mood, space, and negation. Four different morpheme slots are distinguished before the verb stem, though some slots can contain more than one morpheme; the pre-initial slot, the subject slot, the post-initial slot and the object slot. The pre-initial slot, which is the first morpheme of the verb, may contain the following tense/aspect markers: the remoteness marker *na-/ne-/ni-*, used in the remote past and future, the remote subjunctive (expressing remote future in subordinate clauses), and counterfactuals; the past imperfective marker *ka-*; the near future marker *mbo-/mba-*; the inceptive *sha-/she-/shi-*; and the negative *ka-/ta-*. Pre-initial morphemes may combine, though the only attested combinations are between inceptive and past imperfective or remoteness; in both cases, the inceptive precedes the other pre-initial prefix. Some pre-initial affixes are reflexes of morphemes reconstructed in this position for Proto-Bantu, namely the negative prefix *ka-/ta-* (Meeussen 1967: 108). Others are the result of recent grammaticalization processes, for instance the inceptive *sha-*, which derives from a lexical verb *-shak-* ‘want’. Grammaticalization of earlier lexical verbs to pre-initial prefixes would have involved an original multi-verb construction consisting of two inflected verbs, crucially both with subject marking. As the first verb lost its status as a separate verb and attached to the second verb, it developed into a pre-initial prefix (Güldemann 1999). An example of a multi-verb construction that still functions as such in Fwe, and has not (yet) developed into a pre-initial prefix, is the progressive auxiliary *kwezi* (see section 11.1.1 on the use of this auxiliary). In some cases, the original multi-verb construction appears to have had a subordinated second verb, as attested by the use of a high tone on the subject marker in the grammaticalized construction with a pre-initial prefix; in other cases, both verbs of the original multi-verb construction appear to have been main clause verbs, as the grammaticalized construction lacks a high-toned subject marker.

The pre-initial slot is followed by the subject slot, which contains the prefix marking subject agreement, and is obligatory in all verb forms except the imperative and the infinitive. The post-initial slot may contain the following markers: the past mark-

er *na-/a-* used in the near and remote past perfective constructions, the future marker *(á)ra-* or *na-* used in the remote future construction, the habitual *náku-*, the near past imperfective *aku-*, the imperfective subjunctive *áku-*, the distal *ka-*, the locative pluractional *kabú-/yabú-*, the persistive *shí-*, the negative infinitive *shá-*, and the negative subjunctive *ásha-*. In the case of vowel-initial *ásha-* and *(á)ra-* the vowel of the post-initial prefix replaces the vowel of the subject marker, e.g. *ndi-ára-end-a* > *ndáràyèndà*. These V-initial, high-toned post-initial prefixes may have played a role in the development of the melodic tone system of Fwe, namely melodic tone 2 that is assigned to the subject marker (see section 10.1.1).

Some post-initial prefixes are reflexes of post-initial prefixes reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, for instance the Fwe persistive *shí-* is a reflex of the Proto-Bantu *kí-* “persistive” (Meeussen 1967: 109). Others are the result of recent grammaticalization processes, such as the locative pluractional *kabú-/yabú-*, which grammaticalized from a verb of motion followed by an adverbialized verb (see section 13.2 on the locative pluractional). Grammaticalization scenarios that result in new post-initial prefixes start out with an original multi-verb construction in which the first verb is inflected and the second verb is in the infinitive form; the first, inflected verb loses its status as a separate verb and attaches to the second verb as a prefix that stands in between the subject marker and the verb stem (Güldemann 1999). The locative pluractional is the only post-initial prefix grammaticalized from a multi-verb construction in which the second verb is adverbialized; the habitual *náku-*, the near past imperfective *aku-* and the imperfective subjunctive *áku-* all derive from multi-verb constructions in which the second verb was an infinitive verb.

The post-initial slot may contain more than one morpheme, though many combinations are unattested because they are logically incompatible. Combinations of post-initial markers that do occur are various combinations with the distal *ka-*, in which case the distal *ka-* is always the last marker. When combined with the distal, the syllable *ku* as it occurs in the habitual *náku-*, near past imperfective *aku-* or imperfective subjunctive *áku-*, is dropped. This behavior is typical of the infinitive prefix *ku-*, which is also lost when combined with the distal prefix, and points to an origin of these constructions in earlier infinitive constructions. This analysis, which is supported by tonal data, is taken up in detail in the sections that describe each of these markers. Other combinations of multiple affixes in the post-initial slot involve the persistive prefix *shí-*, which always occurs as the last marker. When persistive *shí-* combines with distal *ka-*, the order persistive – distal is used.

The possibility of combining multiple post-initial markers, and their fixed ordering with respect to each other, may suggest a subdivision of the post-initial position into separate slots. Meeussen (1967: 108–109) analyzes three different positions for affixes between the subject marker and the object marker in the Proto-Bantu inflected verb: a post-initial, only used for the negative marker in non-indicative or non-main clause forms; a formative, which can take a great number of affixes, including “recent” *a-* and “preterite” *á-*, either of which could be related to the Fwe past prefix *a-* used in this slot; and a limitative, which can take distal *ka-* and persistive *shí-*, among other affixes. Assigning the distal and the persistive to the same limitative slot would not explain the fixed order of persistive before distal in Fwe, which rather suggests that

they occur in separate slots. However, the combination of multiple post-initial markers is not necessarily indicative of deeper morphological complexity, but rather, the post-initial slot may simply take multiple markers, similar to the slot for derivational affixes, where multiple markers may also co-occur.

The object slot directly precedes the verb stem. In many Bantu languages, the verb stem and the object marker form a single unit called ‘macrostem’, which is relevant for tone assignment (Marlo 2013: 27–29). In Fwe, the relevance of the object marker for tone assignment is somewhat ambiguous, but overall, the majority of tonal processes are applied to the stem, rather than the macrostem. This is discussed in section 10.1.1 on melodic tone. The object slot may contain one or more object markers that agree in noun class with the (intended) object, or the reflexive marker *rí-/kí-*, which is functionally very similar to the object marker, as discussed in section 9.3.

After the final vowel suffix, verbs may take an enclitic, which marks locative reference. The status of these morphemes as clitics rather than bound affixes is discussed in section 9.4.

8.2 Introduction to verbal derivation

Fwe has a number of strategies to derive verbs from existing verb stems. Derivational strategies make use of a suffix, with the exception of one of the two pluractional strategies, which makes use of full stem reduplication, and verbs that feature lexicalized partial stem reduplication. The position of the derivational suffix is directly after the verb stem, and before the final vowel suffix. The rich verbal derivational morphology of Fwe is typical of Bantu languages, and most derivational suffixes are clear reflexes of common Bantu morphemes. In Bantu studies, derivational suffixes are sometimes referred to as extensions, highlighting their property of (phonologically) extending the verb, or expansions, especially those putative suffixes which are highly unproductive and whose semantic and/or syntactic functions, if any, are unclear. Derivational suffixes in Fwe range from completely productive and transparent to completely unproductive and opaque, with many suffixes occupying an intermediate position between productive and unproductive. Therefore a distinction between morphologically active extensions and petrified expansions is not tenable, and all derivational morphemes will be referred to as suffixes instead.

Derivational suffixes can be combined, and less productive suffixes tend to occur closer to the root than more productive suffixes. This is shown in (1), where the unproductive neuter suffix *-ahar* precedes the highly productive applicative suffix *-ir*, and in (2), where the mostly unproductive impositive suffix *-ik* precedes the productive passive suffix *-iw*.

- (1) *mbóbùryáhò nìyápàngàhàrìrà*
 mbó-bu-ryáho ni-í-a-pang-ahar-ir-á
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_{that} REM-SM₉-PST-do-NEUT-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘It is like that that it happened.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (2) *kùkùrikìwà*
 ku-kúr-ik-iw-a
 INF-shoulder-IMP.TR-PASS-FV
 ‘to be carried on the shoulder’

Derivational strategies differ in productivity. Some strategies are highly productive: they can be freely used to derive new verbs from a wide variety of existing verbs, have clear and regular semantic and syntactic functions, and most lexical verbs that can occur in a derived form also have an attested underived form. This the case for the passive, causative, applicative, and pluractional 2 (marked by stem reduplication). Given their high productivity, these suffixes tend to occur after other, less productive suffixes. The passive is always the last derivational suffix, even when combined with an equally productive causative, as in (3), or applicative, as in (4). The ways in which the causative and applicative suffixes combine is more complex, and is treated in more detail in section 8.5.6.

- (3) *àzwìsìwá*
 a-zw-is-iw-á
 SM₁-leave-CAUS-PASS-FV
 ‘S/he was fired.’ (Lit.: ‘S/he was made to leave.’) (NF_Elic15)

- (4) *ècí cìpùrà ndìmè nàcápàngìrwà*
 e-cí ci-pura ndi-me na-cí-a-pang-ir-w-a
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-chair COP-PERS_{1SG} REM-SM₇-PST-make-APPL-PASS-FV<REL>
 ‘The chair, it’s me that it was made for.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Less productive derivational strategies are the neuter, separative, impositive, and pluractional 1 suffixes. These occur in a large number of verbs, some of which also occur in an underived form, some do not occur in an underived form but do occur with another derivational suffix, and some only occur in their derived form. These derivational strategies cannot be used to freely derive new verbs, and although they have a clear semantic core, they also occur in verbs which do not seem to fit their basic semantic characterization. The intensive, reciprocal, extensive, tentative, and partial reduplication strategies are completely unproductive: they only occur in a handful of lexicalized verbs, and their semantic function cannot clearly be established.

Most derivational suffixes have a -VC or -V(C)VC shape, and are underlyingly toneless, so that they surface as low-toned unless a melodic high tone is assigned, or if the syllable is the target of high tone retraction or high tone spread. Various forms of vowel and nasal harmony affect derivational suffixes. Vowel height harmony affects suffixes with a high front vowel /i/: causative -is, applicative -ir, and transitive impositive -ik, but not passive -(i)w. Back vowel height harmony, where only the mid back vowel /o/ causes the vowel of the suffix to be lowered, affects the separative suffixes -ur/-uk. No vowel height harmony is observed in the derivational suffixes with /a/: neuter -ahar, pluractional -a, intransitive impositive -am, and extensive -ar. Very little regional variation has been observed in the formal realization of derivational suffixes; the main difference is the realization of the passive suffix, whose two forms -iw

and *-w* are distributed according to morphological criteria in Zambian Fwe, but are in free variation in Namibian Fwe.

Most derivational strategies influence the valency of the verb way. The passive and the neuter suffix decrease valency, the causative and the applicative increase valency. The separative and impositive have two forms, a transitive and an intransitive form.

Derivational suffixes also influence the lexical aspect of the verb. Verbs that take the intransitive forms of the separative and impositive suffixes all function as change-of-state verbs. Verbs derived with a passive suffix are also change-of-state verbs. Verbs derived with the neuter are used either as change-of-state verbs or as true statives; for more on lexical aspect, see section 10.1.1.

The following sections discuss the formal, syntactic and semantic properties of verbal derivation in Fwe.

8.3 Passive

8.3.1 The form of the passive

The passive is marked by a suffix *-(i)w*, which follows the verb stem and precedes the final vowel of the verb.

- (5) *cìshámú cìnàtémìwà*
 ci-shamú ci-na-tém-iw-a
 NP₇-tree SM₇-PST-chop-PASS-FV
 ‘The tree has been chopped.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (6) *nzé-zò zíbòmŭá*
 nzé-zo zí-bo_Hn-w-á
 COP.DEF₈-DEM.III₈ SM₈.REL-see-PASS-FV
 ‘These are the things that can be experienced.’ (NF_Song17)

Unlike other derivational suffixes, the passive suffix does not undergo vowel harmony: its vowel is always realized as /i/ and never as /e/ (see also section 3.3 on vowel harmony). The vowel /i/ of the passive suffix can be left out in certain cases. In Zambian Fwe, the passive suffix is always realized as *-w* when preceded by another derivational suffix, as seen in (7), where the passive *-w* is preceded by the transitive separative suffix *-or*. When the passive is not preceded by another derivational suffix, it is always realized as *-iw*, as in example (8).

- (7) *kùkòndòrwà*
 ku-kond-or-w-a
 INF-brew_beer-SEP.TR-PASS-FV
 ‘to be brewed (beer)’ (ZF)
- (8) *kùtémìwà*
 ku-tém-iw-a
 INF-chop-PASS-FV
 ‘to be chopped’ (ZF)

In Namibian Fwe, the two forms of the passive suffix are in free variation: both derived and underived verbs can take the suffix *-iw* or *-w*.

- (9) *kùré:tiwà ~ kùré:twà*
 ku-ré:t-w-a
 INF-give_birth-PASS-FV
 ‘to be born’ (NF)
- (10) *cìhìkwá ~ cìhìkùwá*
 ci-hi_Hk-w-á
 SM₇-COOK-PASS-FV
 ‘It can be cooked.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (11) *kùnànùnùwà ~ kùnànùnùnìwà*
 ku-nan-un-w-a
 INF-lift-SEP.TR-PASS-FV
 ‘to be lifted’ (NF)

The form of the passive suffix changes when the passive suffix is combined with the stative suffix *-ite*, which becomes *-itwe/-etwe*, in Zambian Fwe, or *-itwa/-etwa* in Namibian Fwe. (See also section 11.3.1 on the form of the stative suffix.)

- (12) *ndìshéshétwè*
 ndi-she_Hsh-étwe
 SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT.PASS
 ‘I am married (said by a woman).’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (13) *ndìkòmókètwa*
 ndi-komók-etwa
 SM_{1SG}-be_surprised-STAT.PASS
 ‘I am surprised.’ (NF_Elic15)

With monosyllabic verb roots, the passive suffix is always realized as *-iw*, e.g. the vowel *i* can never be dropped. When the monosyllabic verb root ends in the vowel /a/, vowel coalescence between the low vowel /a/ of the root and the high front vowel /i/ of the suffix results in a mid front vowel /e/.

- (14) *kùtêwà*
 ku-tá-iw-a
 INF-tell-PASS-FV
 ‘to be told’
- (15) *kùhêwà*
 ku-há-iw-a
 INF-give-PASS-FV
 ‘to be given’

8.3.2 The function of the passive

The passive decreases the valency of the verb, by expressing the patient in the subject position and leaving the agent unexpressed. This is illustrated in the following two examples. In (16)a, the patient of *ndìùrìsá* ‘I sell’ is *njúò*, ‘the house’. In the passive version of this sentence in (16)b, *njúò* ‘the house’ has been promoted to subject position, and the first person singular agent, marked in the active version through agreement on the verb, is left unexpressed.

- (16) a. *ndìùrìsá njúò*
 ndi-ur-is-á N-júo
 SM_{1SG}-buy-CAUS-FV NP₉-house
 ‘I sell the house.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- b. *ènjúò ihùrìsìwá*
 e-N-júo i-ur-is-iw-á
 AUG-NP₉-house SM₉-buy-CAUS-PASS-FV
 ‘The house is being sold.’ (ZF_Elic13)

As the passive decreases the valency of the verb, the use of the passive with a transitive verb, such as the transitive verb *-kwát-* ‘grab’ in (17)a, results in an intransitive verb, as in (17)b.

- (17) a. *ndàmùkwâtì*
 nd-a-mu-kwát-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-grab-NPST.PFV
 ‘I caught her/him.’
- b. *òkwàtìwá*
 o-kwa_Ht-iw-á
 SM_{2SG}-grab-PASS-FV
 ‘You’d be caught.’ (NF_Elic15)

The passive derivation can also be used with intransitive verbs, decreasing the valency of the verb to zero to create an impersonal passive. An impersonal passive can take an overt locative noun or pronoun as its grammatical subject, which has the semantic function of location.

- (18) *hàmùkítí hàzàniwá*
 ha-mu-kití ha-zan-iw-á_H
 NP₁₆-NP₃-party SM₁₆-dance-PASS-FV
 ‘Dancing may take place at the party.’
- (19) *kwìná kùkwèsì kùtàkùmìwá*
 kwìná ku-kwesi ku-takum-iw-á_H
 DEM.IV₁₇ SM₁₇-PROG SM₁₇-shout-PASS-FV
 ‘Shouting is taking place there.’ (NF_Elic17)

Impersonal passives may also occur without a nominal locative subject, but take a subject marker of the locative classes.

- (20) *kùkwèsì kùshìbiwá*
 ku-kwesi ku-shi₁₇b-iw-á
 SM₁₇-PROG SM₁₇-whistle-PASS-FV
 ‘There is whistling there.’

- (21) *kàmùrídàmínwà*
 ka-mu-rí-dam-ín-w-a
 NEG-SM₁₈-REFL-beat-APPL-FV
 ‘Beating each other is not allowed in here.’ (NF_Elic17)

The use of the passive removes the agent as one of the core arguments, but the agent can still be expressed as a peripheral participant by use of the prefix *ku-*, which is the nominal prefix of class 17.

- (22) *nàdámwà kúbàntù bángí:*
 na-dam-w-á kú-ba-ntu bá-ngí:
 SM₁.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP₂-person PP₂-many
 ‘S/he was beaten by many people.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (23) *mùnakó ímwinya ònkómbwè nàtéwà kùzìzyùni zòbíré kùtè*
 mu-N-nakó í-mwinya o-ø-nkómbwe na-tá-iw-a
 NP₁₈-NP₉-time PP₉-certain AUG-NP_{1a}-tortoise SM₁-PST-say-PST.PASS-FV
 ku-zi-zyuni zi-o=bíre kute
 NP₁₇-NP₈-bird PP₈-CON=twothat
 ‘Once upon a time, a tortoise was told by two eagles that...’ (ZF_Narr13)

If the agent marked with *ku-* is a first or second person, the possessive stem is used, for instance the first person singular possessive stem *-angú* in the following example.

- (24) *sìmatá nàdámíwà kwángù*
 simatá na-dam-íw-a kw-angú
 Simata SM₁.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘Simata was beaten by me.’ (NF_Elic17)

The nominal prefix of class 17 *ku-* to re-introduce the agent is optional. The agent noun may also be used without the prefix *ku-*: both possibilities are illustrated in example (25).

- (25) a. *Sìmatánàshúmìwà kúmbwà*
 simatá na-shúm-iw-a ku-ø-mbwá
 Simata SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘Simata was bitten by a dog.’
 b. *Sìmatánàshúmìwà ómbwà*
 simatá na-shúm-iw-a o-ø-mbwá
 Simata SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘Simata was bitten by a dog.’ (NF_Elic17)

The prefix *ku-* is obligatory when the agent noun is a proper name, as in (26), or when the agent is in focus, as in (27).

- (26) a. *sìmatá nàdàmiwà kùbányàmbè*
 simatá na-dam-iw-a ku-bá-nyambe
 Simata_{SM1}.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP₂-Nyambe
 ‘Simata was beaten by Mr. Nyambe.’
- b. **sìmatá nàdàmiwà bányàmbè*
- (27) a. *kùnji nàshúmìwà sìmatá*
 ku-njí na-shúm-iw-a simatá
 NP₁₇-what SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV Simata
 ‘Who was Simata bitten by?’
- b. *nàshúmìwà kúmbwà*
 na-shúm-iw-a ku-ø-mbwá
 SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘He was bitten by a dog.’
- c. **nàshúmìwà ómbwà* (NF_Elic17)

The agent-marking function of the class 17 prefix *ku-* is not restricted to verbs overtly marked with a passive, but can occur in any construction where the agent cannot be expressed as a core argument (see section 5.5 on locative noun classes).

Verbs derived with a passive suffix display behavior that is typical for change-of-state verbs: they have a conditional/modal reading in the present construction, and do not allow a present continuous interpretation (as in (28)), but a present stative reading when combined with the stative inflection (as in (29)). (For more on the interpretation of the present inflection in relation to lexical aspect, see section 10.2.)

- (28) *mwíni ùkwàtìwá*
 mu-íni u-kwa_Ht-iw-á
 NP₃-handle SM₃-grab-PASS-FV
 ‘The handle can be touched.’ (*The handle is being touched.)
- (29) *évú rìvwìkítwà kúmàbùnà*
 e-vú ri-vwik-ítwa kú-ma-buna
 AUG-ground SM₅-cover-STAT.PASS NP₁₇-NP₆-leaf
 ‘The ground is covered with leaves.’ (NF_Elic15)

8.4 Causative

8.4.1 The form of the causative

The causative derivation in Fwe occurs in different forms, which can be divided into a productive long form, consisting of the suffix *-is/-es*, and a less productive short form, which consists of commutation of the last stem consonant with /s/ or /z/.

The productive causative suffix *-is/-es* undergoes vowel height harmony with the stem (see section 3.3). Examples of verbs with a long causative are given in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Verbs taking the long causative

<i>-bìrà</i>	‘boil (intr.)’	<i>-bìrìsà</i>	‘boil (tr.), bring to a boil’
<i>-shèkà</i>	‘laugh’	<i>-shèkèsà</i>	‘make (someone) laugh’
<i>-tàbà</i>	‘become happy’	<i>-tàbìsà</i>	‘make happy’
<i>-bòm̀bà</i>	‘become wet’	<i>-bòm̀bèsà</i>	‘make wet’
<i>-zyú̀mà</i>	‘become dry’	<i>-zyú̀mìsà</i>	‘dry, make (something) dry’

The less productive short form of the causative suffix consists of the change of the last stem consonant to /s/ in the case of a voiceless consonant, or to /z/ in the case of a voiced consonant. This goes back to a causative derivation reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as **-i*. The reconstructed high vowel caused spirantization of the preceding consonant, a diachronic sound change that changed stops into fricatives before high vowels (see Bostoen 2009 for an account of spirantization in Fwe). This resulted in the causative forms with /s/ and /z/ seen in Fwe today. The historical influence of the high vowel suffix to derive the modern short causative forms is illustrated below with the verb *-donk-* ‘drip’, which takes a short causative *-dons-* ‘cause to drip’.

- (30) Simple verb stem

kùdònkà

ku-donk-a

INF-drip-FV

‘to drip (intr.)’

- (31) Historical derivation of short causative

*-donk - + *i > -dons-*

kùdònsà

ku-dons-a

INF-drip.CAUS-FV

‘to drip (tr.), to cause to drip’

The short and the long causative in Fwe have the same function. The short form is used with a number of lexical verbs and with specific derivational suffixes. The long causative is used in all other cases, and many verbs that may take the short causative are also attested with the long causative. Lexical verbs that may take the short causative are listed in Table 8.2, including verbs that may take either the long or the short causative. In most cases, there is no semantic difference between the short and the long causative, with the exception of *-bù̀kà* ‘wake up; consult spirits’ (see the first line of Table 8.2).

Table 8.2: Verbs that (may) take the short causative

Underived verb	Causative verb
- <i>búkà</i> ‘wake up (intr.); consult spirits (as a witch doctor)’	- <i>bú:sa</i> ‘greet, wake up (tr.)’ - <i>búkìsà</i> ‘ask a witch doctor to consult spirits’
- <i>dònkà</i> ‘drip (intr.)’	- <i>dònsà</i> ‘cause to drip’ ~ - <i>dònkèsà</i>
- <i>fwìnkà</i> ‘become sealed’	- <i>fwìnsà</i> ‘seal’ ~ - <i>fwìnkìsà</i>
- ⁹ / <i>lòntà</i> ‘drip’	- ⁹ / <i>lònsà</i> ‘cause to drip’
- <i>kwátà</i> ‘hold, grab’	- <i>kwàsà</i> ‘help’
- <i>nùnkà</i> ‘smell (intr.)’	- <i>nùnsà</i> ‘make (someone) smell (something); imagine to smell (something)’
- <i>nyònkà</i> ‘breastfeed (intr.)’	- <i>nyònsà</i> ‘breastfeed (tr.)’ ~ - <i>nyónkèsà</i>
- <i>rúkà</i> ‘vomit’	- <i>rúsà</i> ~ - <i>rúkìsà</i> ‘hold someone who is vomiting’
- <i>súkà</i> ‘disembark’	- <i>súsà</i> ‘put down (when carrying)’
- <i>tùkùtā</i> ‘be warm’	- <i>tùkùsà</i> ‘warm (something) up’ ~ - <i>tùkùtìsà</i>
- <i>zwátà</i> ‘get dressed’	- <i>zwàsà</i> ‘dress (someone)’
- <i>bòòrà</i> ‘come back’	- <i>bòòzà</i> ‘bring back’
- <i>hùrà</i> ‘arrive’	- <i>hùzà</i> ‘cause to arrive’
- <i>hàrà</i> ‘live’	- <i>hàzà</i> ‘save’
- <i>kàbirà</i> ‘enter’	- <i>kàbìzà</i> ‘bring into’ ~ - <i>kàbìrìsà</i>
- <i>nyèèrwà</i> ‘become annoyed’	- <i>nyèèzà</i> ‘annoy (someone)’

A number of the verbs that may take the short causative are historically not monomorphemic verb roots, but show evidence of the historical merger of a verb root with a suffix, for instance the verb -*búkà* ‘wake up’, which appears to be a merger of a root -*bú-* with a separative suffix -*uk* (see section 8.7), which also explains the occurrence of the long vowel /u:/; and -*zwátà* ‘get dressed’, which appears to consist of a root -*zú-* and a tentative suffix -*at* (see section 8.13).

The short causative is also used with certain derivational suffixes. Verbs with a separative suffix -*ur/-uk* that may take the short causative are listed in Table 8.3; some of these may either take the short or the long causative. All other separative verbs only take the long causative.

Table 8.3: Separative verbs that (may) take the short causative

Separative verb	Separative verb with causative
- <i>fùndùkà</i> ‘leave’	- <i>fùndùsà</i> ‘escort (someone who is leaving)’
- <i>kàntùkà</i> ‘cross a river’	- <i>kàntùsà</i> ‘help (someone) cross a

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		~ - <i>kàntùkìsà</i>	river'
- <i>ɲàtùrà</i>	'tear; come up (of the sun)'	- <i>ɲàtùzà</i>	'stay up till sunrise'
- <i>ùrùkà</i>	'fly away'	- <i>ùrùsà</i>	'blow away'
- <i>tùmbùkà</i>	'burn (intr.)'	- <i>tùmbùsà</i>	'burn (tr.)'
- <i>zìmbùkà</i>	'go around'	- <i>zìmbùsà</i>	'bring around'
- <i>zìmbùrùkà</i>	'cross the border illegally, circumvent; spin (intr.)'	- <i>zìmbùrùsà</i>	'smuggle (tr.); spin (tr.)'

Short causatives are also used with other, unproductive derivational affixes, namely the neuter *-ahar*, and the extensive suffix *-ar*.

- (32) *kùbónàhàrà*
 ku-bón-ahar-a
 INF-see-NEUT-FV
 'to be visible'

cf. *kùbónàhàzà*
 ku-bón-ahaz-a
 INF-see-NEUT.CAUS-FV
 'to make visible'

- (33) *kùsùmbàzà*
 ku-sùmb-az-a
 INF-become_pregnant-EXT.CAUS-FV
 'to impregnate'

cf. *kùsùmbàrà*
 ku-sùmb-ar-a
 INF-become_pregnant-EXT-FV
 'to become pregnant'

The intensive, which consists of the reduplicated applicative suffix (see section 8.10), invariably takes the short causative.

- (34) *kùtùmìnìzà*
 ku-tùm-iniz-a
 INF-send-INT.CAUS-FV
 'to send (someone) incessively'

cf. *kùtùmìnìnà*
 ku-tùm-inin-a
 INF-send-INT-FV
 'to send incessively'

Other derivational suffixes, namely the impositive and reciprocal, only take the long causative. The passive suffix, when it combines with the causative, does not influence the form of the causative suffix, as the passive always follows rather than precedes the causative (see also section 8.3). The interaction between the applicative suffix and the

causative is more complex, and is treated in detail in section 8.5.6. The conditioning of the long and short causative forms is summarized in (35).

(35) Conditioning of the long and short causative

<u>Short causative</u>	<u>Long causative</u>
lexical exceptions	all remaining lexemes
separative	impositive
neuter	reciprocal
extensive	

The causative derivation is highly productive; it may combine with any verb, and its semantics (discussed in the following sections) are highly predictable. There are also a few lexicalized causatives, verbs with a causative suffix where the same verb root without a causative is not attested. Lexicalized causatives are seen with the long causative, such as the verbs *-mwéngèsà* ‘greet’, and *-câsà* ‘collide, knock off’, and also with the short causative, such as the verbs *-nyènsà* ‘defeat’, and *-sùnsà* ‘dip (porridge in relish)’. For these verbs, an underived verb stem without the causative suffix is not attested. Lexicalized causatives are rare, though, and in most cases the causative derivation is used productively.

8.4.2 The function of the causative: causation

The causative increases the valency of the verb by adding an extra participant, which is the agent of the action. This is shown with the intransitive verb *-tumbuk-* ‘burn’, which takes a single argument *òmùrìrò* ‘fire’ expressed as a subject. When derived with a causative, the subject is demoted to object, and the newly added agent ‘I’ is expressed as a subject.

- (36) a. *òmùrìrò ùtùmbúkà*
 o-mu-riro u-tu_Hmbuk-á
 AUG-NP₃-fire SM₃-burn-FV
 ‘The fire burns.’
- b. *ndìtùmbùs’ ómùrìrò*
 ndi-tu_Hmbus-á o-mu-riro
 SM_{1SG}-burn.CAUS-FV AUG-NP₃-fire
 ‘I light the fire.’ (NF_Elic15)

The causative suffix can be used with intransitive or transitive base verbs. With an intransitive verb, the causative derives a transitive verb, as in example (36). When used with a transitive verb, such as the verb *-rí-* ‘eat’, the causative derivations results in a ditransitive verb *-r-ís-* ‘feed’, as in example (37), where the verb *-r-ís-* ‘feed’ is used with two objects, a causer object, the child, and a causee object, the porridge.

- (37) *ndìrìs’ ó’mwáncè nkòkò*
 ndi-ri_H-is-á o-mu-ánce N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁-child NP₉-porridge
 ‘I feed the child porridge.’ (NF_Elic17)

When a causative verb has two objects, both objects display the same syntactic behavior. The order of the objects is free, as shown below.

- (38) a. *ndàtèsì òmúkwámé òbùsá*
 ndi-a-tá-is-i o-mú-kwamé o-bu-sá
 SM_{1SG}-PST-say-CAUS-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁-man AUG-NP₁₄-thief
 ‘I accused the man of theft.’
- b. *ndàtèsì òbùsá mú'kwámé*
 ndi-a-tá-is-i o-bu-sá o-mú-kwamé
 SM_{1SG}-PST-say-CAUS-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁₄-thief AUG-NP₁-man
 ‘I accused the man of theft.’ (NF_Elic17)

Both objects of the causative verb may be pronominalized, as shown with the causative verb *-rísa* ‘feed’ in (39): b) shows the pronominalization of the causer, and c) of the causee. It is also possible for both objects to be pronominalized, as in (40).

- (39) a. *ndìrìs' ó'mwáncè nkókò*
 ndi-ri_H-is-á o-mu-ánce N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁-child NP₉-porridge
 ‘I feed the child porridge.’
- b. *ndìmùrìs' énkókò*
 ndi-mu-ri_H-is-á e-N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-porridge
 ‘I feed her/him porridge.’
- c. *ndàyírìsì mwáncè*
 ndi-a-í-ri-is-i mu-ánce
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-eat-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP₁-child
 ‘I fed it to the child.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (40) *ndàbúmùtèsì*
 ndi-a-bú-mu-tá-is-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁₄-OM₁-say-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 ‘I accused her/him of it.’ (NF_Elic17)

The causative in Fwe can be used to express different types of causation, which form part of a “causative continuum” (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001), ranging from direct causation to indirect causation through a number of different, intermediate causation types. Direct causation, on the one end of the continuum, involves the direct, physical manipulation of the causee by the causer. Only the causer is an agent, and the action performed by the causer and that performed by the causee are (almost) simultaneous. The causative in Fwe can be used for direct causation, as in example (41), which uses the verb *-cen-* ‘become clean’ with the causative suffix, expressing that the agent ‘I’, causes the patient (the house) to become clean by physically cleaning it.

- (41) *ndicènèsá ènjúò*
 ndi-cen-es-á e-N-júo
 SM_{1SG}-become_clean-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-house
 ‘I clean the house.’ (NF_Elic15)

Moving along the causative continuum, direct causation is bordered by sociative causation, where the causer agent does not cause the causee patient to perform the action, but rather assists the patient in performing the action, for instance by performing the action with her (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001). Sociative causation is similar to direct causation, because there is a spatio-temporal overlap between the action of the causer and the action of the causee, but differs from direct causation in that the causee is also an agentive, active participant in the action. The causative in Fwe is also used for sociative causation, as seen in the following examples. This use of the causative is similar to the “adjutive” use of the causative noted by Schadeberg (2003: 73).

- (42) *kántí ndìkùtòmbwérìsè*
 kantí ndi-ku-tombwér-is-e
 then SM_{1SG}-OM_{2SG}-weed-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Let me help you weeding (by weeding with you).’ (NF_Narr15)
- (43) *àkwèsì àndiàmbìsá*
 a-kwesi a-ndi-amb-is-á
 SM₁-have SM₁-OM_{1SG}-talk-CAUS-FV
 ‘S/he is talking to/with me.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (44) *bàkwèsì bàndìzyàmbìrìsá*
 ba-kwesi ba-ndi-zyambir-is-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-OM_{1SG}-gather-CAUS-FV
 ‘They are helping me gather.’ (Explanation: we are all gathering, but the results will go to me.) (NF_Elic17)

With the sociative use of the causative, the object is not necessarily the beneficiary of the action; in the following examples, the object is negatively affected by the action.

- (45) *mbòndìkùrwìsè*
 mbo-ndì-ku-rw-is-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM_{2SG}-fight-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will fight you.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (46) *ákùkàrìsà kùrwìsà bámfúm w'ábò*
 a-ó=ku-káris-a ku-rw-is-a ba-mfúmu u-abó
 PP₁-CON=INF-start-FV INF-fight-CAUS-FV NP₂-boss PP₂-DEM.III₂
 ‘Then he [the elephant] started attacking their [the dogs] owner.’ (ZF_Narr15)

The sociative use of the causative may also refer to keeping someone company, rather than actively helping them perform a certain action.

- (47) a. *kúkàrìsà*
 kú-kar-is-a
 INF-sit-CAUS-FV
 ‘to keep (someone) company, to sit with someone’
- b. *òyéndè òkàmúkàrìsè*
 o-énd-e o-ka-mú-kar-is-e
 SM_{2SG}-GO-PFV.SBJV SM_{2SG}-DIST-OM₁-sit-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Go and sit with him/keep her/him company.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (48) a. *kùfùndùsà*
 ku-fund-us-a
 INF-leave-SEP.CAUS-FV
 ‘to walk (someone) out, to escort someone who is leaving’
- b. *mùbàfùndúsè bàéndè*
 mu-ba_H-fund-ús-e ba-énd-e
 SM_{2PL}-OM₂-leave-SEP.CAUS-PFV.SBJV SM₂-GO-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Escort her/him as/so that s/he goes.’ (NF_Elic15)

In the previous examples of the sociative use of the causative, the causer and the causee were both performing the same action. It is also possible, however, for the causative to express that the causer is present, but does not perform the same action as the causee, e.g. “assistive causative” (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 100).

- (49) *kùrúkìsà ~ kùrúsa*
 ku-rúk-is-a
 INF-vomit-CAUS-FV
 ‘to hold someone who is vomiting’

The other end of the causative continuum is represented by indirect causation, where the causer and the causee are both agentive participants, and there is no spatio-temporal overlap between the actions that they perform. Rather, the causer may act upon the causee by verbal command, or through some other, indirect means. In Fwe, the use of the causative derivation to express indirect causation is not as common as its use to express direct and sociative causation. Mostly, periphrastic constructions using lexical verbs such as *-re:ta* ‘bring’ (examples (50) and (51)), or *-siya* ‘leave’ (example (52)) are used to express indirect causation.

- (50) *ècò nìcá'rétà kùtáyè ndikàbíré mùcécì kùrwàràrwàrà há'zíkò ryángù*
 e-co ni-cí-a-rét-a kutéye
 AUG-DEM.III₇ PST-SM₇-PST-bring-FV<REL> that
 ndi-kabir-é mu-céci
 SM_{1SG}-enter-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-church
 ø-ku-rwàra-rwar-a há-zíko ri-angú
 COP-NP₁₅-PL2-be_sick-FV NP₁₆-hearth PP₅-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘What made me go to church, was sickness in my family.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (51) *òzyú muntù ndéyè nàré:tì bàndizwísè*
 o-zyú mu-ntu
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
 ndi-éye na-ré:t-i ba-ndi-zwís-e
 COP-PERS_{3SG} SM₁-PST-bring-NPST.PFV SM₂-OM_{1SG}-fire-PFV.SBJV
 ‘This person, s/he is the one who got me fired.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (52) *kàndísíyì iyé ndiyàbùré zìfúhà*
 ka-a-ndi-sí-i iye ndi-yabur-é zi-fúha
 NEG-SM₁-OM_{1SG}-leave-NEG that SM_{1SG}-pick-PFV.SBJV NP₈-bone
 ‘He doesn’t let me pick the bones.’ (NF_Narr17)

The causative suffix can, however, also be used to express indirect causation, in which case it adds a sense of force or urgency. An example is given in (53), where the speaker’s mother is directing her/him to sweep using a verbal command, but this is interpreted as being very forceful, for instance as a punishment.

- (53) *bámà bànàndìkúrìsì*
 ba-má ba-na-ndi-kur-ís-i
 NP₂-mother SM_{2SG}-PST-OM_{1SG}-sweep-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 ‘My mother made/forced me to sweep.’ (NF_Elic17)

In other cases, examples that may be ambiguous between an indirect reading and a more direct or sociative reading never receive an indirect reading. In (54), the only correct interpretation of the causative is sociative, where both participants perform the action together. An interpretation of indirect causation, where the causer directs the causee to perform the action, for instance through verbal instruction, is not accepted.

- (54) *àndìkàbìrìsá 'mwí'rápà*
 a-ndi-kabir-is-á mú-e-ø-rápá
 SM₁-OM_{1SG}-enter-CAUS-FV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-courtyard
 ‘S/he enters the courtyard with me.’
 Not: ‘S/he tells me to enter/makes me enter the courtyard.’ (NF_Elic17)

The preference for an interpretation of direct causation, and the added notion of ‘force’ or ‘urgency’ in indirect causatives, show that the causative derivation in Fwe is mainly used for the expression of direct causation. Indirect causation is more accurately expressed with periphrastic constructions. This is in line with a cross-linguistic tendency for the more direct types of causation to be expressed lexically or morphologically, and the more indirect types of causation to be expressed periphrastically.

8.4.3 The function of the causative: instrumental

The causative also has other uses which are less closely related to its central causative meaning. One of these is to express an instrumental meaning, in which case the object of the causative verb is interpreted as an instrument. In this sense Fwe differs from most Bantu languages, where the applicative rather than the causative is used as an instrumental (Jerro 2017). Other Bantu Botatwe languages also use the causative as

instrumental, such as Tonga (Carter 2002: 47; Collins 1962: 58-59), Ila (Smith 1964: 123-127), Lenje (Madan 1908: 47), and Totela (Crane 2011: 89-90), suggesting that this innovation may have occurred on the level of Proto-Bantu Botatwe. Examples of the instrumental use of the causative in Fwe are given in (55)-(56).

- (55) *ndikùmbirákò àkàfùrò ndikàfùndisèkò ènyàmá 'yángù*
 ndi-ku_Hmbir-a=kò ka-furo ndi-ka_H-fùnd-is-e=ko
 SM_{1SG}-request-FV=LOC₁₇ NP₁₂-knife SM_{1SG}-OM₁₂-cut-CAUS-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇
 e-nyamá i-angú
 AUG-meat PP₉-POSS_{1SG}
 'I ask for a knife so that I can cut my meat with it.' (ZF_Elic13)

- (56) *kwìn' èsábùrè èryò bánakùshàkà kùmífùndisàngà*
 ku-iná e-ø-sabùre
 NP₁₇-be_{at} AUG-NP₅-machete
 e-ryo bá-naku-shak-a ku-mí-fund-is-ang-a
 AUG-DEM.III₅ SM₂.REL-HAB-want-FV INF-OM_{2PL}-cut-CAUS-HAB-FV
 'There is a machete that he keeps wanting to cut you with.' (NF_Narr15)

As seen in the previous section, the objects of a causative verb are symmetrical, and can for instance be passivized or pronominalized. The same is true for the objects of a causative used as an instrumental. As is typical for verbs with two objects, the order of the nominal objects with respect to each other is free: (57) shows that both theme - instrument and instrument - theme order are accepted.

- (57) a. *ndìfùndisá ènyàmà àkàfùrò*
 ndi-fund-is-á e-N-nyama a-ka-furo
 SM_{1SG}-cut-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-meat AUG-NP₁₂-knife
 'I cut the meat with a knife.'
- b. *ndìfùndisá àkàfùrò ènyàmà*
 ndi-fund-is-á a-ka-furo e-N-nyama
 SM_{1SG}-cut-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁₂-knife AUG-NP₉-meat
 'I cut the meat with a knife.' (NF_Elic17)

Another test for objecthood is passivization and pronominalization. The examples in (58) show that both the theme object and the instrument object can be passivized, or pronominalized.

- (58) a. *ndìsùmìs' éndòngà cìzyàbàrò*
 ndi-su_Hm-is-á e-N-donga ci-zyabaro
 SM_{1SG}-sew-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-needle NP₇-shirt
 'I sew the shirt with a needle.'

- b. Passivization of theme object
cìzyàbàrò càsúmìswà èndòngà
 ci-zyabaro ci-a-súm-is-w-a e-N-donga
 NP₇-shirt SM₇-PST-sew-CAUS-PASS AUG-NP₉-needle
 ‘The shirt is sewn with a needle.’
- c. Passivization of instrument object
èndòngà yàsúmìswà ècìzyàbàrò
 e-N-donga i-a-súm-is-w-a e-ci-zyabaro
 AUG-NP₉-needle SM₉-PST-sew-CAUS-PASS AUG-NP₇-shirt
 ‘The needle is used to sew the shirt.’
- d. Pronominalization of theme object
ndàcìsùmìsì ndòngà
 ndi-a-cí-sum-is-i N-donga
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP₉-needle
 ‘I’ve sewn it with a needle.’
- e. Pronominalization of instrument object
ndàyìsùmìsì cìzyàbàrò
 ndi-a-í-sum-is-i ci-zyabaro
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP₇-shirt
 ‘I’ve sewn the shirt with it.’ (NF_Elic17)

It is not possible for both objects to be pronominalized, as shown in (59). The reason for this ungrammaticality is that Fwe disallows two object markers both referring to inanimates; when two object markers are used, at least one needs to have an animate referent (see section 9.2).

- (59) **ndàyìcìsùmìsì*
 ndi-a-í-ci-sum-is-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-OM₇-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 Intended: ‘I sew it with it.’ (NF_Elic17)

The behaviour of objects with the instrumental use of the causative shows that both objects of an instrumental causative function as objects, and that there are no differences in their syntactic functions.

Another strategy for marking instruments is the use of the comitative clitic *nV-* (see section 7.7). This clitic may be used without the causative suffix on the verb, as in (60)a, or may combine with a verb with a causative, as in (60)b, which is interpreted as emphasizing the instrument.

- (60) a. *kùhòmpwèrà nènsàndò*
 ku-hompwer-a ne=N-sando
 INF-hammer-FV COM=NP₉-hammer
 ‘to hit with a hammer’

- b. *kùhòmpwèrèsà nènsàndò*
 ku-hompw-er-es-a ne=N-sando
 INF-hammer-CAUS-FV COM=NP₉-hammer
 ‘to hit with a *hammer* (not with something else)’ (NF_Elic17)

The instrumental meaning of the causative is also found in nouns derived from causative verbs with the suffix *-o* (see also chapter 6 on nominal derivation).

(61) Instrumental nouns with the causative suffix

<i>cì-bbùkùrìsò</i>	‘bellows’	<i>kù-bbùkùr-à</i>	‘to stoke a fire’
<i>cì-fwìnkìsò</i>	‘stopper, seal’	<i>kù-fwìnk-à</i>	‘to seal’
<i>cì-kùrìsò</i>	‘broom’	<i>kù-kùr-à</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>cí-àrìsò</i>	‘latch’	<i>kú-àr-à</i>	‘to close’

8.4.4 Minor functions of the causative

The causative can also be used in combination with the reflexive prefix *rí-/kí-* to indicate an action that someone is pretending to perform.

- (62) *ákùrìònèsà búryò*
 a-óku-rí-on-es-a bu-ryó
 SM₁-NPST.IPFV-REFL-SHORe-CAUS-FV NP₁₄-just
 ‘She was just pretending to snore.’

- (63) a. *kùzyùmìnìnà*
 ku-zyúm-inin-a
 INF-be_hard-INT-FV
 ‘to be unconscious’
- b. *kùrízyùmìnìzà*
 ku-rí-zyúm-iniz-a
 INF-REFL-be_hard-INT.CAUS-FV
 ‘to pretend to be unconscious’

8.5 Applicative

8.5.1 The form of the applicative

The applicative is marked by a derivational suffix realized as *-ir/-er/-in/-en*, depending on vowel height harmony and nasal harmony (see sections 3.3–3.4 of chapter 3 on morphophonology). The four different forms are illustrated in (64).

(64) Vowel height harmony and nasal harmony in the applicative suffix

- a. No vowel height harmony, no nasal harmony

kùàmbìrà

ku-amb-ir-a

INF-speak-APPL-FV

‘to tell (someone) (something)’

- b. Vowel height harmony, no nasal harmony

kùnyènsèrà

ku-nyens-er-a

INF-defeat-APPL-FV

‘to defeat for’

- c. No vowel height harmony, nasal harmony

kùká:nìnà

ku-ká:n-in-a

INF-refuse-APPL-FV

‘to refuse to/for’

- d. Vowel height harmony, nasal harmony

kùtòmènà

ku-tom-en-a

INF-charge-APPL-FV

‘to charge dowry to’

Different forms of the applicative are used when combined with a causative (see section 8.5.6), or when the applicative is combined with a separative (see section 8.7).

The applicative is highly productive: it can be added to any verb stem, and its semantic and syntactic functions are very stable. There are also some verbs that appear to feature a lexicalized, unproductive applicative suffix, but that are not attested without the applicative suffix. Examples are given in (65).

(65) Lexicalized applicatives

-àrìrà	‘follow (in order of birth)’
-dékèshèrà	‘move the shoulders in a dancing movement’
-fúžìrà	‘blow on/fan a fire’
-gángìrà	‘freeze’
-kàbìrà	‘enter’
-kácìkìrà	‘get interrupted’
-kákàtìrà	‘get stuck’
-ròbèrà	‘capsize; to eat fast’
-sùbìrà	‘be red’
-tòmbwèrà	‘weed’
-zùmìnà	‘believe, agree; accept a marriage proposal’
-zyàmbìrà	‘gather’

Other verbs with a lexicalized applicative suffix do occur in their underived form, but there are unexpected differences in meaning between the underived verb and the verb featuring the applicative: examples are given in (66).

(66) Lexicalized applicatives

Lexicalized applicative		Underived base verb	
- <i>kúmbìrà</i>	‘beg’	- <i>kúmbà</i>	‘shout, howl’
- <i>shúminà</i>	‘tie’	- <i>shúmà</i>	‘bite’
- <i>ráàrìrà</i>	‘eat dinner’	- <i>ráàrà</i>	‘sleep’
- <i>shèndèkèrà</i>	‘mock’	- <i>shèndèkà</i>	‘put in a leaning position’

A single verb cannot take more than one applicative suffix. The intensive suffix, which formally consists of the reduplication of the applicative suffix, carries neither the syntactic nor the semantic functions of the applicative, and is therefore analyzed separately in section 8.10. Verbs that have a lexicalized applicative suffix do take an applicative suffix in the appropriate syntactic and semantic contexts, providing further evidence that the apparent applicative suffix in these verb stems no longer functions as such, but has become part of the verb root. An example is given in (67) with the verb *-zyambira* ‘gather’, which contains a sequence *-ir* that resembles the applicative suffix, but has been reanalyzed as part of the verb stem, and therefore allows the addition of an applicative suffix.

- (67) *bàkwèsì bàndìzyàmbìrìrà*
 ba-kwesi ba-ndi-zyambir-ir-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-OM_{1SG}-gather-APPL-FV
 ‘They are gathering for me.’ (NF_Elic17)

8.5.2 The syntactic structure of the applicative

The applicative suffix increases the valency of the verb by allowing the expression of an extra, applied object. When the applicative derivation is used with an intransitive verb, such as the verb *-bèrèkà* ‘work’, it derives a transitive verb *-bèrèkèrà* ‘work for’.

- (68) *ndìbérékèrè*
 ndi-berék-er-e
 OM_{1SG}-work-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Work for me.’ (NF_Elic15)

When the applicative derivation is used with a transitive verb, it derives a ditransitive verb taking two objects. The order of the two objects is free: the applied object can either be the first object, as in (69), or the second object, as in (70).

- (69) *tùzyákír’ ómwâncè njúò*
 tu-zya_Hk-ir-á o-mu-áncè N-júo
 SM_{1PL}-build-APPL-FVAUG-NP₁-child NP₉-house
 ‘...so that we build a house for the child.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (70) *náàùrìrá èzíryò àbànè*
ná-a-ur-ir-á *e-zi-río* *a-ba-án-e*
 PST.SM₁-buy-APPL-FV AUG-NP₈-food AUG-NP₂-child-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘S/he bought food for her/his children.’ (ZF_Elic14)

It is possible for either the applied object to be pronominalized with an object marker on the verb, as in (71)a, or the direct object, as in (71)b, or both, as in (71)c. When both objects are marked by object markers, the marker for the applied object is always closest to the verb stem, and the reverse order is not possible, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (71)d.

- (71) a. Pronominalization of the applied object
àbàsànzìrá òtùsùbà
a-ba_H-sanz-ir-á *o-tu-sùba*
 SM₁-OM₂-wash-APPL-FV AUG-NP₁₃-dish
 ‘S/he washes the dishes for her.’
- b. Pronominalization of the direct object
àtùsànzìrá bànyìnà
a-tu_H-sanz-ir-á *ba-nyina*
 SM₁-OM₁₃-wash-APPL-FV NP₂-mother
 ‘S/he washes them for her/his mother.’
- c. Pronominalization of both objects
àtùbàsànzìrá
a-tu_H-ba-sanz-ir-á
 SM₁-OM₁₃-OM₂-wash-APPL-FV
 ‘S/he washes them for her.’
- d. **àbàtùsànzìrá*
a-ba_H-tu_H-sanz-ir-á
 SM₁-OM₂-OM₁₃-wash-APPL-FV
 Intended: ‘S/he washes them for her.’ (NF_Elic17)

When an applicative verb is passivized, the subject of the passive verb may either be the applicative’s direct object, as in (72)b, or its applied object, as in (72)c.

- (72) a. *àzyà:kìrá mwáncè kàjúò*
a-zya_{iH}k-ir-á *mu-áncè* *ka-júo*
 SM₁-build-APPL-FV NP₁-child NP₁₂-room
 ‘S/He builds a room for the child.’
- b. Passivization of the direct object
kàjúò kàzyá:kìrwà mwáncè
ka-júo *ka-zyá:k-ir-w-a* *mw-áncè*
 NP₁₂-room SM₁₂-build-APPL-PASS-FV NP₁-child
 ‘The room is built for the child.’

c. Passivization of the applied object

mwáncè àzyà:kìrwá kàjúò

mu-áncé a-zya:_Hk-ir-w-á ka-júo

NP₁-child SM₁-build-APPL-PASS-FV NP₁₂-room

‘The child is built a room for.’ (NF_Elic17)

To summarize the syntactic behavior of the objects of an applicative construction, both objects are highly symmetrical. Both objects can be passivized or pronominalized, and the order of the nominal objects is free. The only restriction is seen in the order of the object markers, where the marker for the direct object precedes the marker for the applied object.

8.5.3 The basic functions of the applicative

Applicatives serve a wide variety of different semantic functions. This section treats the basic semantic functions of the applicative, that is those functions that are available without the presence of a specific other morpheme or in a specific syntactic context.

The applicative can be used to express an action performed for the benefit of someone. An example where the applied object is the beneficiary of the action is given in example (73), where the beneficiary is *òmùkèntù wàkwé* ‘his wife’, and in (74), where the beneficiary is *àbànè* ‘her children’. The applicative can also be used with a malefactive meaning, i.e. an action performed to the detriment of the recipient. In (75), the first person singular is negatively affected by the action, and in (76), the negatively affected recipient is *bàntù* ‘people’.

(73) *nàhúrírì òmùkèntù wàkwé* ómùròrà

na-ur-ír-i o-mu-kéntu u-akwé
SM₁.PST-buy-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{3SG}
o-mu-rora

AUG-NP₃-soap

‘He bought soap for his wife.’ (ZF_Elic14)

(74) *èzìbyá èzò nàá’síyà náàzísìyìrà àbànè*

e-zi-byá e-zo na-á-si_H-á
AUG-NP₈-item AUG-DEM.III₈ REM-SM₁-leave-FV<REL>

ná-a-zí-si-ir-a a-ba-án-e
REM-SM₁-OM₈-leave-APPL-FV AUG-NP₂-child-POSS_{3SG}

‘The items that she left, she left them for her children.’ (ZF_Conv13)

(75) *shòshák’ ókùndìzyónàwìrà màshéshwà ángù*

sha-o-shak-á o-ku-ndi-zyón-a-u-ir-a
INC-SM_{2SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-OM_{1SG}-destroy-PL1-SEP-APPL-FV

ma-shéshwa a-angú
NP₆-marriage PP₆-POSS_{1SG}

‘You now want to destroy [for me] my marriage.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (76) *kùhìbìrà bántù màshéréjì mbúbbì*
 ku-híb-ir-a ba-ntu ma-sheréjì N-bu-bbí
 INF-steal-APPL-FV NP₂-person NP₆-money COP-NP₁₄-bad
 ‘Stealing money from people is bad.’ (NF_Elic17)

Applicatives can have a substitutive function, where the applied object refers to someone on whose behalf the action is performed, as in the following examples.

- (77) *ndìhítwìrè bùk’ éyì kwàòrbèt*
 ndì-hítur-ir-e ø-buká e-í kwa-orbet
 OM_{1SG}-carry-APPL-PFV.SBJV NP₉-book AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₁₇-Orbet
 ‘Carry this book for me to Orbet.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (78) *ndàmùkákà:nì*
 ndi-a-mu-ká:n-in-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-refuse-APPL-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve refused on his behalf.’ (Context: someone wants to take the belongings of a third person, who is not present. The speaker refuses on behalf of this absent third person.) (NF_Elic17)

The applied object can also be interpreted as the reason of the action, as in the following examples.

- (79) *mbòndìsànzìr’ òmùrá:rìrò tùsúbà*
 mbo-ndì-sanz-ir-é o-mu-rá:rìro tu-súba
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-wash-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₃-dinner NP₁₃-dish
 ‘I will wash the dishes for dinner.’
- (80) *ndìzyà:kìr’ òmùndaré ‘wángù cìòngò*
 ndi-zya:k-ir-á o-mu-ndaré u-angú ci-ongo
 SM_{1SG}-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₃-maize PP₃-POSS_{1SG} NP₇-storage
 ‘I am building a storage for my maize.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (81) *kòó:rì òkùyìbèrèkèrà múmwézi mbóyìbèrèkèrè èmyézi yòbíre yòtátwè*
 ka-o-óir-i o-ku-í-berek-er-a mú-mu-ézi
 NEG-SM_{2SG}-can-NEG AUG-INF-OM₉-work-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-month
 mbo-ó-i_H-berek-er-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{2SG}-OM₉-work-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 e-mi-ézi i-o=biré i-o=tátwe
 AUG-NP₄-month PP₄-CON=two PP₄-CON=three
 ‘You cannot work for it in a month, you will work for it for two or three months.’ (Context: discussing how long it takes to earn 2000 Namibian dollars.) (ZF_Conv13)

Another common function of applicatives in Bantu is the expression of an instrument. The applicative in Fwe cannot take this function, and rather uses the causative for the expression of instruments (see section 8.4.3).

8.5.4 The applicative with locatives

The applicative can also be used to add a locative noun phrase, with two possible functions: either to express a direction or goal, or to express focus on the locative. In order to analyze the use of the applicative with locative noun phrases, we first need to discuss the use of locative noun phrases with underived verbs.

When a locative noun phrase is combined with a verb without the applicative derivation, two possible interpretations are available. The locative noun phrase can be interpreted as the general location where the event takes place, as in (82)–(83).

(82) *ndìràrà hámbùmbétà*

ndi-rá:r-a há-mu-mbetá
SM_{1SG}-sleep-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-bed
'I sleep on the bed.' (NF_Elic15)

(83) *ndàbónì èyòmbè kúrwízyì*

ndi-a-bón-i e-N-ɲombe kú-ru-ízyi
SM_{1SG}-PST-see-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-COW NP₁₇-NP₁₁-river
'I saw a cow at the river.' (ZF_Elic14)

The other possible interpretation of locative noun phrases with underived verbs depends on the lexical semantics of the verb. For certain motion verbs, a location, such as a source or direction, is part of their lexical semantics, and as such do not require the applicative. This is shown in (84)–(85) with the verb *-zwa* 'leave', where the source (the place from which one leaves), is part of the lexical semantics of the verb, and therefore the use of a locative noun phrase referring to the source does not require an applicative.

(84) *kùzwà múmùnzì*

ku-zw-a mú-mu-nzi
INF-leave-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-village
'to leave home'

(85) *àmàròhà àzwá hàcìrabì*

a-ma-roha a-zw-á ha-ci-rabí
AUG-NP₆-blood SM₆-come_out-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-wound
'Blood comes from the wound.' (NF_Elic15)

In other verbs, such as the verb *-yenda* 'go, walk', *-ya* 'go' and *-ke:zya* 'come', direction is an inherent part of the lexical semantics of the verb, and as such a locative noun phrase expressing direction can be added without the use of the applicative.

(86) *ndìyéndè bùryò kùmùnzì*

ndi-énd-e bu-ryo ku-mu-nzi
SM_{1SG}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just NP₁₇-NP₃-village
'Let me just go home.' (ZF_Narr14)

- (87) *ndiyá kwàsèshèkè*
 ndi-y-á kwa-sesheke
 SM_{1SG}-GO-FV NP₁₇-Sesheke
 ‘I am going to Sesheke.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (88) *nàbàké:zyà kúmùnzí 'wábò*
 na-ba-a-ké:zy-a kú-mu-nzí u-abó
 REM-SM₂-PST-come-FV NP₁₇NP₃-village PP₃-DEM.III₂
 ‘She was coming to her village.’ (ZF_Narr15)

In motion verbs where the direction is not part of the verb’s lexical semantics, the use of a locative noun phrase expressing a direction requires the use of the applicative.

- (89) *kùnjúò yàkwé àbùtùkírà*
 N-ku-N-júo i-akwé a-bu_Htuk-ir-á
 COP-NP₁₇-NP₉-house PP₉-POSS_{3SG} SM₁-run-APPL-FV
 ‘S/He is running to his house.’
- (90) *àshòtòkérà mùménjì*
 a-sho_Htok-er-á mu-ma-ínji
 SM₁-jump-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-water
 ‘S/He jumps into the water.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (91) *bókè:zyà kùhítìrà hámùnzì*
 ba-ó=ke:zy-a ku-hít-ir-a há-mu-nzi
 PP₂-CON=come-FV INF-pass-APPL-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-village
 ‘Then they passed over a village.’ (ZF_Narr13)

As seen in the following example, the use of the applicative to add a locative argument does not necessarily involve (physical) movement.

- (92) *ècí cìntù kàbábbòzérà àbá 'bámbwà cìntúnjì*
 e-cí ci-ntu ka-bá-bbo_{HZ}-er-á
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-thing PST.IPFV-SM₂-bark-APPL-FV
 a-bá ba-mbwá ø-ci-ntu-njì
 AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-dog COP-NP₇-thing-what
 ‘This thing that the dogs are barking at, what is it?’ (ZF_Narr14)

The applicative is only used for locative noun phrases that express a direction or goal. The interpretation of locative noun phrases with underived verbs depends on the lexical semantics of the verb itself. This can be seen with the verb *-shotoka* ‘jump’, which includes in its basic semantics that which is jumped on or over, as shown in (93)-(94). Used with an applicative, however, the locative noun phrase comes to express a direction, as in example (95).

- (93) *nàshótòkì àkàyèzì*
 na-shótok-i a-ka-yezi
 SM₁.PST-jump-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁₂-stream
 ‘S/he jumped over the stream.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (94) *ndókùrìshòtòkà*
 ndi-ó=ku-rí-shotok-a
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₅-jump-FV
 ‘Then I stepped on it.’ (ZF_Narr13)
- (95) *àshòtòkèrá mùmènjì*
 a-sho_Htok-er-á mu-ma-ínji
 SM₁-jump-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-water
 ‘S/he jumps into the water.’ (NF_Elic15)

The applicative can also be used to express focus on the locative, a function also seen in Tswana (Creissels 2004), Luba (de Kind and Bostoen 2012), and various other Bantu languages (see Pacchiarotti 2017: 179–191 for an overview). This use of the applicative often (but not necessarily) combines with a cleft construction, the most common construction in Fwe for expressing focus (see also section 16.4)²³. As seen in (96)–(98), the direction/goal semantics otherwise seen in applicatives combined with locative noun phrases is not part of the use of the applicative to focus a locative.

- (96) *bàbbónádi kwàsìòmà bábèrèkèrà*
 ba-bbonádi ø-kwa-sioma bá-berek-er-á
 NP₂-Bonard COP-NP₁₇-Sioma SM₂.REL-work-APPL-FV
 ‘Mr. Bonard, it is in Sioma that he works.’
- (97) *ècìbàkà òkù ásebèzèrà mùkèntù wángù kùré: ècìbàkà òkù ndìsèbèzèrà*
 e-ci-baka o-ku á-sebez-er-á
 AUG-NP₇-place AUG-DEM.I₁₇ SM₁.REL-work-APPL-FV
 mu-kèntu u-angú
 NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ø-ku-ré: e-ci-baka o-ku ndí-sebez-er-á
 COP-NP₁₇-long AUG-NP₇-place AUG-DEM.I₁₇ SM_{1SG}-work-APPL-FV
 ‘The place where my wife works is far from the place where I work.’
 (ZF_Elic13)
- (98) *páhà rímàníná èkàndé 'ryángù*
 p-áha rí-man-in-á e-ø-kandé ri-angú
 COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆ SM₅-end-APPL-FV AUG-NP₅-story PP₅-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘This is where my story ends.’ (NF_Narr15)

The applicative can also be used to focus morphologically locative noun phrases that refer to a time rather than a place. Locative class 16 can be used in Fwe with both locative and temporal interpretations, and the applicative can also be used to express focus when the temporal interpretation is intended

²³ In this sense Fwe differs from Tswana, where the combination of locative noun phrases with the applicative to focus the location is an alternative strategy to clefting.

- (99) *páhò náàbàhìndírà*
 p-áho na-á-a-ba_H-hind-ir-á
 COP₁₆-DEM.III₁₆ REM-SM₁-PST-OM₂-take-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘That’s when he took her.’ (ZF_Narr15)

8.5.5 Minor functions of the applicative

The argument added by the applicative derivation may also express manner. This interpretation is only available in relative clauses introduced by the class 18 demonstrative *omo* ‘(the way) how’, used as relativizer.

- (100) *ndìsháká òmò ázγìmbírà*
 ndi-shak-á o-mo á-zyi_Hmb-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-sing-APPL-FV
 ‘I like the way s/he sings.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (101) *kàbásùmwìná òmò nìbákàhàrìrà*
 ka-bá-su_Hmwin-á o-mo ni-bá-a-ka-ha_Hr-ir-á
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-report-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ REM-SM₂-PST-DIST-live-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘They were reporting how they had been living.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (102) *òmò nìbáfwrà àbò bàmùcémberè*
 o-mo ni-bá-a-fw-ír-a
 AUG-DEM.III₁₈ REM-SM₂-PST-die-APPL-FV<REL>
 a-bo bá-mu-cémberè
 AUG-DEM.III₂ NP₂-NP₁-old_woman
 ‘the way that old lady died’ (ZF_Narr15)

Verbs that have an applicative suffix that carries a different function than manner, for instance benefactive (see section 8.5.3), may also be used in a relative clause headed by *òmò*. In this case, a second applicative suffix cannot be used, and the applicative suffix carries both benefactive and manner functions simultaneously. This is in line with the general restriction on combining two applicative suffixes on the same verb.

- (103) a. *ndìsháká òmw áhìkírà*
 ndi-shak-á o-mo á-hi_Hk-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-cook-APPL-FV
 ‘I like the way she cooks.’
- b. *ndìsháká òmw ábàhìkírà*
 ndi-shak-á o-mo á-ba_H-hi_Hk-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-OM₂-cook-APPL-FV
 ‘I like the way she cooks for them.’
- c. **ndìsháká òmw’ ábàhìkìrìrà*

The applicative can be used in combination with the reflexive prefix *rí-/kí-* and the adverb *bu-ryo* ‘just, only’, to express a useless or purposeless action.

(104) *èrí 'sózù rìrìtùmbùkírà búryò*

e-rí ø-sozú ri-ri_H-tu_Hmbuk-ir-á bu-ryo
 AUG-DEM.I₅ NP₅-grass SM₅-REFL-burn-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘This grass burns easily.’

(105) *èzí zìzwátò zìcípìtè kònó zìrìfwírà búryò*

e-zí zi-zwátò zi-cip-íte
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-become_cheap-STAT
 kònó zi-ri_H-fw-ír-a bu-ryó
 but SM₈-REFL-die-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘These clothes are cheap, but they won’t last long (lit. ‘they will just break).’
 (NF_Elic15)

(106) *òmùntù àrìàmbìrààmbìrà búryó*

o-mu-ntu á-ri_H-ambira-amb-ir-á bu-ryó
 AUG-NP₁-person SM₁-REL-PL2-talk-APPL-FV NP₁₄-just
 ‘A person who just talks...’ (NF_Elic17)

8.5.6 Combining the applicative and the causative

The applicative and the causative suffix may be used on the same verb. There is a large degree of variation in the formal ways in which these two suffixes may be combined, some free, some correlating to subtle semantic differences.

When combined on the same verb, the causative precedes the applicative. This is a tendency observed in many Bantu languages (Hyman 2003b).

(107) a. *kùbìrìsìrà*
 ku-bir-is-ir-a
 INF-boil-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to boil for’

b. *ku-bir-ir-is-a
 INF-boil-APPL-CAUS-FV

In verbs where the applicative suffix is lexicalized and has become part of the verb stem, the causative suffix does follow the (former) applicative suffix, as shown in (108). The verb *-zyambir-a* contains a sequence *-ir*, but this does not function as an applicative suffix, as the putative underived verb **-zyamba* does not exist.

(108) *kùzyàmbìrìsà*
 ku-zyambir-is-a
 INF-gather-CAUS-FV
 ‘to help gather’

The combination of a causative and applicative suffix can be realized in three different ways (aside from variation due to vowel harmony): *-is-ir*, *-is-iz*, *-is-ik-iz*. All three forms are illustrated below with the verb *-zw-* ‘come out’.

- (109) *kùzwìsìrà ~ kùzwìsìzà ~ kùzwìsikìzà*
 ku-zw-is-ir/iz/ikiz-a
 INF-come_out-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to take out to/for’

With verbs that take a short causative, the addition of the applicative suffix leads to similar forms, e.g. *-s-ir*, *-s-iz*, and *-s-ik-iz*.

- (110) a. *kùbú:kà*
 ku-bú:k-à
 INF-wake-FV
 ‘to wake up (intr.)’
- b. *kùbú:sà*
 ku-bú:s-a
 INF-wake-CAUS-FV
 ‘to wake up (tr.)’
- c. *kùbú:sìrà*
 ku-bú:s-ir-a
 INF-wake-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to wake up for/on behalf of’
- d. *kùbú:sìzà*
 ku-bú:s-iz-a
 INF-wake-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to wake up for/on behalf of’
- e. *kùbú:sìkìzà*
 ku-bú:s-ik-iz-a
 INF-wake-CAUS-?-APPL-FV
 ‘to wake up for/on behalf of’

The form *-(i)s-ir* is the regular combination of the causative *-(i)s* and the applicative *-ir*. The form *-(i)s-iz* can be analyzed as a combination of the causative *-(i)s*, the applicative *-ir*, and the short causative, consisting of the commutation of the consonant /r/ of the applicative to /z/. The form *-(i)s-ik-iz* is similar to the form *-(i)s-iz*, but contains an extra epenthetic sequence *-ik*. Similar forms where the combination of causative and applicative contains an unexpected /k/ are seen in, for instance, Nyakyusa. Hyman (2003a) shows that the appearance of /k/ is related to the spirantization of the root-final consonant caused by the addition of the causative suffix. When an additional applicative suffix is used, spirantization targets the final consonant of the applicative suffix instead, which spirantizes to /s/, but the original root-final consonant is reinterpreted as /k/ (rather than the original non-spirantized consonant). This subsequently led to the insertion of *-ik* with applicativized causatives, even with those verb roots that were never subject to spirantization. A similar scenario may account for the use of *-ik* in the combination of causative and applicative in Fwe. While in Fwe, applicativized causatives never show the reinterpretation of the verb’s last root

consonant to /k/, it is possible that this took place in an earlier stage of the language and has since been undone through analogy.

The three different causative/applicative forms are almost completely interchangeable, as seen with verbs *-zw-is-* ‘take out’ in (109) and *-bús-* ‘wake up’ in (110). Other verbs disallow one or two of the forms: some examples are given below.

- (111) a. *kùwìsikìzà*
 ku-w-is-ik-iz-a
 INF-fall-CAUS-?-APPL-FV
 ‘to drop (on)to/towards’

b. **kùwìsìrà*

c. **kùwìsìzà*

- (112) a. *kùzyúmìsìrà*
 ku-zyúm-is-ir-a
 INF-dry-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to make dry for’

b. *kùzyúmìsìzà*
 ku-zyúm-is-iz-a
 INF-dry-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to make dry for’

c. **kùzyúmìsikìzà*

- (113) a. *kùbìrìsìrà*
 ku-bir-is-ir-a
 INF-boil-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to boil for’

b. ? *kùbìrìsìzà*
 ku-bir-is-iz-a
 INF-boil-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to boil for’

(One speaker accepted this form, another speaker considered it doubtful and considered the form with *-isir* to be more acceptable.)

c. **kùbìrìsikìzà*

There are also verbs that allow multiple forms of the suffix, but where each form has its own interpretation.

- (114) a. *kùùrìsìrà*
 ku-ur-is-ir-a
 INF-buy-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to sell on behalf of/for’

- b. *kùùrìsìzà*
ku-ur-is-iz-a
INF-buy-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to sell to'
- (115) a. *kùbútùkìsìrà*
ku-bútuk-is-ir-a
INF-run-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to run/bring (something) to (someone)'
- b. *kùbútùkìsìzà*
ku-bútuk-is-iz-a
INF-run-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to drive on someone's behalf; to drive someone else's car'
- (116) a. *kùyèndèsèrà*
ku-end-es-er-a
INF-go-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to do a job instead of/in the place of (someone else)'
- b. *kùyèndèsèzà*
ku-end-es-ez-a
INF-go-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to make (someone) do a job'

There is also some disagreement between speakers on the acceptability and interpretation of different forms. The semantic differences between these three forms of the causative/applicative suffix, if they (still) exist and are consistently applied by all speakers, will be left for future research.

8.6 Neuter

The neuter is expressed with a suffix *-ahar*. This suffix is unproductive: all the attested examples are listed in (117).

(117) Neuter verbs

<i>-bónà</i>	'see'	<i>-bónàhàrà</i>	'be visible'
<i>-fòsà</i>	'sin, make a mistake'	<i>-fòsàhàrà</i>	'be wrong, be a bad person'
<i>-pàngà</i>	'do, make'	<i>-pàngàhàrà</i>	'happen, take place'
<i>-sèpà</i>	'trust, hope'	<i>-sèpàhàrà</i>	'be honest, important'
<i>-shàkà</i>	'want, need'	<i>-shàkàhàrà</i>	'be necessary'
<i>-tèndà</i>	'do, make'	<i>-tèndàhàrà</i>	'happen, take place'
<i>-wàrà</i>	'find'	<i>-wàràhàrà</i>	'be found, occur'
<i>-zyìbà</i>	'get to know'	<i>-zyìbàhàrà</i>	'be known, famous'

The use of the neuter derivation causes the agent of the action to be deleted and the patient to be expressed as a subject. An example is given with the verb *-bón-* 'see'; un-

derived, the patient (that which is seen) is expressed as the object, and derived with the neuter suffix *-ahar*, the patient is expressed as the subject.

- (118) *òcìbwèné èni cìbònàhàrà*
 o-ci_H-bwe_Hne éni ci-bo_Hn-ahar-á
 SM_{2SG}-OM₇-see.STAT yes SM₇-see-NEUT-FV
 ‘Do you see it?’ ‘Yes, it’s visible.’ (NF_Elic15)

The neuter is similar to the passive, which also deletes the agent and expresses the patient in the subject position. The passive, however, allows the expression of the agent in an oblique agent phrase with *ku-*, but the neuter does not allow the expression of the agent at all.

- (119) a. *nìbáwànàhàrà*
 ni-bá-a-wan-ahar-a
 REM-SM₂-PST-find-NEUT-FV
 ‘S/he was found.’
 b. **nìbáwànàhàrà kwángù*
 ni-bá-a-wan-ahar-a ku-angú
 REM-SM₂-PST-find-NEUT-FV NP₁₇-POSS_{1SG}
 Intended: ‘S/he was found by me.’ (NF_Elic17)

The neuter presents the event as having no agent. The verb *-bón-*, ‘see’, when combined with a neuter suffix *-bón-ahar-*, is interpreted as ‘look, be visible’. It does not imply being looked at by an agent, merely that being looked at is a possibility, e.g. the subject is “potentially or factually affected” (Schadeberg 2003: 75), and the agent is backgrounded. The complete backgrounding of the agent is seen with the derived verb *-wan-ahar-* in (120), which focuses on the assumption that the profit will exist, rather than who, if anyone, will be present to find it.

- (120) *èngùrìsò yàkwé mbòyíwànàhàrà*
 e-N-gurìsò i-akwé mbo-í-wan-ahar-é
 AUG-NP₉-profit PP₉-POSS_{3SG} NEAR_FUT-SM₉-find-NEUT-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Her profit can/will be found.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The neuter suffix *-ahar* in Fwe seems to be a borrowing from Lozi. Lozi has a number of different neuter suffixes, including the suffix *-ahal*, which is unproductive according to Gowlett (1967: 60–61), as it only occurs in a fixed set of verbs. If Fwe has acquired the suffix *-ahar* through contact with Lozi, it has acquired a productivity of its own in Fwe, as it is used in verbs that do not use it in Lozi, such as the Fwe verb *-wan-ahar-* ‘be found, occur’, which does not have a Lozi counterpart with the neuter suffix *-ahal*. Other Bantu languages spoken in the same region have also acquired the neuter suffix *-ahar* (or variants thereof). Seidel (2008) notes the use of *-ahar* as a neuter in Yeyi, also attributing it to influence from Lozi. The use of a suffix *-hala* ‘neuter’ is described for Subiya by Jacottet (1896: 77). It is likely that all these languages borrowed the suffix from Lozi, as Lozi is the only language in which the suffix *-ahar* is morphologically analyzable as a combination of the neuter suffixes *-ah* and *-al*

(Gowlett 1967: 60). Nonetheless, the wide-spread use of *-ahar* as a neuter suffix in languages that have been in contact with Lozi is surprising, as *-ahar* is only one of the neuter suffixes used in Lozi, and it is not the most frequent or the most productive form of the neuter.

More support for the analysis of neuter *-ahar* as a Lozi borrowing is that Fwe also has another suffix that expresses neuter, *-isik/-esek*. Unlike *-ahar*, the suffix *-isik/-esek* can be analyzed as a combination of the productive causative suffix *-is*, and a suffix that may be the reflex of the suffix **-ik-* reconstructed with neuter meaning for Proto-Bantu²⁴. Neuter *-isik/-esek* is found with only two verbs, *-wan-* ‘find’, which may also take the neuter suffix *-ahar* without a change in meaning, and *-or-* ‘can’.

- (121) *kùwànìsikà* ~ *kùwànàhàrà*
 ku-wan-isik-a ku-wan-ahar-a
 INF-find-NEUT-FV INF-find-NEUT-FV
 ‘to be found’

- (122) *kùò:rèsèkà*
 ku-or-esek-a
 INF-can-NEUT-FV
 ‘to be possible’

Possibly, the suffix *-isik/-esek* was the original, native neuter suffix in Fwe, and was gradually replaced by the Lozi neuter suffix *-ahar*, a development also seen in various other languages that are in contact with Lozi.

8.7 Separative

The separative derivation makes use of the suffixes *-ur* and *-uk*, which are reflexes of **-ud*, reconstructed as “transitive reversive”, and **-uk*, reconstructed as “intransitive reversive”. Schadeberg (2003: 77–78) analyzes the common core meaning of this derivation to be “movement out of some original position”, and hence proposes the term separative. As will become clear in this section, this semantic characterization fits the use of the separative in Fwe as well.

The separative suffix has two variants, a transitive form *-ur*, and an intransitive form *-uk*. The transitive separative has four allomorphs *-ur/-or/-un/-on*, conditioned by vowel harmony (see section 3.3.2) and nasal harmony (see section 3.4). The intransitive separative has two allomorphs *-uk/-ok* conditioned by vowel harmony. An example of the use of the transitive and the intransitive separative is given below.

- (123) a. *kúàrà*
 kú-ar-a
 INF-close-FV
 ‘to close’

²⁴ Traces of an earlier neuter(-like) suffix that may have been a reflex of **-ik-* are conspicuously absent; no verbs have been recorded which can be analyzed as a combination of a verb stem with a now-petrified neuter-like suffix.

- b. *kúàrùrà*
 kú-ar-ur-a
 INF-close-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘to open (tr.)’
- c. *kúàrùkà*
 kú-ar-uk-a
 INF-close-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘to open (itr.)’

Verbs with the intransitive separative suffix *-uk* function as change-of-state verbs; they receive a modal interpretation in the present tense (124), and a present reading when used with the stative suffix *-ite* (125).

- (124) *èmpótó ìbbámúkà*
 e-N-potó i-bbam-uk-á
 AUG-NP₉-pot SM₉-break-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘A pot can break.’ (said as a warning to someone who is handling a pot carelessly)
- (125) *èzí zìzyàbàrò zìcèrúkìtè*
 e-zí zi-zyabaro zi-ce_{HR}-úk-ite
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-tear-SEP.INTR-STAT
 ‘These clothes are torn.’ (NF_Elic15)

The separative derivation is semi-productive: it occurs in a large number of verbs and its semantics is quite predictable, but there are also many verbs that may not take the separative, verbs that take the separative that may not occur without it, or verbs where the semantic import of the separative is unclear. The commutation between the transitive and intransitive separative is fairly productive; most verbs that take the separative derivation may occur with either the transitive or the intransitive form.

Table 8.4: Commutation between the transitive and intransitive separative

Transitive separative		Intransitive separative	
<i>-àrùmùnà</i>	‘roll (tr.)’	<i>-àrùmùkà</i>	‘roll (intr.)’
<i>-bbátùrà</i>	‘separate (tr.)’	<i>-bbátùkà</i>	‘separate (intr.), be separated’
<i>-kùmbùrà</i>	‘peel, strip’	<i>-kùmbùkà</i>	‘come off in strips, be peeled/stripped off’
<i>-kúzyùrà</i>	‘peel a <i>mongongo</i> nut’	<i>-kúzyùkà</i>	‘be peeled (of a <i>mongongo</i> nut)’
<i>-túrùrà</i>	‘pierce’	<i>-túrùkà</i>	‘burst’

Some verbs that may take a separative suffix are also attested in an underived form, or are also attested with another derivational suffix, such as the impositive *-ik/-am*, or the extensive *-ar/-an*, as shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5: Separative verbs

Separative		Underived verb	
-ròngòrà	‘unload’	-ròngà	‘load’
-rwárùkà	‘become better’	-rwàrà	‘become sick’
-vwìkùrà	‘uncover’	-vwìkà	‘cover’
-zyàùrà	‘take blankets off the bed’	-zyàrà	‘make the bed’
Separative		Other derivational suffix	
-cánkùrà	‘remove from the fire’	-cánkìkà	‘put on the fire’
-fúrùmùrà	‘put upright’	-fúrùmìkà	‘place upside down’
		-fúrùmàrà	‘be initiated (of girls)’
-hángùrà	‘remove from a high position’	-hánjìkà	‘put in a high position’
-kámùrà	‘remove (from on top of each other)’	-kámìkà	‘put on top of each other’
		-kámàrà	‘be on top of each other’
-zyàbùrà	‘undress’	-zyàbàrà	‘dress’
-lápùrà	‘take mud from a wall’	-lápìkà	‘put mud on a wall’

Many separative verbs, however, are not attested in their underived form, and the separative cannot be freely used to derive new verbs from any existing verb stem. There are also many verbs apparently consisting of a separative suffix which lack separative semantics, as in the following examples.

- (126) -bbùkùrà ‘stoke a fire’
 -cùncùrà ‘stumble’
 -bárùkà ‘taste a crop to test if it’s ripe’
 -bútùkà ‘run’

Its behaviour shows that the separative is not completely unproductive, as it occurs in a wide variety of verbs and often has a clear semantic function, but also not completely productive, as it cannot freely combine with existing verbs, and it does not always have typical separative semantics. What further underscores the semi-productive status of the separative is that some verbs with the transitive separative suffix *-ur* do not function as transitive verbs, such as *-⁹lìntùrà* ‘lie with bent knees’, *-shwáhùrà* ‘be disappointed, give up’, *-sùkùrà* ‘doze’. There are also verbs with the intransitive separative *-uk* that are not intransitive, such as *-cébùkà* ‘look behind at’, *-kàntùkà* ‘cross (a road, river)’, *-tóròkà* ‘translate, explain’.

The separative suffix also occurs in a reduplicated form. Like its unreduplicated counterpart, the reduplicated separative suffix undergoes both vowel and nasal harmony, surfacing as either *-urur*, *-oror*, *-unun* or *-onon*. The intransitive variant of the reduplicated separative is *-uruk*, also subject to vowel and nasal harmony. The distribution of the reduplicated and unreduplicated separative appears to be lexical, with the reduplicated form mainly (but not exclusively) occurring with verbs that also occur as underived verb stems.

Table 8.6: The reduplicated separative suffix

Underived verb		Separative verb	
- <i>gábà</i>	‘close a kraal’	- <i>gábùrùrà</i>	‘open a kraal’
- <i>hòshà</i>	‘plait hair’	- <i>hòshòròrà</i>	‘take out plaits’
- <i>kìyà</i>	‘lock’	- <i>kìyùrùrà</i>	‘unlock’
-	-	- <i>lónzòròkà</i>	‘be thread-like, stretching (like okra)’
- <i>ràmbà</i>	‘plaster a wall’	- <i>ràmbùrùrà</i>	‘smoothen a plastered wall’
- <i>shúmìnà</i>	‘tie’	- <i>shúmùnùnà</i>	‘untie’
- <i>shwènà</i>	‘become tired’	- <i>shwènùnùkà</i>	‘become rested’

When the separative *-ur* is used in combination with the applicative suffix *-ir*, the form of the combined suffix is *-wir*, in which the vowel /u/ of the separative has devo-
calized to a glide.

- (127) a. *kùbbùkùrà*
ku-bbuk-ur-a
INF-blow_on_fire-SEP.TR-FV
‘to blow on a fire’
- b. *òndìbbúkùwír’ ómùrìrò*
o-ndi-bbuk-wir-é
SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-blow_on_fire-SEP.TR.APPL-PFV.SBJV
‘Blow on the fire for me.’ (NF_Elic17)
- o-mu-riro
AUG-NP₃-fire

When the separative combines with a more productive causative or passive, the separative is directly adjacent to the verb stem. This is illustrated for the combination of the separative and the passive in (128). This ordering is consistent with the tendency for morphemes with a higher productivity, like the causative and the passive, to occur at the periphery of a word, and for less productive morphemes, such as the separative, to be closer to the verb stem.

- (128) *zàzyángùrìwà*
zi-a-zyáng-ur-iw-a
SM₈-PST-harvest-SEP.TR-PASS-FV
‘Are they harvested?’ (NF_Elic17)

The semantics of the separative is to express a movement out of an original position. An example of this use of the separative is given in examples (129) and (130), taken from a narrative in which one of the main characters, a lion, has hidden his teeth. The hiding of the teeth is described in example (129) using the verb *-zik-* ‘hide’. Afterwards, the other main character, a girl, goes to retrieve the teeth from their hiding place. This is described in example (130) using the same verb with the separative suffix, *-zik-ur-* ‘retrieve from its hiding place’.

- (129) *òndávú nàkàzíkì àménò ákwé hàcítwè*
 o-ø-ndavú na-ka-zík-i
 AUG-NP_{1a}-lion SM₁.PST-DIST-hide-NPST.PFV
 a-ma-íno a-akwé ha-ci-twé
 NP₁₆-NP₇-ash AUG-NP₆-tooth PP₆-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘The lion has hidden his teeth under the ash.’

- (130) *ákàzìkùrà áò ménò*
 á-o-ka-zik-ur-a a-o ma-íno
 SM₁-AUG-DIST-hide-SEP.TR-FV AUG-DEM.III₆ NP₆-tooth
 ‘She then dug out those teeth there.’ (NF_Narr15)

Many verbs with the separative derivation describe various acts of destruction, such as cutting, tearing or breaking. These verbs usually lack an underived counterpart.

(131) Verbs of destruction

-bbàmùkà	‘break in half’
-bútùrà	‘clear a field (by removing small shrubs and weeds)’
-càmùnà	‘cut off a small piece’
-cènkùrà	‘cut off half’
-cérùrà	‘tear’
-kóshòrà	‘cut/pull off’
-kúkùrà	‘cut nails; cut off sides of a grass mat to make it even’
-kùrùrà	‘cut hair’
-ɲàtùrà	‘tear’
-ngwénjùrà	‘slash grass (in order to clear a piece of land)’
- ⁿ làmbùkà	‘burst (of a mukusi pod)’
-pwàcùrà	‘break’
-rùkùrùrà	‘divorce’
-tùmbùrà	‘cut and gut a fish’
-túrùrà	‘pierce’
-làpùrà	‘tear’
-làpùtùrà	‘tear’

Verbs referring to various acts of removing also often take a separative suffix, and often the underived verb is not attested.

(132) Verbs of removal

-còkòrà	‘remove skins of maize’
-dùnkùrà	‘thresh’
-kúngùrà	‘clean up after a meal’
-nyùkùrà	‘uproot’
- ⁿ lòngòmòrà	‘hollow out’
- ⁿ lòndòrà	‘take out a fingerful of something’
-shàrùrà	‘pick out, e.g. rotten groundnuts’
-tòm̀pòrà	‘uproot’

<i>-tùmpùrà</i>	‘take a piece of meat from a boiling pot’
<i>-zùbùrà</i>	‘take a bit of food from a boiling pot’
<i>-zyángùrà</i>	‘harvest’
<i>-lòpòrà</i>	‘take out flesh, an eye’

8.8 Impositive

Fwe has an impositive suffix *-am* (intransitive) and *-ik* (transitive), which give the meaning of assuming or putting in a certain position. The transitive impositive *-ik* displays vowel harmony, with an allomorph *-ek* used after stems with a mid-vowel (see section 3.3 on vowel harmony). The intransitive impositive *-am*, like other derivational suffixes with /a/, does not undergo vowel harmony. Examples of the use of the impositive derivation are given in (133).

- (133) *-bòmb-à* ‘become wet’
-bòmb-àm-à ‘soak (intr.)’
-bòmb-èk-à ‘soak (tr.)’

The transitive impositive suffix *-ik* irregularly influences the preceding root consonant. Only two examples are attested, the verb *-hang-am-a* / *-hanj-ik-a* ‘hang (tr./intr.)’, where the root-final plosive /ng/ changes to an affricate /nj/, and the verb *-dank-am-a* / *-dans-ik-a* ‘be dropped/ drop’, where the root-final plosive /nk/ changes to a fricative /ns/. In all other cases, the suffix *-ik* does not cause changes to the last consonant of the verb root, e.g. *-cank-am-a* / *-cank-ik-a* ‘(be) put on the fire’.

When the intransitive impositive *-am* is combined with the separative *-un/-uk*, the vowel /a/ of the suffix *-am* changes to /u/ under influence of the following vowel /u/. No other suffixes are attested whose vowel assimilates to that of the following separative suffix, nor are there any other cases where regressive vowel harmony takes place. As (135) shows, vowel harmony with the mid back vowel of the stem is maintained, showing that the assimilation of *-am* to *-um* precedes the rule of vowel harmony that lowers /u/ to /o/, e.g. */-kot-am-un-/ > /-kot-um-un-/ > /-kot-om-on/*.

- (134) *kùhángàmà* > *kùhángùmùkà*
ku-háng-am-a ku-hang-am-uk-a
INF-climb-IMP.INTR-FV INF-climb-IMP.INTR-SEP.INTR-FV
‘to climb’ ‘to fall down’
- (135) *kùkòtàmà* > *kùkòtòmònà*
ku-kot-am-a ku-kot-am-un-a
INF-bend-IMP.INTR-FV INF-bend-IMP.INTR-SEP.INTR-FV
‘to bow the head’ ‘to hold up someone’s head’

The commutation between the intransitive impositive *-am* and the transitive impositive *-ik/-ek* is productive; almost any verb that can occur with either of the two suffixes may also occur with the other.

Table 8.7: Commutation between the transitive and intransitive impositive

Transitive impositive <i>-ik/-ek</i>		Intransitive impositive <i>-am</i>	
<i>-dabb-ik-a</i>	‘throw into water’	<i>-dabb-am-a</i>	‘jump into water’
<i>-hánj-ik-a</i>	‘hang, put in a high position’	<i>-háng-am-a</i>	‘be put in a hanging/high position’
<i>-kún-ik-a</i>	‘put on a smoking shelve’	<i>-kún-am-a</i>	‘be put on a smoking shelve’
<i>-nyong-ek-a</i>	‘bend (sideways)’	<i>-nyong-am-a</i>	‘become bent (sideways)’

Some verb roots that take the impositive transitive suffix do not occur with the impositive intransitive suffix *-am*, but rather with the extensive suffix *-ar/-an* (see also section 8.12), or with the separative suffix (see also section 8.7).

Table 8.8: Commutation between the impositive and the extensive / separative

Transitive impositive <i>-ik/-ek</i>		Extensive / separative	
<i>-rémeke</i>	‘injure’	<i>-rémana</i>	‘get injured’
<i>-súmbika</i>	‘impregnate’	<i>-súmbara</i>	‘become pregnant’
<i>-tándabika</i>	‘stretch (someone’s) legs’	<i>-tándabara</i>	‘stretch (one’s own) legs’
<i>-zyabika</i>	‘dress (someone)’	<i>-zyabara</i>	‘dress (oneself)’
<i>-zyímika</i>	‘put in a standing position’	<i>-zyímana</i>	‘stand up’
<i>-cankika</i>	‘put on the fire’	<i>-cankura</i>	‘remove from the fire’
<i>-fúrumika</i>	‘put upside down’	<i>-fúrumuna</i>	‘put upright’
<i>-hánjika</i>	‘hang, put in a high position’	<i>-hángura</i>	‘remove from a high/hanging position’
<i>-kámbika</i>	‘stack, put on top of each other’	<i>-kámbura</i>	‘remove from on top of each other’
<i>-shémpeka</i>	‘shoulder a load’	<i>-shémpura</i>	‘go with a load on one’s shoulders’

The impositive suffix *-am/-ik* may be used to derive an impositive verb from an adjective or an ideophone, as in (136).

- (136) *-fwíyì* ‘short; close (by)’
kù-fú-àm-à ‘to approach’
kù-fwí-ik-à ‘to bring closer’
- túmpwì* ideophone of falling in water
kù-túmpw-àm-à ‘to fall in water’
kù-túmpw-ik-à ‘to throw into water’

The impositive suffix *-am/-ik* adds the meaning of putting or being put in a certain position. In example (137), the verb *-bomb-* ‘become wet’ is used with the transitive impositive to describe putting something in water.

- (137) *ndàbòmbéki zìzyàbarò*
 ndi-a-bomb-ék-i zi-zyabaro
 SM_{1SG}-PST-become_wet-IMP.TR-NPST.PFV NP₈-cloth
 ‘I’ve put the clothes in water.’ (NF_Elic15)

In example (I38), the intransitive impositive verb *-háng-am-* ‘become high, be put in a high position’, is used metaphorically; the speaker is making the claim that life has become too high, referring to the increasing complexity of the modern world and the skills needed to succeed in it.

- (138) *òbùhàró shàbùhángámìtè*
 o-bu-háro sha-bu-ha_Hng-ám-ite
 AUG-NP₁₄-life INC-SM₁₄-become_Hhigh-IMP.INTR-STAT
 ‘Life has become too demanding (lit. ‘too high’).’ (ZF_Conv13)

The intransitive impositive suffix *-am* creates a change-of-state verb, hence the exact semantics of verbs with *-am* are to assume, or to be put, in a certain position. As is typical of change-of-state verbs, verbs derived with *-am* have a hypothetical interpretation in the present construction (139), and a present state interpretation when combined with a stative (140). When used with a stative suffix, intransitive impositive verbs may drop the suffix *-am* and use the allomorph *-i* of the stative suffix; this is discussed in section 11.3.1 on the form of the stative suffix.

- (139) *mùkàmbámà*
mu-ka_Hmb-am-á
SM_{2PL}-ascend-IMP.INTR-FV
‘[if you do like that] You’d ascend.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (140) *cìhàngámìtè*
 ci-ha_Hng-ám-ite
 SM₇-hang-IMP.INTR-STAT
 ‘It hangs.’ (NF_Elic17)

The intransitive impositive *-am* refers to assuming a position without expressing an agent that caused this position, as in (I41). The transitive impositive *-ik/-ek*, however, requires the expression of both the agent and the patient, as in (I42).

- (141) *zìkúni*
 zi-ku_Hn-í
 SM₁₀-smoke-IMP.INTR.STAT
 ‘They [the fish] are on the smoking shelf.’

- (142) *níndàkún'ík' énswì*
 ní-ndi-a-kún-ik-á e-N-swí
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-smoke-IMP.TR-FV AUG-NP₁₀-fish
 'I've put the fish on a smoking shelfe.' (NF_Elic15)

8.9 Pluractional

Fwe has two derivational strategies that express a pluractional, an event that is in some way repeated. Event repetition can be interpreted in many different ways; events may be interpreted as repeated on a single occasion, or on multiple occasions, or on different locations. Event repetition may also be interpreted as plurality of arguments.

In Fwe, pluractionality is expressed by reduplication, a cross-linguistically common strategy for pluractional marking (Inkelas 2014: 13–15), or by a derivational suffix *-a*. Both pluractional markers display a similar range of pluractional meanings, and are therefore treated together in this section. They differ in their connotations of intensity: the pluractional suffix *-a* is associated with a high degree of intensity or completeness, and the pluractional marked by stem reduplication marks a low degree of intensity, and may also express negative connotations.

8.9.1 Pluractional 1: completeness

The derivational suffix *-a* marks a pluractional with overtones of intensity or completeness. This pluractional is glossed as PLI. The pluractional suffix can be realized as *-a* or *-ah*; the epenthetic [h] is part of a regular process of [h] epenthesis to break up vowel clusters (see section 3.2.5). As the suffix consists of a low vowel /a/, there is no vowel harmony between subsequent suffixes and the root, and the derivational suffix after the pluractional *-a* invariably surfaces with a high vowel, even when the verbal root has a mid vowel. This is illustrated in the examples in (143).

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------|
| (143) | <i>-zím̥b-à-ùk-à</i> | ‘walk in circles’ |
| | <i>-yènd-à-ùr-à</i> | ‘walk around’ |
| | <i>-bbàt-à-ùr-à</i> | ‘divide’ |
| | <i>-kósh-à-ùr-à</i> | ‘cut up’ |
| | <i>-zùk-à-ùr-à</i> | ‘stir’ |

The application of nasal harmony in pluractional verbs is irregular. The transitive separative is subject to nasal harmony (see section 8.7), and in some verbs that combine the pluractional with the separative, nasal harmony is maintained, e.g. *-ⁿlùm-à-ùn-à* ‘uproot’, *-⁹lan-a-un-a* ‘divide (food)’. In others, nasal harmony is not maintained and the separative is realized with /r/ instead, e.g. *-dàm-à-ùr-à* ‘beat up’, *-zyón-à-ùr-à* ‘destroy’.

The pluractional suffix *-a* resembles the initial syllable of the neuter suffix *-ahar*, but this is a chance resemblance, and the neuter is not a combination of a pluractional *-a* plus a suffix *-har*. The pluractional and the neuter are semantically very different, and the neuter suffix is likely to have been borrowed in its entirety from Lozi *-ahal* (see section 8.6 on the neuter).

Unlike other derivational suffixes, the pluractional suffix *-a* is always followed by another derivational suffix. The only derivational suffixes with which the pluractional may be used are the separative *-ur/-uk*, the transitive impositive *-ik*, the applicative *-ir*, or a combination of the separative and the applicative.

(144) Pluractional verbs

Pluractional *-a* with separative *-ur/-uk*

<i>-dàmàùrà</i>	‘beat up, beat to a pulp’
<i>-cènkàùkà</i>	‘look over both shoulders’
<i>-céràùrà</i>	‘keep on tearing’
<i>-ⁿlùmàùrà</i>	‘uproot’
<i>-pwàcàùkà</i>	‘break (intr.) (of multiple objects)’
<i>-túkàùrà</i>	‘insult (multiple people)’

Pluractional *-a* with transitive impositive *-ik*

<i>-dànsàikà</i>	‘scatter’
<i>-hánjàikà</i>	‘hang up (multiple objects)’
<i>-sòndàikà</i>	‘point (at multiple objects)’
<i>-ùràikà</i>	‘name (multiple people)’

Pluractional *-a* with applicative *-ir/-in*

<i>-shónjàirà</i>	‘throw (multiple times)’
<i>-sòsàirà</i>	‘keep on poking a fire’
<i>-shúmàinà</i>	‘tie (multiple knots)’
<i>-shwátàirà</i>	‘keep on whipping’

Pluractional *-a* with separative *-ur* and applicative *-ir*

<i>-^glànàwìnà</i>	‘divide (food) among’
<i>-shónjàwìrà</i>	‘throw (repeatedly) to’
<i>-hìndàwìrà</i>	‘keep taking for’
<i>-zyónàwìrà</i>	‘destroy for’

Any verb that can be used with the separative derivation, may take the pluractional suffix *-a*. Which impositive or applicative verbs can take the pluractional suffix is lexically determined. For the applicative, the pluractional *-a* can be used with verbs that use the applicative as a productive suffix (example (145)), but also with many verbs that have a lexicalized applicative suffix (examples (146)–(147)).

- (145) a. *kùzyá:kà*
 ku-zyá:k-a
 INF-build-FV
 ‘to build’
- b. *kùzyá:kìrà*
 ku-zyá:k-ir-a
 INF-build-APPL-FV
 ‘to build for’
- c. *kùzyá:kàirà*
 ku-zyá:k-a-ir-a
 INF-build-PL1-APPL-FV
 ‘to build for (multiple people)’

- (146) *kùshwátàirà*
 ku-shwát-a-ir-a
 INF-whip-PL1-APPL-FV
 ‘to keep on whipping’
 cf. *kùshwátirà* ‘to whip’; **kùshwâtà*

- (147) *kùshúmàinà*
 ku-shúm-a-in-a
 INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV
 ‘to tie’
 cf. *kùshúmìnà* ‘to tie’; *kùshúmà* ‘to bite’

Some verbs combining the pluractional with the separative also exist as separative verbs without a pluractional; some exist as underived verbs, but not as separative verbs; and some are only attested as pluractionals, not as separative or underived verbs. Examples of all three types are given in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9: The combination of the pluractional and separative suffixes

Pluractional	Separative	Underived
- <i>bbátàùrà</i> ‘divide (into more than two)’	- <i>bbátùrà</i> ‘divide (into two)’	-
- ⁹ <i>làndàùkà</i> ‘disperse’	- ⁹ <i>làndùkà</i> ‘disperse’	-
- <i>tàràùkà</i> ‘go step by step’	- <i>tàràkà</i> ‘take a step’	-
- <i>shótàùkà</i> ‘jump up and down’	- <i>shótòkà</i> ‘jump’	-
- <i>dàmàùrà</i> ‘beat up’	-	- <i>dàmà</i> ‘beat’
- ⁹ <i>lòntàùrà</i> ‘drip continuously’	-	- ⁹ <i>lòntà</i> ‘drip’
- <i>hàràùkà</i> ‘be scratched all over’	-	- <i>hàrà</i> ‘scratch’
- <i>yèndàùrà</i> ‘walk around’	-	- <i>yèndà</i> ‘walk, go’
- <i>kózyàùrà</i> ‘pick (fruit)’	-	-
- <i>shángàùrà</i> ‘contribute’	-	-
- <i>tángàùrà</i> ‘provoke’	-	-
- <i>zùkàùrà</i> ‘stir’	-	-

Most pluractional separatives that do not occur without the pluractional lack separative semantics. The separative expresses “movement out of an original position”, and many separative verbs express destruction or removal (see section 8.7 on the separative). Pluractional separative verbs that have no separative form without a pluractional, do not fit this semantic characterization, as the following examples show.

- (148) Pluractional/separative verbs that lack separative semantics

- <i>àmb-à-ùr-à</i>	‘discuss’
- <i>kwát-à-ùr-à</i>	‘touch all over’
- <i>yènd-à-ùr-à</i>	‘walk around’
- <i>zùk-à-ùr-à</i>	‘stir’

Unlike most derivational suffixes, the pluractional *-a* does not influence valency. Most pluractional verbs take their valency from the derivational suffix following the pluractional suffix, namely transitive with the transitive impositive *-ik*, the applicative *-ir*, and the transitive separative *-ur*, and intransitive with the intransitive separative *-uk*. Some intransitive verbs, however, take the transitive separative *-ur* rather than the intransitive separative *-uk*, e.g. *-nyàkàùrà* ‘writhe’, *-yèndàùrà* ‘walk around’.

The core function of pluractional *-a* is to indicate that an action happens more than once. There are different ways in which the core meaning of plurality can manifest itself: in a repetition of the action, or in an action involving multiple participants (either agents, patients, or recipients). The pluractional *-a* is limited to event repetition on the same occasion; examples are given in (149).

(149) The semantics of the pluractional suffix *-a*

Without pluractional	With pluractional
<i>-bbátùrà</i> ‘divide into two’	<i>-bbátàùrà</i> ‘divide into more than two’
<i>-cènkùkà</i> ‘look over one’s shoulder’	<i>-cènkàùkà</i> ‘look over both shoulders’
<i>-jùntà</i> ‘hop’	<i>-jùntàùkà</i> ‘hop repeatedly’
<i>-nyàkàùrà</i> ‘kick, stretch a limb’	<i>-nyàkàùrà</i> ‘writhe’

The pluractional *-a* may also express that an event involves multiple participants. As is typical for pluractional verbs (see, e.g. Storch and Coly 2017 and other papers in the same volume), intransitives express plurality of subjects, transitives express plurality of patients, and ditransitives express plurality of indirect objects.

(150) Plurality of subjects

- a. *màténdè àcókàùkìtè*
 ma-ténde a-co:k-á-uk-ite
 NP₆-leg SM₆-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-STAT
 ‘His legs are broken.’
- b. *èmpótó zàpwácáùkì*
 e-N-potó zi-a-pwac-á-uk-i
 AUG-NP₁₀-pot SM₁₀-PST-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘The pots are broken.’

(151) Plurality of patients

- a. *mùbònè bèná bàntù bàkwèsì bàdàbbàiká bàntù múmènjì*
 mu-bo_Hn-é bená ba-ntu
 SM_{2PL}-see-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₂ NP₂-person
 ba-kwesi ba-dabb-a-ik-á ba-ntu mú-ma-ínjì
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-throw-PL1-IMP.TR-FV NP₂-person NP₁₈-NP₆-water
 ‘Can you see those people? They are throwing people into the water.’
 (NF_Elic17)

- b. *òshùmàiné màkòtò*
 o-shu_Hm-a-in-é ma-kóto
 SM_{2SG}-tie-PL1-APPL-PFV.SBJV NP₆-knot
 ‘Tie knots.’ (NF_Elic15)

(152) Plurality of indirect objects

- a. *àyàbúzyàkàirá bàntù*
 a-yabú-zya_k-a-ir-á ba-ntu
 SM₁-LOC_PL-build-PL1-APPL-FV NP₂-person
 ‘S/he is going around building for people.’
- b. *àkwèsì àbàhàmbàiká èntàbà*
 a-kwesi a-ba_H-ha_Hmb-a-ik-á e-N-tabà
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-OM₂-accuse-PL1-IMP.TR-FV AUG-NP₁₀-case
 ‘S/he is accusing them of many things.’ (NF_Elic17)

Most pluractional verbs are ambiguous between a repeated event reading and a multiple participant reading. The pluractional verb *-pwàcàùkà* ‘break’, has a multiple participant reading when used with a plural subject, and a repeated event reading with a singular subject.

- (153) a. Multiple participant
èmpótó zàpwàcàùkì
 e-N-potó zi-a-pwac-á-uk-i
 AUG-NP₁₀-pot SM₁₀-PST-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘The pots are broken.’
- b. Repeated event
èmpótó yàpwàcàùkì
 e-N-potó i-a-pwac-á-uk-i
 AUG-NP₉-pot SM₉-PST-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘The pot is broken in many places (after someone hit it repeatedly).’
 (NF_Elic17)

Other verbs only allow a multiple participant reading, and are ungrammatical with a singular participant, as shown with the transitive pluractional *-shùmàinà* ‘tie (multiple objects)’, which requires a plural object, and is ungrammatical with a singular object.

- (154) a. *kùshùmàinà màkòtò*
 ku-shúm-a-in-a ma-kóto
 INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV NP₆-knot
 ‘to tie knots’
- b. **kùshùmàinà kòtò*
 ku-shúm-a-in-a ø-kóto
 INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV NP₅-knot
 Intended: ‘to tie a knot (repeatedly)’ (NF_Elic17)

The inverse is also possible, where a plural argument requires the use of the pluractional, and the absence of the pluractional suffix is ungrammatical (example (155)).

- (155) a. *màténdè àcókáúkìtè*
 ma-ténde a-co:k-á-uk-ite
 NP₆-leg SM₆-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-STAT
 ‘His legs are broken.’
- b. **màténdè àcókétè*
 ma-tende a-co:k-éte
 NP₆-leg SM₆-break-STAT
 Intended: ‘His legs are broken.’ (NF_Elic17)

More research is needed to study what conditions the availability of the repeated event reading and the multiple participant reading, and under which conditions a plural participant requires a pluractional verb.

Pluractional *-a* can combine with the locative pluractional marker *kabú-/yabú-* (see section 13.2) to indicate an event that is repeated in different locations.

- (156) *ndìkàbúbàsùndàíkà*
 ndi-kabú-ba_H-sund-a-ik-á
 SM_{1SG}-LOC_PL-OM₂-point-PL1-IMP.TR-FV
 ‘I am going around pointing at them.’
- (157) *kùshúmàìnà á'kábusùmàìnà màkótò*
 ku-shúm-a-in-a á-kabú-shum-a-in-a ma-kóto
 INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV SM₁.REL-LOC_PL-tie-PL1-APPL-FV NP₆-knot
 ‘S/he is going around tying knots./ S/he is tying knots in different places.’
 (NF_Elic17)

The pluractional *-a* often implies that an action is completed. This is an extension of its pluractional meaning, and not part of its basic meaning. This is shown in the following examples, which discuss a three-legged cooking pot. When used without further qualifying information, the use of a pluractional implies that all the legs of the pot are broken, as in (158)a. This implication can be canceled, however, as in (158)b, which uses the pluractional *-a* describing that two of the pot’s legs are broken.

- (158) a. *míndì yé'mpótò yàcókáúkì*
 mi-índi i-é=N-potó i-a-cók-a-uk-i
 NP₄-leg PP₄-CON=NP₉-pot SM₄-PST-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘The legs of the pot are (all) broken.’
- b. *míndì yòbíré yé'mpótò yàcókáúkì*
 mi-índi i-o=biré i-é=N-potó
 NP₄-leg PP₄-CON=two PP₄-CON=NP₉-pot
 i-a-cók-a-uk-i
 SM₄-PST-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘Two legs of the pot are broken.’ (NF_Elic17)

Furthermore, the pluractional may only imply completeness when repeated action is also involved. Completeness without repeated action may not be expressed by the pluractional. This is shown in the following examples, which discuss a window that was destroyed by a stone. Example (159)a describes a single window pane that was destroyed by a stone; although the window is completely broken, the pluractional cannot be used as it only concerns a single window. In (159)b, the pluractional is allowed as it concerns a window consisting of multiple broken window panes.

- (159) a. *ryàpwácúkì*
 ri-a-pwac-úk-i
 SM₅-PST-break-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘It broke.’
- b. *ryàpwácáùkì*
 ri-a-pwac-á-uk-i
 SM₅-PST-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘It broke (in different places).’

The pluractional marked with *-a* can combine with the pluractional marked with reduplication. Although there are semantic differences between the two pluractional strategies, a difference in meaning between using either pluractional strategy and using both pluractional strategies on the same verb has not yet been observed.

- (160) *nàkàyâ iyé àkábúyèndàùràyèndàùrà òkábúbônà*
 na=ka-y-á
 COM=INF.DIST-go-FV
 iyé a-kabú-enda-ura-end-a-ur-a o-kabú-bón-a
 that SM₁-LOC_PL-PL2-go-PL1-SEP.TR-FV AUG-LOC_PL-see-FV
 ‘And he went out to walk around, and look around.’ (NF_Narr17)

- (161) *àbàzìmbàùkàzìmbàùkà*
 a-ba_H-zi_Hmbauka-zimb-a-uk-á
 SM₁-OM₂-PL2-go_around-PL1-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘She is avoiding them.’ (NF_Narr15)

8.9.2 Pluractional 2: low intensity

The second pluractional strategy used in Fwe is reduplication of the verb stem, glossed as PL2. Examples are given in (162).

- (162) Pluractional verbs

-àmbà	‘talk’	-àmbààmbà	‘talk a lot’
-dàmà	‘beat’	-dàmàdàmà	‘beat repeatedly’
-kwàtà	‘touch’	-kwàtàkwàtà	‘touch everywhere’
-shèkà	‘laugh’	-shèkàshèkà	‘laugh a lot’

Reduplication is very productive, and appears to be accepted with any verb stem. Most reduplicated verbs also occur in their underived form; a number of exceptions

are noted in Table 8.10. In other cases, reduplicated verbs are also attested in their un-derived form, but the reduplicated meaning appears to be lexicalized.

Table 8.10: Lexicalized reduplicated verbs

Reduplicated verb	Underived base verb
- <i>gábàgàbà</i> ‘talk nonsense’	-
- <i>rúngàrùngà</i> ‘disturb (with noise)’	-
- <i>shángàshàngà</i> ‘contribute (money)’	-
- <i>cábàcàbà</i> ‘1. fish by scooping with a bucket (lexicalized meaning); 2. collect (productive meaning)’	- <i>cábà</i> ‘fetch, collect (firewood)’
- <i>shàkàshàkà</i> ‘look for’	- <i>shàkà</i> ‘want, need’

Reduplication targets the entire verb stem, including derivational suffixes, such as the applicative *-ir* and the causative *-es* (example (163)), and inflectional suffixes, such as the past suffix *-i* and the subjunctive suffix *-e* (example (164)). Any inflectional prefixes, however, are not maintained when the verb stem is reduplicated. This is also the case for the object marker, which is not reduplicated (example (165)).

(163) Reduplication of derivational suffixes

- a. *kùríhìndìràhìndìrà*
ku-rí-hindira-hind-ir-a
INF-REFL-PL2-take-APPL-FV
‘to keep taking from’ (NF_Elic15)
- b. *mùrìgórésègòrèsè bùyáho*
mu-ri_H-gorése-gor-es-e bu-ryáho
SM_{2PL}-REFL-PL2-become_strong-CAUS-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-like_that
‘Just be strong.’ (NF_Elic17)

(164) Reduplication of inflectional suffixes:

- a. *mbòndíshàkèshákè*
mbo-ndí-shake-shak-é
NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-PL2-search-PFV.SBJV
‘I will search.’
- b. *ndànyùngínyùngì*
ndi-a-nyungí-nyung-i
SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-shake-NPST.PFV
‘I have shaken.’

(165) No reduplication of object markers

- ndàcí'nyúngínyùngì*
ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-PL2-shake-NPST.PFV
‘I’ve shaken it.’ (NF_Elic15)

Although full stem reduplication, including derivational and inflectional suffixes, is the norm, there are certain exceptions. One concerns the negative suffix *-i*. It is possible to negate reduplicated verbs with this suffix, as in (166)a, but many speakers are hesitant to produce such forms, and prefer to use an auxiliary *aazyá* followed by the reduplicated verb in the infinitive form, as in (166)b. (See also chapter 14 on negation.)

- (166) a. *tàndishàkíshàkì mwá'nángù*
 ta-ndi-shakí-shak-i mu-án-angú
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PL2-search-NEG NP₁-child-POSS_{1SG}
 'I am not looking for my child.'
- b. *ndààzyá kùshàkàshàkà mwá'nángù*
 ndi-aazyá ku-shaka-shak-a mu-án-angú
 SM_{1SG}-be_not INF-PL2-search-FV NP₁-child-POSS_{1SG}
 'I am not looking for my child.' (ZF_Elic14)

The second exception to full stem reduplication is that suffixes are occasionally not reduplicated. An example where the applicative suffix may either be maintained or dropped in reduplication is given in (167); a similar example is given for the past suffix in (168): when the past suffix is dropped in the reduplication, the default final vowel *-a* is used instead. Although these examples are limited, they show that the reduplicand is pre-posed, as the morphologically simplified form appears before the morphologically complete form. More research is needed to establish the behavior of suffixes in reduplication, and under what conditions suffixes can, must, or must not, be reduplicated.

- (167) *kùríhìndìràhìndìrà ~ kùríhìndìràhìndà*
 ku-rí-hindira-hind-ir-a ~ ku-rí-hinda-hind-ir-a
 INF-REFL-PL2-take-APPL-FV
 'to keep taking for oneself' (NF_Elic17)
- (168) *ndàyéndíyèndì ~ ndàyéndáyèndì*
 ndi-a-endí-end-i ~ ndi-a-endáy-end-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-go-NPST.PFV
 'I have traveled to many places.' (NF_Elic15)

There are no limitations on the maximum number of syllables that can be reduplicated; (169) gives two examples of the reduplication of verb stems with four syllables.

- (169) *shàkùlàrùmùnùnàlàrùmùnà shòkùsónsònìsàsònsònìsà*
 sha-ku-larumuna-larumun-a sha-o-ku-sónsonisa-sonsonis-a
 INC-INF-PL2-search-FV INC-AUG-INF-PL2-search-FV
 'They keep searching through my things, they keep searching carefully.'
 (NF_Song17))

Even though segmental suffixes are reduplicated, tones are assigned after reduplication, and are not reduplicated themselves. This concerns both melodic tones, which are assigned by specific TAM constructions, and lexical tones, which are associated with the first syllable of the verb root. That lexical tones are not reduplicated can be

seen in the infinitive form: the lexical high tone of the verb root *-kwát-* only surfaces on the root's initial syllable, both in the simple and in the reduplicated form.

- (170) a. *kùkwátà*
 ku-kwát-a
 INF-touch-FV
 'to touch'
- b. *kùkwátàkwátà*
 ku-kwátà-kwát-a
 INF-PL2-touch-FV
 'to touch everywhere'

That melodic tones are not reduplicated can be seen in the near past perfective, which has a melodic tone on the second syllable of the verb (melodic tone 3). When used with a reduplicated verb, the melodic tone is only assigned to the second syllable of the entire verb stem, not to the second syllable of both reduplicands.

- (171) *ndànyùngínyùngì*
 ndi-a-nyungí-nyung-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-shake-NPST.PFV
 'I have shaken.' (NF_Elic15)

Stem reduplication is used to express a pluractional, i.e. an action that takes place more than once. Reduplication may express an action repeated on a single occasion, or on multiple occasions. In this sense, reduplication differs from the pluractional suffix *-a*, which marks repetition on a single occasion, but is not commonly used to mark repetition on multiple occasions.

- (172) Repetition on a single occasion
- a. *ndàcí'nyúngínyùngì*
 ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-PL2-shake-PST
 'I've shaken it.'
- b. *ndàkùrì kùyèndàyèndà há ndàkùàmbà héfòni*
 ndi-aku-rí ku-enda-end-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-be INF-PL2-go-FV
 ha ndí-aku-amb-a ha-é-ø-foni
 DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-NPST.IPFV-talk-FV NP₁₆-AUG-NP₅-phone
 'I was walking back and forth while I was on the phone.' (NF_Elic15)

- (173) Repetition on multiple occasions
- a. *òsháká 'cáhà kùndihùmpàhùmpà wè*
 o-shak-á cáha ku-ndi-humpa-hump-a we
 SM_{2SG}-like-FV very INF-OM_{1SG}-PL2-follow-FV PERS_{2SG}
 'You really like following me.' (said to someone who has followed the speaker on several occasions.)

- b. *cìnjí 'áshèkàshékà*
 ø-ci-njí á-sheka-shek-á
 COP-NP₇-what SM₁.REL-PL2-laugh-FV
 'Why is s/he laughing all the time?'
- c. *ndàyèndáyèndì*
 ndi-a-endá-end-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-go-NPST.PFV
 'I've traveled to many places.'
- d. *àrìrá:rírá'rírà:rírà búryó*
 a-ri_H-ra_Hrírá-ra_Hr-ir-á bu-ryó
 SM₁-REFL-PL2-sleep-APPL-FV NP₁₄-just
 'S/he sleeps often.'

To express an action repeated in different locations, reduplication combines with the locative pluractional marker *kabú-/yabú-*.

(174) Multiple places

- a. *kábúríhíndìràhíndìrà búryó*
 kabú-ri-híndira-hind-ir-a bu-ryó
 LOC_PL-REFL-PL2-take-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 'S/he is just going around taking for himself.'
- b. *mbúryó 'ndíkábúzìshùwàshùwà kúbàntù*
 N-bu-ryó ndí-kabú-zi_H-shuwa-shuw-a
 COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1SG}.REL-LOC_PL-OM₈-PL2-hear-FV
 kú-ba-ntu
 NP₁₇-NP₂-person
 'I'm just going around hearing things from people.' (NF_Elic15)

Repeated action may also be interpreted as an action involving multiple participants: multiple subjects in the case of an intransitive verb, and multiple objects in the case of a transitive verb.

(175) Multiple subjects

- bòns hé: nìbáyèrèkàyèrèkà*
 ba-onshé: ni-bá-a-ereka-erek-a
 PP₂-all REM-SM₂-PL2-try-FV
 'They have all tried.'

(176) Multiple objects

- ènwé sèmùkàcònkòmòncònkòmónà tùmùtwàré kúcìpàtéra àmùnyà màshéréjì*
kúcìkórò
 enwé se-mu-ka-conkomona-conkomon-á tu-mu-twár-e
 PERS_{2PL}INC-SM_{2PL}-DIST-PL2-press-FV SM_{1PL}-OM₁-bring-PFV.SBJV
 kú-ci-patéra á-munya ma-sheréjì kú-ci-kóro
 NP₁₇-NP₇-hospital PP₆-other NP₆-money NP₁₇-NP₇-school

‘You just withdraw and withdraw [multiple amounts of money]. We can take him to the hospital [with one amount of money]. The other money, for the school.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The pluractional marked with *-a* and the pluractional marked with stem reduplication are quite similar. Many verbs may take either pluractional strategy, without a change in meaning. Examples are given below.

Table 8.II: Commutation between pluractional 1 and 2

Pluractional <i>-a</i>	Stem reduplication	
<i>-⁹lòntàùrà</i>	<i>-⁹lòntà⁹lòntà</i>	‘drip continuously’
<i>-kwátàùrà</i>	<i>-kwátàkwàtà</i>	‘touch everywhere’
<i>-shángàùrà</i>	<i>-shángàshàngà</i>	‘contribute’
<i>-shótàùkà</i>	<i>-shótòkàshòtòkà</i>	‘jump up and down’
<i>-yèndàùrà</i>	<i>-yèndàyèndà</i>	‘walk around’

The difference between these two pluractional strategies is the connotation of completeness or intensity. As discussed in the previous section, pluractional *-a* implies completeness. Stem reduplication, on the other hand, implies low intensity: it is used to describe an action that is done only lightly, halfheartedly, or haphazardly. Examples of this use of the pluractional marked with reduplication are given in (177), which describes the first stages of light sleep; in (178), which describes walking a small distance; and in (179), which describes that the hoes were strewn about in a disorderly fashion.

- (177) *shìbàràrà:rìrà:rì*
 shi-ba-na-rá:ri-ra:r-i
 INC-SM₂-PST-PL2-sleep-PST
 ‘They started to sleep a little bit.’

- (178) *mùyéndéyéndè bùryò kàníní*
 mu-ende-énd-e bu-ryo ka-niní
 SM_{2PL}-PL2-walk-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just ADV-little
 ‘Just walk a little bit/small distance.’

- (179) *màhámbà òkùtòmbwèrìsà mângì: àdànsídànsì*
 ma-ámba a-o=ku-tombwer-is-a má-ngi:
 NP₆-hoe PP₆-CON=INF-weed-CAUS-FV PP₆-many
 a-dansí-dans-i
 SM₆-PL2-lie-IMP.STAT
 ‘Many hoes for weeding were lying around.’ (NF_Narr15)

The pluractional expressed with stem reduplication can also express negative connotations, which is not seen with the pluractional marked with *-a*.

- (180) *mbùryó 'kágàbàgábà*
 N-bu-ryó ka-á-ga_Hba-gab-á
 COP-NP₁₄-only PST.IPFV-SM₁-PL2-talk_nonsense-FV
 ‘S/he is just talking nonsense.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (181) *àkwèsì ààmbààmbà*
 a-kwesi a-amba-ámb-a
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-PL2-talk-FV
 ‘S/he talks too much.’
- (182) *cìnj’ áh’ ‘óshèkàshékà ‘búryò*
 ø-ci-njí a-ha ó-sheka-shek-á bu-ryó
 COP-NP₇-what AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{2SG}.REL-PL2-laugh-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘Why are you always just laughing (stupidly/annoyingly)?’ (NF_Elic15)
- (183) *kwàshíààzà zòkùtèyè ndìkàbúzèbúzè*
 kwa-shí-aayza zi-o=kutéye ndi-ka-búze-buz-e
 SM₁₇-PER-be_not PP₁₀-CON=that SM_{1SG}-DIST-PL2-ask-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Now there is no longer anything that I have to keep asking.’ (The lion, who utters these words, has repeatedly gone back and forth to ask his wife where she has hidden his teeth, and has grown very impatient and annoyed.)
 (NF_Narr15)

Both pluractional strategies share some characteristics with the repeated applicative expansion marking intensive, which may express a repeated action. As discussed in section 8.10, repeated action is only an extension of the “intensive” basic meaning of the reduplicated applicative, and unlike the two pluractional strategies, marking repeated action is not a basic function of the reduplicated applicative.

8.10 Intensive

The intensive suffix is formally identical to the reduplicated form of the applicative suffix, e.g. it is realized as *-irir*, *-erer*, *-inin* or *-enen* depending on vowel and nasal harmony (see section 3.3 and 3.4). The intensive suffix only formally resembles the applicative suffix. It does not have the typical function of applicative, namely adding a participant, as seen when comparing the underived verb in (184)a with the verb with the reduplicated applicative in (184)b.

- (184) a. *cìzýúmîè*
 ci-zyu_Hm-íte
 SM₇-become_dry-STAT
 ‘It is dry.’
- b. *cìzýúminìnè*
 ci-zyu_Hm-ínine
 SM₇-become_dry-INT.STAT
 ‘It is very dry/hard.’ (NF_Elic15)

The core meaning of the *this* suffix is intensity, but it may also express a range of related meanings: completeness; long duration; high frequency or habitual; or repetition.

(185) Intensity

kùtòndèrèrà

ku-tónd-erer-a

INF-watch-INT-FV

‘to stare at’

kúmìnìnizà

kú-min-iniz-a

INF-tuck_in-INT.CAUS-FV

‘to tuck in properly’

(186) Completeness

kùáázy’ ézwáyì kwìná àbó bànaké:zyì kùrìurìrìrà ryònshé:

ku-aazyá e-ø-zwáyì ku-iná a-bó

SM₁₇-be_not AUG-NP₅-salt SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.III₂

ba-na-ké:zy-i ku-rí-ur-irir-a ry-onshé:

SM₂-PST-COME-NPST.PFV INF-OM₅-buy-INT-FV PP₅-all

‘There is no salt, someone has come and bought it all.’ (NF_Elic15)

àhíndírìr’ émìsèbézì yònshé: àfíyérà àsánz’ ótùsùbà àténdà zònshé: ‘zómùnjúò

a-hind-irir-á e-mi-sebézi i-onshé:

SM₁-take-INT-FV AUG-NP₄-job PP₄-all

a-ñ_Her-á a-sanz-á o-tu-súba

SM₁-sweep-FV SM₁-wash-FV AUG-NP₁₃-dish

a-ténd-a zi-onshé: zi-ó=mu-N-júo

SM₁-do-FV PP₁₀-all PP₁₀-CON=NP₁₈-NP₉-house

‘She takes all the jobs. She sweeps, she washes dishes, she does all the things in the house.’ (NF_Elic15)

(187) Frequency/habitual

báncè bàtèkèrèrá mènjì

ba-ánce ba-te_Hk-erer-á ma-ínji

NP₂-child SM₂-fetch-INT-FV NP₆-water

‘Children [normally] fetch water.’ (explaining which tasks are usually performed by whom) (ZF_Elic14)

àbèngérèrè

a-be_Hng-érere

SM₁-become_angry-INT.STAT

‘S/he is always angry.’

ndìshàmbìrìrè
 ndi-shamb-írire
 SM_{1SG}-swim-INT-STAT
 ‘I always swim.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (188) Repetition
kùfúzirìrìrà
 ku-fúzir-irir-a
 INF-fan-INT-FV
 ‘to keep on fanning [a fire]’

kùkámbrìrìrà
 ku-kámbr-irir-a
 INF-clap-INT-FV
 ‘to applaud, clap repeatedly’

As seen in the previous examples, repeated action can be part of the interpretation of the reduplicated applicative. That repetition is not the core meaning of the reduplicated applicative, but merely an extension of its intensity meaning, can be seen by comparing the reduplicated applicative with the two pluractional constructions, the pluractional suffix *-a* and stem reduplication, which both have repetition as their core meaning (see section 8.9). The difference between the reduplicated applicative and the two pluractional strategies is illustrated below with the verb *-kwat-* ‘touch, grab’: used with the reduplicated applicative, it may refer to a single event of touching which has either a long duration or a high intensity; with stem reduplication and with the pluractional *-a*, this verb is interpreted as multiple instances of touching.

- (189) a. Reduplicated applicative: intensity
ndìkwàtìrìrè
 ndi-kwa_Ht-írire
 SM_{1SG}-touch-INT.STAT
 ‘I hold (for a long time/firmly).’
- b. Stem reduplication: repetition
kàndìshàkí muntù ándìkwàtàkwàtà bùryáhò
 ka-ndi-shak-í mu-ntu
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-like-NEG NP₁-person
 á-ndi-kwata-kwát-a bu-ryahó
 SM₁.REL-OM_{1SG}-PL2-touch-FV NP₁₄-like_{that}
 ‘I don’t like it when someone touches me all over like that.’
- c. Pluractional *-a*: repetition
mùzwé kùkwàtàùrà múzìpaupau zángù
 mu-zw-é ku-kwát-a-ur-a
 SM_{2PL}-leave-PFV.SBJV INF-touch-PL1-SEP.TR-FV
 mú-zi-paupua zi-angú
 NP₁₈-NP₈-basket PP₈-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘Stop touching in my baskets/bags/purses.’ (NF_Elic17)

Another difference between the reduplicated applicative and the pluractional marked by stem reduplication specifically is that stem reduplication implies a repeated action with low intensity, i.e. only slightly or without strong consequences. This difference is illustrated with the verb *-sanz-* ‘wash’: used with the reduplicated applicative, it refers to washing something thoroughly and properly, but used with stem reduplication, it refers to washing something slightly, not thoroughly.

- (190) a. Reduplicated applicative: high intensity
ndishàká kùyísànzàzìrìrà bùryó icénè
 ndi-shak-á ku-í-sanz-irir-a bu-ryó
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV INF-OM₄-wash-INT-FV NP₁₄-just
 i-cen-é
 SM₄-become_clean-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I just want to wash them thoroughly, so that they become clean.’
- b. Stem reduplication: low intensity
mbùryó 'ndíyisànzàsànzá bùryó yàràshàmbà nénjà
 N-bu-ryó ndí-i_H-sanza-sanz-á bu-ryó
 COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1SG.REL}-OM₄-PL2-wash-FV NP₁₄-only
 i-ára-shamb-a nénja
 SM₄-REM_FUT-be_washed-FV well
 ‘I’m only washing them (a bit), they will become clean (properly) later.’
 (NF_Elic17)

8.11 Reciprocal

Many Bantu languages use a reflex of the reconstructed reciprocal suffix **-an-* to express a reciprocal. In Fwe, reciprocal semantics is expressed by the prefix *kí-/rí-* which also expresses a reflexive (see section 9.3). A reciprocal suffix *-an*, however, occurs in a very small set of lexicalized verbs, in Lozi borrowings, and can still be readily elicited from speakers.

Lexicalized verbs with a reciprocal suffix *-an* are listed in (191)–(193). The verb *-gumb-an-a* has a counterpart *-gumb-am-a*, however, where the reciprocal suffix is replaced by the intransitive impositive suffix *-am* (see section 8.8). The semantics of the verb seem to fit well with both the reciprocal and the impositive, which may have facilitated the replacement of *-an* with *-am* (or vice versa). The verb *-kán-an-* is also not an unambiguously reciprocal verb: it can be used as a reciprocal, as in (192)b, which describes a group of peopling arguing with each other, but also without any reciprocal meaning, as in (192)c. Although the subject marker of the verb *múkàràná* is of the second person plural, a single person is referred to in this excerpt from a narrative, which describes a conversation between the speaker and her sister.

- (191) a. *-gùmb-àn-à*
 stand_adjacent-REC-FV
 ‘stand next to each other’

- b. *-gùmb-àm-à*
 stand_adjacent-IMP.INTR-FV
 ‘stand next to each other’
- (192) a. *-kán-an-a*
 refuse-REC-FV
 ‘argue’
- b. *zìnjí 'múkànáà*
 Ø-zi-njí mú-ka_Hn-an-á
 COP-NP₈-what SM_{2PL}.REL-argue-REC-FV
 ‘What are you (PL) arguing about?’
- c. *hâibà mùkánánà*
 háiba mu-ka_Hn-an-á
 if SM_{2PL}-refuse-REC-FV
 ‘If you (SG) disagree...’
- (193) *kùshúwàà*
 ku-shúw-an-a
 INF-hear-REC-FV
 ‘to get along, be friends’

The reciprocal suffix is also seen in borrowings from Lozi, where the reciprocal suffix *-an* is used productively (Fortune 1977). Many of these borrowings do not occur without the reciprocal suffix in Fwe.

- (194) *kùkòpàà*
 ku-kop-an-a
 INF-meet-REC-FV
 ‘to eet’

**kù-kòp-à*

borrowed from Lozi *ku kopana* ‘to meet, assemble’ (Burger 1960: 94)

- (195) *kùkàwùhàà*
 ku-káwuh-an-a
 INF-separate-REC-FV
 ‘to be separated’

**kù-káwùh-à*

borrowed from Lozi *ku kauhana* ‘to turn apart’ (Burger 1960: 133)

Finally, verbs with reciprocal *-an* can readily be elicited from speakers. Although speakers consistently produce forms with reflexive *rí-* / *kí-* when asked to translate or describe reciprocal situations, when asked about the acceptability of a form with *-an*, speakers accepted these forms. A number of these elicited examples are given in (196).

- (196) a. *kùbúzáà*
 ku-búz-an-a
 INF-ask-REC-FV
 ‘to ask each other’
- b. *kùbbózáà*
 ku-bbóz-an-a
 INF-bark-REC-FV
 ‘to bark at each other’
- c. *kùtùkàà*
 ku-tuk-an-a
 INF-insult-REC-FV
 ‘to insult each other’ (NF_Elic17)
- d. *kùshótòkàà*
 ku-shótok-an-a
 INF-jump-REC-FV
 ‘to cross each other’ (ZF_Elic13)

With the exception of lexicalized verbs and Lozi borrowings, verbs with reciprocal *-an* were never encountered in spontaneous discourse; when asked to describe reciprocal situations, speakers always gave forms with the reflexive/reciprocal prefix *rí-/kí-* first; and when asked to describe a situation that could be interpreted as either reflexive or reciprocal, speakers would use periphrastic strategies to disambiguate reflexive and reciprocal meanings, rather than the distinction between *rí-/kí-* and *-an*.

In conclusion, reciprocal *-an* in Fwe has been almost completely replaced by reflexive *rí-/kí-*, which expresses both reflexive and reciprocal meanings. The suffix *-an* lingers in a small number of lexicalized verbs, tends to be maintained in Lozi borrowings, and can still be produced by speakers. The ease with which reciprocal *-an* could be elicited, even though it never occurred in spontaneous data, may be a result of extensive bilingualism with Lozi, where a reciprocal *-an* is still highly productive.

8.12 Extensive

The extensive derivation *-ar/-an* (subject to nasal harmony, see section 3.4) is unproductive. The only attested examples are listed in Table 8.12. None of the verbs using the extensive suffix are attested without this suffix, but in some of these verbs the extensive suffix commutates with the transitive impositive suffix *-ik/-ek* (see also section 8.8), or the transitive separative *-ur/-un* (see also section 8.7).

Table 8.12: The extensive suffix *-ar/-an*

<i>-àzyàrà</i>	‘think, plan’
<i>-fúrùmàà</i>	‘be initiated (of girls)’
cf. <i>-fúrùmìkà</i>	‘place upside down’
cf. <i>-fúrùmùnà</i>	‘place rightside up’
<i>-òmbàrà</i>	‘be quiet, calm’

-rémànà cf. -rémèkà	‘become injured’ ‘injure’
-shàràngàrà	‘scatter’
-súmbàrà cf. -súmbìkà	‘become pregnant’ ‘impregnate’
-tándàbàrà cf. -tándàbìkà	‘stretch one’s legs’ ‘cause to stretch (another person’s) legs’
-tàngàràrà	‘rejoice’
-zìbàrà	‘forget’
-zyàbàrà cf. kùzyàbìkà cf. kùzyàbùrà	‘dress (oneself)’ ‘dress (someone else)’ ‘undress’
-zyímànà cf. -zyímìkà	‘stand up, stop’ ‘put in a standing position’

Given the limited number of examples and the suffix’s lack of productivity, little can be said about its syntactic and semantic functions. Considering the verbs in Table 8.12, it is clear that verbs with the extensive suffix tend to be intransitive, and many are posture verbs, hence the commutation with the impositive derivation. The label “extensive” is chosen for this derivational suffix on the basis of comparative data. Schadeberg (2003) describes the core semantics of reflexes of a reconstructed suffix *-ad as ‘being in a spread-out position’, and as such uses the label extensive. In some of the attested Fwe verbs using the extensive suffix, such semantics also seem to play a role, for instance -shàràngàrà ‘scatter’, -tándàbàrà ‘stretch one’s legs’, and -zyímànà ‘stand up’.

8.13 Tentive

There are a number of verb stems in which a suffix -at is discernable. This is a reflex of a suffix reconstructed for Proto-Bantu as “contactive” (Meeussen 1967: 92), or “tentive” (Schadeberg 2003: 77), and is completely unproductive in Fwe.

(197) Tentive verbs

-bbábbàtà	‘touch (with flat hands)’
-bàràkàtà	‘flap (as a fish on dry land)’
-kámàtà	‘scoop’
-kwàtà (cf. -kú-at-a)	‘catch, grab’
-kúmbàtà	‘hug’
-ràndàtà	‘track’
-ryà:tà (cf. -ri-at-a)	‘step on’
-vúrùmàtà	‘close one’s eyes’

Although the tentive suffix in Fwe is unproductive, there is one example of a verb where the tentive suffix commutates with a different derivational suffix.

- (198) *kùzwàtà*
 ku-zú-at-a
 INF-dress-TENT-FV
 ‘to dress’
- kùzùrà*
 ku-zú-ur-a
 INF-dress-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘to undress’

The semantics of the tentative derivation in Bantu is described as ‘actively making firm contact’ (Schadeberg 2003: 77). Although the number of attested examples in Fwe is limited, many of these seem to fit this semantic characterization.

8.14 Partial reduplication

An apparent, but unproductive, verbal derivational process in Fwe is partial reduplication, which targets the first syllable of the verb root. The complete list of verbs attested so far that exhibit partial reduplication is given in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13: Partial reduplication

-bbábbàtà	‘touch with flat hands’
-càncàùsà	‘be fast’
-cécèntà	‘winnow’
-cúncùnà	‘kiss’
-cùncùrà	‘stumble’
-fùfùrèwà	‘sweat’
-fwáfwàtìrà	‘get crushed, crumpled’
-kákàtìrà	‘stick (as a burdock)’
-mwémwètà	‘smile’
-ngóngòtà	‘knock’
-nyényèntèzà	‘warn’
- ⁿ lonloweza	‘eat/drink slowly’
-pòpòkà	‘pop, explode with a popping sound’
-shòshòtà	‘whisper’
-sónsònìsà	‘search around’
-tùtùmà	‘shiver’
-zùzùnyà	‘doubt’

Partial reduplication does not always reproduce the first root syllable perfectly. Prenasalization on the second element may be missing on the first, as in -càncàùsà ‘be fast’ and -cùncùrà ‘stumble’, possibly because prenasalization of an initial root consonant is dispreferred in Fwe, especially in verbs.

Many verbs with partial reduplication use /t/ (or /nt/) directly after the reduplicand. This could be a trace of the unproductive tentative suffix -at (see section 8.13), where the vowel of the suffix would have merged with the vowel of the verb stem, as the vowel /a/ is prone to do (see section 3.2 on vowel hiatus resolution).

Partial reduplication is unproductive, and none of the verbs attested with partial reduplication are attested without it. Considering the attested examples, the iconic relation between reduplication and repeated movement seems to play a role in for instance *-cécentà* ‘winnow’, *-tùtùmà* ‘shiver’, and *-cùncùrà* ‘stumble’. Sound symbolism also plays a role, in forms such as *-shòshòtà* ‘whisper’, *-cúncùnà* ‘kiss’, and *-ngóngòtà* ‘knock’.

9 Subject, object, and locative marking

Subject, object and locative marking may occur on inflected verbs. Subject and object marking is done with a prefix, locative agreement is marked with an enclitic. Subject marking is obligatory (except in imperatives and infinitives), independent of whether a subject noun is used in the same clause. Object marking only occurs when no object noun is used in the same clause. Locative marking may also only refer to a locative complement that is introduced in an earlier clause, or is otherwise understood from the general discourse or (physical) environment.

9.1 Subject marking

Subjects are marked on the verb by a prefix that indicates the noun class of the subject. Table 9.1 gives an overview of the subject markers per noun class or speech participant, which will be glossed as “sm” with the number of the noun class in subscript. Subject markers are all toneless, and surface as low-toned unless the verb is affected by melodic tone 2, a high tone assigned to the subject marker. This melodic tone is used in some TAM constructions and most relative clauses (see 10.1.1 on melodic tone).

Table 9.1: Subject markers

Noun class/ first or second person (singular)	Subject marker	Noun class/ first or second person (plural)	Subject marker
1SG	<i>ndi-</i>	1PL	<i>tu-</i>
2SG	<i>u-</i>	2PL	<i>mu-</i>
1/Ia	<i>a-</i>	2	<i>ba-</i>
3	<i>u-</i>	4	<i>i-</i>
5	<i>ri-</i>	6	<i>a-</i>
7	<i>ci-</i>	8	<i>zi-</i>
9	<i>i-</i>	10	<i>zi-</i>
11	<i>ru-</i>		
12	<i>ka-</i>	13	<i>tu-</i>
14	<i>bu-</i>		
15	<i>ku-</i>		
16	<i>ha-</i>		
17	<i>ku-</i>		
18	<i>mu-</i>		

Vowel hiatus resolution may affect the subject marker when followed by a vowel-initial morpheme, such as the past prefix *a-*. In this context, the vowel of the subject marker is deleted, accompanied by glide formation if the vowel of the subject marker is /u/.

- (1) /i-a/ > [a]
nándàtèkà
ná-ndi-a-ték-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-fetch-FV
 ‘I have fetched.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (2) /a-a/ > [a]
nìbáhùrà
ni-bá-a-hur-a
 PST-SM₂-PST-arrive-FV
 ‘They arrived.’
- (3) /u-a/ > [wa]
wàcò:kì
u-a-cò:k-i
 SM₃-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘It broke.’ (NF_Elic15)

When the subject marker is directly followed by a vowel-initial verb stem, no vowel hiatus resolution takes place, and both vowels are maintained without changes, though an optional epenthetic consonant may be used (see section 3.2.5).

- (4) *tàndìhùrì ~ tàndiùrì*
ta-ndi-ur-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-buy-NEG
 ‘I don’t buy.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The subject marker is used for both grammatical agreement, where the subject noun is used in the same clause as the verb marked with the subject marker, and anaphoric agreement, where the subject noun is not used in the same clause. An example of grammatical agreement is given in (5), where the subject marker *u-* for class 3 agrees with the class 3 subject noun *mùrìrò* ‘fire’ which occurs in the same clause.

- (5) *mùrìrò ùtùmbúkà*
mu-riro u-tu_Hmbuk-á
 NP₃-fire SM₃-fire-FV
 ‘The fire burns.’ (NF_Elic15)

An example of anaphoric subject agreement is given in (6), where the class 7 subject marker *ci-* in the verb *cìbònàhàrá* ‘it looked’ refers back to the noun phrase *cìmbòtwé cìnénè* ‘a big frog’, that was introduced in the previous sentence.

- (6) *àkàbónà ècìbwángà cìmbòtwé cìnénè cìbònàhàrá òbùnénénénè*
a-ka-bón-a e-ci-bwángà ci-mbotwé ci-néne
 SM₁-DIST-see-FV AUG-NP₇-frog NP₇-frog NP₇-big
ci-bo_Hn-ahar-á o-bu-néne-néne
 SM₇-see-NEUT-FV AUG-NP₁₄-big-big
 ‘He saw a frog there, a big frog. It looked very, very big.’ (NF_Narr15)

Anaphoric agreement is not limited to subjects introduced in the earlier discourse; in example (7), the speaker describes a group of people, standing nearby and visible to both speaker and hearer, using anaphoric agreement, without overtly describing the people he refers to with a subject noun.

- (7) *bàkwèsì bàkòndòr' óbùjwàrà*
ba-kwesi ba-kondor-á o-bu-jwara
SM₂-have SM₂-brew-FV AUG-NP₁₄-beer
‘They’re brewing beer.’ (NF_Elic15)

The subject markers of the locative classes 16, 17 and 18 can also be used for grammatical agreement, as illustrated for class 18 in example (8). Locative subject markers are also used in locative inversion constructions; these are discussed in section 16.4.

- (8) *mùrwízyì mùtòntórà*
mu-ru-ízyi mu-to_Hntor-á
NP₁₈-NP₁₁-river SM₁₈-be_cold-FV
‘It is cold in the river.’ (NF_Elic17)

Because the subject marker agrees with the noun class of the subject noun, subject agreement becomes more complex when the subject consists of two coordinated nouns of different noun classes. Different languages employ different gender resolution rules, the strategies which determine agreement with coordinated noun phrases, which may be based on (a combination of) syntactic and semantic criteria (Corbett 1991). A strategy many Bantu languages employ is to avoid the construction altogether (Maho 1999), but this does not seem to be the case in Fwe. Instead, when the subject is formed by coordinated nouns of different classes, subject agreement on the verb is formed by a concord of class 2 if at least one of the nouns is human, as in example (9), or a concord of class 8 if both nouns are non-human, as in example (10) and (11). No distinction is made between animate and inanimate non-human nouns.

- (9) *àbàntù bókùsìyà nèmàkúwà kàbàkíswànì*
a-ba-ntu ba-ó-ku-si-a ne=ma-kuwá
AUG-NP₂-person CON₂-INF-be_black-FV COM=NP₆-white_person
ka-ba-kí-swan-i
NEG-SM₂-REFL-be_same-NEG
‘Black people and white people are not the same.’ (ZF_Elic13)

- (10) *zìzyùnì nàbànkúku zìzàrà màyí:*
zi-zyuni na=ba-nkúku zi-zàr-a ma-yí:
NP₈-bird COM=NP₂-chicken SM₈-give.birth-FV NP₆-egg
‘Birds and chickens lay eggs.’

- (11) *mwézi nèzyúbà mùwírú 'zínà*
mu-ézi ne=ø-zyúba mu-ø-wirú zi-iná
NP₃-moon COM=NP₅-sun NP₁₈-NP₅-sky SM₈-be_at
‘The moon and the sun are in the sky.’ (NF_Elic15)

9.2 Object marking

Objects can be marked on the verb through use of an object marker, a prefix that appears directly before the verb stem. Table 9.2 gives an overview of the object markers per noun class. Fwe lacks object markers for the locative classes 16, 17 and 18. All object markers are high-toned, except the object markers of the first and second person singular and of class 1, which are underlyingly toneless. When used in TAM constructions that take melodic tone 4, the deletion of underlying tones, high-toned object markers lose their tone, and are realized as low-toned (see section 10.1.1 on melodic tone). When this is the case, the high tones are not marked in the underlying representation given in line two of the examples. Unlike subject markers, object markers never undergo vowel coalescence.

Table 9.2: Object markers

Noun class/ person	Object marker	Noun class/ person	Object marker
1SG	<i>ndi</i> - ²⁵	1PL	<i>tú</i> -
2SG	<i>ku</i> -	2PL	<i>mí</i> -
1/1a	<i>mu</i> -	2	<i>bá</i> -
3	<i>ú</i> -	4	<i>yí</i> -
5	<i>rí</i> -	6	<i>á</i> -
7	<i>cí</i> -	8	<i>zí</i> -
9	<i>yí</i> -	10	<i>zí</i> -
11	<i>rú</i> -		
12	<i>ká</i> -	13	<i>tú</i> -
14	<i>bú</i> -		
15	<i>kú</i> -		

Object markers can be used for anaphoric agreement, when no overt object noun is used in the same clause. The noun class of the object marker corresponds to that of the intended noun. Example (12) is the answer to a question about *ngùbò* ‘blankets’; as this is a noun of class 10, the object marker to refer to them is that of class 10.

- (12) *ndàzìhìndì ndìkàzìsánzà*
 ndi-a-zí-hind-i ndi-ka-zi_H-sánz-a
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁₀-take-NPST.PFV SM_{1SG}-DIST-OM₁₀-wash-FV
 ‘I took them to be washed.’ (NF_Elic15)

An object marker is obligatory whenever the intended noun is not in the same clause as the verb. This is the case, for instance, with dislocated objects. An example of left dislocation, where a constituent is moved to the left periphery of a sentence to function as a topic, is given in (13).

²⁵ Traces of an older first person singular object prefix *N-*, rather than the prefix *ndi-*, are seen in for instance proper names and in what speakers consider ‘archaic Fwe’; see section 3.1 for examples.

- (13) *òrú rùzyímbo kàndirú'shákì*
 o-rú ru-zyímbo ka-ndi-rú-shak-í
 AUG-DEM.I₁₁ NP₁₁-song NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁₁-like-NEG
 'This song, I don't like it.' (NF_Elic15)

Constituents can also be moved out of a clause to the right periphery as a way of definiteness marking. Right dislocation can target subject constituents, which involves movement out of their canonical pre-verbal position, but also object constituents, which retain their canonical post-verbal position, but require the use of an object marker of the verb.

- (14) *ndìzìsháká 'zí nswì*
 ndi-zi_H-shak-á zí N-swi
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁₀-like-FV DEM.I₁₀ NP₁₀-fish
 'I like these fish.'
- (15) *ndàyìbàrì èyí mbùkà*
 ndi-a-í-bar-i e-í N-buka
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-read-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-book
 'I've read this book.' (NF_Elic15)

For a discussion of left and right dislocation, and a more detailed analysis of post-verbal objects with an object marker as a case of right dislocation, see chapter 16.

An apparent exception to the rule that extra-clausal object nouns require an object marker is seen in relative clauses. In object relatives, no object marker is used, even though the verb is in the relative clause and its object noun is in the main clause. Instead, however, a demonstrative is used as a relativizer, which functions as a clause-internal overt object, explaining the absence of the object marker.

- (16) *èràmbó ryò ndísà*
 e-rambó ryò ndí-s-a
 AUG-NP₅-hole DEM.III₅ SM_{1SG}.REL-dig-FV
 'the hole that I dig' (NF_Elic15)

A single ditransitive verb can have multiple object markers, which appear in a fixed order: the object marker for the benefactive object appears closer to the stem than the object marker for the theme object. This is shown in (17)a, where the class 2 object marker referring to the benefactive object ('for her') appears closer to the stem than the class 13 object marker referring to the theme object ('them'; in this case, the speaker is referring to dishes). As shown in (17)b, the reverse order is not possible.

- (17) a. *àtùbàsànzìrà*
 a-tu_H-ba_H-sanz-ir-á
 SM₁-OM₁₃-OM₂-wash-APPL-FV
 'I wash them for her.'
- b. **àbàtùsànzìrà*

- (18) *ndàcìbàhì*
 ndi-a-cí-ba-ha-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-OM₂-give-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve given it to them.’
- (19) *mbòndìkùtóròkéré*
 mbo-ndí-ci_H-ku-tórok-er-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-OM_{2SG}-explain-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will explain it to you.’ (NF_Elic15)

Verbs can take up to three object markers; an example is given in (20). I was unable to come up with sufficient context in which four or more object markers might be warranted; possibly, given the right context, such constructions might be acceptable.

- (20) *cìmùndìsúndìrè*
 ci_H-mu-ndi-su_Hnd-ír-e
 OM₇-OM₁-OM_{1SG}-show-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Show it to her/him for me.’ (NF_Elic17)

Multiple object markers are only allowed when not more than one object marker refers to an inanimate object. Two object markers referring to inanimates are not allowed. This is illustrated with the sentence in (21)a, containing two inanimate objects. It is possible to express either of these objects with an object marker, as in b) and c), but not both, as the ungrammaticality of d) shows.

- (21) a. *ndìzyà:kìr’ ómùndaré ’wángù cìòngò*
 ndi-zya:_Hk-ir-á o-mu-ndaré u-angú ci-ongo
 SM_{1SG}-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₃-maize PP₃-POSS_{1SG} NP₇-storage
 ‘I am building a storage for my maize.’
- b. *ndìcìzyà:kìr’ ómùndaré*
 ndi-ci_H-zya:_Hk-ir-á o-mu-ndaré
 SM_{1SG}-OM₇-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₃-maize
 ‘I am building it for the maize.’
- c. *ndìùzyà:kìr’ écìòngò*
 ndi-u_H-zya:_Hk-ir-á e-ci-ongo
 SM_{1SG}-OM₃-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₇-storage
 ‘I am building a storage for it.’
- d. **ndìùcìzyà:kìrà*
 ndi-u_H-ci_H-zya:_Hk-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₃-OM₇-build-APPL-FV
 Intended: ‘I am building it for it.’ (NF_Elic17)

9.3 Reflexive

In addition to object markers for noun classes and first and second person, Fwe has a reflexive prefix realized as *kí-* (Zambian Fwe) or *rí-* (Namibian Fwe) which is used in

the slot of the object marker. Examples of the use of the reflexive are given in (22) and (23).

- (22) *ndàkírèmèkì*
 ndi-a-kí-remek-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-REFL-hurt-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve hurt myself.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (23) *àtàtik’ ókùrínyà à kùrínyà*
 a-tatik-á o-ku-rí-nyay-a ku-rí-nyay-a
 SM₁-start-FV AUG-INF-REFL-scratch-FV INF-REFL-scratch-FV
 ‘She starts to scratch herself, scratch herself.’ (NF_Narr15)

The reflexive prefix can be combined with an emphatic reflexive, consisting of the nominal root *-ini*, with the lexical meaning ‘owner’, and an agreement prefix. For first and second person, the nominal root is inflected for number, e.g. class 1 *mw-ínì* for singular and class 2 *b-énì* for plural. In addition, an appositive prefix is used that is co-referential with the verb’s subject (see section 7.9 on appositives).

- (24) *ndìribwènè ndémwìnì*
 ndi-ri_H-bwe_Hne nde-mw-ini
 SM_{1SG}-REFL-see.STAT APP_{1SG}-NP₁-owner
 ‘I see myself.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (25) *nòkìbònì wèmwìnì*
 no-kí-bon-i we-mu-íni
 SM_{2SG}.PST-REFL-see-NPST.PFV APP_{2SG}-NP₁-owner
 ‘You see yourself.’
- (26) *twàkìbònì túbènì*
 tu-a-kí-bon-i tu-ba-íni
 SM_{1PL}-PST-REFL-see-NPST.PFV APP_{1PL}-NP₂-self
 ‘We see ourselves.’ (ZF_Elic13)

When the subject is not a first or second person, the nominal root *-ini* is marked for noun class agreement with the subject, and an optional anaphoric demonstrative is used.

- (27) *sìbàrikùnkùmúnà kùricènès’ ábò bènì*
 si-ba-ri_H-kunkumun-á ku-rí-cen-es-a
 INC-SM₂-REFL-brush-FV INF-REFL-be_clean-CAUS-FV
 a-bó ba-íni
 AUG-DEM.III₂ NP₂-self
 ‘He now starts brushing himself off to clean himself.’
- (28) *ímùnyà ikwèsì ìwá èyó yínì*
 í-munya i-kwesi i-w-á e-yó i-íni
 PP₄-other SM₄-PROG SM₄-fall-FV AUG-DEM.III₄ PP₄-self
 ‘Others are falling off their own accord.’ (NF_Narr17)

- (29) *màkwátìrò ànàcò:kì kònó nkòmòkí èyó 'íni kàyáfwi*
 ma-kwátiro a-na-cò:k-i
 NP₆-handle SM₆-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 kònó N-komokí e-yó i-íni ka-i-á-fw-i
 but NP₉-cup AUG-DEM.III₉ PP₉-self NEG-SM₉-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘The handle broke, but the cup itself did not break.’ (NF_Elic17)

More data are needed to study the agreement markers on *-íni* as an emphatic relative. The limited examples that are attested suggest that the agreement marker on *-íni* is a pronominal prefix, even though the root *-íni* is nominal and therefore a nominal prefix would be expected.

The prefix *kí-/rí-* is also used with a reciprocal meaning.

- (30) *tùrìshákà*
 tu-ri_H-shak-á
 SM_{1PL}-REFL-love-FV
 ‘We love each other.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (31) *tùkìshúwìrè*
 tu-ki_H-shu_H-íre
 SM_{1PL}-REFL-hear-STAT
 ‘We hear each other.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (32) *màmésàjì bákìyòrérà*
 N-ma-mésaji bá-ki_H-iyo_Hr-er-á
 COP-NP₆-message SM₂.REL-REFL-write-APPL-FV
 ‘It’s messages that they write to each other.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The expression of reciprocal and reflexive with the same morpheme is not uncommon in languages, as both express that the agent of the action is simultaneously the patient. In the Bantu languages of zones H, K and R reciprocal and reflexive are expressed by the same pre-stem morpheme (Schadeberg 2003). Outside these zones, many Bantu languages use a reflex of the reciprocal **-an* to express reciprocal meaning. In Fwe, this suffix is all but gone, though speakers can still produce forms with *-an* when prompted (see section 8.10).

When necessary, speakers can differentiate the reciprocal and reflexive meanings of the prefix *rí-/kí-* by adding the emphatic reflexive *-íni* (see above).

The reflexive prefix *kí-/rí-* is similar to the object markers for noun classes and first and second person in a number of ways. Like most of the object markers, the reflexive prefix has a high tone; both the reflexive and object markers make use of the same slot in the verb, directly before the verb root; moreover, the high tone of both the reflexive and the object marker is deleted in the same TAM constructions (see section 10.1.1 on melodic tone). This is illustrated in (33) and (34), which show that the high tone of the object marker and the high tone of the reflexive prefix are maintained in the infinitive, but deleted in the present, a construction which deletes all underlying high tones of verb stem, object marker and reflexive.

- (33) a. *kùbáshàkà*
 ku-bá-shak-a
 INF-OM₂-love-FV
 ‘to love them’
- b. *ndìbàshákà*
 ndi-ba_H-shak-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₂-love-FV
 ‘I love them.’
- (34) a. *kùrìshàkà*
 ku-rí-shak-a
 INF-REFL-love-FV
 ‘to love each other’
- b. *tùrìshákà*
 tu-rì_H-shak-á
 SM_{1PL}-REFL-love-FV
 ‘We love each other.’

Like regular object markers, the reflexive can be combined with another object marker in ditransitive verbs. (See section 9.2 for the combination of multiple object markers on the verb.)

- (35) *bàcìrìshúmínìnìtè m̀wívù̀mò*
 ba-ci_H-rì_H-shumín-in-ite mú-e-ø-vumo
 SM₂-OM₇-REFL-tie-APPL-STAT NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-stomach
 ‘He has tied it around his waist.’ (NF_Narr17)

9.4 Locative agreement

Reference to a location can be marked on the verb through locative enclitics, which correspond to the three locative noun classes: *ho* for class 16, *ko* for class 17, and *mo* for class 18. All three locative enclitics are underlyingly toneless; they surface as low-toned, unless a high melodic tone is assigned by the TAM construction.

Table 9.3: Locative enclitics

Noun class	Locative enclitic
16	<i>ho</i>
17	<i>ko</i>
18	<i>mo</i>

These morphemes are clitics, rather than suffixes, because morphosyntactically they behave as separate from the verb they attach to. The locative enclitic is the very last morpheme in the verb, after derivational and inflectional suffixes. In (36), the locative enclitic *ko* occurs after the applicative suffix *-ir* and the final vowel suffix *-a*, and in

(37) the locative enclitic *ko* occurs after the causative suffix *-es* and the subjunctive suffix *-e*.

- (36) *ndìfùtātìrākò*
 ndi-fu_Htat-ir-a=kò
 SM_{1SG}-turn_back-APPL-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘I turn my back towards it.’
- (37) *ndì"lòmpèsèkò*
 ndi-ⁿlòmp-es-e=ko
 OM_{1SG}-taste-CAUS-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇
 ‘Let me taste from that.’ (NF_Elic15)

When used with a reduplicated verb stem, the locative enclitic is not reduplicated, even though the verb stem is reduplicated together with its inflectional suffixes, providing further evidence for its clitic status.

- (38) *ndàyèndíyèndìkò*
 ndi-a-endí-end-i=ko
 SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-go-PST=LOC₁₇
 ‘I kept going there.’ (NF_Elic15)

Phonologically, however, the locative enclitic is fully integrated into the verb to which it attaches. Locative clitics influence the placement of melodic tone and prosodic lengthening. The present construction, for instance, assigns a melodic tone to the final mora of the verb, which retracts to the preceding mora in clause-final position. The examples in (39) show that in determining the penultimate syllable, the locative enclitic is also counted.

- (39) a. *ndìngòngótà*
 ndi-ngo_Hngot-á
 SM_{1SG}-knock-FV
 ‘I knock.’
- b. *ndìngòngòtáhò*
 ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=hò
 SM_{1SG}-knock-FV=LOC₁₆
 ‘I knock on it.’ (NF_Elic15)

Locative enclitics are never used for grammatical agreement, e.g. referring to a locative complement used in the same clause, but only for anaphoric agreement, referring to locations that are introduced in the earlier discourse. An example is given in (40), an utterance consisting of two clauses, each with their own inflected verb. The noun *cì-pùrà* ‘chair’ is introduced in the first clause, and the verb of the second clause uses a locative enclitic *ho* to refer back to it.

- (40) *mùbàhé cìpùrà bàkàréhò*
 mu-ba_H-ha-é ci-pura ba-kar-e=hó
 SM_{2PL}-OM₂-give-PFV.SBJV NP₇-chair SM₂-sit-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₆
 ‘Give her a chair, so she may sit on it.’ (NF_Elic15)

A locative enclitic can also be used to refer back to a location mentioned even earlier in the discourse. This is the case for the locative clitic *ho* in example (41), referring back to a house that was mentioned earlier in the narrative.

- (41) *àkùbútùkàmò*
 a-aku-bútuk-a=mo
 SM₁-NPST.IPFV-run-FV=LOC₁₆
 ‘He was running out of it.’ (NF_Narr15)

The three locative enclitics each have their own semantics. The locative clitic of class 16 *ho* is used to refer to movement away from, as in (42), a location on, as in (43), or a more general location, as in (44).

- (42) *ènzàsì zàkùrí kùlàsàùkàhò*
 e-N-zási zi-aku-rí ku-lás-a-uk-a=ho
 AUG-NP₁₀-spark SM₁₀-NPST.IPFV-be INF-sparkle-PL1-SEP.INTR-FV=LOC₁₆
 ‘Sparks were flying from it.’

- (43) *ndàngóngòtìhò*
 ndi-a-ngóngot-i=ho
 SM_{1SG}-PST-knock-PST=LOC₁₆
 ‘I knocked on it.’

- (44) *tàbènáhò*
 ta-ba-ina=hó
 NEG-SM₂-be_at=LOC₁₆
 ‘She is not here.’ (NF_Elic15)

The locative clitic of class 17 *ko*, is used to refer to a direction, as in (45), or to a general location, as in (46).

- (45) *kàtónđìkò*
 ka-a-tónd-i=ko
 NEG-SM₁-look-NEG=LOC₁₇
 ‘She doesn’t look that way.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (46) *kàndíhàràngákò*
 ka-ndí-ha_Hr-ang-a=kó
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-live-HAB-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘I used to live there.’ (NF_Elic15)

The locative of class 18, *mo*, is used to refer to a location inside, or to a movement away from inside.

- (47) *yènké: náàkàrá:ràmò*
 ye-nké: ná-a-a-ka-rá:r-a=mo
 NP₁-one PST-SM₁-DIST-sleep-FV=LOC₁₈
 ‘He slept alone in there.’

- (48) *àkùbútùkàmò*
 a-aku-bútuk-a=mo
 SM₁-NPST.IPFV-run-FV=LOC₁₈
 ‘He ran out of it.’ (NF_Narr15)

In addition to their locative function, locative enclitics can also be used with a partitive function. The partitive semantics of the locative enclitic has also been noted for a number of other Bantu languages, including Bemba (Marten and Kula 2014), Kanincin (Devos *et al.* 2010), and others (Persohn and Devos 2017). In Fwe, all three locative enclitics can have a partitive interpretation. An example of the partitive use of the class 16 clitic *ho* is given in (49), indicating that the speaker did not sell all the cattle, but only some of them. An example of the partitive use of the class 17 locative clitic *ko* is given in (50), indicating that only a part of the intended salary is given, not the whole amount. An example of the partitive use of the class 18 locative *mo* is given in (51), stressing that the addressee should take some, not everything.

- (49) *zòbìrè bùryó nìndáùrìsáhò*
 ø-zi-o=bíre bu-ryó ni-ndí-a-ur-is-a=hó
 COP-PP₁₀-CON=two NP₁₄-only REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-buy-CAUS-FV=LOC₁₆
 ‘It is only two of them that I sold.’ (Answer to: ‘Did you sell all the cattle?’)
 (NF_Elic15)

- (50) *bàshùkùhàkó àkàháfù*
 ba-shi_H-ku-ha_H-a=kó a-ka-hafú
 SM₂-PER-OM_{2SG}-give-FV=LOC₁₇ AUG-NP₁₂-half
 ‘They still only give you half of it.’ (ZF_Conv13)

- (51) *hìndémó kàníni òsìyìrémó bámwì*
 hind-e=mó ka-níni o-si_H-ir-e=mó ba-mwí
 take-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈ ADV-little SM_{2SG}-leave-APPL-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈ PP₂-other
 ‘Take a little bit from it, leave some for the others.’ (NF_Elic17)

The class 17 locative clitic has an additional function of marking a polite request, as in (52). This function is also seen with the class 17 nominal prefix (see section 5.5 for examples).

- (52) *ndìshàká kùkàrìmàkò ècìyòrìsò 'cákò*
 ndi-shak-á ku-karim-a=ko e-ci-nyòrìsò ci-akó
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV INF-borrow-FV=LOC₁₇ AUG-NP₇-pen PP₇-POSS_{2SG}
 ‘I want to borrow your pen, please.’ (NF_Elic15)

9 Subject, object, and locative marking

The locative clitic of class 17 may also be used on the progressive auxiliary *kwesi*, or the locative clitic of class 16 on the progressive auxiliary *ina*, to express focus on the progressive aspect; examples are given in section II.I.I on the progressive.

10 Tense

10.1 Introduction to tense, aspect and mood

The following three chapters describe the expression of tense, aspect, and mood/modality (TAM) in Fwe. Like most Bantu languages, Fwe has an extensive, mostly morphologically marked TAM system, and tense, aspect, and mood are strongly intertwined. Before discussing specific TAM constructions in detail, the following sections give an introduction to the formal marking of TAM, and especially the role of melodic tone (section 10.1.1); theoretical concepts used to analyze TAM in Fwe (section 10.1.2); and the different lexical aspectual classes that interact with the interpretation of TAM constructions (section 10.1.3).

10.1.1 Formal marking of TAM

Formally, the expression of tense, aspect and mood makes use of verbal affixes, which can be in the pre-initial, post-initial and final vowel slot; melodic tones, which are inflectional tones assigned to specific positions in the verb; and auxiliaries, which are mostly used for marking aspect, but are also required to negate certain tense or mood constructions (see chapter 14 on negation). Basic TAM constructions mostly make use of a combination of pre-initial, post-initial and final vowel affixes with or without one or more melodic tone patterns. For some TAM constructions, it is not possible to determine the exact meaning of all the different (segmental and tonal) morphemes that make up a construction, and the semantics of a TAM construction is often not a simple product of the semantic import of its composite morphemes. This poses some challenges in glossing these TAM constructions; the glossing conventions chosen will be justified in the relevant subsections. In order to discuss the form of TAM constructions, a template form will be used (as commonly used in the study of Bantu tense and aspect), e.g. [pre-initial]-SM-[post-initial]-B-[final vowel], where SM stands for the subject marker, and B for the verb base, the verb root with optional derivational suffixes. An overview of the templates and melodic tone patterns of basic TAM constructions is given in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Basic TAM constructions

Construction	Segmental form	Melodic tone patterns
Present	SM-B-a	MT 1, 4
Near past perfective	SM-a/na-B-i	MT 3
Remote past perfective	na-SM-a-B-a	MT 2
Near past imperfective	SM-aku-B-a	–
Remote past imperfective	ka-SM-B-a	MT 1, 2, 4
Remote future (Zambian Fwe)	na-SM-na-B-a	MT 2
Remote future (Namibian Fwe)	(ni-)SM-(á)ra-B-a	MT 2
Subjunctive perfective	SM-B-e	MT 1, 4 / MT 3
Subjunctive imperfective	SM-áku-B-a	–

Habitual 2	SM-náku-B-a	-
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These constructions may not be combined with each other, but they do combine with other, non-basic TAM markers, which consist of a single affix or auxiliary. These TAM markers may also be combined with each other, though semantically motivated restrictions apply.

Table 10.2: TAM markers

TAM marker	Form
Inceptive	pre-initial <i>shi-/she-/sha-</i>
Near future	pre-initial <i>mbo-/mba-</i>
Persistent	post-initial <i>shí-</i>
Habitual 1	suffix <i>-ang</i>
Stative	final vowel suffix <i>-ite</i>
Progressive	auxiliary <i>kwesilíná</i>

The tonal realization of TAM constructions is particularly complex. The tonal realization of most TAM constructions is not a simple product of underlying tones and productive tone rules, but is influenced by deleting underlying tones and/or adding high tones to specific positions in the verb, depending on the inflection. As discussed in section 4.3, lexical verbs may be high-toned or toneless, and this contrast surfaces, for instance, in the infinitive form. In certain TAM constructions, this lexical tone contrast is maintained, for instance the remote future, but in others, it is neutralized, for instance the present. This difference is illustrated in (1).

(1) Maintenance and loss of stem tone contrast

/Ø/ verb stems	Remote future	Present
<i>kù-úr-à</i> ‘to buy’	<i>nà-ndí-nà-ùrà</i> ‘I will buy.’	<i>ndì-úr-à</i> ‘I buy.’
<i>kù-wàn-à</i> ‘to find’	<i>nà-ndí-nà-wàn-à</i> ‘I will find.’	<i>ndì-wàn-à</i> ‘I find.’
/H/ verb stems		
<i>kù-tém-à</i> ‘to chop’	<i>nà-ndí-nà-tém-à</i> ‘I will chop.’	<i>ndì-tém-à</i> ‘I chop.’
<i>kù-ték-à</i> ‘to fetch’	<i>nà-ndí-nà-ték-à</i> ‘I will fetch.’	<i>ndì-ték-à</i> ‘I fetch.’

Furthermore, most TAM constructions also add at least one high tone to a specific mora or syllable of the verb. These tones are not associated with a specific segmental morpheme, but with a specific inflectional template. This use of tone is seen in many Bantu languages, and is referred to as “melodic tone” (Odden and Bickmore 2014). Fwe has four melodic tone patterns: a high tone assigned to the last verb mora (melodic tone 1), to the subject marker (melodic tone 2), and to the second stem syllable (melodic tone 3). The process of deleting underlying tones, that some TAM constructions make use of, also functions as a melodic tone pattern; although it differs from other patterns in that it does not add a high tone, it is conditioned by the same factors, namely specific TAM constructions, and is therefore referred to as melodic tone pattern 4. Table 10.3 gives an overview of melodic tones that are used in Fwe.

Table 10.3: Melodic tone in Fwe

Melodic tone	Realization	TAM construction
Melodic tone 1	H on the last mora or H on the penultimate syllable if it is bimoraic	present remote past imperfective near future perfective subjunctive perfective negative stative relative remote past perfective
Melodic tone 2	H on the subject marker	remote past imperfective remote future near future remote past perfective most relative clause verbs
Melodic tone 3	H on the second stem syllable	near past perfective negative present stative subjunctive perfective with object marker
Melodic tone 4	deletes all underlying H	present remote past imperfective stative subjunctive perfective
no melodic tone	no H is assigned; underlying H are maintained	near past imperfective habitual <i>náku-</i> subjunctive imperfective

As seen from Table 10.3, each melodic tone is used by more than one TAM construction, and there is no obvious semantic link between TAM constructions using the same melodic tone pattern. It is therefore not possible to assign a meaning to melodic tones. TAM constructions may combine several melodic tones, and only three TAM constructions do not use melodic tone at all: these are all recent grammaticalizations derived from an infinitive verb, a verb form that does also not use melodic tone.

Melodic tones are marked in the phonological transcription (the second line of the examples) with acute accent combined with underlining, to distinguish them from underlying high tones, which are marked with an acute accent without underlining. Underlying high tones that are deleted as the result of melodic tone pattern 4 will be marked with a following _H. These conventions are summarized in Table 10.4. As no single function can be linked to melodic tones, they are not represented with a gloss in the third line.

Table 10.4: Melodic tone marking conventions

Underlying (lexical) tone	/ćv/, e.g. /ku-kám-a/ ‘to milk’
Melodic tone	/cv _H /, e.g. /ndí-ra-kám-a/ ‘I will milk.’
Tones deleted as the result of MT4	/cy/, e.g. /ndi-ka _H m-á/ ‘I am milking.’

Melodic tones and underlying tones are treated the same in the phonology of Fwe, with one exception: melodic tone pattern 4 only deletes underlying tones, not melodic tones. Melodic and underlying tones do undergo the same phonological and phonetic tone rules, as set out in section 4.1. One example of this is given in (2), where H retraction affects the verb-final high tone of melodic tone pattern 1.

(2) H retraction

- a. *ndìshèká' cáhà*
 ndi-shek-á cáhá
 SM_{1SG}-laugh-FV very
 'I laugh a lot.'
- b. *ndìshékà*
 ndi-shek-á
 SM_{1SG}-laugh-FV
 'I laugh.'

The following sections give a discussion and examples of the realization of melodic tone patterns in Fwe.

Melodic Tone 1: H on the last mora

Melodic Tone 1 (MT 1) is assigned to the last mora of the inflected verb. Examples are given with verbs in the present, the subjunctive, and the near future perfective: the vowel carrying the melodic tone is underlined in the phonological transcription.

(3) Present

- bàhùrá shúnù*
 ba-hur-á shúnú
 SM₂-arrive-FV today
 'They arrive today.'

(4) Near future perfective

- mbòbáhùré shúnù*
 mbo-bá-hur-é shúnú
 NEAR_FUT-SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
 'They will arrive today.' (NF_Elic15)

(5) Subjunctive

- òshòtòké òmùkwàkwà*
 o-sho_Htok-é o-mu-kwakwa
 SM_{2SG}-jump-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₃-road
 'You should cross the road.' (NF_Elic17)

In many cases, the last mora of the verb is the final vowel suffix. However, MT1 cannot be analyzed as underlyingly belonging to the final vowel suffix, as the final vowel suffixes on which it occurs, FV *-a* and subjunctive *-e*, occur without a high tone in other TAM inflections. Furthermore, when verbs that take MT1 include a post-verbal locative clitic, MT 1 is assigned to this clitic.

- (6) ...*ndìhìkìrémó bùjwàrà*
 ndi-hi₁₄k-ir-e=mó bu-jwara
 SM_{1SG}-COOK-APPL-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈ NP₁₄-beer
 ‘...so that I cook beer in it.’ (NF_Elic15)

MT 1 targets the mora, not the syllable. When a verb has a bimoraic final syllable, the melodic tone is assigned to the second mora, though as a result of bimoraic doubling (see section 4.1.3), the high tone is subsequently copied to the first mora of the syllable. That the high tone is assigned to the second and not the first mora, can be seen from the lack of high tone retraction in clause-final contexts.

- (7) a. /ba-nyw-.aá. o-bu-jwara/ > *bànywá: òbùjwàrà*
 SM₂-drink-FV AUG-NP₁₄-beer
 ‘They drink beer.’
- (8) b. /ba-nyw-.aá./ > *bànywá:*
 SM₂-drink-FV
 ‘They drink.’ (NF_Elic15)

MT 1 has two different realizations, based on the segmental shape of the verb stem. If the verb stem has a bimoraic penultimate syllable, the tone is assigned to the penultimate syllable, and not to the last mora of the verb. An example is given with the verb stem *-rìmà* ‘farm’, which has no long vowels and therefore MT 1 is assigned to the last verb mora. The verb stem *-tòmbwèrà* ‘weed’ has a lengthened penultimate vowel (on account of the preceding glide), and here MT 1 is assigned to the penultimate syllable.

- (9) *tùrì má shúnù*
 tu-rim-á shúnu
 SM_{1PL}-farm-FV today
 ‘We farm today.’
- (10) *tùtòmbwérà shúnù*
 tu-tombwér-a shúnu
 SM_{1PL}-weed-FV today
 ‘We weed today.’ (NF_Elic15)

When MT 1 is used with a verb stem that has two moras both in the last and in the penultimate syllable, the melodic tone is assigned to the last verb mora, not to the penultimate syllable.

- (11) ndi-nyans-á > *ndìnyà:nsá:*
 *ndi-nyáns-a > *ndìnyá:nsà:*
 SM_{1SG}-accuse-FV
 ‘I accuse.’ (NF_Elic15)

The alternation between final and penultimate assignment of this melodic tone cannot be interpreted in terms of the tone rules that are used in Fwe, but should nonetheless be analyzed as exponents of the same melodic tone, rather than different

melodic tones: the final and penultimate assignment are in complete complementary distribution, and are found in all TAM constructions that use MT1. The assignment of a penultimate high tone can thus be seen as an allophonic variant of the assignment of a final high tone, conditioned by the phonological shape of the penultimate syllable. Table 10.5 summarizes the realization of melodic tone 1 on different stem shapes, and in different syntactic contexts.

Table 10.5: The realization of melodic tone 1

	Last mora	Penultimate syllable
-CVCV	-shèká	-CV:CV -zwá:tà
-CVCV:	-bùzáz:	
-CV:CV:	-nyà:nsá:	

Melodic tone 1 is used in six different TAM constructions: the present; the remote past perfective; the near future perfective; the negative stative; the subjunctive; and the relative clause form of the remote past perfective. As the near future perfective is based on the subjunctive, and the remote past perfective is historically based on the present, it is likely that the present and subjunctive were the first to use this melodic tone, and it was subsequently maintained in new constructions that grammaticalized from them.

All TAM constructions that use melodic tone 1 also use melodic tone pattern 4, the deletion of underlying tones (see Table 10.3). Melodic tone 4 is not an inherent characteristic of MT 1 alone, but is also used in combination with other melodic tones.

Melodic tone 2: H on the subject marker

Melodic tone pattern 2 (MT 2) assigns a high tone to the verb's subject marker. An example is given with the remote future construction as used in Zambian Fwe.

- (12) *nà:ndínàshòshòtà*
 na-ndí-na-shoshot-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-whisper-FV
 'I will whisper.' (ZF_Elic14)

MT 2 is used in the following TAM constructions: the remote past imperfective; the remote future; the near future perfective; the remote past perfective; and in all relative clause verbs except the near past perfective. For the remote future, the high tone on the subject marker is the result of an earlier high-toned prefix *á-* which can still be realized as such in Namibian Fwe (see 10.4.2). Some of the other TAM constructions using MT2 appear to be grammaticalizations from an earlier relative clause verb; this is clearest for the remote past imperfective (see 10.3.4), and possibly also the near future based on the perfective subjunctive (see 10.4.1). The almost ubiquitous use of MT2 in relative clause verbs suggests that it started out in this context, and spread to other inflections as they grammaticalized from earlier relative clause verbs.

Melodic tone 3: high tone on the second stem syllable

Melodic tone pattern 3 (MT 3) assigns a high tone to the second syllable of the verb stem. This is illustrated with the negative present in (13).

- (13) *kà̀yìò:ré̀sè̀kì*
 ka-i-o:r-é̀sek-i
 NEG-SM₉-can-NEUT-NEG
 ‘It is not possible.’ (ZF_Conv13)

In some Bantu languages, object markers are counted as part of the verb stem, e.g. the domain for tone assignment is the ‘macrostem’, the verb stem with object markers (Marlo 2013). This is not the case in Fwe; melodic tone 3 is invariably assigned to the second syllable of the verb stem, counting from the first syllable of the root and disregarding object markers.

- (14) a. Melodic tone 3: without an object marker
ndà̀rìndìrì
 ndi-a-rind-í-r-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-wait-APPL-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve waited for.’
- b. Melodic tone 3: with an object marker
ndà̀kùrìndìrì
 ndi-a-ku-rind-í-r-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{2SG}-wait-APPL-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve waited for you.’ (NF_Elic15)

Melodic tone 3 is realized on the penultimate syllable, rather than the second stem syllable, under two conditions. The first is when this melodic tone pattern is used with monosyllabic verb stems. As these lack a second stem syllable, MT₃ is assigned to the verb’s penultimate syllable, which may contain markers with various functions, for instance a subject marker, object marker, a tense marker, or a distal marker.

- (15) Melodic tone 3 with monosyllabic verbs: H on the penultimate syllable
- a. *tà̀ndìnywì:*
 ta-ndí-nyw-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-drink-NEG
 ‘I don’t drink.’
- b. *ndìnánywì:*
 ndi-ná-nyw-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-drink-NPST.PFV
 ‘I drank.’
- c. *ndìnàkúwì*
 ndi-na-kú-w-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{2SG}-give-NPST.PFV
 ‘I have given you.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- d. *kàndìkârì*
 ka-ndi-ká-r-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-DIST-eat-NEG
 ‘I don’t eat there.’ (NF_Elic15)

Melodic tone 3 also surfaces on the penultimate syllable when this syllable contains a long vowel, as shown in (16), where the penultimate syllable is lengthened on account of the following nasal consonant cluster. This conditioning is similar to that of MT 1, which also surfaces on the penultimate syllable if it contains a long vowel.

(16) The realization of melodic tone 3 on long penultimate syllables

- a. *ndìnàyéndì*
 ndi-na-énd-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-go-NPST.PFV
 ‘I went.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- b. *kàndìyéndì*
 ka-ndi-énd-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-go-NEG
 ‘I don’t go.’ (NF_Elic15)

Melodic tone 3 is used with four TAM constructions: the negative present; the near past perfective; the stative (with the exception of negated statives and statives with a disyllabic verb stem, see 11.3.1 for details); and the perfective subjunctive with object marker. The stative combines MT 3 with the deletion of lexical high tones (melodic tone 4), the other three constructions maintain lexical high tones.

Melodic tone 4: Deletion of underlying high tones

Melodic tone pattern 4 (MT 4) does not add a high tone, but rather deletes the lexical high tones of the verb. An example is given in (17) with the high-toned verb root *-bútuk-* ‘run’, which loses its high tone when used in the present, one of the TAM constructions that use MT 4. Deleted high tones are marked by subscript _H after the syllable originally bearing the high tone.

- (17) *ndìbùtúkà*
 ndi-bu_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-run-FV
 ‘I run.’ (NF_Elic15)

MT 4 also deletes high tones that are associated with affixes, such as object markers; with the exception of the object markers for first and second person singular and class 1, all object markers have a high tone. They are realized as low-toned, however, when used with an inflection that takes MT 4. Examples are given with the high-toned object marker of class 2 *bá-*, realized as low-toned *bà-* when used with a present tense verb. MT 4 also affects other grammatical affixes, such as the high-toned persistive prefix *shí-* as seen in (19).

- (18) *ndìbàshákà*
 ndi-ba_H-shak-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₂-like-FV
 ‘I like them.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (19) *ndìshìhò:ndà*
 ndi-shi_H-hónd-a
 SM_{1SG}-PER-cook-FV
 ‘I am still cooking.’ (NF_Elic15)

MT 4 always co-occurs with another melodic tone, and the deletion of high tones does not affect the high tones assigned by this pattern. The present construction combines MT 4 with MT 1, which is assigned to the verb’s last mora, and this melodic tone is not affected by the deletion of underlying tones, as seen in (20).

- (20) *bàzγìbàhárà*
 ba-zyi_Hb-ahar-á
 SM₂-know-NEUT-FV
 ‘S/he is famous.’ (NF_Elic15)

The floating high tone that is part of the lexical tone pattern of certain verb stems (see 4.3.4) poses a challenge for this analysis. As it is part of the verb’s lexical tone, it is usually deleted when a verb with a floating high tone is used in a TAM construction that makes use of MT 4. Example (21) shows the deletion of the floating high tone of the verb *kútàbà* ‘to answer’, used in the present construction.

- (21) *ndìtábà*
 ndi-tab-á
 SM_{1SG}-answer-FV
 ‘I answer.’ (NF_Elic15)

In one environment, however, MT 4 fails to affect floating tones. This is the case when the prefix before the verb root, normally the syllable the floating tone attaches to, is a toneless prefix. In (22), the verb *kútàbà* is used in the present, with the toneless class 1 object marker *mu-*. Although the present uses MT 4, the floating high tone of this verb is not deleted but realized on the object marker *mu-*.

- (22) *ndìmú'tábà*
 ndi-mú-tab-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁-answer-FV
 ‘I answer her/him.’

The realization of floating tones in the present construction is also seen with other toneless prefixes, such as the distal *ka-*, here used with the verb *kúkàrà* ‘to sit’.

- (23) *ndìká'kàrà*
 ndi-ká-kar-á
 SM_{1SG}-DIST-sit-FV
 ‘I sit there.’ (NF_Elic17)

Floating tones may not be realized on an underlyingly high-toned prefix, even though the use of melodic tone 4 deletes their high tones. This is shown with the high-toned object marker *bá-* and the high-toned persistent prefix *shí-*.

- (24) *ndìbàtábà*
 ndi-ba_H-tab-ạ́
 SM_{1SG}-OM₂-answer-FV
 ‘I answer them.’

- (25) *ndìshìtábà*
 ndi-shi_H-tab-ạ́
 SM_{1SG}-PER-answer-FV
 ‘I still answer.’ (NF_Elic17)

Although subject markers are underlyingly toneless, floating tones never attach to them in TAM constructions that use MT 4.

- (26) *ndìtábà*
 ndi-tab-ạ́
 SM_{1SG}-answer-FV
 ‘I answer.’ (NF_Elic15)

More research is needed to explain the complex interaction between floating tones and melodic tones, and to explain why these specific phonological and morphological environments allow for the realization of floating tones, where other lexical tones cannot be realized.

No melodic tones

There are three TAM constructions in Fwe that do not use melodic tones: none of the three melodic high tones are added, and lexical tones, if present, surface as expected. This is the case for the near past imperfective, one of the two habituals, and the subjunctive imperfective. The lack of melodic tone with these constructions is similar to the lack of melodic tone on infinitive verbs. These constructions also resemble the infinitive segmentally, as they all contain a syllable *ku*, homophonous with the infinitive prefix. The near past imperfective has a post-initial prefix *aku-*, the habitual has a post-initial prefix *náku-*, and the subjunctive imperfective has a post-initial prefix *áku-*. A more detailed account of the similarities between these constructions and the infinitive are given in section 10.3.2 on the near past imperfective, section 11.2.2 on the habitual, and section 12.3 on the subjunctive imperfective. These sections also argue in detail that these TAM constructions are the result of relatively recent grammaticalizations involving an inflected verb and an infinitive verb.

10.1.2 Theoretical background

Tense is deictic; it presents an event as before, after or overlapping with a certain reference point. The reference point is often the time of speaking, e.g. “utterance time” (Klein 1994). Other reference points are also possible, for instance in subordinate clauses, which may require the use of a more flexible reference point, which Cover

and Tonhauser (2015) call “evaluation time”. The interpretation of tenses that are not evaluated with respect to the utterance time, but with respect to some other “evaluation time”, will be left for future research. This chapter focuses on the interpretation of tenses with respect to utterance time (UT). Evaluation time should not be confused with “topic time”, which is the point or period in time that is currently under discussion (Cover and Tonhauser 2015; Klein 1994). The notion of topic time can be useful in analyzing (im)perfectivity, where perfectives mark that the topic time temporally includes the event time, and imperfectives that the event time includes the topic time. Such a definition of perfectivity in Fwe has not yet proven fruitful, as it depends on being able to clearly delineate the boundaries of both event time and topic time, which are often difficult to establish. The notion of topic time will be applied, however, in the analysis of progressives, where present progressives are situated around a topic time in the present (at or around utterance time) and past progressives around a topic time in the past.

Tense, aspect and mood are closely related in Fwe. This is most clearly seen in the system of past tense and subjunctive constructions, which are all divided into perfective and imperfective constructions. There is an extensive (theoretical) literature on aspect and (im)perfectivity, but recurrent definitions include a distinction between complete (perfective) and incomplete (imperfective), and a distinction between an event-external viewpoint (perfective) and an event-internal viewpoint (imperfective) (Klein 1994: 27). No attempt at a detailed and comprehensive definition of aspect in Fwe is made here, but it seems that especially the difference in viewpoint is relevant in distinguishing perfective and imperfective aspect in Fwe. The near and remote past perfective constructions present the event nucleus as a single, completed whole, and do not allow reference to its internal structure; the event is viewed “from the outside”. The near and remote past imperfective constructions focus on the internal structure of the event, viewing the event “from the inside”. This distinction between perfective and imperfective constructions also determines their co-occurrence with aspectual markers. Fwe has specific markers for progressive, habitual, stative, and persistive aspect. These aspectual meanings are subtypes of imperfective aspect (e.g. Comrie 1976, among others), because they specify the internal structure of the event, and can therefore not be used in perfective constructions. Subjunctives also have a perfective and an imperfective construction, and this also affects the near future, which derives from the subjunctive by addition of a near future prefix. These, too, show the same co-occurrence restrictions as past tense constructions, with only the imperfective subjunctive allowing co-occurrence with markers of a subtype of imperfective aspect. The subdivision between perfective and imperfective does not affect the present or remote future construction.

The combination of aspectual with temporal or modal meaning in a single construction raises the question whether these constructions should be considered tenses/moods or aspects. There are a number of reasons not to consider them primarily aspectual. Firstly, their formal properties are more similar to those of other tense constructions than that of aspect markers. Constructions that unambiguously express aspect consist of a single affix or auxiliary and generally lack their own melodic tones (with the exception of the stative, see section 11.3). Constructions that express tense

without an aspectual distinction (and are therefore unambiguously temporal), such as the present or the remote future, make use of a complex construction with various affixes, and do use melodic tone. Furthermore, for past constructions their temporal semantics is more detailed than their aspectual semantics. Aspectually, past forms only distinguish perfective or imperfective, whereas temporally, they distinguish not only past tense but also a degree of remoteness, namely near past versus remote past.

10.1.3 Lexical aspect

The interpretation of TAM constructions is influenced by the inherent structure of the event, its lexical aspect. Three main lexical aspectual classes are relevant: dynamic, change-of-state, and true stative, as summarized in Table 10.6.

Table 10.6: Lexical aspect

Dynamic	long nucleus	<i>-bútuk-</i> ‘run’
Change-of-state	short nucleus	without an onset: <i>-ɣatuk-</i> ‘break’
		with an onset <i>-nun-</i> ‘become fat’
True stative	unbounded nucleus	<i>-shak-</i> ‘want’

Different models exist for the analysis of lexical aspect, and languages differ with respect to the number and kinds of meaningful subdivisions that they make, and the way lexical verbs are distributed across these subdivisions. A model originally developed by Freed (1979) for English, and since then applied to various Bantu languages by Botne (1983), Kershner (2002), Seidel (2008), Crane (2011), Persohn (2017) and others, divides events into three phases, an onset, nucleus, and coda. The nucleus is the characteristic, most prominent phase of the event. The onset describes the phase leading up the nucleus, and the coda the phase following the nucleus. Every event has a nucleus, but the presence of an onset and a coda phase is optional, depending on the lexical verb as well as its wider context. Verb stems can be divided into different lexical-aspectual classes based on the duration of the nuclear phase of the event, which can be punctive, in the case of change-of-state verbs such as Fwe *-bomb-* ‘become wet’, or *-co:k-* ‘break’, or more drawn out in duration, in the case of dynamic verbs such as Fwe *-zyák-* ‘build’ or *-bútuk-* ‘run’.

This distinction between change-of-state verbs, also sometimes called stative²⁶, inchoative or punctive, and dynamic verbs, also called durative or active, is a central distinction in many Bantu languages (Botne 1983 for Kinyarwanda; Botne and Kershner 2000: 165 for Zulu; Brisard and Meeuwis 2009; Crane 2011: 34; Kershner 2002 for Chisukwa; Meeuwis 2010: 126–142 for Lingála). This is also a primary categorization of verbs in Fwe, where change-of-state verbs and dynamic verbs have a different interpretation in a number of constructions, most notably the present, the near past perfective and the stative. In addition to these two main categories, Fwe also has a category of verbs encoding events that completely lack internal phasic structure, which I refer to as “true statives” (following Crane 2011). Examples of true stative

²⁶ In many analyses (see for instance Botne 2008; Crane 2011; 2013; Kershner 2002), including the one adopted here, there is a distinction between change-of-state verbs and states/stative verbs.

verbs in Fwe are *-shak-* ‘want, like’, *-tíiz-* ‘be fearsome/dangerous’, though in general true stative verbs in Fwe are rare. The distinction between change-of-state verbs and true stative verbs is not always clear-cut: certain verbs can be treated as either change-of-state verbs or as true stative verbs.

Verbs can be further subdivided depending on the presence of a coda phase. Change-of-state verbs typically have a coda phase, which is the resultant state of the change in state denoted by the nucleus, e.g. for *-bomb-* ‘become wet’, the coda phase would include ‘being wet’. Dynamic verbs can be distinguished between those that have a coda phase and those that lack one. This distinction relates to the distinction between telic events, which have a natural endpoint, and atelic events, which do not have a natural endpoint. For telic events, such as *-zyákà njúò* ‘build a house’, the coda phase would include the time when the house exists. Atelic events typically lack a coda phase, e.g. *-bútuk-* ‘run’ does not include a coda phase of having run. However, the presence of a coda phase with dynamic events is related to more than telicity, and atelic verbs may be construed as having a coda phase depending on the wider context.

Events also differ in whether they conceptualize an onset phase, the phase leading up to the nucleus. Events with an onset phase are for instance *-nun-* ‘become fat’, where the nucleus consists of the pivotal (and punctive) transition into a state of being fat, and the onset phase consists of the drawn out process of becoming more and more fat, until the pivotal nucleus is reached. Events without an onset phase are for instance *-yatuk-* ‘break’, where there is no phase that leads up to the nuclear change of breaking. The presence of an onset phase is mainly relevant to the interpretation of the progressive and inceptive aspects, discussed in section 11.1.1 and 11.5, which also provide evidence for the distinction between events with and without an onset phase in Fwe.

Lexical aspect is not inherent to verb roots, but rather to verb stems: lexical aspect can be influenced by derivational suffixes, such as the passive, which tends to derive a change-of-state verb, so that when the passive suffix is used with a dynamic verb, the verb’s lexical aspect changes from dynamic to change-of-state. Verbs with the intransitive forms of the separative and impositive suffixes also function as change-of-state verbs. Verbs with the neuter suffix tend to function as stative verbs, though they can also be used as change-of-state verbs.

Lexical aspect can be further influenced by the context of the utterance as a whole, for instance by the presence and nature of the object (see e.g. Verkuyl 1972). A Fwe example where the presence of an object influences lexical aspect is with the dynamic verb *-bar-* ‘read’. Without an object, it is considered to lack a coda state, and as such use with the stative suffix *-ite* is generally considered ungrammatical. The verb phrase *-bara mbuka* ‘read a book’, however, does have an associated coda state (namely ‘knowing the content of the book’), and therefore use with stative *-ite* was accepted.²⁷

There are also verbs that are ambiguous with respect to lexical aspect; they can be used in two different aspectual classes, depending on the meaning of the verb. An ex-

²⁷ The conceptualization of a coda state with dynamic verbs is dependent on more than the presence and nature of the object, but depends on the general context as well. For instance, *-nywá* ‘drink’ essentially lacks a coda phase, but can still be used with the stativizer *-ite* to express ‘being drunk’. In this case, the (non-linguistic) context is used by speakers to construct a state associated with this verb.

ample is the verb *-shak-*, which can have a true stative use with the interpretation ‘want, like, love’, but also a dynamic use with the interpretation ‘look for’.

Finally, it should be noted that the lexical aspectual classes that are distinguished here have been established based on their interaction with TAM constructions. No independent tests have been conducted to test for lexical aspect, such as acceptability and interpretation with certain time adverbials. However, the lexical aspectual classes that are proposed here do account for the behavior of verbs in a wide variety of constructions: the present, near past perfective, progressive, stative, inceptive, and with the locative pluractional.

Having introduced the theoretical concepts and lexical aspectual distinctions that are relevant for the analysis of tense, aspect and mood in Fwe, I will now turn to the analysis of TAM constructions in Fwe. Chapter 10 is dedicated to the analysis of tense constructions. Tense constructions situate events before, after, or during utterance time. They differ in whether they target the nucleus of the event, or the entire event, which gives rise to different interpretations based on the verb’s lexical aspect. The present construction situates the event’s nucleus at least partially after the utterance time; if the event structure allows, the nucleus may overlap with UT, but the continuation of the nucleus after UT is the present’s basic meaning. The remote and near past perfective, too, target the nucleus of the event, situating the event’s nucleus completely before utterance. These constructions do not specify if the event’s coda phase (if present) overlaps with utterance time; both an interpretation where the entire coda phase is situated before UT, and one where the coda phase overlaps with UT, are possible. The remote and near past imperfective, on the other hand, do not target the event nucleus, but the entire event, situating the event completely before utterance time, meaning that the event’s coda phase (if present) cannot overlap with UT. The near and remote future constructions situate the event’s nucleus in the future, that is after UT, and do not allow overlap between the nucleus and UT. Table 10.7 gives an overview of the tense constructions that are analyzed in chapter 10, their segmental and suprasegmental realization, their basic meaning, and their main uses.

Table 10.7: Tense constructions

Label	Template	Melodic tone	Basic meaning	Main uses
Present	SM-B-a	1, 4	nucleus (partially/ completely) in the future	gnomic; generic; futurate; modal; present
Near Past Perfective (NPP)	SM-a/na-B-i	3	nucleus in the recent past; external viewpoint	recent past; present state
Remote Past Perfective (RPP)	na/ni-SM-a-B-a	2	nucleus in the remote past; external viewpoint	remote past; present state
Past imperfective (PI)	ka-SM-B-a	1, 2, 4	nucleus in the (remote) past; internal viewpoint	past imperfective

Near Past Imperfective (NPI)	sm-aku-B-a	none	nucleus in the near past; internal viewpoint	past progressive
Near Future Perfective	mbo-sm-B-e	1, 2, 4	nucleus in the near future; external viewpoint	near future
Near Future Imperfective	mbo-sm-áku-B-a	none	nucleus in the near future; internal viewpoint	near future habitual, progressive
Remote Future	na-sm-na-B-a / sm-ára-B-a	2	nucleus in the remote future	remote future

10.2 Present

This section discusses the form and function of the present tense construction. This construction has the form SM-B-a, that is the verb base is used with the default final vowel -a, and no further segmental morphology. Comparison with other tense constructions might suggest a zero post-initial morpheme marking present; as seen in Table 10.7, most tense constructions use a post-initial marker. The remote past imperfective (with a template ka-sm-B-a), however, also does not use a post-initial morpheme, nor does the near future perfective (with a template mbo-sm-B-e), showing that the absence of a post-initial morpheme is seen in other tenses as well, and therefore argues against the analysis of a putative post-initial zero morpheme marking the present construction.²⁸

The present construction uses two melodic tones (MT), MT 1 (assigned to the verb's last mora), and MT 4 (deletion of lexical tones). An example of a verb in the present is given in (27).

- (27) *bàbùtúkà*
 ba-bu_Htuk-á
 SM₂-run-FV
 'They are running.' (NF_Elic15)

One of the characteristics of melodic tone 1 is that the high tone is not assigned to the last verb mora, but to the penultimate syllable, if this syllable contains a long vowel. This is shown in (28), where the melodic high tone is assigned to the penultimate syllable /zyi/, because its vowel is lengthened by the following nasal-consonant cluster. Another example is given in (29), where the high tone is assigned to the penultimate syllable /mbwe/, because the vowel /e/ is lengthened due to the preceding glide (see also section 2.3.3; note that phonetic vowel length is not marked in the practical orthography used in this thesis). The assignment of the high tone to a long penulti-

²⁸ A historical analysis of a post-initial zero morpheme marking the present is more likely. The remote past imperfective has grammaticalized from the present construction, as discussed in section 10.3.4. Furthermore, the near future is synchronically based on a subjunctive construction (see section 10.4.1).

mate syllable is a property of melodic tone 1, and is seen in all constructions that use MT 1 (see section 10.1.1).

- (28) *àzyimbà nénjà*
 a-zyimb-a nénja
 SM_{1SG}-sing-FV well
 ‘She sings well.’
- (29) *tùtòmbwérà shúnu*
 tu-tombwér-a shúnu
 SM_{1PL}-weed-FV today
 ‘We are weeding today.’ (NF_Elic15)

Like all melodic tones, melodic tone 1 used in present verbs is subject to the tone rules that operate in Fwe, as discussed in chapter 4.1. The melodic tone may undergo high tone spread (see also section 4.1.6.), as in example (30). When the verb is clause-final, MT 1 is subject to high tone retraction if assigned to the verb’s last mora (see also section 4.1.4), or is realized as falling if assigned to the verb’s penultimate syllable (see also section 4.1.5).

- (30) *ndìúrísá shúnu*
 ndi-ur-is-á shúnu
 SM_{1SG}-buy-CAUS-FV today
 ‘I will sell today.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (31) *kùtòntórà*
 ku-to_Hntor-á
 SM₁₅-be_cold-FV
 ‘It is cold.’
- (32) *ndìzyákà*
 ndi-zyák-a
 SM_{1SG}-build-FV
 ‘I am building.’ (NF_Elic15)

None of the formal characteristics of the present construction can be analyzed as marking present tense: the suffix *-a* is the default final vowel suffix, used in the majority of TAM constructions, including many that are incompatible with a present meaning. The same is true of the two melodic tones, MT 1 and MT 4: they are the two most common melodic tones, used in a variety of verb forms (see Table 10.3). Rather, the present construction is a morphological “null form”, commonly used to indicate present tense in Bantu languages (Nurse 2008: 117). As will be shown in the discussion of the interpretations of the present construction, its lack of morphological marking corresponds to a relative lack of semantic specification.

The syntactic use of the present construction differs between Namibian and Zambian Fwe. In Namibian Fwe, a present verb may occur on its own as a full and grammatical utterance. In Zambian Fwe, a present verb is only a grammatical utterance when supplemented by another word, such as a subject, object, locative or adverb.

Otherwise, a fronted infinitive construction is used. For more on this construction, see section II.I.I.

Turning to the semantics of the present construction, it has a wide variety of different interpretations, based on its interaction with lexical and grammatical aspect, linguistic and non-linguistic context. The basic meaning of the present construction is that the event's nucleus is situated, at least partially, after the time of speaking (utterance time, UT). Whether the nucleus also overlaps with UT is not specified by the construction; it is possible, but not obligatory. The present construction only references the nuclear phase; an onset phase leading up to the nucleus cannot be targeted by the present construction. This results in a number of different possibilities, which are schematized in the following figures. The horizontal line represents the timeline, and the vertical line the utterance time. The grey block that overlaps with the timeline represents the event depicted by the verb.

For events with a long nucleus, such as *-bútuk-* 'run', it is possible for the entire nucleus to be situated after UT; this results in a futurate interpretation 'I will run', as schematized in Figure 1. It is also possible for the nucleus to overlap with UT, as long as it extends beyond UT, as schematized in Figure 2 & 3. This results in a progressive interpretation, 'I am running'. It is also possible for the nucleus to be situated intermittently before and after UT, giving a habitual or generic/gnomic interpretation, 'I (habitually) run', as schematized in Figure 4. It is not possible, however, for the nucleus to end at UT (Figure 5), because this does not satisfy the present construction's basic criterion of extending beyond UT.

Figure 1: Future interpretation: *ndìbùtúkà* 'I will run.'

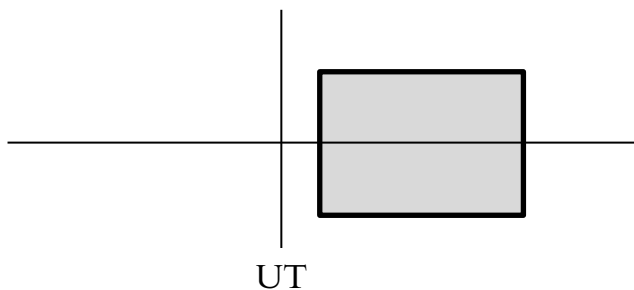


Figure 2: Present interpretation: *ndìbùtúkà* 'I am running.'

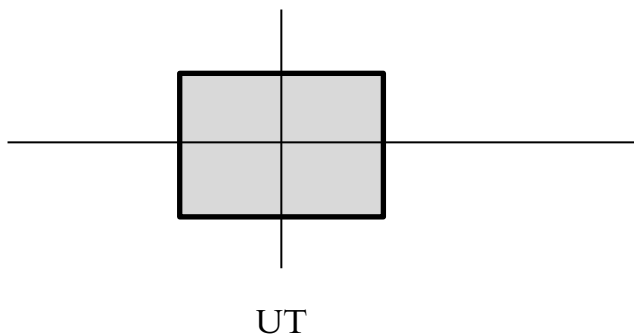


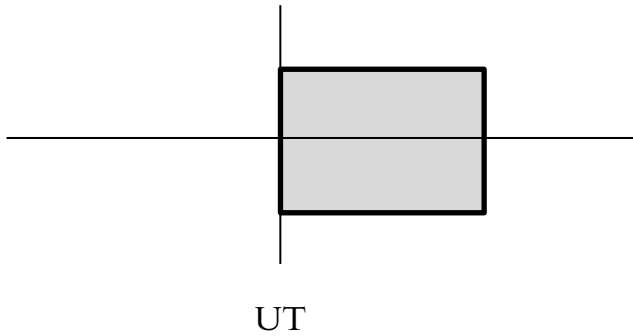
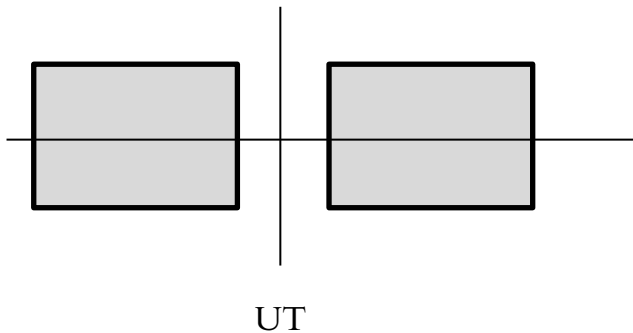
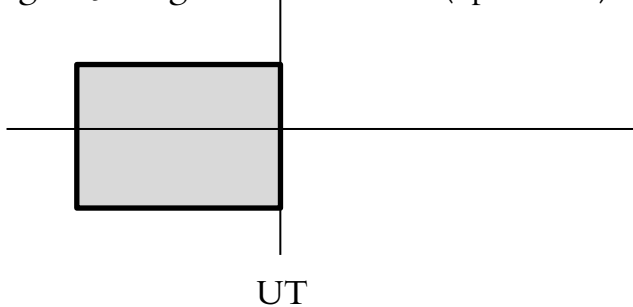
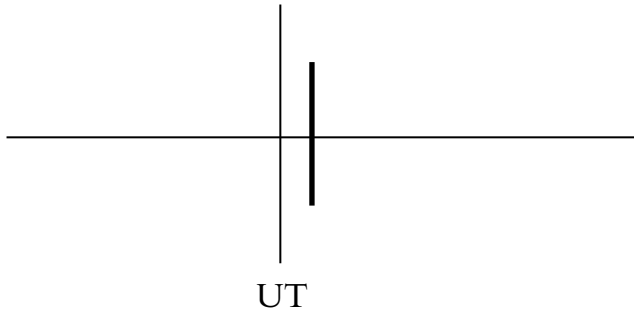
Figure 3: Present interpretation: *ndìbùtúkà* ‘I am running.’Figure 4: Habitual or generic/gnomic interpretation: *ndìbùtúkà* ‘I run.’

Figure 5: Ungrammatical: ‘I ran (up to now).’



The present has different interpretations when used with an event that has a punctive nucleus, such as the change-of-state verb *-beng-* ‘become angry’. The nucleus of this verb describes the pivotal moment when the state of being angry is reached. For such verbs with a punctive nucleus, it is not possible for the nucleus of the event to extend beyond UT as well as overlap with UT (figure 2 and 3 above). The only way in which events with a punctive nucleus can satisfy the present construction’s criterion that the nucleus extends beyond UT is by situating the entire nucleus after UT. Therefore the only possible interpretation of the present construction with verbs with a punctive nucleus is futurate/modal/hypothetical, i.e. essentially non-present. This is schematized in Figure 6, where the thick line represents the nucleus of the change-of-state verb.

Figure 6: Future/modal/hypothetical interpretation: *ndìbéngà* ‘I will become angry.’

That the present construction only specifies that the event nucleus extends beyond UT, and does not specify if it overlaps with UT, may suggest that the label “present” is incorrect, and that an analysis of this construction as future is more suitable. There are, however, a number of reasons why a present analysis preferred. Firstly, Fwe has two future constructions (see section 10.4), whose basic criteria are that the nucleus is situated in its entirety after UT: their only possible interpretation is future. This contrasts with the present construction, where overlap with UT is optional, and both future and present interpretations are possible. This difference is illustrated in (33): the present construction in a) can either be interpreted as indicating that the speaker already started working, or that he will start working. The near future construction in b), however, can only indicate that the speaker has not yet started working, but will start working later the same day.

- (33) a. *shùnù ndìsèbèzà*
 shunu ndi-sebez-á
 today SM_{1SG}-work-FV
 ‘Today, I am working. / Today, I will work.’
- b. *shùnù mbòndìsèbèzê*
 shunu mbo-ndí-sebez-é
 today NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Today, I will work.’ (NF_Elic15)

Another reason to analyze the present construction as present, even though it can also carry futurate meaning, is that although overlap with UT is optional for verbs with a long nucleus, it does appear to be implied. In contexts where different interpretations are possible, speakers usually interpret the use of verbs with a long nucleus in the present construction as present, rather than future. A third argument for the analysis of the present construction as present is economic analysis; if this construction were analyzed as future, Fwe would have three futures, and no present.

Table 10.8 summarizes the different interpretations of the present construction, and the lexical aspectual classes with which they are available.

Table 10.8: Interpretations of the present construction with different lexical aspects

Interpretation	Lexical aspect	example
present progressive	dynamic, stative	<i>tùryá</i> ‘we are eating’
modal	dynamic, change-of-state	<i>ndítwá</i> ‘I can pound’ <i>ndíbèngà</i> ‘I would become angry’
conditional	change-of-state	<i>ònúná</i> ‘(If X), you’d become fat’
generic	all lexical aspects	<i>zìtìzà</i> ‘they are dangerous’
futurate	all lexical aspects	<i>ndisèbèzà</i> ‘I will work’

I will now discuss and illustrate how the present construction’s basic meaning, i.e. a nucleus (partially) after UT, results in different interpretations. With dynamic verbs, the present can indicate that the event is ongoing at the time of speaking. Dynamic verbs have a long nucleus: the use of the present can situate the time of speaking during the nuclear phase, as long as this nuclear phase does not finish at the time of speaking (the situation schematized in Figure 2 or 3 above). Examples are given with the dynamic verbs *-rí-* ‘eat’, and *-kánan-* ‘argue’, which can be interpreted as indicating an action currently in progress when used with the present construction.

- (34) *tùry’ ónkúkù òzyò ndá’yáyì*
 tu-ri-á o-ø-nkúku o-zyo ndí-a-ya-í
 SM_{1PL}-eat-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-chicken AUG-DEM.III₁ SM_{1SG}-PST-kill-NPST.PFV
 ‘We are eating the chicken that I killed.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (35) *zìnjí ’múkàná*
 ø-zì-njí mú-ka_Hnan-á
 COP-NP₈-what SM_{2PL}.REL-argue-FV
 ‘What are you arguing about?’ (asked of a group of people who are currently having an argument) (NF_Elic15)

With dynamic verbs, the present construction implies a currently ongoing event, but a futurate interpretation is also possible, in which case the nucleus does not overlap with, but is situated after UT (the situation schematized in Figure 1 above). This still satisfies the basic criterion of the present construction, that the nucleus is either partially or completely situated after UT. Examples of this use of the present construction with dynamic verbs are given in (36)–(37).

- (36) *ndìùtwá shùnù*
 ndi-u_H-tw-á shunu
 SM_{1SG}-OM₃-pound-FV today
 ‘I’ll pound it today.’ (speaking about maize, the speaker is asked if she plans to pound it today) (NF_Elic15)
- (37) *èmwíkí ’íkè:zyà ndisèbèzà*
 e-N-mwíkí í-ké:zy-a ndi-sebez-á
 AUG-NP₉-week SM₉.REL-COME-FV SM_{1SG}-work-FV
 ‘Next week, I’ll work.’ (NF_Elic15)

Although the present construction can be used for both near future (typically the day of speaking) and remote future (typically tomorrow or later) events, the present construction is most commonly used interchangeably with the remote future construction, as shown in (38): the present form and the remote future form were considered equivalent to express future reference (see section 10.4.2 on the remote future construction). This interchangeability is not reversible, however: whereas present constructions can have remote future reference, remote future constructions were not accepted with present reference.

- (38) a. *tùkàbòòrá zyónà*
 tu-ka-boor-á zyóna
 SM_{1PL}-DIST-return-FV tomorrow
 ‘We will return tomorrow.’
- b. *twáràkàbòòrà zyónà*
 tu-ára-ka-boor-a zyóna
 SM_{1PL}-REM_FUT-DIST-return-FV tomorrow
 ‘We will return tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic15)

The use of the present construction for remote future (tomorrow and later) events is also possible without an overt time adverbial. Example (39) is a speaker’s response to the question why he cannot come to work tomorrow; his statement therefore refers to his plans for the next day, although he does not use *zyónà* ‘tomorrow’.

- (39) *ndìyá kùrùwà*
 ndi-y-á ku-ru-wa
 SM_{1SG}-GO-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ‘[Because] I will go to the field.’ (NF_Elic15)

In elicitation contexts, present constructions were frequently offered as alternatives to remote future constructions, but never as alternatives to near future constructions, though when asked, most speakers considered them acceptable, though they preferred near future constructions. Present constructions with near future references were only encountered in natural texts, and even there near future references is more commonly expressed by near future constructions.

That the present construction is more easily interchanged with the remote future construction, rather than the near future construction, may be counterintuitive, as near future describes event situated closer to the time of speaking than remote future. A possible explanation for the interchangeability of the present and remote future constructions is that the remote future derives from an earlier present construction. The Namibian Fwe remote future is marked by a post-initial prefix (*á*)*ra-*. In two Bantu Botatwe languages, Totela and Tonga, a prefix *la-* is used as a marker of present tense (Carter 2002: 45; Crane 2011: 173–176). The *la-* prefix commutates with a zero prefix, with *la-* marking a disjunct (predicate focus) and zero marking a conjunct (argument focus; see van der Wal and Hyman (2017), and other chapters in the same volume on the conjoint/disjunct distinction in Bantu). If this is the older situation (as suggested by the fact that **da-* is reconstructed as a disjunct present for Proto-Bantu),

Fwe would have reanalyzed the former disjunct present as a remote future, and the former conjunct present as a present. The interchangeability of the remote future marked with *ára-*, presumably cognate with the marker *la-* as used in Totela and Tonga, with the present construction may be a relic of this older system.

The interpretation of change-of-state verbs in the present construction differs from that of dynamic verbs. Because change-of-state verbs have a punctive nucleus, namely the change in state that they describe, the present construction's interpretation of a nucleus overlapping with utterance time is not available; the nuclear phase of a change-of-state verb is too short to satisfy the basic criterion of the present construction, namely that the nuclear phase extends at least partly beyond the time of speaking. The only possible interpretation of change-of-state verbs in the present is one that situates the nucleus after the time of speaking, i.e. a futurate or modal interpretation (see also Figure 6).

- (40) *ndìbèngà*
 ndi-béng-a
 SM_{1SG}-become_angry-FV
 'I would/will become angry.' *'I am becoming angry.'
- (41) *ndìrèmánà*
 ndi-reman-á
 SM_{1SG}-become_injured-FV
 'I would/will become injured.'
- (42) *mwíni ùkwàtìwá*
 mw-íni u-kwa_Ht-iw-á
 NP₃-handle SM₃-grab-PASS-FV
 'A handle can be grabbed.'
- (43) *èmpótó ìbbámúkà*
 e-N-potó i-bbam-uk-á
 AUG-NP₉-pot SM₉-break-SEP.INTR-FV
 'A pot can/might break.' (uttered as a warning to someone who is handling a pot carelessly) (NF_Elic15)

Linked to their modal interpretation in main clauses, change-of-state verbs in the present construction are also often used in the apodosis of a factual conditional, expressing an event that will come to pass if certain conditions are met.

- (44) *òshìryá cáhà ònúná*
 o-shi_H-ri-á cáha o-nun-á
 SM_{2SG}-COND-eat-FV very SM_{2SG}-become_fat-FV
 'When you eat too much, you become fat.'
- (45) *òwú mùndaré kùté tùùhíkè ùbìzawá*
 o-ú mu-ndaré kuté tu-u_H-hi_Hk-é u-bizw-á
 AUG-DEM.I₃ NP₃-maize if SM_{1PL}-OM₃-cook-PFV.SBJV SM₃-ripen-FV
 'This maize, if we cook it, will it be done?' (NF_Elic15)

- (46) *òshìpángá bùtì tùzwírà hábùsò*
 o-shi_H-pang-á bu-ti
 SM_{2SG}-COND-do-FV NP₁₄-like_this
 tu-zw-ír-a há-bu-so
 SM_{1PL}-come_out-APPL-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₄-front
 ‘If you do it like this, we will make a profit.’ (ZF_Conv13)

Change-of-state verbs can be divided into those that have an onset phase, such as *-nun-* ‘become fat’ or *-bomb-* ‘become wet’, and those that lack an onset phase, such as *-fw-* ‘die’, and *-aruk-* ‘open’. This distinction is relevant in, for instance, the interpretation of the progressive (see 11.1.1), the inceptive (see 11.5), and the locative pluractional (see 13.2), where change-of-state verbs with an onset phase behave differently from change-of-state verbs without an onset phase. In the present construction, however, this difference in lexical aspect does not give different interpretations; both change-of-state verbs with and without an onset have a futurate, modal or conditional interpretation in the present, that is, an interpretation where the nucleus is situated after UT. This shows that the present construction specifically targets the nucleus, and not the onset phase.

- (47) Change-of-state verb with an onset: *-bomb-*
òmuvúra àshìshókà èvú rìbómbà
 o-ø-mvúra a-shi_H-sho_Hk-á
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM₁-COND-fall-FV
 e-ø-vú ri-bómb-a
 AUG-NP₅-ground SM₅-become wet-FV
 ‘If it rains, the ground becomes wet.’
- (48) Change-of-state verb without an onset: *-aruk-* ‘open’
cíàzò cìàrukà
 cí-azo ci-ar-uk-á
 NP₇-door SM₇-close-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘A door can open.’ *A door is opening. (NF_Elic15)

Perception verbs, such as *-bón-* ‘see’ and *-shuw-* ‘hear, feel’, also function as change-of-state verbs; the use of the present construction gives them a modal, future, or conditional interpretation in the present, not a present ongoing interpretation; this can only be achieved with the stative suffix (see section 11.3.2).

- (49) *ndìbónà*
 ndi-bo_Hn-á
 SM_{1SG}-see-FV
 ‘I can see.’
- (50) *ndìshùwá*
 ndi-shu_H-á
 SM_{1SG}-hear-FV
 ‘I can hear.’ (NF_Elic17)

The modal interpretation that is often seen with change-of-state verbs in the present construction is also available for dynamic verbs, as in the following examples.

- (51) *èzí zìzwátò zìcípítè kònó zìrìfwírà búryò*
 e-zí zi-zwátò zi-cip-íte
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-be_cheap-STAT
 kònó zi-rì_H-fw-ír-a bu-ryó
 but SM₈-REFL-die-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘These clothes are cheap, but they won’t last long (lit. ‘they will just die’).’
- (52) *kùfwèbà kùrè:tèrà màrwá’rírà*
 ku-fweba ku-re_H:t-er-á ma-rwá’rírà
 NP₁₅-smoke SM₁₅-carry-APPL-FV NP₆-disease
 ‘Smoking can cause disease.’
- (53) *mùndàrè ndiùtwá*
 mu-ndaré ndi-u_H-tw-á
 NP₃-maize SM_{1SG}-OM₃-pound-FV
 ‘Maize, I can pound it.’
- (54) *ndìmùná èyòmbè zíngí:*
 ndi-mun-á e-N-ɲombe zí-ngí:
 SM_{1SG}-OWN-FV AUG-NP₁₀-COW PP₁₀-many
 ‘I want to own many cattle.’ (NF_Elic15)

We have seen that the basic meaning of the present construction, situating the event nucleus (partially) after UT, manifests itself differently with dynamic and change-of-state verbs. A third, minor lexical aspectual category is that of true stative verbs. They differ from change-of-state verbs because they refer to a single, unbounded and lasting state, and a change in that state is not part of their event structure. This includes the verbs *-shak-* ‘like, love’, *-tíiz-* ‘be fearsome/dangerous’, and most verbs with neuter *-ahar-*. A stative verb in the present construction represents a state that holds at the time of speaking. Because the state referred to by a true stative verb is unbounded, it automatically precedes, follows and overlaps with UT.

- (55) *kùshàkàhàrà*
 ku-shak-ahar-á
 SM₁₅-need-NEUT-FV
 ‘It is necessary.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (56) *zìtìyìzà*
 zi-tì_Hiz-á
 SM₈-be_dangerous-FV
 ‘They are dangerous.’ (NF_Elic15)

Thus far, I have considered the interaction between lexical (and grammatical) aspect and the present construction. There is, however, also an interpretation of the present construction that is available regardless of the lexical aspect of the event, namely a ge-

neric/gnomic interpretation. In this case the present construction is interpreted as a statement that is generally true, independent of whether the action is happening at the time of speaking. This interpretation is available with all lexical aspectual classes: an example of its use with a change-of-state verb is given in (57); a stative verb in (58); and dynamic verbs in (59) and (60).

- (57) *bàkèntù bàzwátà zìkócì*
 ba-kéntu ba-zwát-a zi-kocí
 NP₂-woman SM₂-wear-FV NP₈-skirt
 ‘Women wear skirts.’
- (58) *òngwè cìbàtànà cìtùzà*
 o-ø-ngwe ø-ci-batana ci-ti_Hiz-á
 AUG-NP_{1a}-leopard COP-NP₇-predator SM_{7,REL}-be_fearsome-FV
 ‘A leopard is a fearsome predator.’ (ZF_Elic₁₃)
- (59) *cìzyùnì cìntù cìùrúkà*
 ci-zyuni ø-ci-ntu cí-uruk-á
 NP₇-bird COP-NP₇-thing SM_{7,REL}-fly-FV
 ‘A bird is something that flies.’ (NF_Elic₁₅)
- (60) *ècíkw'ámè cámb'arì cìyéndà mbómwézi*
 e-cí-kwáme ci-á=mári ci-énd-a mbó-mu-ézi
 AUG-NP₇-man PP₇-CON=polygamy SM₇-go-FV ADV-NP₃-moon
 ‘A polygamous man walks like the moon.’ (saying)²⁹ (NF_Elic₁₅)

The present, futurate and modal interpretations of the present construction show that it is neutral with respect to the overlap of the nucleus and utterance time: either the nucleus is already ongoing at the time of speaking, or the nucleus will (or may) take place after the time of speaking. The combination of the present construction with overt aspectual markers may narrow down this wide variety of meanings. This is the case when the present construction combines with overt marking of progressive aspect, either with a progressive auxiliary *kwezi* or in a fronted-infinitive construction (for more on these progressive constructions, see 11.1). Present constructions marked for progressive aspect can only be interpreted as an action currently in progress, i.e. the nucleus of the event has to overlap with UT; the modal or futurate interpretation is not seen with progressive presents. Compare the aspectually unmarked present construction in (61)a with the progressive presents in (61)b-c. The bare present in (61)a leaves uncertainty as to whether they are currently busy milking; as explained by one speaker, it triggers the question: ‘Are they milking now, or will they do it later?’ The progressive presents in (61)b-c leave no such uncertainty; the only interpretation is that they are currently busy milking.

²⁹ This saying compares the behavior of a man with two wives to that of the moon. Like the moon travels across the sky each month, from one star to the other, so does the polygamous man regularly travel from one wife to the other.

- (61) a. *bàkámà*
 ba-ka_Hm-á
 SM₂-milk-FV
 ‘They are milking. / They will milk.’
- b. *kùkámà 'bákámà*
 ku-kám-a bá-ka_Hm-á
 INF-milk-FV SM₂.REL-milk-FV
 ‘They are milking.’
- c. *bàkwèsì bàkámà*
 ba-kwesi ba-ka_Hm-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-milk-FV
 ‘They are milking.’ (NF_Elic15)

This difference between aspectually unmarked presents and progressive presents has a number of consequences. Firstly, present verbs marked as progressive are necessarily interpreted as having a certain duration, whereas present verbs not marked as progressive have no implications about duration. This difference is illustrated in (62)a, where a non-progressive present is used without any implication about the duration of the event; its progressive counterpart in (62)b, however, suggests that s/he has been knocking for a long time.

- (62) a. *àngòngòtá hàciàzò mbíta muntù shàkàmú'tábè*
 a-ngo_Hngot-á ha-cí-azo
 SM₁-knock-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-door
 mbíta mu-ntu shaká a-mú-tab-é
 until NP₁-person if SM₁-OM₁-answer-PFV.SBJV
 ‘S/he knocks on the door until someone answers.’ (NF_Elic15)
- b. *àkwèsì àngòngòtá hàciàzò mbíta muntù shàk' ámu'tábè*
 a-kwesi a-ngo_Hngot-á ha-cí-azo
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-knock-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-door
 mbíta mu-ntu shaká a-mú-tab-é
 until NP₁-person if SM₁-OM₁-answer-PFV.SBJV
 ‘S/he is knocking on the door until someone answers.’ (implies that s/he has been knocking for a long time) (NF_Elic15)

The difference between the progressive and non-progressive present also relates to modality. The present progressive expresses the speaker's certainty that the event is taking place at UT, but the aspectually unmarked present may leave more doubt about whether the action fully overlaps with UT. This contrast is illustrated in the examples in (63), which both answer the question: ‘Where is that person?’. In a), the use of a present progressive construction implies that the person referred to is currently, without a doubt, busy washing dishes. In b), however, the present construction is used without a progressive aspect, to imply that the person is supposed to wash dishes, but may at this very moment be busy with something else. Here the inherent ambi-

guity of the present construction, where the nucleus can be situated either at or after the time of speaking, is used to express the speaker's uncertainty.

- (63) a. *mùnjúù wèná àkwès' àsànz' ótùsúbà*
 mu-N-júo a-iná
 NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁-be_at
 a-kwesi a-sanz-á o-tu-súba
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-wash-FV AUG-NP₁₃-dish
 'S/he is in the house, s/he is washing dishes.'
- b. *mùnjúù wèná àsànz' ótùsúbà*
 mu-N-júo a-in-á a-sanz-á o-tu-súba
 NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁-be_at-FV SM₁-wash-FV AUG-NP₁₃-dish
 'S/he is in the house, s/he is washing dishes.' (it is not certain that s/he is washing dishes; s/he is supposed to wash dishes but maybe s/he is currently doing something else) (NF_Elic15)

Whereas progressive aspect reduces the ambiguity of the present construction by selecting the interpretation where the nucleus overlaps with the time of speaking, other aspectual forms interact with the present construction differently. This is seen, for instance, in the interaction with the post-initial persistive prefix *shí-* (see section 11.4). The persistive usually expresses an event that started before, and is still ongoing at utterance time, but combined with the present construction, may also express an event that started before, and will continue later, but has been paused at the exact time of speaking. The utterance in (64), where the present verb *-twá* 'pound' is used with a persistive prefix *shí-*, means that the task of pounding that the speaker refers to is not finished yet, but is currently interrupted, to be returned to later.

- (64) *ndìshìtwá*
 ndi-shi_H-tw-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-pound-FV
 'I'm still pounding.' (said when the speaker is currently taking a break, but intends to resume the task shortly) (NF_Elic15)

The combination of the present construction with persistive *shí-* can also indicate an action that has not yet started before utterance time, but will start after UT. The example in (65) is uttered by a speaker who is the last to enter a room, and is urged to hurry, to which he responds that he still needs to close the door, that is, his closing of the door has not yet started as he utters these words.

- (65) *ndìshìcìàrà*
 ndi-shi_H-ci_H-ar-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-OM₇-close-FV
 'I still need to close it.' (NF_Elic17)

Deixis may also play a role in narrowing down the wide variety of interpretations of the present construction, for instance the distal marker, used with the dynamic verb *-bútùkà* 'run' in (66). The distal marker *ka-* expresses an event that takes place away

from the place of speaking (see also 13.1 on the distal). As this utterance was said while the speaker was not, in fact, running, it received a futurate interpretation.

- (66) *ndìkàbùtúkà*
 ndi-ka-bu_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-DIST-run-FV
 ‘I will run (at another place).’ (NF_Elic15)

These examples show that, as long as the nucleus of the event is situated at least partly after the time of speaking, the use of the present with dynamic verbs allows a wide variety of different interpretations of the situation of the nucleus before and/or at the time of speaking.

To sum up, the present construction can have various interpretations, depending on lexical and grammatical aspect, and also to an extent on context. The present construction indicates that at least part of the nucleus of the event follows the utterance time: it allows the nucleus to overlap with UT (as long as the nucleus is extensive enough that it continues until after UT), but it also allows for the nucleus to commence after UT. The distance between the nucleus and UT is also not stipulated, unlike with future constructions. This gives rise to a wide variety of different interpretations, partly determined by lexical aspect: present, modal, conditional, generic and futurate. Its relative lack of semantic specification also corresponds to the lack of morphological marking; unlike other tense/aspect constructions, none of the segmental or suprasegmental markers used with the present construction can be analyzed as markers of present tense specifically. In other verb forms, as will be shown in the following sections, a more complex formal marking also corresponds to a more detailed semantic specification.

10.3 Past

Fwe has four constructions expressing past temporal reference, distinguished by remoteness (near/remote) and aspect (perfective/imperfective), as schematized in Table 10.9.

Table 10.9: Past constructions

	perfective	imperfective
near	SM-a/na-B-i <i>ndàbérékì</i> ndi-a-berék-i SM _{1SG} -PST-work-NPST.PFV ‘I worked (earlier today).’	SM-aku-B-a <i>ndàkùbèrèkà</i> ndi-aku-berek-a SM _{1SG} -PST.IPFV-work-FV ‘I was working (earlier today).’
remote	na/ni-SM-a-B-a <i>nàndábèrèkà</i> na-ndí-a-berek-a REM-SM _{1SG} -PST-work-FV ‘I worked (before today).’	ka-SM-B-a <i>kàndíbèrèkà</i> ka-ndí-berek-á PST.IPFV-SM _{1SG} -work-FV ‘I was working/used to work (before today).’

The four past forms used in Fwe are distinguished by making reference to two specific stages of a verb's event structure: the nucleus, which can have a certain duration, as for dynamic verbs, or be punctive, as for change-of-state verbs, and the coda, which can be absent or present. All four past constructions situate the nucleus in the past, i.e. before the utterance time. The near past constructions situate the nucleus in the near past, and the remote past constructions in the more distant past. In out-of-the-blue and elicitation contexts, the relevant time domain is the day of speaking, e.g. near pasts are treated as hodiernal (for events that took place earlier the same day) and remote pasts as pre-hodiernal (for events that took place before the day of speaking). With sufficient context, more flexible interpretations are possible.

The four past constructions are also distinguished by aspect: the remote/near past perfective constructions present an event as a single, completed whole, and do not allow reference to the internal structure of the nucleus. The remote/near past imperfective constructions present the event's nucleus as more drawn out, and make specific reference to the internal structure of the event's nucleus. These imperfective past constructions may be combined with affixes or constructions that express a specific subtype of imperfective aspect, such as progressive, habitual, stative, or persistent.

A third variable seen in the interpretation of past constructions in Fwe is the relevance or continuance of the event's coda phase at utterance time. Verbs that typically include a coda phase are change-of-state verbs, where the coda phase is the state that is entered into. In the near past perfective, the use of a change-of-state verb typically implies that the resultant coda state still applies at UT. In the remote past perfective, the use of a change-of-state verb may either be interpreted as a persisting coda state, or as a coda state that no longer holds. Both imperfective pasts, however, only allow an interpretation where both the nucleus and the coda state are located in the past.

The following four sections discuss each past construction in turn, discussing their temporal, aspectual and pragmatic interpretations.

10.3.1 Near past perfective

The near past perfective (NPP) construction has the form *SM-a/na-B-i*, i.e. making use of a post-initial prefix *a-/na-*, and a final vowel suffix *-i*.

- (67) *ndìnàyéndì*
ndi-na-énd-i
SM_{1SG}-PST-walk-NPST.PFV
 'I walked.' (ZF_Elic14)

The prefix *a-/na-* is subject to geographical variation and phonological conditioning. In the northernmost varieties of Fwe, the prefix *na-* is strongly preferred. In central Fwe, *a-* and *na-* are used interchangeably.

- (68) Northern Zambian Fwe
ndìnàyéndì
ndi-na-énd-i
SM_{1SG}-PST-walk-NPST.PFV
 'I walked.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (69) Central Zambian Fwe
ndìnàyéndì ~ ndàyéndì
 ndi-(n)a-é̌nd-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-walk-NPST.PFV
 ‘I walked.’ (ZF_Elic13)

In Namibian Fwe, geographically the southernmost variety, *a-* and *na-* are conditioned phonologically. When the vowel preceding the post-initial prefix is /a/, the allomorph *na-* is used. In all other cases, the form *a-* is used, and vowel hiatus resolution affects the vowel of the subject marker (see 3.2 on vowel hiatus resolution).

- (70) Namibian Fwe: *na-* after /a/
 a. *bànàhúrí*
 ba-na-hur-í̌
 SM₂-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘They arrived.’
 b. *ànàcò:kì*
 a-na-cò:k-i
 SM₆-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘They broke.’
- (71) Namibian Fwe: *a-* elsewhere
 a. *ndàhúrí*
 ndi-a-hur-í̌
 SM_{1SG}-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘I arrived.’
 b. *mwàhúrí*
 mu-a-hur-í̌
 SM_{2PL}-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘You arrived.’ (NF_Elic15)

The only exceptions are the second person singular subject marker *o-*, which merges with the past prefix to become *no-*, and the class 1/1a subject marker 1/1a *a-*, which merges with the past prefix to become *na-*. This applies to all varieties of Fwe.

- (72) *nòhúrí*
 no-hur-í̌
 SM_{2SG}.PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘You arrived.’
- (73) *nàhúrí*
 na-hur-í̌
 SM₁.PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘S/he arrived.’ (NF_Elic15)

The post-initial prefix *a-* is a past marker: it is also used in the remote past perfective (see section 10.3.2) and the near past imperfective (see section 10.3.2). The varia-

tion between *a-* and *na-* is specific to the use of the past marker in the near past perfective, however, and is not seen with the remote past perfective and near past imperfective constructions.

The final vowel suffix *-i* is only used in the near past perfective, not in any other past constructions (its occurrence in the negative present is likely to be due to accidental homophony), and is therefore glossed as such, using the abbreviation NPST.PFV.

When a near past perfective verb includes a passive suffix *-(i)w* (see section 8.3 on the passive), the final vowel suffix *-a* is used instead of the suffix *-i*. The passive is the only derivational suffix that blocks the use of the suffix *-i*.

- (74) *cìshámú cìnàtémìwà*
 ci-shamú ci-na-tém-iw-a
 NP₇-tree SM₇-PST-chop-PASS-FV
 ‘The tree was chopped.’
- (75) *zòns hé: zìzyùnì zàzwísìwà*
 z-onshé: zi-zyuni zi-a-zw-ís-iw-a
 PP₈-all NP₈-bird SM₈-PST-leave-CAUS-PASS-FV
 ‘All the birds have been removed.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The past suffix *-i* never causes spirantization of the preceding consonant, as opposed to the agentive suffix *-i*, which causes spirantization in a number of cases (see 6.1.1), and the stative suffix *-ite*, where spirantization occurs with a number of allomorphs of the suffix (see 11.3.1).

Verbs in the near past perfective take melodic tone 3, a high tone on the second stem syllable, and retain their lexical tones. Like all melodic tones, this tone may be subject to tone rules such as optional H spread (76), or Meeussen’s Rule (77).

- (76) *ndàyèndáùrì ~ ndàyéndáùrì*
 ndi-a-end-á-ur-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-walk-PL1-SEP.TR-NPST.PFV
 ‘I walked around.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (77) *ndàkákìkìzì*
 ndi-a-kácíkiz-i > ndi-a-kácikiz-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-interrupt-NPST.PFV
 ‘I interrupted.’ (NF_Elic15)

Three elements of the interpretations of the near past perfective are discussed here: it situates the nucleus of an event in the recent past; it presents the nucleus as complete; and it implies that the coda phase, if the event includes one, still holds at utterance time, though this implication can be canceled.

The NPP situates the nucleus of the event in the recent past with respect to the utterance time. In most contexts, recent past is interpreted as earlier the same day, as it is in the following examples.

- (78) *shùnù ndàhúrùrì màpùrù*
 shunu ndi-a-húrur-i ma-puru
 today SM_{1SG}-PST-take_off_yoke-NPST.PFV NP₆-OX
 ‘Today I took the yoke off the oxen.’

- (79) *àménjì àyìsá kàkúrí ndàábìrìsì*
 a-ma-ínji a-i_{HS}-á
 AUG-NP₆-water SM₆-burn-FV
 kakúrí ndi-a-á-bir-is-i
 because SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₆-boil-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 ‘The water is hot, because I (just) boiled it.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Nurse (2008) notes that for most Bantu languages that distinguish hodiernal and prehodiernal past, there is not an absolute time reference but rather a cyclical one; events that are perceived to be in the same time cycle are conceived as hodiernal, and events that are perceived to be in a previous time cycle are conceived as prehodiernal. With such a conceptualization of time, events that happened much longer ago than today can still be expressed with a near past construction. This is also the case for Fwe. The “same time cycle” can be construed as larger than the day of speaking, for instance as the year (that includes the day of speaking). This is the case in example (80), where the time frame is construed as ‘this year’, and the NPP is used for an event that took place earlier the same year, although it took place before the day of speaking.

- (80) *cínó cìrìmò ndìnàshínjì wáwà*
 cinó ci-rimo ndi-na-shínj-i wáwa
 DEM.II₇ NP₇-year SM_{1SG}-PST-harvest-NPST.PFV very
 ‘This year, I had a good harvest.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Another context when the near past perfective may refer to an event that did not take place earlier the same day, but longer ago, is when the speaker wants to express surprise. The use of the NPP in (81) does not imply that the event of becoming rich happened earlier the same day, but that the event of becoming rich was unexpected and sudden, for instance someone won a jackpot, or was given 50 heads of cattle.

- (81) *nàfúmì*
 na-fum-í
 SM₁.PST-become_rich-NPST.PFV
 ‘S/he has become rich (suddenly/unexpectedly).’ (NF_Elic17)

Similarly, the use of the NPP in (82) has two possible interpretations: either that the subject got married earlier the same day, or that the subject got married before the day of speaking, but that his marriage was secret and has been recently revealed.

- (82) *nàshéshì*
 na-shésh-i
 SM₁.PST-marry-NPST.PFV
 1. ‘He got married (earlier today).’
 2. ‘He got married (before today, but I discovered it recently).’ (NF_Elic17)

The use of the near past perfective to express that an event is sudden, surprising, or unexpected, may be a pragmatic extension of its recent past semantics: by situating an event closer to the utterance time, the speaker is highlighting its unexpectedness.

In addition to its temporal specification of situating an event in the recent past, the near past perfective also has an aspectual meaning, namely to present the nucleus of the event as a single, complete whole, without reference to its internal structure. That the internal structure of the nucleus cannot be referenced is seen when an NPP verb is combined with a verb in the consecutive form (cf. section 10.5), as in (83), where the NPP verb *nàréngì* ‘[lightning] struck’ is followed by a consecutive verb *có’kúyà* ‘and it burnt’. As the NPP presents the event of the lightning striking as perfective, without reference to its internal constituency, the event presented by the consecutive form cannot co-occur with the lightning striking, but is interpreted as occurring after it.

- (83) *òmvúra nàréngì cìkúnì có’kúyà*
 o-ø-mvúra na-réng-i ci-kuní
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM₁-PST-strike-NPST.PFV NP₇-tree
 ci-ó=ku-y-á
 PP₇-CON=INF-burn-FV
 ‘The lightning struck the tree, and it burnt.’ (NF_Elic17)

The perfective nature of the near past perfective is also seen in its interaction with aspectual markers; the NPP does not co-occur with imperfective aspectual forms such as progressives, habituais, and the persistive, nor with the locative pluractional marker, which indicates an event taking place in different locations (see section 13.2); as the NPP does not allow reference to the internal structure of the event’s nucleus, it cannot be used with a marker that describes the spatial distribution of the event.

- (84) **ndàkàbúyèndì*
 ndi-a-kabú-énd-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-LOC_PL-walk-NPST.PFV
 Intended: ‘I walked around; I walked in different places.’ (NF_Elic17)

Perfectivity is not the main component of the near past perfective, however; the remote past perfective also indicates completed action, but the two constructions are distinguished by the perceived distance between the completion of the action and utterance time.

A third semantic component of the near past perfective concerns the coda phase of the event, if the event has one. When the NPP is used with a verb that includes a coda phase, there is a strong implication that this coda phase still holds at UT. The examples below all show that, when used without further clarifying context, the default interpretation of the NPP is that the coda phase is still ongoing at UT.

- (85) *ndànjómbì*
 nd-a-njómb-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-get_stuck-NPST.PFV
 ‘I got stuck (and am still stuck).’ (NF_Elic17)

- (86) *ècí cìpurà càcò:kì*
 e-cí ci-purá ci-a-cò:k-i
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-chair SM₇-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘This chair broke (and is still broken).’ (ZF_Elic13)

- (87) *ndàzísánzì*
 ndi-a-zí-sánz-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₈-wash-NPST.PFV
 ‘I washed them (and they are clean now).’ (NF_Elic15)

This is also true of the use of the NPP with a change-of-state verb, where it is usually interpreted as a present state.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(88) a. <i>kùshwènà</i>
 ku-shwen-a
 INF-become_tired-FV
 ‘to become tired’</p> | <p>b. <i>ndàshwèni</i>
 ndi-a-shwén-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-become_tired-NPST.PFV
 ‘I am tired.’ (ZF_Elic14)</p> |
| <p>(89) a. <i>kùlòsà</i>
 ku-lós-a
 INF-become_bored-FV
 ‘to become bored’</p> | <p>b. <i>ndàlòsì</i>
 ndi-a-lós-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-become_bored-NPST.PFV
 ‘I am bored.’ (NF_Elic15)</p> |
| <p>(90) a. <i>kùnyòngàmà</i>
 ku-nyong-am-a
 INF-bend-IMP.INTR-FV
 ‘to bend’</p> | <p>b. <i>cànyóngámì</i>
 ci-a-nyong-ám-i
 SM₇-PST-bend-IMP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘It is bent.’ (NF_Elic15)</p> |

Even though the NPP implies a lasting coda phase, the nuclear phase is also part of the conceptualization. An example is given in (91), where the NPP not only expresses that the handle is broken at the time of speaking, but the earlier breaking of the handle is also conceptualized, as it invites the question: who broke it?

- (91) a. *mwínì wéhàmbà wàcò:kì*
 mu-íni u-é=amba u-a-cò:k-i
 NP₃-handle PP₃-CON=hoe SM₃-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘The handle of the hoe is broken.’
- b. *ndínì nàúcò:rì*
 ndi-ní na-ú-cò:r-i
 COP-who SM₁.PST-OM₃-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘Who broke it?’ (NF_Elic15)

That the earlier change of state is part of the conceptualization of the verb is further supported by the fact that an agent phrase is allowed; this agent phrase provides information about the earlier change of state, namely who the agent was that instigated it. In example (92), the change-of-state verb *-bomba* ‘become wet’ is used in the near past perfective, implying that the clothes are still wet. The earlier change in state,

however, namely the moment the clothes became wet, is also conceptualized, and the agent phrase *kúmvúra* ‘by the rain’ refers to this nuclear phase.

- (92) *èzìzwátò zìnàbómì kúmvúra*
 e-zi-zwáto zi-na-bómb-i kú-ø-mvúra
 AUG-NP₈-cloth SM₈-PST-become_wet-NPST.PFV NP₁₇- NP_{1a}-rain
 ‘The clothes have become wet because of the rain.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Not only does the NPP conceptualize the earlier nuclear phase as well as the resultant coda phase, the use of the NPP situates the nuclear phase of the event in the recent past. Even when the coda state still holds at utterance time, if the nucleus is not situated in the recent past, the near past perfective cannot be used, and the remote past perfective is used instead. This is seen in example (93), indicating that the speaker is still sick today, but because the nuclear phase of becoming sick is situated in the remote past, the remote past perfective rather than the near past perfective is used. Only when the nuclear phase is situated in the recent past, as in (94), can the NPP be used.

- (93) *níndàrwára zyónà nèshúnù ndìshìrwáritè*
 ní-ndi-a-rwár-a zyóna ne=shúnu ndi-shi_H-rwa_Hr-íte
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-FV yesterday COM=today SM_{1SG}-PER-be_sick-STAT
 ‘I got sick yesterday, and I am still sick today.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (94) *ndàrwári mvívùmò*
 ndi-a-rwár-i mú-e-ø-vumo
 SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-stomach
 ‘I got sick to my stomach [this evening].’ (NF_Narr17)

That the near past perfective expresses an ongoing coda phase together with a preceding nuclear phase, can be seen by contrasting it with the stative construction. The stative construction expresses a state that holds at utterance time; it does not make reference to if or when the state has come about (see section 11.3). This contrasts with the NPP, where the entering of the state is conceptualized. As such, the NPP, but not the stative, may be used with temporal adverbs referring to the change in state.

- (95) a. Near past perfective
èténdè ryángù ryàcókì shúnù
 e-ø-ténde ri-angú ri-a-cók-i shúnu
 AUG-NP₅-foot PP₅-POSS_{1SG} SM₅-PST-break-NPST.PFV today
 ‘My leg broke today.’
 b. Stative
**èténdè ryángù rìcókètè shúnù*
 Int: ‘My leg broke today.’³⁰

³⁰ An interpretation where the adverb modifies the current state, e.g. ‘my leg is broken today’, was also not accepted.

Although the default interpretation of the near past perfective is that any resulting coda phase still holds at UT, this implication can be canceled. In example (96), the NPP verb *ndàrwàrí* ‘I got sick’ has an implied coda state of being sick, but in this example, the coda state is canceled. Similarly in example (97), the implied coda state of *ndàzísànzì* ‘I washed them’, namely that the clothes are clean, does not hold at UT.

- (96) *ndàrwàrí màsíkùsíkù hànú mànténgù shèndìrìshúwírè nénjà*
 ndi-a-rwár-i ma-síkusíku
 SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-NPST.PFV NP₆-morning
 hànú ma-nténgu she-ndi-ri_H-shu_H-íre nénja
 DEM.II₆ NP₆-evening INC-SM_{1SG}-REFL-feel-STAT well
 ‘I got sick this morning, but now in the evening I feel well.’

- (97) *ndàzísànzì èzì zìzwátò shúnù hàpé hánù shìzázγùrì túkútà*
 ndi-a-zí-sanz-i e-zí zì-zwátò shúnu
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₈-wash-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth today
 hàpé hánù shi-zì-á-zyur-i ø-túkútá
 again DEM.II₁₆ INC-SM₈-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV NP₅-dirt
 ‘I washed these clothes today, but now they are dirty again.’ (NF_Elic17)

So when used with verbs that include a coda phase, the near past perfective implies the continuation of the coda phase, but this implication can be canceled. Other verbs do not include a possible coda phase, but it is possible that the nuclear phase continues to be relevant in some other way. For example, the use of the NPP with the verb *-hur-* ‘arrive’ (98) implies the continued relevance of the event’s nucleus, namely ‘being in a certain place’.³¹

- (98) *òmífúmù kwénà nàhúrí*
 o-mfúmu kú-a-ina na-hur-í
 AUG-king SM₁₇-SM₁-be_at SM₁.PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘The king, he’s here, he has arrived.’ (NF_Elic17)

The relevant consequences of an event in the NPP are treated in the same way as the post-nuclear coda phase: their relevance is implied, but this implication can be canceled. This is illustrated in (99), where the consequences of buying salt, namely having salt, are no longer valid at UT, e.g. the salt is already finished.

- (99) *ndàùrí zwáyì kònó shìryàmánì*
 ndi-a-ur-í ø-zwái konó shi-ri-a-man-í
 SM_{1SG}-PST-buy-NPST.PFV NP₅-salt but INC-SM₅-PST-finished-NPST.PFV
 ‘I bought salt [earlier today], but [now] it’s already finished.’ (NF_Elic17)

Even though the NPP implies the continuing relevance of the event, only when the nucleus of the event is situated in the near past can the NPP be used. In example (100),

³¹ That this particular verb lacks a coda phase is seen from its incompatibility with the stative ending *-ite*. The stative ending regularly derives a coda state from verbs where a coda is part of their lexical event structure.

the verb *-hur-* ‘arrive’ is used in the remote past perfective, because even though the event is still highly relevant (‘they’ are still here), the nucleus is situated in the remote past, not the near past. A similar example is given in (101), where the remote rather than near past perfective is used, because even though the event is still relevant (the speaker is still married), the nucleus is not situated in the recent past.

- (100) *nìbáhùrà zyónà*
 ni-bá-a-hur-a zyóna
 REM-SM₂-PST-arrive-FV yesterday
 ‘They arrived yesterday (and are still here).’ (NF_Elic15)
- (101) *náàshéshà òmùkèntù wàmuvàzàmbià*
 ná-a-a-shésh-a o-mu-kéntu u-a=mwa-zambia
 REM-SM₁-PST-marry-FV AUG-NP₁-woman PP₁-CON=NP₁₈-Zambia
 ‘He married a Zambian woman.’ (and he is still married to her) (ZF_Elic14)

The implication of the NPP, that the verb’s coda phase or relevance lasts up to the time of speaking, cannot be canceled when the verb is combined with the inceptive prefix: in this case, the verb’s coda phase or relevance are always interpreted as valid at UT. This is illustrated in (102): a) shows that the NPP with the inceptive implies lasting relevance of the event, in this case that the rain is still falling. Example b) shows that this implication cannot be canceled. Example c) shows that the implication can be canceled when the NPP is used without the inceptive.

- (102) Near past perfective + inceptive: lasting relevance
- a. *sinátàngì òkùshókà*
 si-na-táng-i o-ku-shók-a
 INC-SM₁.PST-start-NPST.PFV AUG-INF-rain-FV
 ‘It has started to rain.’ (and is raining now)
- b. **sinátàngì òkùshókà cwàré sànakàbúkì*
 si-na-táng-i o-ku-shók-a
 INC-SM₁.PST-start-NPST.PFV AUG-INF-rain-FV
 cwàré sa-na-kabúk-i
 then INC-SM₁.PST-stop_rain-NPST.PFV
 Intended: ‘It started to rain [earlier today], but now it stopped.’
- c. *nátàngì òkùshókà cwàré sànakàbúkì*
 na-táng-i o-ku-shók-a
 SM₁.PST-start-NPST.PFV AUG-INF-rain-FV
 cwàré sa-na-kabúk-i
 then INC-SM₁.PST-stop_rain-NPST.PFV
 ‘It started to rain [earlier today], but now it stopped.’ (NF_Elic17)

10.3.2 Remote past perfective

The remote past perfective (RPP) construction has the form *na/ni-sm-a-B-a*, with a pre-initial remoteness prefix *na-/ni-*, a post-initial past prefix *a-*, and the default final vowel suffix *-a*.

- (103) *nàndáshâmbà*
na-ndí-a-shâmb-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-SWIM-FV
 ‘I swam.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The vowel of the pre-initial prefix exhibits a certain degree of geographical variation. It is realized as *ni-* in Namibian Fwe (example (104)a). In Zambian Fwe, it is mostly realized as *na-*, but can also be realized as *ne-*, especially in subordinate clauses (example (104)c).

- (104) a. *níndàtémà*
ní-ndi-a-tém-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-chop-FV
 ‘I chopped.’ (NF_Elic15)
- b. *nándàtéká*
ná-ndi-a-ték-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-fetch-FV
 ‘I fetched.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- c. *kàrí ndímé nèndá'yáyà*
ka-rí ndi-mé ne-ndí-a-ya-á
 NEG-be COP-PERS_{1SG} REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-kill-FV<REL>
 ‘It wasn’t me who broke it.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The prefix *na-/ni-/ne-* marks remoteness, selecting a time period that is considered to be far away from the time of speaking. In the case of the remote past perfective, it selects a domain long *before* the time of speaking. The same remoteness prefix is used with the remote future construction, which combines the remoteness prefix with a post-initial prefix *na-* (Zambian Fwe) or *ára-* (Namibian Fwe) (see section 10.4.2): here it selects a domain long *after* the time of speaking. The remoteness prefix is also used with a subjunctive to express a remote future in a subordinate clause (see chapter 12), and with any verb in the apodosis of a counterfactual (see section 16.5.2).

In Namibian Fwe, the remoteness prefix *ni-* can be elided in the remote past perfective, usually without a change in meaning.

- (105) a. *ndáyìbàrà èyí 'mbúkà*
ndí-a-í-bar-á e-í N-buká
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-read-FV AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-book
- b. *nìndáyìbàrà èyí 'mbúkà*
ni-ndí-a-í-bar-á e-í N-buká
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-read-FV AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-book

‘I have read this book.’ (NF_Elic15)

Elision of the remoteness prefix is obligatory when the RPP has an experiential reading, expressing an event that has occurred at least once in the indeterminate past.

- (106) *éni ècò 'círyò ndácìryà*
 éni e-có ci-ryó ndí-a-ci-ry-a
 yes AUG-DEM.III₇ NP₇-food SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-eat-FV
 ‘Yes, this food, I have eaten it (answer to: ‘Have you ever eaten this food?’).’
 (NF_Elic17)

- (107) *nóshàngà nà mùkúru wángù*
 nò-shangan-a mu-kúru u-angú
 SM_{2SG}-PST-meet-FV NP₁-brother PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘Have you ever met my brother?’ (ZF_Elic13)

- (108) *kàrí ndáyà mòwín' ómùnzi*
 ka-ri ndí-a-y-a mo-winá o-mu-nzi
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV NP₁₈-DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-village
 ‘I’ve never been to that village.’ (NF_Elic15)

Elision of the remoteness prefix in the RPP in Zambian Fwe only occurs in experiential readings, not as free variation. Further differences in the use of the remoteness prefix is seen in the remote future construction, where the remoteness prefix is optional in Namibian Fwe. There thus appears to be a regional difference in its use, where Namibian Fwe is either losing the remoteness prefix, or, if the prefix is a recent innovation, has not (yet) fully acquired it.

The post-initial prefix *a-* used in the remote past perfective is a past marker; it is also seen in the near past imperfective, where it combines with a post-initial prefix *ku-* (see 10.3.2), and in the near past perfective, where it combines with a suffix *-i* (see 10.3.1). The post-initial prefix *a-* of the remote past perfective is not completely identical to the post-initial prefix *a-* of the near past perfective, however, because near past perfective *a-* has an allomorph *na-*, which is not seen with remote past perfective *a-*.

Verbs in the remote past perfective retain their underlying tones. In addition, they take melodic tone 2, which is assigned to the subject marker. When the verb root has a lexical high tone, the prefix *ni-/ne-/na-* is also realized with a high tone. The adjacency of the high tone of *ni-/ne-/na-* to the high tone on the subject marker causes the second high tone to be deleted as a result of Meeussen’s Rule (see section 4.1.1). The prefix *ni-/ne-/na-* is not realized with a high tone when the verb root is toneless, in which case the high tone of the subject marker is also not deleted. The different tonal patterns of high-toned and toneless verbs in the RPP are shown in (109).

- (109) a. -shótok- ‘jump
nándàshótòkà
 ná-ndí-a-shótok-a > ná-ndi-a-shótok-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-jump-FV
 ‘I have jumped.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- b. -zibar- ‘forget’

nàndázìbàrà
 na-ndí-a-zibar-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-forget-FV
 ‘I have forgotten.’ (ZF_Elic14)

A different tonal pattern is used for RPP verbs in relative clauses: they are realized with a high tone on the subject marker (MT 2) and a high tone on the last verb mora, retracting to the penultimate in clause-final position (MT 1). RPP verbs also lose their lexical high tones in this context (MT 4), so that the tonal distinction between verbs with and without a lexical high tone is not maintained.

- (110) a. -shángaur- ‘contribute’

àmàshérèjì àò nìtwáshàngàúrà
 a-ma-sheréjì a-o ni-tú-a-sha_Hngaur-á
 AUG-NP₆-money AUG-DEM.III₆ REM-SM_{1PL}-PST-contribute-FV<REL>
 ‘the money that we contributed’

- b. -tendahar- ‘happen’

ècìntú cò nìcátèndàhàrà
 e-ci-ntú co ni-cí-a-tendahar-á
 AUG-NP₇-thing DEM.III₇ REM-SM₇-PST-happen-FV<REL>
 ‘the thing that happened’ (NF_Elic17)

The remainder of this section discusses the temporal, aspectual and pragmatic interpretation of the remote past perfective. Temporally, the RPP situates the nucleus of the event in the remote past with respect to utterance time. In most cases, remote past is interpreted as any time before the day of speaking, such as yesterday in (111); more than fifty years ago in (112); a few months ago in (113), which is the conclusion of a story about an elephant attack that happened a few months before.

- (111) *nìbáhùrà zyónà*

ni-bá-a-hur-a zyóna
 REM-SM₂-PST-arrive-FV yesterday
 ‘They arrived yesterday.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (112) *émè nándàré:tìwà kánàntìnsíkìsìtì*

eme ná-ndi-a-ré:t-iw-a ká-naintinsíkìsìtì
 PERS_{1SG} REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-give_birth-PASS-FV at-1960
 ‘I was born in 1960.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (113) *mbóbùryáhò nìyápàngàhàrìrà*

mbó-bu-riáho ni-í-a-pang-ahar-ir-á
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that REM-SM₉-PST-do-NEUT-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘That is how it happened.’ (ZF_Narr15)

The RPP may also contrast time units larger than the day of speaking, such as the year; in (II4), the speaker is contrasting his farming activities of next year with those of the previous year.

- (114) *cìrimò cíkê:zyà nàndínàkúná màyirà cìrimò nàcámànà mùndaré nàndá'kúnà*
ci-rimo cí-ké:zy-a na-ndí-na-kun-á ma-ira
NP₇-year SM₇.REL-COME-FV REM-SM_{1SG}-FUT-plant-FV NP₆-sorghum
ci-rimo na-cí-a-man-a
NP₇-year REM-SM₇-PST-finish-FV
N-mu-ndaré na-ndí-a-kun-á
COP-NP₃-maize REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-plant-FV<REL>
‘Next year, I will plant sorghum. Last year I planted maize.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The remote past perfective express perfective aspect; it presents the event's nucleus as a single event and does not allow reference to its internal structure. This can be seen when a verb in the RPP combines with a consecutive verb. Consecutives do not have a tense marking of their own, but situate the event relative to the event encoded by the preceding, inflected verb. In example (115), the RPP verb *nàndámàná* ('*kúryà*) 'I finished (eating)' is followed by a consecutive *ndókùyèndà* (*kàrà:rà*) 'I went (to sleep)'; because the RPP does not allow reference to the internal structure of the event's nucleus, the event expressed by the consecutive is necessarily interpreted as occurring after the event expressed by the RPP.

- (115) *àhà nàndámàná 'kúryà ndókùyèndà kàrárà*
a-ha na-ndí-a-man-á ku-ry-á
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-FV<REL> INF-eat-FV
ndi-ó=ku-end-a ka-rá:r-a
SM_{1SG}-CON=INF-go-FV DIST.INF-sleep-FV
‘When I had finished eating, I went to sleep.’ (ZF_Elic13)

A verb in the RPP does not allow reference to specific subphases of the event's nucleus; in this case a remote past imperfective would be used (see 10.3.4). Example (116) illustrates the different uses of both constructions; the remote past imperfective verb *kàndírwarà* 'I was sick' provides the background for the remote past perfective verb *nàndákàtā* 'I became thin'.

- (116) *àhà kàndírwarà nàndákàtà*
a-ha ka-ndí-rwár-a na-ndí-a-kat-a
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_sick-FV REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-become-thin-FV
‘When I was sick, I became thin.’ (ZF Elic14)

Because the RPP is perfective, it does not co-occur with imperfective markers such as persistive *shí-*, habitual *náku-* or *-ang*, or a progressive construction (see chapter II on aspect). The RPP may also not co-occur with the locative pluractional marker, which describes that an event takes place in multiple locations (see 13.2); because the RPP does not allow reference to the event's internal structure, co-occurrence with a marker that describes the event's spatial distribution is disallowed. Incompatibility with the locative pluractional is also seen for the near past perfective (see example (84))

in 10.3.1.). The near and remote past perfective constructions do occur with the locative pluractional (see sections 10.3.3 and 10.3.4).

- (117) **nìndákàbúyèndà*
 ní-ndí-a-kabú-end-a
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-LOC_PL-walk-FV
 Intended: ‘I walked around/walked in different places.’ (NF_Elic17)

If the RPP is used with an event that includes a coda phase, for instance the result state of a change-of-state verb, two interpretations are possible: either the coda phase has ceased to hold at the utterance time, setting the entire event in the past, or the coda phase can last up to UT. Examples are given with the change-of-state verb *-rwár-* ‘become sick’: in (118), the event of being sick no longer holds at UT, and in (119), the event of being sick does still hold at UT.

- (118) *nìndàrwàrà zyónà kònó shùnu ndìrìshùwìrè nénjà*
 ní-ndi-a-rwár-a zyóna
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-become_sick-FV yesterday
 kònó shùnu ndi-rì_H-shu_H-íre nénja
 but today SM_{1SG}-REFL-feel-STAT well
 ‘I got sick yesterday, but today I feel well.’
- (119) *nìndàrwàrà zyónà nèshùnu ndìshìrwàrìtè*
 ní-ndi-a-rwár-a zyóna
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-FV yesterday
 ne=shùnu ndi-shi_H-rwa_Hr-íte
 COM=today SM_{1SG}-PER-be_sick-STAT
 ‘I got sick yesterday, and today I am still sick.’ (NF_Elic17)

Certain dynamic verbs may also have a coda phase, such as *-zyáka enjúo* ‘to build a house’, whose coda phase is the existence of the house. Again, the RPP can be used in a context where the coda phase no longer holds (120), and in a context where the coda phase still holds (121).

- (120) *nìndàzyák’ ènjúò ndókùyílàpàurà hápè*
 ní-ndi-a-zyák-a e-N-júo
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-build-FV AUG-NP₉-house
 ndi-ó=ku-í-lap-a-ur-a hápè
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₉-tear-PL1-SEP.TR-FV again
 ‘I built a house, then I destroyed it again.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (121) *ndímè nìndàyízyàkà èyí njúò òmò á’kàrà*
 ndí-me ní-ndi-a-yí-zyak-a e-í N-júo
 COP-PERS_{3SG} REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-build-FV<REL> AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-house
 o-mo á-kar-á
 AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-stay-FV
 ‘It is me who built the house in which s/he stays.’ (NF_Elic17)

These examples show that the remote past perfective situates the nucleus of an event in the remote past. It does not specify if the coda phase still holds: the RPP can be used in contexts where the coda phase still holds, and in situations where the coda phase no longer holds. When the event's coda phase still holds at the time of speaking, but the nucleus is situated in the near rather than the remote past, the near past perfective would be used (see 10.3.1).

10.3.3 Near past imperfective

The near past imperfective (NPI) is used only in Namibian Fwe. It has the form SM-aku-B-a, with a post-initial prefix *aku-* that is glossed as NPST.IPFV ‘near past imperfective’.

- (122) *ndàkùtòmbwèrà*
 ndi-aku-tombwer-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-weed -FV
 ‘I was weeding.’ (NF_Elic15)

The syllable *ku* that occurs in the NPI prefix resembles the infinitive prefix *ku-*. The NPI construction also shares certain other characteristics with the infinitive form of the verb. In regular infinitives, the infinitive prefix *ku-* is dropped when the verb is used together with the distal marker *ka-*, which indicates that the event takes place away from the deictic center. In the NPI construction too, the syllable *ku* may be dropped when the verb is used with the distal marker *ka-*. Alternatively, the distal marker *ka-* can also be used in addition to the prefix *ku-*.

- (123) a. *ndàkàbèrèkà*
 ndi-a-ka-berek-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-DIST-work-FV
 ‘I was working there.’
 b. *ndàkùkàbèrèkà*
 ndi-aku-ka-berek-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-DIST-work-FV
 ‘I was working there.’ (NF_Elic17)

The similarity between the NPI construction and the infinitive form is also seen in their tonal realization. Almost all TAM constructions in Fwe take at least one melodic tone (see section 10.1.1). The infinitive does not take a melodic tone, but is realized with its underlying tones. This is also the case for the NPI, which lacks melodic tones but allows underlying tones to surface, as shown in the following examples.

- (124) -hík- ‘cook’
ndàkùhíkà
 ndi-aku-hík-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-cook-FV
 ‘I was cooking.’ (NF_Elic17)

(125) *-rim-* ‘cultivate’

ndàkùrìmà
ndi-aku-rim-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-cultivate-FV
 ‘I was cultivating.’ (NF_Elic15)

The segmental and tonal similarities between the infinitive form and the NPI show that the NPI has its origin in an infinitive form, preceded by an auxiliary prefix which has become phonetically reduced to a prefix *a-*.

The NPI prefix *aku-* can be used in two ways: either the prefix is used on the lexical verb, as in the previous examples, or the prefix can be used on the auxiliary verb *ri* ‘to be’. Both constructions are interchangeable, and no difference in meaning was observed.

- (126) a. *bàkùbèrèkà*
ba-aku-berek-a
 SM₂-NPST.IPFV-work-FV
 ‘They were working.’
- b. *bàkùrí kùbèrèkà*
ba-aku-rí *ku-berek-a*
 SM₂-NPST.IPFV-be INF-work-FV
 ‘They were working.’ (NF_Elic15)

The NPI expresses a near past imperfective: temporally, it situates the event in the near past, and aspectually, it references the internal structure of the event. Like the near past perfective, near past is usually interpreted as earlier on the day of speaking. Imperfective events situated before the day of speaking are typically expressed by the remote past imperfective (see section 10.3.4). In (127), the NPI is used to describe an event that was ongoing earlier the same day.

- (127) *ndàkùtòmbwèrà shúnù*
ndi-aku-tombwer-a *shúnu*
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-weed-FV today
 ‘I was weeding today.’ (NF_Elic17)

As the NPI expresses imperfectivity, it may express a longer, backgrounded event during which a shorter event is situated. This is the case in (128), where the NPI verb *ndákùbútùkà* ‘I was running’ describes the ongoing event which subsumes the shorter event of the speaker developing blisters, which is described with the near past perfective verb *ndàdóntì* ‘I got blisters’.

- (128) *ndàdónì mí-mà-ténde ángù àhà ndákùbútukà*
 ndi-a-d_{ONT}-i mú-ma-ténde a-ángú
 SM₁-PST-develop_blister-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-NP₆-foot PP₆-POSS_{1SG}
 a-ha ndí-aku-bútuk-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-NPST.IPFV-run-FV
 ‘I got blisters on my feet when I was running.’ (NF_Elic15)

As an imperfective construction, the NPI can co-occur with other markers of imperfectivity, e.g. the persistive and the stative.

- (129) NPI + persistentive
àkùshíyòrà
 a-aku-shí-_{NPST}or-a
 SM₁-NPST.IPFV-PER-write-FV
 ‘S/he was still writing.’
- (130) NPI + stative
ndàkùrwárìtè
 ndi-aku-rwa_{HR}-ìtè
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-become_sick-STAT
 ‘I was sick.’ (NF_Elic17)

The NPI cannot be combined with an overt progressive construction, such as the progressive auxiliary *kwesì*. When used without other overt imperfective markers, the NPI usually has a progressive interpretation.

- (131) **bàkwèsì bàkùsèbèzà*
Int: ‘They were working.’
- (132) *bàkùsèbèzà*
ba-aku-sebez-a
SM₂-NPST.IPFV-work-FV
‘They were working.’ (NF_Elic17)

Habitual aspect is another subtype of imperfective aspect, and in Fwe is treated as such: the expression of a past habitual requires an imperfective past construction, and is not allowed with perfective past constructions. The near past imperfective, however, may not co-occur with over habitual markers, such as the habitual suffix *-ang*.

- (133) **ndàkùtòmbwèràngà*
 ndi-aku-tombwer-ang-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-weed-HAB-FV
 Int: 'I used to weed.' (NF_Elic17)

Even when used without other imperfective morphology, the NPI is never used with a habitual interpretation. This may be explained as the result of its restriction to the near past, usually the day of speaking: this time frame may be too short for any event to be considered habitual. The remote past imperfective, however, does combine with the habitual suffix *-ang* to express a past habitual (see section 10.3.4).

The near past imperfective may be combined with the locative pluractional, which marks that an event takes place across different locations (see section 13.2). The remote past imperfective, too, can co-occur with the locative pluractional, but not the near and remote past perfective. Because the locative pluractional describes the internal structure of the event, namely its spatial distribution, it is restricted to imperfective constructions, that allow reference to the event's internal structure.

- (134) *ndàkùrí kàbúyèndà*
 ndi-aku-rí kabú-end-a
 SM₂-NPST.IPFV-be LOC_PL-work-FV
 'I was walking around.' (NF_Elic17)

The NPI situates the entire event in the recent past; it is not possible for the event's nucleus or coda to still be ongoing at the time of speaking. The NPI construction in example (135) situates the verb's nucleus ('working') in the near past, and simultaneously expresses that the nuclear phase no longer holds at UT.

- (135) *bàkùsèbèzà*
 ba-aku-sebez-a
 SM₂-NPST.IPFV-work-FV
 'They were working (but they're not working anymore).' (NF_Elic17)

The NPI also does not allow overlap between the event's coda and utterance time. This is shown in (136), where the NPI situates both the nuclear phase of becoming sick and the coda phase of being sick in the near past; an interpretation where the coda phase of being sick is still ongoing at the time of speaking is not possible. In this sense the NPI differs from the near and remote past perfective constructions; although both the NPI and the perfective past constructions situate the nucleus before UT, the perfective past constructions do allow overlap between the event's coda and the nucleus.

- (136) *ndàkùrwárite*
 ndi-aku-rwa_Hr-íte
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-become_sick-STAT
 'I was sick (but I am not anymore).' (NF_Elic17)

10.3.4 Remote past imperfective

The (remote) past imperfective (PI) construction has the form *ka-sm-B-a*, with the default final vowel suffix *-a*, and a pre-initial prefix *ka-* that specifically marks (remote) past imperfective. Because the near past imperfective marked with *aku-* does not exist in Zambian Fwe, Zambian Fwe uses this construction for both near and remote past imperfective meanings, and only in Namibian Fwe is it dedicated to remote past imperfective. Because of this ambiguity, this construction will be referred to as either past imperfective (PI) or remote past imperfective (RPI), and its marker *ka-* will be glossed as 'past imperfective' PST.IPFV.

The past imperfective has a high tone on the subject marker (melodic tone 2) and a high tone on the last syllable, or on the penultimate syllable if this syllable is bimoraic (melodic tone 1), and underlying tones are deleted (melodic tone 4).

(137) *ménjì kàátòntórà*

ma-ínjì ka-á-to_Hntor-á
NP₆-water PST.IPFV-SM₆-be_cold-FV
'The water was cold.' (NF_Elic15)

(138) *kàbáyéndà nàbàmbwá 'bábò*

ka-bá-énd-a na=ba-mbwá ba-a=bó
PST.IPFV-SM₂-go-FV COM=NP₂-dog PP₂-CON=DEM.III₂
'She was walking with her dogs.' (ZF_Narr15)

(139) *àhá kàbádàmàdámá bùryàhò*

a-há ka-bá-dama-dam-á bu-ryaho
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM₂-PL₂-beat-FV NP₁₄-like_that
'When they were beating [the drum] like that...' (ZF_Narr13)

The PI construction has developed from an auxiliary *ka-ri*, consisting of the past prefix and the verb *ri* 'to be', followed by a subordinate present verb. The PI construction resembles the present construction because both make use of melodic tones 1 and 4, and both lack post-initial and suffixal tense/aspect markers (see section 10.2 on the present). The high tone of the subject marker, seen in the PI construction, is also used in subordinate verbs (see 16.1 on clause types); inflected verbs following the verb *ri* 'be' are treated as subordinate in Fwe. As the earlier auxiliary *ka-ri* grammaticalized into a prefix, *ri* was dropped and *ka-* was reinterpreted as a prefix on the lexical verb.

In Namibian Fwe, the remote past imperfective has the same temporal domain as the remote past perfective: it canonically refers to events that took place before the day of speaking. To refer to events that took place earlier on the day of speaking, Namibian Fwe uses the near past imperfective (see section 10.3.2).

(140) *kàndírwàritè zyónà*

ka-ndí-rwa_Hr-íte zyóna
PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_sick-STAT yesterday
'I was sick yesterday.' (NF_Elic17)

(141) *èzìryó kàzì'ryóhà*

e-zi-ryó ka-zì-ryo_H-á
AUG-NP₈-food PST.IPFV-SM₈-be_tasty-FV
Describing yesterday's party: 'The food was tasty.' (NF_Elic15)

As the near past imperfective does not exist in Zambian Fwe, Zambian Fwe uses the PI construction as a general past imperfective form, for both events situated in the recent and the remote past.

- (142) a. *mùndaré kàndí'twá shùnù*
 N-mu-ndaré ka-ndí-tw-á shunu
 COP-NP₃-maize PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-pound-FV today
 'I was pounding maize today.'
- b. *mùndaré kàndí'twá zyónà*
 N-mu-ndaré ka-ndí-tw-á zyóna
 COP-NP₃-maize PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-pound-FV yesterday
 'I was pounding maize yesterday.' (ZF_Elic14)

The RPI is imperfective, presenting an event as ongoing, with explicit reference to the internal constituency of the event's nucleus. This becomes clear, for instance, when combining a verb in the RPI with a consecutive verb, which lacks explicit tense marking but derives its temporal interpretation from a preceding inflected verb. In (143), the RPI verb *kànditèká* 'I was fetching' is followed by the consecutive verb *ndókùsúsà* 'I dropped', indicating that the event of dropping the container is situated during the fetching of water.

- (143) *àhà kànditèká ménjì ndókùsús' ècìbiyà cángù*
 a-ha ka-ndí-te_Hk-á ma-ínji ndi-ó=ku-sús-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-fetch-FV NP₆-water SM_{1SG}-CON=INF-drop-FV
 e-ci-biya ci-angú
 AUG-NP₇-container PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 'While I was fetching water, I dropped my container.' (ZF_Elic14)

The RPI may co-occur with other markers that indicate a type of imperfective aspect, such as the stative, the habitual *-ang*, the progressive-marking fronted-infinitive construction, the progressive auxiliary *kwesì*, and the persistive *shí-*.

- (144) RPI + stative
zyónà kàndishwénètè
 zyóna ka-ndi-shwen-éte
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_tired-STAT
 'Yesterday, I was tired.' (ZF_Elic_201?)
- (145) RPI + habitual *-ang*
kàrízò:ràngà òndávù kùyà kúkùcá:nà
 ka-á-rì_H-zò:r-áng-a o-ø-ndavú
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-REFL-turn-HAB-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-lion
 ku-i-a kú-ku-cá:n-a
 INF-go-FV NP₁₇-INF-hunt-FV
 'He used to turn himself into a lion to go hunt.' (NF_Narr15)
- (146) RPI + progressive marking fronted-infinitive construction
kùshókà ká'shókà
 ku-shók-a ka-á-sho_Hk-á
 INF-rain PST.IPFV-SM_{1a}-rain-FV
 'It has been raining.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (147) RPI + progressive auxiliary *kvesi*
cìntù cìshàkàhàrà ècì kàtúkwèsì tuàmàùrà
 ø-ci-ntu cì-shakahar-á e-cí
 COP-NP₇-thing SM₇.REL-be_important-FV AUG-DEM.I₇
 ka-tú-kvesi tu-ambaur-á
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-PROG SM_{1PL}-discuss-FV
 ‘It’s an important thing that we were discussing.’ (ZF_Elic_201?)

- (148) RPI + persistive *shí-*
kàshiké:zyà mùrùshàrà 'rwángù
 ka-á-shi_H-ké:zy-a mu-ru-shará ru-angú
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-PER-COME-FV NP₁₈-NP₁₁-back PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘He was still coming behind me.’ (ZF_Narr13)

When not used with markers indicating a specific subtype of imperfective aspect, the PI is usually interpreted as a progressive (149), or less commonly, habitual (150).

- (149) *kàtúyèndà nòzyú mùyé'nzángù*
 ka-tú-énd-a nò=zyú mu-énz-angú
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-GO-FV COM=DEM.I₁ NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘I was traveling with this friend of mine.’ (NF_Narr17)

- (150) *kàndízyimbà*
 ka-ndí-zyimb-a
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-sing-FV
 ‘I used to sing/be a singer.’ (NF_Elic15)

The PI may also co-occur with the locative pluractional marker, which describes that an event takes place in different locations; although not strictly aspectual, the locative pluractional does describe the internal structure of the event (namely its spatial distribution), and therefore may only occur with imperfective constructions.

- (151) *kàndíkàbúyèndà*
 ka-ndí-kabú-énd-a
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-LOC_PL-walk-FV
 ‘I was walking around/walking in different places.’ (NF_Elic17)

Unlike perfective past forms, the past imperfective can be used with the verbs *ri* ‘be’, and *ina* ‘be (somewhere)’.

- (152) *èzíryó kàzìrì zìròtù*
 e-zi-río ka-zí-ri zi-rótu
 AUG-NP₈-food PST.IPFV-SM₈-be NP₈-good
 ‘The food was good.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (153) *kàbàrì bàníni*
 ka-bá-ri ba-níni
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-be NP₂-small
 ‘They were small.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (154) *kàkwín' 'ómùnzi òmù kàmwí' ná bàntù*
 ka-kú-iná o-mu-nzi
 PST.IPFV-SM₁₇-be_at AUG-NP₃-village
 o-mu ka-mú-iná ba-ntu
 AUG-DEM.I₁₈ PST.IPFV-SM₁₈-be_at NP₂-person
 'There was a village, where people were living.' (NF_Narr15)

Like the near past imperfective, but unlike both perfective past constructions, the remote past imperfective situates the entire event in the past, including an optional coda phase. The following examples show that the use of the PI means that the event nucleus cannot overlap with UT, e.g. in (155), the nuclear phase of the rain falling no longer holds at the time of speaking. When the PI expresses a past habitual, overlap with UT is also not possible, as in example (156), where all instances of weeding (which together constitute the speaker's habit of weeding) are situated before UT.

- (155) *kùshókà ká'shókà*
 ku-shók-a ka-á-sho_Hk-á
 INF-rain-FV PST.IPFV-SM₁-rain-FV
 'It has been raining (but it's not raining now).' (ZF_Elic14)

- (156) *kàndítòmbwèràngà*
 ka-ndí-tombwer-áng-a
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-weed-HAB-FV
 'I used to weed.' (but not anymore) (NF_Elic15)

When the PI is used with change-of-state verbs in the stative construction, it describes an ongoing state (e.g. the coda state that follows the nuclear change in state), which cannot overlap with UT. This is seen in (157), where the coda phase of being tired does not hold at the time of speaking, and in (158), where the coda phase of knowing them does not hold at the time of speaking, because the people described have now passed away.

- (157) *zyónà kàndishwénètè shùnù tàndishwènètè:*
 zyóna ka-ndi-shwen-éte
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_tired-STAT
 shunu ta-ndi-shwen-ete-í
 today NEG-SM_{1SG}-become_tired-STAT-NEG
 'Yesterday I was tired, today I'm not tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (158) *kàndíbàzyì:*
 ka-ndí-ba-zyi:
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-OM₂-get_to_know-STAT
 'I used to know them.' (but they passed away) (NF_Elic15)

In this sense, the past imperfective differs from the remote past perfective, because the latter is compatible with a result state that lasts at the time of speaking, as shown in the contrast between example (159), using a stativized verb with a past imperfective, and (160), using the same verb in the remote past perfective construction.

- (159) *kàndírwarítè zyónà*
 ka-ndí-rwa_Hr-íte zyóna
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_sick-STAT yesterday
 ‘I was sick yesterday (but I am not sick now).’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (160) *ndízyónà nàndárwàrà*
 ndi-zyóna na-ndí-a-rwár-a
 COP-yesterday REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-become_sick-FV<REL>
 ‘It’s yesterday when I got sick (and I am still sick).’ (ZF_Elic14)

Note that the use of the past imperfective with a change-of-state verb that is not in the stative construction is interpreted as dynamic, i.e. an incipient change of state, that is no longer ongoing at the time of speaking.

- (161) *ká'nínà kònó hànó shàkábúkàtà*
 ka-á-nun-á konó hanó
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-become_fat-FV but DEM.II₁₆
 shi-a-kabú-kat-a
 INC-SM₁-LOC_PL-become_thin-FV
 ‘She was getting fat, but now she’s getting thin again.’ (NF_Elic15)

10.4 Future

Like the past, the future is divided into two domains based on their perceived distance from the utterance time. Both future constructions situate the event after the utterance time: the near future construction situates the event within the current temporal domain (most commonly, the day of speaking), and the remote future construction situates the event after the current temporal domain, i.e. typically tomorrow or later.

10.4.1 Near future

The near future construction consists of a prefix *mbo-*, glossed as NEAR_FUT, added to the verb in the subjunctive mood. The subjunctive has an imperfective and a perfective form, and both can be made into near future forms.

- (162) Near future perfective
mbòndibèrékè
 mbo-ndí-berek-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will work.’
- Subjunctive perfective
ndibèrékè
 ndi-berek-é
 SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I should work.’

- (163) Near future imperfective
mbòndákùbèrèkà
 mbo-nd-áku-berek-a
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
 ‘I will be working.’

Subjunctive imperfective
ndákùbèrèkà
 ndi-áku-berek-a
 SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
 ‘I should be working.’ (NF_Elic17)

Subjunctive forms maintain their tonal patterns when turned into near future forms with the prefix *mbo-*. In the case of the near future imperfective, its tonal realization consists of a lexical high tone on the prefix *áku-*, and the maintenance of other lexical tones. The perfective subjunctive takes melodic tone 4 (loss of lexical tones), and melodic tone 1, a high tone on the verb-final syllable. The near future perfective differs from the corresponding perfective subjunctive in one respect: in the near future form, a high tone is added to the subject marker (melodic tone 2), which is absent in the corresponding subjunctive form. (See also 12.2 and 12.3 on the subjunctive.)

The perfective near future form shares another tonal peculiarity with the perfective subjunctive on which it is based, namely a change in melodic tone conditioned by the presence of object markers. The perfective subjunctive takes MT 1 when the verb does not include an object marker, but MT 3, a high tone on the second stem syllable, if the verb includes an object marker. The perfective near future takes MT 3 only when the verb includes two object markers; without object marker, or with only one object marker, MT 1 is used. This is illustrated in (164); the vowel carrying the melodic tone is underlined in the phonological representation.

- (164) Near future perfective with object markers

No object marker: high tone on the last verb mora (MT 1)
mbòndítòrókè
 mbo-ndí-to_Hrok-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-explain-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will explain.’

One object marker: high tone on the last verb mora (MT 1)
mbòndícítòrókè
 mbo-ndí-ci_H-to_Hrok-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-explain-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will explain it.’

Two object markers: high tone on the second verb syllable (MT 3)
mbòndícìkùtòrókèrè
 mbo-ndí-ci_H-ku-to_Hrók-er-e
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-OM_{2SG}-explain-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will explain it to you.’ (NF_Elic15)

In Zambian Fwe, the near future prefix has an alternative form *mba-*, which is used interchangeably with the prefix *mbo-*. Namibian Fwe only uses the prefix *mbo-*.

- (165) a. *mbàndíyèndè*
mba-ndí-énd-e
NEAR_FUT-SM_{ISG}-go-PFV.SBJV
'I will go.' (Zambian Fwe)
- b. *mbòndíyèndè*
mbo-ndí-énd-e
NEAR_FUT-SM_{ISG}-go-PFV.SBJV
'I will go.' (Zambian and Namibian Fwe)

The near future form is used to situate an event after utterance time, but within the same temporal domain, usually interpreted as the day of speaking. As such, it can be used with time adverbials such as *màsikù* ‘tonight’ in (166), or *shùnù* ‘today’ in (167).

- (166) *mbàndí'ráré màsíki*
 mba-ndí-rá-r-e ma-síki
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-sleep-PFV.SBJV NP₆-evening
 'I will sleep tonight.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (167) *àbàbàrà mbòbáhùré shùnù*
 a-ba-bara mbo-bá-hur-é shunu
 AUG-NP₂-visitor NEAR_FUT-SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
 'The visitors will arrive today.' (NF_Elic15)

The near future does not necessarily take the day of speaking as relevant temporal domain; the temporal domain can also be larger, such as the current year, as in (168).

- (168) *mwánàngú ómweri mbwámàné cikòró ùnó mwáka*
 mu-án-angú u-ó=mu-eri
 NP₁-child-POSS_{1SG} PP₁-CON=NP₁-firstborn
 mbo-á-man-é unó mu-áka
 NEAR_FUT-SM₁-finish-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₃ NP₃-year
 ‘My eldest child will finish school this year.’ (NF_Elic17)

Without specific temporal reference, the near future can also be used to refer to events that are imminent. The example in (169) is taken from a narrative in which the two main characters are trying to hide from a lion who is pursuing them. They ask help from a frog, and he devises a plan to help them, which will be put into action as soon immediately. This imminence is expressed with the use of the near future.

- (169) *ècìmbòtwe cókùbá'téyé mbòndìmitùsè*
 e-ci-mbotwe ci-ó=ku-bá-ta-a iyé
 AUG-NP₇-frog PP₇-CON=INF-OM₂-say-FV that
 mbo-ndí-mi_H-tus-é
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM_{2PL}-help-PFV.SBJV
 'The frog told them, I will help you.' (NF_Narr15)

The near future form cannot be used for events that have already started at the time of speaking, as shown in (170), which can only be said by someone who has not yet started to work. In example (171), from a narrative, the speaker is considering removing his injured eye, because he cannot currently focus with his remaining good eye. This shows that the event expressed by the near future verb, seeing with this remaining eye, does not hold at the time of speaking.

- (170) *shùnù mbòndísèbèzé*
 shunu mbo-ndí-sebez-é
 today NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Today, I will work.’ (said by someone who has not yet started) (NF_Elic15)

- (171) *mwèndì mbòndìbònè nèrí rìnàsìyàrìrì*
 mwendi mbo-ndí-bo_Hn-é
 maybe NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-see-PFV.SBJV
 ne=rí ri-na-siàrir-ir-i
 COM=DEM.I₅ SM₅-PST-leave-APPL-NPST.PFV
 ‘Maybe I will see with the other one.’ (ZF_Narr14)

This shows that the near future situates an event after utterance time, without the possibility of overlap with UT, but within the same temporal domain. In this sense, the near future differs from the present: though it may also be used with a futurate meaning, the present is neutral with respect to overlap between the event and the time of speaking, and futures expressed by the present are not restricted to the near future, but may refer to the remote future as well (see 10.2 on the present).

The near future perfective is used to refer to single, one-time events situated in the near future, and the near future imperfective to extended or recurring events in the near future. This difference is illustrated in (172), which contrasts the imperfective form in a) with the perfective form in b).

- (172) a. *mbòndákùbèrèkà èzyúba nèzyúba*
 mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a e-ø-zyúba ne=ø-zyúba
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV AUG-NP₅-day COM=NP₅-day
 ‘I will work every day.’
- b. *mbòndísèbèzé shùnù*
 mbo-ndí-sebez-é shunu
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV today
 ‘I will work today.’ (NF_Elic17)

The near future imperfective can have a progressive interpretation, or more commonly a habitual interpretation. When used as a habitual, the near future imperfective may combine with the habitual suffix *-ang* (see also 11.2.1), as in (173), but a habitual interpretation is also available without specifically habitual markers, as in (174).

- (173) *mbòndákùshàmbàngà*
 mbo-ndi-áku-shamb-ang-a
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-wash-HAB-FV
 ‘I will wash regularly.’

- (174) *mbòndákùbèrèkà*
 mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
 ‘I will work regularly.’

In Zambian Fwe, near future habitual meaning can be expressed by combining the near future perfective with the habitual suffix *-ang*, as in the example in (175). In Namibian Fwe, such constructions are not allowed, and the habitual suffix requires the imperfective near future form.

- (175) *èyìnó nsúnda mbòndíbù:kángè kàèti*
 e-inó N-súnda mbo-ndí-bur_Hk-áng-e ka-éti
 AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-wake-HAB-PFV.SBJV ADV-eight
 ‘This week, I will wake up at eight.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The near future domain with non-habitual near futures is typically conceptualized as the day of speaking, but with habitual near futures, near future is typically conceptualized as larger than the day of speaking, for instance the week that includes the moment of speaking, as in example (175).

The near future construction cannot be used in subordinate clauses, as shown in (176): a near future is allowed in a main clause, as in example a, but in a relative clause a present is used, as in example b (note that the present construction may also have a futurate interpretation; see 10.2). As the ungrammaticality of example c shows, a near future is not allowed in a relative clause.

- (176) a. *àbàbàrà mbòbáhùré shùnù*
 a-ba-bara mbo-bá-hur-é shunu
 AUG-NP₂-visitor NEAR_FUT-SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
 ‘The visitors will arrive today.’
- b. *àbàbàrà àbó 'báhùrá shùnù*
 a-ba-bara a-bó bá-hur-á shunu
 AUG-NP₂-visitor AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-arrive-FV today
 ‘The visitors who will arrive today...’
- c. **àbàbàrà àbó mbòbáhùré shùnù*
 a-ba-bara a-bó
 AUG-NP₂-visitor AUG-DEM.III₂
 mbo-bá-hur-é shunu
 NEAR_FUT-SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
 Intended: ‘The visitors who will arrive today...’ (NF_Elic15)

The near future is also incompatible with negation. In order to negate a near future event, the near future prefix *mbo-* is left out and the subjunctive form of the verb is used preceded by a negated auxiliary *ri* ‘be’ (see also 14.4 on negation).

- (177) *kàrì ndíkàám̀bè*
 ka-ri ndí-ka-ám̀b-e
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}.REL-DIST-speak-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will not speak there.’ (NF_Elic17)

That the near future construction cannot be used in subordinate clauses points towards an origin of this construction in an earlier subordinated verb. This is further supported by the use of a high tone on the subject concord in the near future construction (melodic tone 2), as high-toned subject concords are also used in subordinated verbs (see 16.5.1 for details). The incompatibility with subordinate clauses and with negation is also seen with the remote future construction: in this case, it relates to the origin of the remote future prefix as a marker of verb focus (see 10.4.2).

10.4.2 Remote future

The form of the remote future construction differs between Zambian and Namibian Fwe. In Zambian Fwe, the remote future construction has the form *na-sm-na-B-a*, that is with a prefix *na-* both in the pre-initial and the post-initial morpheme slot. Examples of Zambian Fwe remote future verbs are given in (178) and (179).

- (178) *zyónà nàndínàménèkà*
 zyóna na-ndí-na-mének-a
 tomorrow REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-go_early-FV
 ‘Tomorrow I will go very early.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (179) *zyónà nàndínàbúkà kàfòrù*
 zyóna na-ndí-na-búk-a ka-fòru
 tomorrow REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-wake-FV at-four
 ‘Tomorrow I will wake up at four.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The pre-initial prefix *na-* is the same remoteness marker that is used in the remote past perfective (see 10.3.2) and remote subjunctive (see chapter 12), and is therefore glossed as ‘remote’ REM. The post-initial prefix *na-* used in the remote future construction resembles the post-initial prefix *na-* used in the near past perfective (see 10.3.1), though the near past perfective prefix *na-* has an alternative realization *a-*, whereas the remote future prefix *na-* is consistently realized as *na-*. This difference in allomorphy, as well as the lack of (obvious) semantic connection between the near past perfective and remote future meanings, shows that remote future *na-* and near past perfective *na-* are distinct morphemes, and remote future *na-* will be glossed as ‘remote future’ REM_FUT.

The Zambian Fwe remote future construction takes melodic tone 2, a high tone on the subject marker. Other than this melodic high tone, the remote future construction does not affect the tonal pattern of the verb, which surfaces with its underlying tones.

In examples (180)–(181), verbs with and without a lexical high tone are given in the remote future construction, showing that lexical tones are maintained.

(180) *-óngo-* ‘shout’

nàndínàóngòzà
*na-ndí-na-óngo-*a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-shout-FV
 ‘I will shout.’

(181) *-shosh-* ‘whisper’

nàndínàshòshòtà
*na-ndí-na-shosh-*a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-whisper -FV
 ‘I will whisper.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The Namibian Fwe remote future has a form (na-)SM-ára-B-a, that is with a post-initial prefix *ára-*, rather than *na-*. The pre-initial remoteness prefix *na-* is obligatory in Zambian Fwe, but optional in Namibian Fwe, and most remote future verbs are used without it.

(182) *ndáràyèndà zyónà*

ndi-ára-end-a *zyóna*
 SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-go-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will go tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic15)

(183) *nàndíràcípàngà zyónà*

na-ndí-ra-cí-pang-a *zyóna*
 REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-OM₇-do-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will do it tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic17)

The prefix *ára-* may also surface as *ra-*, without the initial vowel *á*. The high tone of this vowel is maintained, though, and surfaces on the subject marker.

(184) *ndáràtèndà ~ ndíràtèndà*

ndi-ára-tend-a
 SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-do-FV
 ‘I will do.’ (NF_Elic15)

Like the Zambian form, the Namibian Fwe form of the remote future maintains the lexical tone of the verb stem, that is, it does not take melodic tone 4.

(185) *-zyimb-* ‘sing’

ndáràzyimbà
ndi-ára-zyimb-a
 SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-sing-FV
 ‘I will sing.’

(186) *-tend-* ‘do’

ndáràtèndà
 ndi-ára-tend-a
 SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-do-FV
 ‘I will do.’ (NF_Elic15)

The loss of the vowel *á* of the prefix *ára-*, and the subsequent use of the high tone on the subject marker, may also explain why the subject marker of the remote future construction in Zambian Fwe is high-toned, if the Zambian prefix *na-* derives from an earlier **ána-* or **ára-*, with subsequent vowel loss.

The use of the remote future construction is the same for Zambian and Namibian Fwe: it situates the entire event in the remote future with respect to the utterance time. Remote future is usually interpreted as at least one day after UT, for instance “tomorrow”, in (187), or “next week”, in (188).

(187) *mùrá:rè twáràzíkàndèkà zyónà*
 mu-rá:r-e tu-ára-zí-kandek-a zyóna
 SM_{2PL}-sleep-PFV.SBJV SM_{1PL}-REM_FUT-OM₈-tell-FV tomorrow
 ‘Go to sleep, we’ll discuss it tomorrow.’ (NF_Narr15)

(188) *ènsúndá yìkè:zyà nàndínàyà kùbàmàtè*
 e-N-sundá i-kè:zy-a na-ndí-na-i-a
 AUG-NP₉-week SM₉-COME-FV REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-go-FV
 ku-ba-mate
 NP₁₇-NP₂-Mate
 ‘Next week I will go to Mate.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Like the remote past, the temporal domain to which the remote future applies is not restricted to ‘not today’. It is also used to refer to events that will happen in a time frame that the speaker considers to be far in the future. In (189), the speaker is discussing a house that is currently being built, but has not been completed yet. Since the house is not finished yet, the statement about the house is set in the remote future.

(189) *yáràdùrà cáhá*
 i-ára-dur-a cáhá
 SM₉-REM_FUT-be_expensive-FV very
 ‘It will be very expensive.’ (about a house that is currently being built)
 (NF_Elic15)

As already discussed in section 10.2, remote future meaning can also be expressed by the present construction. Differences in meaning were not observed between remote futures expressed by remote future constructions and those expressed by present constructions, though present constructions can have other interpretations than (remote) future as well, i.e. present, gnomic or modal (see 10.2), whereas the remote future can only have a remote future interpretation, and cannot be interpreted as present. The examples in (190)–(191) show that the remote future and present construction can be used interchangeably, without changing the remote future interpretation.

- (190) a. *ndítwá zyónà*
 ndi-tw-á zyóna
 SM_{1SG}-pound-FV tomorrow
- b. *ndáràtwá zyónà*
 ndi-ára-tw-á zyóna
 SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-pound-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will pound tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (191) *ndìyéndà zyónà*
 ndi-énd-a zyóna
 SM_{1SG}-go-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will go tomorrow.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The remote future form cannot be used in subordinate clauses. To indicate a remote future event in a subordinate clause, Fwe uses either the present construction, as in (192)a, or a subjunctive construction with the remoteness prefix *na-*, as in (192)b.

- (192) a. *ndìzyónà ndìyéndà*
 ndi-zyóna ndí-énd-a
 COP-tomorrow SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV
 ‘It’s tomorrow that I will go.’
- b. *ndìzyónà nàndìyéndè*
 ndi-zyóna na-ndí-énd-e
 COP-tomorrow REM-SM_{1SG}.REL-go-PFV.SBJV
 ‘It’s tomorrow that I will go.’ (NF_Elic15)

The remote future form is also incompatible with negation. Instead, a negated auxiliary *ri* ‘be’ is used followed by a subjunctive verb with the remoteness prefix *na-*.

- (193) *kàrì nèndìcìpángè zyónà*
 ka-ri ne-ndí-ci_H-páng-e zyóna
 NEG-be REM-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-do-PFV.SBJV tomorrow
 ‘I will not do it tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic17)

That the remote future form is not allowed in subordinate clauses, and cannot be negated, is related to its origin as a former marker of verb focus. As already discussed in section 10.2, the remote future prefix *ára-* is cognate with a marker of verb focus in other Bantu Botatwe languages; in Fwe, it has become a marker of remote future, but its incompatibility with negation and subordination is a relic of its earlier function as a marker of verb focus. The reanalysis of the earlier focused present as remote future is related to the development of a new strategy of verb focus, the fronted-infinitive construction (see section 11.1.2).

10.5 Consecutive

Fwe has a consecutive verb form, which is, both in form and function, intermediate between an inflected and an infinitive verb form. It does not have a specific tense

marking; whereas tense constructions situate an event with respect to utterance (or evaluation) time, the consecutive situates the event relative to an event encoded with a verb inflected for tense that occurs earlier in the same discourse. Despite this relative lack of underspecification for tense, the consecutive displays interesting interactions with preceding verbs that are inflected for tense, and therefore the consecutive construction will be discussed in this chapter.

Formally, the consecutive consists of an infinitive verb, either with a connective or a comitative clitic. The connective is a clitic that can attach to any nominal, including infinitive verbs, which behave like nouns (see section 7.3 on connectives). Agreement with the intended subject of the consecutive is marked with a pronominal prefix; see Table 7.1 for an overview of pronominal prefixes for each noun class. An example is given in (194), where the consecutive verb *yókúfwà* ‘and then it died’ is marked with a class 9 pronominal prefix referring back to its intended subject *ènjókà* ‘the snake’.

- (194) *ndàmání kùýídámá ènjókà yókúfwà*
 ndi-a-man-í ku-í-dam-á e-N-jóka
 SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-NPST.PFV INF-OM₉-beat-FV AUG-NP₉-snake
 í-o=ku-fw-á
 PP₉-CON=INF-die-FV
 ‘I finished beating the snake, and it died.’ (ZF_Narr13)

Instead of the connective clitic, consecutives may also take a comitative clitic *no-*, (see also section 7.7 on comitatives). An example of a comitative-marked consecutive verb is given in (195).

- (195) *nàháshàmì nòkùkàrisà kùzyímbà*
 na-ásham-i no=ku-káris-a ku-zyímb-a
 SM₁-PST-open_mouth-NPST.PFV COM=INF-start-FV INF-sing-FV
 ‘She opens her mouth and starts to sing.’ (ZF_Elic14)

As the base of the consecutive verb form is an infinitive verb, it displays the typical properties of infinitive verbs, namely lack of melodic tone and realization of underlying tones (see also section 10.1.1 on the use of melodic tone in TAM constructions), and the commutation between the infinitive prefix *ku-* and the prefix *ka-* to convey a distal, i.e. an event taking place away from the place of speaking (see section 13.1 on the distal). An example of a consecutive using a distal infinitive *ka-* is given in (196)

- (196) *àhà bákàsúk'áhò bókàyèndà kàhùrà kúmùnzi*
 a-ha bá-ka-súk-a=hó
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-DIST-disembark-FV=LOC₁₆
 ba-ó=ka-end-a ka-hur-a kú-mu-nzi
 PP₂-CON=INF.DIST-go-FV INF.DIST-arrive-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘When they climbed out of the canoe, then they walked and arrived home.’
 (NF_Narr15)

A consecutive verb is not specified for tense. It can only be used when preceded by another, tense-inflected verb in the same discourse, and the consecutive verb is interpreted as occurring more or less directly after the event encoded by the inflected. An

example is given in (197), where the inflected verb *níndàzyákà* ‘I built’, situated in the remote past, describes an event immediately followed by that of the consecutive *ndókùyílàpàùrà* ‘I took it apart’. As the consecutive presents the event as immediately following that described by the preceding inflected verb, the consecutive also takes over the temporal properties of the inflected verb, e.g. in this example, both events are situated in the remote past.

- (197) *níndàzyákà' ènjúò ndókùyílàpàùrà hápè*
 ni-ndí-a-zyák-a e-N-júo
 REM-SM₁-PST-build-FV AUG-NP₉-house
 ndi-ó=ku-í-lap-a-ur-a
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₉-destroy-PL1-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘I built a house, then I took it apart again.’ (NF_Elic15)

When the consecutive is preceded by a perfective verb, such as the remote past perfective in (197), the event expressed by the consecutive directly follows the event expressed by the inflected verb. A consecutive verb may also be preceded by an imperfective verb. In these cases, the event encoded by the consecutive is interpreted as co-occurring with it. This is illustrated with a stative verb *kàndíyèndètè* ‘I was on a walk’, in (198), and an imperfective past verb *kàndíshàmbà* ‘I was swimming’, in (199).

- (198) *zyónà kàndíyèndètè mùtémwà ndókùshótòkà zyókà*
 zyóna ka-ndí-end-ete mu-témwa
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-go-STAT NP₃-bush
 ndí-o=ku-shótok-a ø-zyókà
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-jump-FV NP₅-snake
 ‘Yesterday I was on a walk in the bush, and I stepped on a snake.’ (ZF_Narr14)

- (199) *àhà kàndíshàmbà ndókùbón' òngwèrà*
 a-ha ka-ndí-shámb-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-swim-FV
 ndi-ó=ku-bón-a o-ø-ngwena
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-see-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-crocodile
 ‘While I was swimming, I saw a crocodile.’ (ZF_Elic14)

A consecutive verb may be followed by one or more other consecutive verbs. This is illustrated in the following excerpt from the start of a narrative, which describes the various steps of a marriage contract, using a tense-inflected verb followed by three consecutive verbs.

- (200) *àkèzyà kùmùshàkà bókùmùtòmèrà ákùmàrà kùróbòrà nòkútéyè àhíndè mùkèntù*
wàkwé cwàré àyèndè
 a-ké:zy-a ku-mu-shak-a ba-ó=ku-mu-tomen-a
 SM₁-come-FV INF-OM₁-propose-FV PP₂-CON=INF-OM₁-charge_dowry-FV
 a-ó=ku-man-a ku-róbor-a no=kú-t-a íye
 PP₁-CON=INF-finish-FV INF-pay_dowry-FV COM=INF-say-FV that
 a-hínd-e mu-kéntu u-akwé cwàré a-énd-e
 SM₁-take-PFV.SBJV NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{3SG} then SM₁-go-PFV.SBJV

‘He came to propose to her, then they charged him dowry, then he finished paying the dowry, then they said he can take his wife and go.’ (NF_Narr15)

The comitative-marked consecutive cannot be marked for agreement with the (intended) subject. Therefore consecutive forms with the comitative are usually interpreted as having the same subject as the preceding, inflected verb, as in (201), or even the same subject and object as the preceding inflected verb, as in (202).

- (201) *àkàròngò kànágwì nòkúfwà*
 a-ka-róngo ka-ná-gw-i no=ku-fú-a
 AUG-NP₁₂-pot SM₁₂-PST-fall-NPST.PFV COM=INF-die-FV
 ‘The pot fell, and it broke.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (202) *ndìnàhìndì nsánzù nòkùbí:kà hàzìkù*
 ndi-na-hínd-i N-sánzu no=ku-bí:k-a ha-ø-ziku
 SM_{1SG}-PST-take-NPST.PFV NP₉-WOOD COM=INF-put-FV NP₁₆-NP₅-hearth
 ‘I took a piece of wood and put it on the fire.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The comitative-marked consecutive is not restricted to verbs that have the same subject as the preceding inflected verb. Given appropriate context, the comitative-marked consecutive may also be used for verbs that have a different intended subject, as in the following example, where the preceding two verbs (in the present and consecutive form respectively) are marked for a first person singular subject, but the last verb, in the consecutive with a comitative clitic, has as its intended subject not the speaker himself, but a snake, whose encounter was the topic of the story.

- (203) *àhá ndîbùkùmá bùyàhò ndókùyídàmà nòkúfwà*
 a-ha ndî-i_H-bu_Hkum-á buryaho
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}-OM₅-throw-FV NP₁₄-like_{that}
 ndi-ó=ku-í-dam-a no=ku-fú-a
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₉-hit-FV COM=INF-die-FV
 ‘When I threw it, I hit the snake and it [=the snake] died.’ (ZF_Narr13)

The comitative-marked consecutive, lacking overt subject marking, is only allowed when context is sufficient to establish the intended subject, either through the preceding inflected verb or verbs, or through the wider (discourse-internal or external) context. The example in (204), constructed by me in elicitation, was considered ungrammatical, presumably because the lack of context does not provide enough clues to correctly identify the buffalo as the intended subject of the verb.

- (204) **ndàshónjì ònyátì nòkúfwà*
 ndi-a-shónj-i o-ø-nyátì no=ku-fú-a
 SM_{1SG}-PST-shoot-NPST.PFV AUG-NP_{1a}-buffalo COM=INF-die-FV
 Intended: ‘I shot a buffalo and it [not I] died.’ (ZF_Elic14)

11 Aspect

The previous chapter has dealt with constructions whose primary function was to express tense, even though they also have aspectual connotations. In this chapter, I discuss different ways in which Fwe verbs can be inflected for aspect. Whereas tense is used to situate events in time, aspect is used to specify the internal temporal structure of the verb. In Fwe, aspect can be expressed morphologically, with pre- and post-initial verbal prefixes, or with verbal suffixes, and periphrastically with an auxiliary combined with an inflected or infinitive main verb. Whereas tense constructions consist of multiple affixes and melodic tones that combine to form a single construction, aspect is generally encoded by a single affix or auxiliary, which has a single, dedicated meaning, and usually does not have its own melodic tone pattern. Table II.1 summarizes the aspect constructions used in Fwe, which will be discussed in this chapter.

Table II.1: Aspect constructions

Label	Segmental form	Melodic tone	Interpretation
Progressive	auxiliary <i>kweſi</i>	-	progressive; inchoative; repetitive
Fronted-infinitive	<i>ku-B-a</i> <i>SM-B-a</i>	-	progressive; verb focus
Habitual	<i>-ang</i>	-	habitual
Habitual	<i>náku-</i>	-	habitual
Stative	<i>-ite</i> (and allo-morphs)	3,4	stative; progressive
Persistive	<i>shí-</i>	-	persistive
Inceptive	<i>sha-/she-/shi-</i>	-	inchoative; proximative; contrastive; completive

As shown in the previous chapter, past tense constructions (as well as moods) in Fwe have a perfective and an imperfective form. There are no dedicated perfective or imperfective markers in Fwe. Yet, as I will discuss in the following sections, there are dedicated marks for subtypes of imperfective aspect, such as progressive, habitual, stative, and persistive. There are no markers for subtypes of perfective aspect.

The expression of aspect is not only closely related with the expression of tense and mood, but also displays some overlap with information structure; the fronted infinitive construction (section II.1.1) marks progressive aspect as well as verb focus, and the inceptive also has information structural properties (section II.5).

11.1 Progressive

Fwe has two constructions that express progressive aspect, indicating an ongoing event; a construction with an auxiliary *kweſi* followed by an inflected main verb, and a fronted infinitive construction involving an inflected verb preceded by an infinitive verb of the same stem. Progressive aspect is a subtype of imperfective aspect, and as

such progressive constructions may not be used with tense and mood constructions that also express perfectivity.

11.1.1 Progressive auxiliary

Progressive aspect can be expressed with the auxiliary *kwesi* followed by an inflected lexical verb. Both the auxiliary and main verb are inflected for subject, indicated by coreferential subject markers. Neither verb is subordinate to the other, as both verbs have the tonal marking of a main clause verb, and not that of a relative clause verb, e.g. they lack a high tone on the subject marker.

- (1) òmvúra àkwèsì àshókà
 o-ø-mvúra a-kwesi a-shók-a
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM_{1a}-PROG SM_{1a}-rain-FV
 ‘It is raining.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (2) ndìkwèsì ndìrikúkà
 ndi-kwesi ndi-ri_Hkuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-have_hiccups-FV
 ‘I have the hiccups.’ (NF_Elic15)

The progressive auxiliary *kwesi* is also used in Fwe as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘to have’. It derives from the verb *-kwát-* ‘grasp’, with an imbricated stative suffix *-ite* (see also 11.3.1 on the various allomorphs of the stative). Progressives of a similar form are seen in Totela, which uses *kweesi* (as the stative of *-kwaata*) (Crane 2011: 317) as a progressive auxiliary, and in Subiya, which uses an auxiliary *kwete*, derived from *ku kwata* ‘to grab’ (Jacottet 1896: 64).

The progressive auxiliary *kwesi* is obligatorily inflected for subject agreement, but cannot take an object marker. An object marker can only be used on the lexical verb, as shown in (3), where both verbs are marked with the class 1 subject marker *a-*, but the object marker *ndi-* of the first person singular is only marked on the lexical verb *-ambisa*, not on the auxiliary *kwesi*.

- (3) àkwèsì àndiàmbisá
 a-kwesi a-ndi-amb-is-á
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-OM_{1SG}-talk-CAUS-FV
 ‘S/he is talking to me.’ (NF_Elic15)

The same is true for the locative clitic, which may only be used on the second, lexical verb when it has locative reference; examples are given in (4). A locative clitic of class 17 *-ko*, however, may be used on the auxiliary *kwesi* to focus the progressive aspect, as in the examples in (5).³²

³² Though the locative clitic is synchronically only used with the progressive to express aspect focus, it is likely that it was obligatory in an earlier form of the construction, as progressive constructions very often develop out of earlier locative constructions (cf. Bybee et al 1994: 127–133).

(4) Locative clitic with locative reference

- a. *ndìkwèsì ndìngòngòtáhò*
 ndi-kwesi ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=hó
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-knock-FV=LOC₁₆
 ‘I am knocking on it.’
- b. *ndìkwèsì ndìngòngòtákò*
 ndi-kwesi ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=kó
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-knock-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘I am knocking there.’
- c. *bàkwèsì bàrà:rá:mò*
 ba-kwesi ba-ra:_Hr-a=mó
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-sleep-FV=LOC₁₈
 ‘S/he is sleeping in there.’

(5) Locative clitic focusing progressive aspect

- a. *ndìkwèsìkó ndìngòngótà*
 ndi-kwesi=kó ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=kó
 SM_{1SG}-PROG=LOC₁₇ SM_{1SG}-knock-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘I am knocking there (for a long time).’
- b. *bàkwèsìkó bàhíkà*
 ba-kwesi=kó ba-hi_Hk-á
 SM₂-PROG=LOC₁₇ SM₂-cook-FV
 ‘They are busy cooking.’ (stresses that they have already started)
- c. *ndìshìní òkùmàná ndìshìkwèsìkó ndìhíkà*
 ndi-shi_H-ní o-ku-man-a
 SM_{1SG}-PER-be AUG-INF-finish-FV
 ndi-shi_H-kwesi=kó ndi-hi_Hk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-PROG=LOC₁₇ SM_{1SG}-cook-FV
 ‘I have not yet finished, I am still cooking.’ (answer to: did you finish cooking?) (NFELic_2017)

Fwe has another progressive auxiliary *iná*, which also functions as a lexical verb ‘be at’. The progressive auxiliary *iná* is used in much the same way as the progressive auxiliary *kwesi*, i.e. it is followed by a non-subordinate inflected lexical verb. There appears to be no difference in meaning between the two auxiliaries. Example (6) illustrates the use of both progressive auxiliaries.

- (6) a. *ndìkwèsì ndìfwébà*
 ndi-kwesi ndi-fwé_b-a
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-smoke-FV
 ‘I am smoking.’

- b. *ndìná ndìfwébà*
 ndi-iná ndi-fwéb-a
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-smoke-FV
 ‘I am smoking.’ (NF_Elic17)

The only established difference between progressive *kwesi* and progressive *iná* is that where progressive *kwesi* combines with the class 17 locative clitic =*ko* to focus progressive aspect (see example (5)), progressive *iná* takes the locative clitic of class 16 =*ho* to focus progressive aspect, as in example (7).

- (7) *ndìná ndìfwébà*
 ndi-ina=hó ndi-fwéb-a
 SM_{1SG}-PROG=LOC₁₆ SM_{1SG}-smoke-FV
 ‘I am smoking.’ (NF_Elic17)

The use of progressive *iná* appears to be restricted. I have only found it with one Namibian speaker, and other speakers of Namibian Fwe accepted its use, but would only use *kwesi* in their own speech. More research is needed to establish if the progressive *iná* is really functionally equivalent to progressive *kwesi* (as it appears to be), and, if there is a geographic dimension to the use of these two progressive auxiliaries, what their distribution is.

The progressive auxiliary *kwesi* can be combined with the present construction, as in the previous examples, or with a past construction, in which case the auxiliary takes the (remote) past imperfective prefix *ka-*. The auxiliary also takes the melodic tone of the RPI, with a high tone on the subject marker and a high tone on the last mora. The progressive auxiliary *kwesi* is not used with the near past imperfective.

- (8) *àhà kàtúkweśì tükàndèkà èzìntù nòkùkàrìsà kùkákàrà*
 a-ha ka-tú-kwesí tu-kandek-á e-zi-ntu
 AUG-DEM₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-PROG SM_{1PL}-tell-FV AUG-NP₈-thing
 no=ku-káris-a ku-kákan-a
 COM=AUG-INF-start-FV INF-argue-FV
 ‘When we were discussing things, we started arguing.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The progressive auxiliary *kwesi* marks an ongoing and durative event, meaning that it cannot be instantaneous, but has to cover a certain time span. With dynamic verbs, that have a durative nucleus, it typically presents the nuclear phase as ongoing. When the nuclear phase is punctive, for instance in change-of-state verbs, it is the onset that is presented as ongoing, because the onset phase, unlike the nuclear phase, is not punctive. When the verb lacks an onset phase, the progressive can be used with a repetitive interpretation: in this case the progressive presents the event as having duration by presenting it as a set of repeated events. The use of the progressive with dynamic verbs is illustrated in the following examples.

- (9) *òmvúra àkwèsì àshókà*
 o-ø-mvúra a-kwesi a-sho_Hk-á
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM₁-PROG SM₁-fall-FV
 ‘It’s raining (right now).’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (10) *èfónì yòzyúmùwì ikwès' ìrírà*
 e-ø-fóni i-o=zyú-mwi i-kwesi i-rir-á
 AUG-NP₉-phone PP₉-CON=PP₁-other SM₉-PROG SM₉-cry-FV
 'Someone's phone is ringing.' (in a room, you hear a phone ringing)
 (NF_Elic15)

Progressive aspect is most typically used with dynamic verbs (Comrie 1976), but Fwe also allows the use of progressives with change-of-state verbs. The use of *kwesi* with change-of-state verbs that have an onset gives an inchoative interpretation: it presents the onset phase, which describes the phase leading up to the change in state, as ongoing. This use is illustrated in the following examples.

- (11) *bàkwèsì bàsèpàhárá*
 ba-kwesi ba-sep-ahar-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-trust-NEUT-FV
 'S/he is becoming important.'
- (12) *cìkwèsì cìcénà*
 ci-kwesi ci-cen-á
 SM₇-PROG SM₇-become_clean-FV
 'It is becoming clean.' (while you are washing it, you see it getting cleaner)
 (NF_Elic17)

Other change-of-state verbs do not have an onset phase, and therefore the progressive cannot be used to express an ongoing onset phase. Use of the progressive with these verbs gives a repetitive interpretation. The change-of-state verb *-aruk-* 'open', lacks an onset phase, and therefore use with progressive *kwesi* is interpreted as multiple opening events, as seen in example (13). In this case, the progressive indicates that the door keeps opening on the same occasion, for instance as a result of the strong wind. The repetitive interpretation of the progressive can also indicate repetition over a longer period of time, as in (14), which indicates sleeping in a certain place each night over a number of nights.

- (13) *cìkwèsì cìàrúkà*
 ci-kwesi ci-ar-uk-á
 SM₇-PROG SM₇-close -SEP.INTR-FV
 'It keeps opening.' (of a door that doesn't close properly)
- (14) *bàkwèsì bàràráámò*
 ba-kwesi ba-ra:HR-a-mó
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-sleep-FV
 'S/he is sleeping in in there [for the duration of her stay].' (of someone who is a temporary guest) (NF_Elic17)

The repetitive interpretation of progressives with change-of-state verbs can also mean that the event has multiple subjects. This is shown with the change-of-state verb *-fw-* 'die', which can be used with the progressive when it has a plural subject.

- (15) *bàkwèsì bàfwá*
 ba-kwesi ba-fw-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-die-FV
 ‘They are dying.’ (NF_Elic17)

The progressive examples seen so far involved present progressives, which present-ed ongoing actions set at or around the time of speaking. The auxiliary *kwesi* can also be used in a past construction, to express an ongoing and durative event that is set around a point of time in the past, for instance in (16), which describes an event that was ongoing ‘(earlier) this morning’. This shows that the progressive sets an event as ongoing at topic time, which can be the same as utterance time for present progressives, or can be a point of time in the past for past progressives.³³

- (16) *màsíkùsíkù àshúnù kàndíkwèsí ndísánz’ èzìzwátò*
 ma-síkùsíkù a-a=shunú
 NP₆-morning PP₆-CON=today
 ka-ndí-kwèsí ndi-sánz-a e-zi-zwátò
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-wash-FV AUG-NP₈-cloth
 ‘This morning, I was washing clothes.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The progressive can only be used for actions that are actually ongoing at topic time, e.g. there needs to be overlap between the event and the topic time. This is illustrated by examples (17) and (18), which are both possible answers to an enquiry where someone is. When using the progressive *kwesi* the speaker expresses that the subject is currently engaged in the action of washing dishes. When using the bare present tense, the speaker expresses that s/he is not certain whether the subject is actually washing dishes at that moment; he is supposed to, but he may well be doing something else.

- (17) *mùnjúù wèná àkwèsà sànzó túsúbà*
 mu-N-júo a-iná a-kwesi a-sanz-á o-tu-súba
 NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁-be_at SM₁-PROG SM₁-wash-FV AUG-NP₁₃-dish
 ‘S/he is in the house, s/he is washing dishes.’ (answer to: where is that person?)
- (18) *mùnjúù wèná àsànzó túsúbà*
 mu-N-júo a-iná a-sanz-á o-tu-súba
 NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁-be_at SM₁-wash-AUG₁₃ AUG-NP₁₃-dish
 ‘S/he is in the house, s/he washes dishes.’ (implies that it is not certain that s/he is washing dishes; s/he is supposed to wash dishes but maybe s/he is currently doing something else) (NF_Elic15)

³³ The notion of “topic time” has a further use, namely to formalize the interpretation of imperfec-tives (and progressives) as constructions which express that the time during which the event holds subsumes the topic. This analysis is difficult to apply to the Fwe data because it hinges on a clear delineation of the boundaries of topic time, which is often not possible, and when it is, gives conflicting results. Therefore, whereas the notion of topic time is useful, the analysis of imperfec-tives (or progressives) as “event time includes topic time” is not further explored.

Though progressive *kwesi* expresses an ongoing event that has a certain duration, i.e. that is not instantaneous, it is mainly used for events that have a relatively short duration, such as smoking a cigarette (example (19)), or getting dressed (example (20)). Progressive *kwesi* is not attested with events with a longer duration, in contrast to the FIC (see II.1.2).

- (19) *bàkwèsì bàfwéba mùtómwè*
 ba-kwesi ba-fwéba mu-tómbwe
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-smoke-FV NP₃-cigarette
 ‘S/he is smoking a cigarette.’
- (20) *wáshàkàbìrì múnjúò kwìn’ ózyò ákwèsì àzwátà*
 o-aśha-kabir-i mú-N-júo
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-enter-NEG NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 ku-iná o-zyo á-kwesi a-zwát-a
 SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.III₁ SM₁.REL-PROG SM₁-dress-FV
 ‘Don’t go in the house, there is someone getting dressed.’ (NF_Elic17)

11.1.2 Fronted infinitive construction

Fwe has a fronted-infinitive construction (FIC), which is used to mark progressive aspect or verb focus. This construction consists of an inflected lexical verb immediately preceded by an infinitive copy of the same verb stem. The inflected verb appears in the relative clause form, for most tenses distinguished from the main clause form by the use of melodic tone 2, a high tone on the subject marker.

- (21) *shùnù kùsèbèzà ndísèbèzá*
 shunu ku-sebez-a ndí-sebez-á
 today INF-work-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-work-FV
 ‘Today I am working.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (22) *kùshèkà bá’shéka*
 ku-shek-a bá-shek-á
 INF-laugh-FV SM₂.REL-laugh-FV
 ‘They are laughing.’ (NF_Elic15)

Similar constructions of an inflected verb preceded by an infinitive copy are found in various Bantu languages, such as those of zone B and H (Hadermann 1996), including Kikongo (De Kind *et al.* 2015), as well as in the zone K languages Mbukushu (Güldemann 2003: 336) and Totela (Crane, personal communication), and in Bantu languages from zone E, e.g. Kikuyu, Kĩitharaka and Kuria (Morimoto 2016). It is also reconstructed for Proto-Bantu under the term ‘advance verb construction’ (Meeussen 1967: 121). These constructions express focus on the verb, and in some languages also progressive aspect. Morimoto (2016) shows that “verb doubling” constructions are in complementary distribution with the conjoint/disjoint alternation: most Bantu languages use either a (morphological) conjoint/disjoint distinction, where the distinction between verb focus (disjoint) and argument focus (conjoint) is marked morphologically on the verb, or a (periphrastic) verb doubling construction. Fwe conforms to

this pattern, as it uses a fronted-infinitive construction but lacks a morphological distinction between conjoint and disjoint verbs. There are traces, however, of an earlier morphological distinction between conjoint and disjoint in Fwe, in the remote future form; as discussed in section 10.4.2, it is incompatible with negation or subordination, and cognate forms in closely related languages function as disjoint forms. The emergence of the fronted-infinitive construction as a new marker of verb focus may have played a role in the shift of the earlier disjoint marker to a marker of remote future (likely via a present), or, conversely, the loss of the focal properties of $-(\hat{a})-ra-$ gave rise to the emergence of a new strategy of focus marking.

In Fwe, the use of the fronted-infinitive construction to mark focus on the verb comes from the fact that it is a type of cleft construction (see also 16.6 on cleft constructions). A cleft construction consists of a clefted element, which is a noun or pronoun, marked with a copulative prefix, and a relative clause. A relative clause is marked by verb-initial word order (as opposed to the medial position of the verb in canonical main clauses; see section 16.1), and by a special relative form of the verb, in most TAM constructions marked by a high tone on the subject marker. The inflected verb of the fronted-infinitive construction functions as the relative clause, accounting for the high tone on the subject marker and the fact that a nominal subject or object has to appear after the verb. The infinitive copy of the inflected verb functions as the clefted element; infinitive verbs can behave like nominals of noun class 15, and the copulative prefix consists of a homorganic nasals which is deleted before a voiceless consonant. Example (23) presents the analysis of a fronted-infinitive construction as a cleft construction.

- (23) *kùyèndà ndíyèndà*
 ø-ku-end-a ndí-énd-a
 [clefted element] [relative clause]
 COP-NP₁₅-walk-FV SM_{15G}.REL-walk-FV
 ‘I am walking.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Although the copulative prefix is reduced to zero when followed by a nominal prefix of the shape *ku-*, there are a number of indications that the copulative prefix really is present. One of these is the fact that, although reduction of the copulative to zero before voiceless consonants is common, in Namibian Fwe the copulative prefix can occasionally be realized in these contexts, giving the form *nku-*. This form can be seen with the infinitive used in the FIC, as in (24), not in the infinitive used in other contexts, proving its status as a clefted element.

- (24) *nkùhó'm' á 'hómà*
 N-ku-hóm-a á-ho_Hm-á
 COP-NP₁₅-lie-FV SM₁.REL-lie-FV
 ‘He’s lying.’ (NF_Elic15)

Further evidence for the analysis of the infinitive as marked with a copulative prefix comes from the fact that the infinitive can alternatively be realized with a prefix *kó-*. This is the class 15 form of the definite copulative; as shown in section 7.8, all noun

classes have an alternative, syllabic copulative form, which is *kó-* for class 15. An example showing the use of this syllabic copulative in an infinitive is given in (25).

- (25) *kókùmàná ndí'mána*
 kó-ku-man-a ndí-man-á
 COP.DEF₁₅-INF-finish-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-finish-FV
 'I've just finished.' (ZF_Elic14)

Furthermore, copulatives can never be preceded by a vocalic augment. In infinitives, the prefix *ku-* can optionally be preceded by an augment *o-*, as in (26)a. In the FIC, however, the augment *o-* is not allowed, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (26)c, providing further evidence for the analysis of *ku-* as a copulative rather than an infinitive prefix.

- (26) a. *ndìpàtéhìtè (ò)kùnywá ètìyì*
 ndi-patéh-ite (o-)ku-nyw-á e-ø-tiyi
 SM_{1SG}-be_busy-STAT(AUG-)INF-drink AUG-NP₉-tea
 'I'm busy drinking tea.'
- b. *kùnywá 'ndínywà*
 N-ku-nyú-a ndí-nyw-á
 COP-INF-drink-FV SM_{1SG}-drink-FV
 'I am drinking.'
- c. **òkùnywá 'ndínywà* (ZF_Elic14)

Evidence for the analysis of the inflected verb of a FIC as a relative clause verb comes, not only from the high tone on the subject marker, but also from the word order used with the FIC. In a canonical main clause, without a FIC, subjects tend to precede the verb, and objects, locatives and adverbs tend to follow the verb (see also section 16.1 on word order). With a FIC, however, subjects, objects, locatives and adverbs all follow the verb, as shown in the following examples.

- (27) Verb - Object
kùhòndà ndí'hóndà bùhòbè
 ku-hond-a ndí-hónd-a bu-hobe
 INF-cook-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-cook-FV NP₁₄-porridge
 'I am cooking porridge.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (28) Verb - Locative
kùyèndà ndí'yéndà mùmùtémwà
 ku-end-a ndí-énd-a mu-mu-témwa
 INF-walk-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-walk-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-forest
 'I am walking through the forest.' (ZF_Elic13)

(29) Verb – Subject

kùshóká 'shókò mvúra

ku-shók-a á-shók-a

o-ø-mvúra

INF-fall-FV SM₁.REL-fall-FV

AUG-NP_{1a}-rain

‘It is raining.’ (ZF_Elic13)

Even when used with a FIC, a subject may be placed before the verb, as in example (30). In that case, however, it precedes both the infinitive and inflected verb; subjects (or any other constituents) never occur between the infinitive verb and the inflected verb. This is consistent with the structure of relative clauses, where no constituent is allowed between the antecedent and the relative clause verb. The movement of the subject constituent to the beginning of the clause is the result of left dislocation, a frequently used change in word order that functions to mark the left-dislocated constituent as a topic (see 16.2 on left dislocation).

(30) *zɔwìn ómùntù kùkúrá 'kúra*

zwiná

o-mu-ntu

ku-kúr-a

á-ku_Hr-á

DEM.IV₁

AUG-NP₁-person

INF-sweep-FV

SM₁-sweep-FV

‘That person is sweeping.’ (ZF_Elic13)

The only element that can be used between the infinitive and the inflected verb is the progressive auxiliary *kwesì*. The high tone on the subject marker of *túkwèsì* shows that in this case, it is the auxiliary verb that functions as the relative clause verb in the cleft construction.

(31) *kùnèngà túkwèsì tùnèngà*

ku-neng-a

tú-kwesi

tu-néng-a

INF-dance-FV

SM_{1PL}.REL-PROG

SM_{1PL}-dance-FV

‘We are dancing.’ (ZF_Elic14)

A final argument that shows that the FIC can be analyzed as a cleft construction is that it cannot be combined with another cleft: (32)a shows the clefting of the infinitive verb, and (32)b the clefting of a locative adjunct, but as shown by the ungrammaticality of (32)c, clefting both constituents is not possible.

(32) a. *kùkízìkìtè ndíkìzìkìtè*

ku-kí-zik-ite ndí-ki_H-zik-íte

INF-REFL-hide-STAT SM_{1SG}.REL-REFL-hide-STAT

‘I am hidden.’

b. *mùmùtémwà ndíkìzìkìtè*

N-mu-mu-témwa ndí-ki_H-zik-íte

COP-NP₁₈-NP₃-forest SM_{1SG}-REFL-hide-STAT

‘It’s in the forest that I’m hidden.’

c. **mùmùtémwà kùkízìkìtè ndíkìzìkìtè* (ZF_Elic13)

The analysis of the FIC as a cleft also explains its focus function, as clefts are the most common focus structure used in Fwe. The progressive-marking use of the FIC

is likely to have developed out of its focus-marking use. Güldemann (2003) analyzes a number of constructions in Bantu where progressive and focus are marked in the same way, including the fronted-infinitive construction, and argues that the progressive meanings develop out of the focus meaning, rather than vice versa. This is also the case for Fwe, where the formal properties of the FIC as being a cleft construction explain its focus use, suggesting that the progressive use is a later development. This is further supported by the fact that the progressive function of the FIC is not (yet) fully developed. A progressive indicates an action ongoing at the time of speaking (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 126). The FIC, however, can be used for events with a very long duration, or when the speaker is not certain, or does not want to assert very strongly, that the event is actually ongoing at the time of speaking. This progressive use of the FIC contrasts with the more canonical progressive construction with the auxiliary *kwesi* (see previous section), which is limited to events with a fairly short duration, and is only used when the speaker is certain, or wants to assert strongly, that the event is ongoing at the time of speaking. The fact that the FIC is limited to less canonical progressive uses is in line with its non-progressive origin. The progressive use of the FIC will now be discussed in more detail. The focus use of the FIC is discussed in section 16.6 on cleft constructions.

The FIC can be used to express progressive aspect. This means that it may be used to describe events that are ongoing at topic time, but the duration of the event referred to by the FIC can vary considerably. In (33) and (34), examples are given of the use of the FIC to describe a progressive action that takes up most of the day. The FIC in (35) describes an event that takes place over several months, and the FIC in (36) describes an event that takes place over several years. This use of the FIC contrasts with the use of the progressive *kwesi*, discussed in the previous section, which can only be used to describe actions that are actually ongoing at the time of speaking, and that have a relatively short duration.

- (33) *zyónà kùsébézà kàndisèbèzà*
 zyóna ku-sébez-a ka-ndi-sebez-á
 yesterday INF-work-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-work-FV
 ‘Yesterday, I was working.’
- (34) *kùkékèrà kàndíkèkérá shùnù*
 ku-kéker-a ka-ndí-ke_Hker-á shunu
 INF-plough-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-plough-FV today
 ‘I was ploughing today.’
- (35) *kùpòtà ákàpòtà bàkwákwè mwànàmìbià*
 ku-pot-a á-ka-pot-a ba-kwákwè mwa-namibia
 INF-visit-FV SM₁-DIST-visit-FV NP₂-relative NP₁₈-Namibia
 ‘She’s visiting her relatives in Namibia.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (36) *òzyú mwáncè kùkúrà á’kúrà*
 o-zyú mu-áncè ku-kúr-a á-ku_Hr-á
 DEM.I₁ NP₁-child INF-grow-FV SM₁-grow-FV
 ‘The child is growing.’ (ZF_Elic13)

Another property of the progressive use of the FIC that does not conform to a canonical progressive is that it can be used to describe events that are ongoing over a longer time, but where the speaker is not certain, or does not assert strongly, that the event is actually ongoing. An example is given in (37), where the FIC is used to describe people who are away for months at a time doing construction work in Angola. In this case, the speaker does not assert the people described are actually doing work at the time, yet he still uses the FIC.

- (37) *àbàntù kùbèrèkà bákàbèrèkà mwààngòrà*
a-ba-ntu ku-berek-a bá-ka-berek-á mwa-angora
AUG-NP₂-person INF-work-FV SM₂.REL-DIST-work-FV NP₁₈-Angola
‘The people are working in Angola.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The FIC may combine with the progressive auxiliary *kwesi* to express both progressive aspect and verb focus. This is illustrated in example (38), which is uttered to alert a passer-by to the fact that the container she is carrying on her head is leaking. The event is presented as progressive through use of the auxiliary *kwesi*, and the focus on the verb is expressed with the fronted infinitive construction.

- (38) *ècìpupé 'cákò kùzywìzyà cíkwèsì cìzywìzyà*
e-ci-pupé cí-akó ku-zywizy-a cí-kwesi ci-zywíz-a
AUG-NP₇-container PP₇-POSS_{2SG} INF-leak-FV SM₇.REL-PROGSM₇-leak-FV
‘Your container is leaking!’ (ZF_Elic14)

The fronted-infinitive construction can combine with different TAM constructions, such as the present in examples (37)–(38) above. When used to mark progressive aspect, the FIC may only combine with imperfective pasts, either the remote past imperfective in (39) or the near past imperfective in (40), as progressive is a type of imperfective aspect. When used to express verb focus, the FIC may also combine with perfective past constructions, such as the near past perfective in (41).

- (39) *zywín' ómùntù kùnywá kànywá*
zywiná o-mu-ntu ku-nyú-a ka-a-nyu-á
DEM.IV₁ AUG-NP₁-person INF-drink-FV PST.IPFV-SM₁-drink-FV
‘That person has been drinking.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (40) *kùshèkà ndákùshèkà*
ku-shek-a ndí-aku-shek-a
INF-laugh-FV SM₁.REL-NPST.IPFV-laugh-FV
‘I was laughing.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (41) *kùshúmà nàmùshúmì kònó kànáfwì*
ku-shúm-a na-mu-shúm-i konó ka-ná-fw-i
INF-bite-FV SM₁.PST-OM₁-bite-NPST.PFV but NEG-SM₁.PST-die-NPST.PFV
‘He bit him, but he didn’t die.’ (NF_Elic17)

The FIC cannot be used with future constructions, as these may not occur in subordinate clauses (see 10.4). Instead, to express a progressive action in FIC combines

with a verb in the subjunctive mood (see 12.2 on the subjunctive). This is one of the default strategies for expressing future temporal reference in subordinate clauses.

- (42) *shúnù àbáncè kùzàná bázáné*
 shúnu a-ba-áncé ku-zan-a bá-zán-e
 today AUG-NP₂-child INF-play-FV SM₂.REL-play-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Today the children will be playing.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The infinitive copy does not retain all the inflectional and derivational affixes of the inflected verb. Suffixes, both inflectional and derivational, occur on both the inflected verb and the infinitive copy, but all prefixes, including object markers, aspectual and tense markers, occur only on the inflected verb, and are not retained on the infinitive copy. The suffixes that are retained on the infinitive copy of the inflected verb can be derivational, such as the pluractional suffix *-a-ur* in (43) or the causative suffix *-is* in (44), or inflectional, such as the aspectual suffix *-ite* in (45).

- (43) *kùàmbàùrà túàmbàùrà kwàmàná nòmífúmù*
 ku-amb-a-ur-a tú-amb-a-ur-á
 INF-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-FV SM_{1PL}.REL-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-FV
 kwamana no=ø-mfúmu
 about COM=NP_{1a}-chief
 ‘We are talking about the chief.’ (ZF_Elic13)

- (44) *kùrís’á rìsò mùcècè*
 ku-rí-is-a á-ri_H-is-á o-mu-cece
 INF-eat-CAUS-FV SM₁.REL-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁-child
 ‘She is feeding the child.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (45) *kùzíkìtè ndìkìzíkìtè*
 ku-zík-ite ndi-ki_H-zik-íte
 INF-hide-STAT SM_{1SG}.REL-REFL-hide-STAT
 ‘I am hiding.’ (ZF_Elic13)

The inflected verb of the FIC may contain various prefixes, none of which are copied onto the infinitive verb. This is the case for the object marker, as in (46); the reflexive prefix, as in (47); the persistive prefix, as in (48), and the distal, as in (49).

- (46) *kùtwírà ndímùtwírà*
 ku-tw-ír-a ndí-mu-tw-ír-a
 INF-pound-APPL-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-OM₁-pound-APPL-FV
 ‘I am pounding for someone.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (47) *kùzíkìtè ndìkìzíkìtè*
 ku-zík-ite ndi-ki_H-zik-íte
 INF-hide-STAT SM_{1SG}.REL-REFL-hide-STAT
 ‘I am hiding.’ (ZF_Elic13)

- (48) *éntì kùhórà íshìhórà*
 e-N-tí ku-hór-a í-shi_H-ho_Hr-á
 AUG-NP₉-tea INF-COOL-FV SM₉.REL-PER-COOL-FV
 ‘The tea is still cooling down.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (49) *kùsèbèzà kàndíkàsèbèzà*
 ku-sebez-a ka-ndí-ka-sebez-á
 INF-work-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-DIST-work-FV
 ‘I worked there.’ (ZF_Elic13)

An overview of the verbal affixes that are and are not retained on the infinitive verb of a fronted infinitive construction is given in (50).

- (50) Inflectional and derivational affixes in the fronted-infinitive construction

Affixes that appear on both verbs of the FIC

all derivational suffixes
 the stative suffix *-ite* (and allomorphs)

Affixes that only appear on the inflected verb of the FIC

the persistive prefix *shi-*
 the reflexive prefix *kí-/rí-*
 object markers
 the distal prefix *ka-*

11.2 Habitual

Habitual aspect is a subtype of imperfective aspect (see, for instance, Comrie (1976: 25)). Habitual expresses a repeated event, that is considered characteristic of the subject.. Some discussion exists on whether repetition is a necessary component of the habitual (Carlson 2012); I will follow the analysis by Bertinetto and Lenci (2012) that a habitual refers to a repeated event that describes a characterizing property of the subject. Fwe has two habitual markers, a suffix *-ang* and a prefix *náku-*. Both markers may be combined on the same verb. The following two sections describe the form and function of both habitual markers.

11.2.1 Habitual 1

The habitual suffix *-ang* follows the verb base, and precedes the final vowel suffix.

- (51) *ndìshámàngà*
 ndi-shamb-áng-a
 SM_{1SG}-swim-HAB-FV
 ‘I swim.’ (NF_Elic15)

The suffix *-ang* is underlyingly toneless, and surfaces as low-toned unless a melodic high tone is assigned or the syllable is affected by H retraction or spread. The suffix formally resembles a derivational suffix (see chapter 8), most of which also have a VC

shape, follow the verb root and lack underlying tone. The habitual suffix *-ang*, however, is inflectional rather than derivational, and as such, derivational suffixes stand closer to the verb root than the habitual suffix. When the habitual suffix is combined with a derivational suffix, the habitual suffix follows the derivational suffix, such as the passive in (52), and the applicative in (53).

- (52) *ècí cìntù kàcìrìwàngà*
 e-cí ci-ntu ka-ci-ri_H-iw-áng-a
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-thing NEG-SM₇-eat-PASS-HAB-FV
 ‘This thing, it is not eaten.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (53) *tùkìṇṇòrèrà:ngà àmàṇórò*
 tu-ki_H-ṇo_Hr-er-áng-a a-ma-ṇoró
 SM_{1PL}-REFL-write-APPL-HAB-FV AUG-NP₆-letter
 ‘We write each other letters.’ (ZF_Elic13)

Other inflectional suffixes involved in the expression of aspect (such as the stative suffix *-ite*, see section II.3) also occupy the slot after the derivational suffixes. Unlike the stative suffix, however, the habitual suffix *-ang* is followed by a final vowel suffix, either the default final vowel *-a*, as in the previous examples, or the subjunctive suffix *-e*, as in example (54), or the negative suffix *-i* as in example (55).

- (54) *òràpèràngè mùzyúbà*
 o-raper-áng-e mu-ø-zyúba
 SM_{2SG}-pray-HAB-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₅-day
 ‘You should pray every day.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (55) *bàshàsheshíwàngì*
 ba-sha-shesh-iw-ang-i
 SM₂-NEG-marry-PASS-HAB-NEG
 ‘They should not get married.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The habitual suffix *-ang* is a common suffix in Bantu, reconstructed as *ag or *ang (Meeussen 1967), and its cognates are often used with a habitual meaning (Nurse 2008: 98). The habitual suffix *-ang* in Fwe describes a recurrent event that is considered a characteristic of the situation or its participants. An example is given in (56), where habitual *-ang* indicates that making the speaker sleepy is a typical property of this medicine.

- (56) *òwú mùshámù ùnákùndìsùkùrìsàngà*
 o-ú mu-shámu u-náku-ndi-sukur-is-ang-a
 AUG-DEM.I₃ NP₃-medicine SM₃-HAB-OM_{1SG}-become_dozy-CAUS-HAB-FV
 ‘This medicine makes me sleepy.’ (NF_Elic17)

Repetition is essential for the use of the habitual suffix *-ang*³⁴. It may be used to refer to an event that takes place at regular intervals, such as every day, or every morning.

- (57) *èzyúba nèzyúba káyàngà kúrùwà*
 e-ø-zyúba ne=ø-zyúba ka-á-i-ang-a kú-ru-wa
 AUG-NP₅-day COM=AUG-NP₅-day PST.IPFV-SM₁-GO-HAB-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ‘Every day, she went to the field.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (58) *mùzyúba màsíkusíku ndinywángà màsàmbà*
 mu-ø-zyúba ma-síkusíku ndi-nyw-áng-a ma-samba
 NP₁₈-NP₅-day NP₆-morning SM_{1SG}-drink-HAB-FV NP₆-tea
 ‘Every morning I drink tea.’ (ZF_Elic14)

In present habituals, at least some of the intervals that make up a habitual event are situated before the present time of speaking. In example (59), for instance, the use of the habitual *-ang* indicates that a number of the occasions of waking up at six are in the past, and that some are planned for the future as well.

- (59) *kásíkìsì ndíbù:kàngà*
 ø-ká-síkisi ndí-bu:k-áng-a
 COP-ADV-six SM_{1SG}.REL-wake-HAB-FV
 ‘It’s at six that I normally wake up.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Habitual *-ang* may also have a gnomic meaning, as in (60), where it describes the general behaviour of all dogs, and in (61), where it describes the general characteristics of old people’s hair.

- (60) *àbámbwà bàbbózángà*
 a-ba-mbwá ba-bbo_Hz-áng-a
 AUG-NP₂-dog SM₂-bark-HAB-FV
 ‘Dogs bark.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (61) *ènshúkí ‘zábànkàràmbà zìtùbàngà*
 e-N-shukí zi-á=ba-nkarámba zi-tub-áng-a
 AUG-NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-CON=NP₂-old_{person} SM₂-be_{white}-HAB-FV
 ‘Old people’s hair is white.’ (NF_Elic17)

Habitual *-ang* can combine with the imperfective past, as habitual is a subtype of imperfective aspect. Only the remote past imperfective may combine with the habitual *-ang*; as discussed in section 10.3.3 on the near past imperfective, its incompatibility with the habitual is related to the fact that near past is usually interpreted as earlier on the day of speaking, a temporal domain that is too short for habitual interpretations.

³⁴ The other semantic component of the habitual, namely describing a “characterizing property”, is not always clearly present in the use of the habitual in Fwe, see for instance example (64). However, because the majority of attested habitual examples in Fwe do conform to this prototypical definition of the habitual, the term “habitual” will be used. More research is needed to evaluate if the Fwe habituals always presents events as characteristic properties, and if not, if they are better characterized as for instance “frequentatives” (Bhat 1999).

The imperfective past situates the entire event in the past, and no overlap with the time of speaking possible (see also section 10.3.2). A past habitual indicates that all repetitions of the action take place in the past; the action habitually took place, but no longer holds in the present.

- (62) *kàndítòmbwèrángà*
 ka-ndí-tombwer-áng-a
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-weed-HAB-FV
 ‘I used to weed (but not anymore).’ (NF_Elic15)

In Zambian Fwe, habitual *-ang* may be used with a subjunctive, as in example (63), or a near future based on the subjunctive, as in example (64).

- (63) *òràpèrángè múzyúba*
 o-raper-áng-e mú-ø-zyúba
 SM_{2SG}-pray-HAB-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₅-day
 ‘You should pray every day.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (64) *èyínó nsúnda mbòndíbù:kángè kàèti*
 e-inó N-súnda mbo-ndí-bu:_Hk-áng-e ka-éti
 AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-wake-HAB-PFV.SBJV ADV-eight
 ‘This week, I will wake up at eight.’

In Namibian Fwe, habitual *-ang* can only co-occur with the imperfective subjunctive, as in example (65), and the near future based on the imperfective subjunctive, as in (66)a, though the imperfective subjunctive may also express habitual without the suffix *-ang*, as in (66)b (see also section 12.3 on the imperfective subjunctive).

- (65) *ínú èmvíki wákùménèkàngà éwè*
 inú e-N-víki o-áku-mének-ang-a éwe
 DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-week SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV PERS_{2SG}
 ‘This week, you should wake up early every day.’

- (66) a. *mbòndákùbèrèkàngà*
 mbo-ndi-áku-berek-ang-a
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-HAB-FV
 ‘I will work every day.’
 b. *mbòndákùbèrèkàn*
 mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
 ‘I will work every day.’ (NF_Elic17)

11.2.2 Habitual 2

Another form of the habitual uses the post-initial prefix *náku-*. Aside from the high tone on the habitual prefix *náku-*, no melodic high tones are assigned, and the underlying tones of the verb surface.

- (67) *bàntù bànákùrìm' òmùndàré*
 ba-ntu ba-náku-rim-a o-mu-ndaré
 NP₂-person SM₂-HAB-farm-FV AUG-NP₃-maize
 'People usually farm maize.' (NF_Elic15)

The prefix *náku-* is a grammaticalization from the verb *iná* 'be (at)' and an infinitive verb, beginning with *ku-*.³⁵ The high tone on the syllable *ná* corresponds to the final high tone on the verb *iná* 'be at'. That verbs with *náku-* lack melodic tone, and allow the realization of underlying high tones, is also consistent with its origin in an infinitive. The habitual prefix *náku-* changes to *náka-* when combined with the distal marker *ka-*, indicating a location away from the place of speaking. This, too, is typical of the infinitive prefix *ku-* (see 13.1 on the distal).

- (68) *ànákatòngàùkà*
 a-ná-ka-tongauk-a
 SM₁-HAB-DIST-complain-FV
 'She always complains there.' (NF_Elic17)

Synchronically, the construction no longer functions as a combination of an inflected verb *iná* and an infinitive, but has grammaticalized to a single post-initial prefix *náku-*. This is seen in the loss of the initial vowel *i* of the lexical verb *iná*, and in its interaction with the distal marker *ka-*. As shown in example (68), the distal may merge with the habitual prefix *náku-* to become *náka-*, as is typical of infinitives. It is also possible, however, for the distal not to merge with the prefix *náku-*, but to be added after it, as in (69). This is part of the grammaticalization process of this construction, and shows that it is no longer analyzed as an infinitive by speakers.

- (69) *ànákatòngàùkà ~ ànákuàtòngàùkà*
 a-ná(ku)-ka-tongauk-a
 SM₁-HAB-DIST-complain-FV
 'She always complains there.' (NF_Elic17)

The habitual marked with *náku-* is similar in meaning to the habitual marked with the suffix *-ang*, discussed in the previous section, both expressing an action characteristic of a certain time period. Similar to the suffix *-ang*, verbs with *náku-* may express an event repeated periodically, as in (70), or may have a gnomic use, as in (71).

- (70) *nákùríhìndàwìrà zìntù zábàntù*
 náku-rí-hind-a-u-ir-a zi-ntu zi-á=ba-ntu
 SM₁.HAB-REFL-take-PL1-SEP-APPL-FV NP₈-thing PP₈-CON=NP₂-person
 'S/he is always taking people's things for him/herself.'

- (71) *zínákùtíyìzà*
 zi-náku-tíiz-a
 SM₈-HAB-be_dangerous-FV
 'They are dangerous.' (NF_Elic17)

³⁵ I am indebted to Sebastian Dom for suggesting this etymology.

The prefix *náku-* may co-occur on the same verb with the habitual suffix *-ang*.

- (72) *hàhéná ndínákùbúkàngà iyé màshènè màshènè*
 ha-hená ndi-náku-búk-ang-a
 EMPH-DEM.IV₁₆ SM_{1SG}-HAB-wake-HAB-FV
 iyé N-ma-shene N-ma-shene
 that COP-NP₆-worm COP-NP₆-worm
 ‘Every time I wake up and say: there are worms, there are worms.’
 (NF_Narr15)
- (73) *túnákùzìbònàngà kàrì mbùryó túhámà kònó zìntù túbwènè zìténdéherè*
 tu-náku-zi_H-bo_Hn-áng-a
 SM_{1PL}-HAB-OM₈-see-HAB-FV
 ka-ri N-bu-ryó tú-ám-b-a
 NEG-be COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1PL}-speak-FV
 konó ø-zi-ntu tú-bwe_Hne zi-tend-éhere
 but COP-NP₈-thing SM_{1PL}.REL-see.STAT SM₈-do-NEUT.STAT
 ‘We usually see these things, we’re not just talking, they’re things that we see happening.’ (ZF_Conv13)

No difference in meaning was observed between habitual *náku-* and the habitual suffix *-ang*, although there is a difference in distribution, namely that only *-ang*, but not *náku-* can be combined with a past tense. More research is needed to establish if there is a difference in meaning between the two habitual forms³⁶. Historically, *náku-* is clearly a newer form, as it still shows signs of recent grammaticalization, whereas *-ang* is a very common Bantu form, and is widely attested with habitual meaning.

11.3 Stative

Fwe has a stative suffix *-ite*, used in the final vowel slot of the verb. The stative has a number of conditioned and lexicalized allomorphs, as well as a complex tonal pattern, which is discussed in section II.3.1. Section II.3.2 discusses the functions of the stative in Fwe, drawing on an in-depth analysis of the functions and diachronic development of the suffix in Bantu Botatwe (Crane 2012), especially Totela (Crane 2011; 2013).

11.3.1 The form of the stative

The stative construction has many different forms. The regular form of the stative is a final vowel suffix *-ite*. The suffix *-ite* displays vowel height harmony with the stem of the verb: it is realized as *-ete* after verb stems with a mid vowel /e/ or /o/, and as *-ite* in all other cases (see also section 3.3 on vowel harmony).

³⁶ A possible difference is that *náku-* is more progressive-like than *-ang*. Historically, it derives from a locative plus infinitive construction, which is cross-linguistically the most common source for progressive markers (Bybee et al 1994). In some cases, verbs that take both *náku-* and *-ang* were considered to focus the frequent repetition of the event, whereas verbs with *-ang* but without *náku-* were considered to focus the event as a habit, characteristic of the subject.

- (74) a. *ndìfúmítè*
 ndi-fum-íte
 SM_{1SG}-become_rich-STAT
 ‘I am rich.’
- b. *zìbómbètè*
 zi-bomb-éte
 SM₈-become_wet-STAT
 ‘They are wet.’
- c. *ndìkátítè*
 ndi-kat-íte
 SM_{1SG}-become_thin-STAT
 ‘I am thin.’
- d. *ndìshéshètè*
 ndi-she_Hsh-éte
 SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT
 ‘I am married.’
- e. *ndìtíyítè*
 ndi-ti_H-íte
 SM_{1SG}-fear-STAT
 ‘I am afraid.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The stative uses melodic tone pattern 4, e.g. the deletion of underlying high tones, and melodic tone 3, which adds a high tone to the second stem syllable (see section 10.1.1 on melodic tone patterns). The stative suffix *-ite* is counted as part of the stem, so that with CVC verb roots MT 3 is assigned to the first syllable of the suffix *-ite*. This tone may spread to the left up until the first syllable of the verb stem (see section 4.1.6 on optional high tone spread).³⁷

- (75) *bàtárfítè*
 ba-taríf-ite
 SM₂-become_smart-STAT
 ‘S/he is smart.’

- (76) *cìtúrúkìtè*
 ci-tu_Hrúk-ite
 SM₇-burst-STAT
 ‘It is burst.’ (ZF_Elic14)

³⁷ Although leftward spread is a truly optional process in most words (see section 4.1.6), melodic tone 3 as used with the stative is virtually always subject to leftward spread. Very few examples have been found where stative verbs do not display high tone spread, though when asked, speakers concede that the pronunciation without high tone spread is allowed.

- (77) *ndìpátéhètè*
 ndi-patéh-ete
 SM_{1SG}-be_busy-STAT
 ‘I am busy.’ (NF_Elic15)

When the verb stem, that is the verb root together with the stative suffix, has no more than two syllables, melodic tone 3 is not assigned. This is the case with monosyllabic -C(G)- verb roots that take the regular stative suffix *-ite*, but also with disyllabic -CVC- verb roots that take an irregular stative suffix that does not add an extra syllable. For the assignment of MT 3, only the number of syllables is relevant, not the number of moras: no melodic tone is assigned to disyllabic stems with three moras (examples a and b), or to disyllabic stems with two moras (example c). The stative construction does, however, assign a melodic tone to stems with three syllables and three moras (example d), showing that it is the number of syllables, rather than the number of moras, that determines tone assignment. This contrasts with melodic tone 1, which does take moras into account (see section 10.1.1 on melodic tone).

- (78) a. *cìfwìtè*
 ci-fw_H-ite
 SM₇-die-STAT
 ‘It has died.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- b. *ànywìtè*
 a-nyu_H-ite
 SM₁-drink-STAT
 ‘S/he is drunk.’ (NF_Elic15)
- c. *ndìkèrè*
 ndi-kere
 SM_{1SG}-sit-STAT
 ‘I sit.’
- d. *ndìtábìtè*
 ndi-tab-ìte
 SM_{1SG}-become_happy-STAT
 ‘I am happy.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Aside from the regular application of vowel harmony, the segmental form of the stative suffix can vary in other, more unpredictable ways. If the last stem consonant is a continuant, imbrication may take place, causing the vowel(s) of the stative suffix to merge with the last vowel(s) of the verb stem. If the last stem consonant is a stop, spirantization may take place, changing the stop to a fricative. Spirantization is partly lexically determined, i.e. not all verb stems ending in a stop are subject to spirantization. There is also some regional and inter-speaker variation in the occurrence of these processes; irregular forms of the stative (i.e. those not using *-ite*) appear to be less common in Zambian Fwe than in Namibian Fwe. Deviant forms of the stative ending are also seen with verbs that take the intransitive impositive *-am*, which use a stative suffix *-i* and drop the suffix *-am*. The passive suffix *-(i)w* also requires a non-

canonical form of the stative; when combined with a stative, it is realized as *-itwe* or *-itwa*, that is the passive suffix merges with the stative suffix. Finally, there is a handful of lexical exceptions taking a suffix *-ire/-ere* rather than *-ite/-ete*. I will now discuss the different forms of the stative suffix and their conditioning, showing that the different realizations can be reduced to three forms *-ite*, *-ire* and *-i*.

Table II.2: Forms of the stative suffix

Allomorph	Conditioning
<i>-ite</i>	regular
<i>-ete</i>	vowel harmony: after mid vowels
<i>-i</i>	with intransitive impositive verbs
<i>-ire</i>	lexical exceptions
imbrication	verbs ending in a continuant
spirantization	lexical exceptions

The process of imbrication is common in Bantu languages and usually affects cognates of the suffix *-ide* (Bastin 1983). Whether Fwe *-ite* is cognate with this suffix is not clear. On the one hand, the regular reflex of **-ide* would not be *-ite*, but rather *-ire*, because reconstructed **d* corresponds to /r/ in Fwe (Bostoen 2009: 114–115). On the other hand, Fwe *-ite* is formally similar to **-ide*, differing only in the voicing of the consonant. For a discussion of the historical relationship between **-ite* and **-ile* in Bantu Botatwe, see Crane (2012: Appendix). At least in Fwe, *-ite* and *-ire* are allomorphs of the same suffix, as will become clear below.

In Fwe, imbricated forms of the stative suffix are seen with verbs where the last consonant of the stem is a continuant, i.e. a nasal or /r/. The vowel /i/ of the stative suffix moves before the last stem consonant and merges with the last vowel of the verb stem. The second vowel /e/ of the stative suffix is used after the last consonant of the verb stem. The last stem consonant of the verb stem is not affected by imbrication. An example is given in (79) with the verb *-rind-ir-* ‘wait for’, where the verb stem ends in a continuant /r/, thus allowing imbrication.

(79) *-rind-ir-* ‘wait for’

ndìrìndìrè
 ndi-rind-ì_{HR}-e
 SM_{1SG}-wait-APPL-STAT
 ‘I am waiting.’ (NF_Elic15)

The imbricated vowel /i/ merges with the last vowel of the verb stem, causing vowel coalescence, vowel deletion, and/or glide formation, depending on the quality of the vowels (see section 3.2 on vowel hiatus resolution). If the last stem vowel is /i/, imbrication of /i/ does not result in a change of the vowel, as seen in (79). If the last stem vowel is /e/, the imbricated vowel /i/ lowers to /e/, as seen in (80). When imbricated /i/ merges with a stem vowel /a/, it becomes a mid front vowel /e/, intermediate in height between /i/ and /a/, as in (81).

(80) *-deber-* ‘dangle’

cìdébèrè
 ci-debér-e
 SM₇-dangle-STAT
 ‘It is dangling.’ (NF_Elic15)

(81) *-sumbar-* ‘become pregnant’

àsúmbèrè
 a-su_Hmbér-e
 SM₁-become_pregnant-STAT
 ‘She is pregnant.’ (NF_Elic15)

When the last vowel of the verb stem is a back vowel, imbrication with the vowel /i/ of the stative changes the back vowel to a glide [w]. In the case of a mid back vowel /o/, the imbricated vowel /i/ is lowered to a mid vowel /e/.

(82) *-tontor-* ‘be cold’

kùtòntwèrè
 ku-to_Hntwér-e
 SM₁₅-be_cold-STAT
 ‘It is quiet.’ (NF_Elic15)

(83) *-zyur-* ‘become full’

cìzywìrè
 ci-zywir-e
 SM₇-become_full-STAT
 ‘It is full.’ (NF_Elic15)

Imbrication of the stative suffix is most common with verb stems that have a -CVCVC- shape, where the last syllable is either a productive derivational suffix, such as the applicative, or formally resembles a derivational suffix, without functioning as such. There are also a number of -CVC- verb stems that require imbrication of the stative suffix; these include mainly verbs that are more commonly used with the stative suffix than in a different construction.

Table II.3: Imbrication with -CVC- verbs

<i>-bón-</i>	‘see’	<i>-bwènè</i>
<i>-kar-</i>	‘sit down’	<i>-kèrè</i>
<i>-rá:r</i>	‘lie down; go to sleep’	<i>-rè:rè</i>
<i>-rwar-</i>	‘become sick’	<i>-rwèrè</i>
<i>-zyur-</i>	‘become full’	<i>-zywìrè</i>

In verb stems with the neuter suffix *-ahar*, imbrication may target both the vowels of the suffix, which are raised to /e/ when combined with the stative. This double imbrication is not obligatory, however, and forms where only the last stem vowel are subject to imbrication are also allowed (examples (84)–(85)). The verb *-bonahar-* ‘appear’,

even displays imbrication up to the first stem vowel (example (86)). Note that the un-derived verb *-bón-* ‘see’ also has an imbricated form *-bwene*.

- (84) *-zyíb-ahar-* ‘be famous’

àzyíbéhèrè ~ àzyíbáhèrè
a-zyi_Hb-éher-e ~ a-zyi_Hb-áher-e
 SM₁-know-NEUT-STAT
 ‘S/he is famous.’

- (85) *sep-ahar-* ‘be trustworthy’

bàsépéhèrè ~ bàsépáhèrè
ba-sep-éher-e ~ ba-sep-áher-e
 SM₂-promise-NEUT-STAT
 ‘S/he is trustworthy.’

- (86) *-bón-ahar-* ‘appear, be visible’

kùbwénéhèrè
ku-bwe_Hn-éher-e
 SM₁₅-see-NEUT-STAT
 ‘It is visible.’ (NF_Elic15)

Many verbs that have an imbricated stative form also have a stative form without imbrication. Both forms are used interchangeably, without a discernable change in meaning.

- (87) *-gumbam-* ‘be next to’

bàrìgùmbémè
ba-rì_H-gumb-éme
 SM₂-REFL-be_next_to-IMP.ITR-STAT

bàrìgùmbámìtè
ba-rì_H-gumb-ám-ite
 SM₂-REFL-be_next_to-IMP.ITR-STAT

‘They are next to each other.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (88) *-rwár-* ‘become sick’

àrwèrè
a-rwe_Hre
 SM₁-become_sick-STAT

àrwárîtè
a-rwa_Hr-íte
 SM₁-become_sick-STAT

‘S/he is sick.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The use of the stative may only cause imbrication when the last consonant of the verb stem is a continuant; obstruents block imbrication. This is difficult to explain from the point of view of the modern stative suffix *-ite*, which contains an obstruent /t/, but rather seems to point to an original form *-ire*, with a continuant /r/. A suffix *-ile* (or similar) is widely attested in Bantu languages (Bastin 1983; Botne 2010; Nurse 2008), and also occurs in Fwe as a lexicalized allomorph of the stative in a number of verbs, though in some of these, an alternative form with *-ite* is also allowed. Verbs that may take a stative suffix *-ire* are listed in Table II.4.

Table II.4: Stative verbs with *-ire*

<i>-shúw-</i>	‘hear, feel, perceive’	<i>-shùwìrè</i>
<i>-fú-</i>	‘die; break’	<i>-fwìrè ~ -fwìtè</i>
<i>-fwûmp-</i>	‘become short’	<i>-fwíhímpèrè</i>
<i>-bbíh-</i>	‘become bad’	<i>-bbíhìrè ~ -bbíhùtè</i>

The second process that creates irregular forms of the stative suffix is spirantization; this is a formerly productive sound change in Fwe, where stops followed by a high vowel became fricatives (Bostoen 2009: 117–118). Spirantization is no longer active in Fwe, but forms that were created as the result of spirantization are still seen in the stative forms of certain verbs. Spirantization is combined with imbrication, but differs from other cases of imbrication because the last vowel is /i/ rather than /e/.

Table II.5: Stative verbs with spirantization

<i>-kwát-</i>	‘grab, grasp’	<i>-kwèsì ~ -kwátítè</i>
<i>-pak-</i>	‘carry on one’s back’	<i>-pèsì ~ -pákítè</i>
<i>-vúrumat-</i>	‘close one’s eyes’	<i>-vúrumèsì</i>
<i>-zwát-</i>	‘get dressed’	<i>-zwèsì ~ -zwátítè</i>

Spirantization in stativized verbs is not common: Table II.5 presents the only examples attested so far (with the exception of impositive intransitive verbs, see Table II.6), and even these have an alternative form without spirantization, but with the regular stative suffix *-ite*. There appears to be a geographic distribution, where irregular, spirantized forms are more common in Namibian Fwe, and forms with the regular suffix and no spirantization are more common in Zambian Fwe.

Spirantization is also seen in the stative form of a number of impositional verbs with the intransitive impositional suffix *-am*. Verbs with this suffix have a very deviant stative form: they drop the impositional suffix *-am* and take a stative suffix *-i*, which causes spirantization of the preceding consonant in some cases. This form of the stative is productively used with all intransitive impositive verbs, but spirantization only occurs in some of these verbs.

Table II.6: Intransitive impositive verbs in the stative

<i>-bémbàmà</i>	‘stand next to’	<i>-bémbì</i>
<i>-bòmbàmà</i>	‘soak’	<i>-bóbì</i>
<i>-cànkàmà</i>	‘be put on a fire (of a pot)’	<i>-cánsì</i>

-céngèkà	‘be close to’	-cénzì
-còkàmà	‘spy (from a hidden position)’	-còsì
-gábàmà	‘hang (on a hook)’	-gábì
-gùmbàmà	‘be next to’	-gùmbì
-hángàmà	‘hang (itr.)’	-hánzì
-jánàmà	‘open one’s mouth wide’	-jani
-kòtàmà	‘bend forward’	-kòsì
-kúnàmà	‘be smoked (of food stuff, ie fish)’	-kùni
-nyòngàmà	‘bend (itr.)’	-nyónzì
- ⁿ lùmpàmà	‘plant’	- ⁿ lùmpì
-shèndàmà	‘lean’	-shéndì
-súngàmà	‘bow the head’	-súnzì
-téngàmà	‘bend (itr.)’	-ténzì
-tùmpwàmà	‘be thrown in water’ (of an inanimate object)	-tùmpwì
-zyánàmà	‘hang’	-zyánì
-zyáshàmà	‘open one’s mouth’	-zyáshì
-zyiàmà	‘lean’	-zyéndì

These stative forms are not only deviant in their segmental realization, but also in their tonal realization. Regular stative verbs are realized without high tones when they have a disyllabic stem, but stative impositive verbs all take a high tone on the last stem syllable (which retracts to the penultimate syllable in clause-final position). That these stative forms are derived from impositive verbs where the impositive suffix is deleted in the stative, is clear from the fact that they retain their impositive semantics, and that most of these verb roots do not occur without the impositive suffix (either the intransitive impositive *-am* or the transitive impositive *-ik*; for more on the impositive, see section 8.8).

- (89) a. *kùkúnàmà*
ku-kún-am-a
INF-SMOKE-IMP.INTR-FV
‘to be put on a smoking shelve’
- b. *zìkùni*
zi-ku_Hn-í
SM₈-SMOKE-IMP.INTR.STAT
‘They (fish) are lying on a smoking shelve.’
- c. **kùkûnà* (NF_Elic15)
- (90) a. *kùzyánàmà*
ku-zyán-am-a
INF-Spread-IMP.INTR-FV
‘to be spread out to dry’

- b. *zìzyáni*
 zi-zya_Hn-í
 SM₈-spread-IMP.INTR.STAT
 ‘They (clothes) are spread out to dry.’
- c. **kù-zýán-à* (NF_Elic15)

Intransitive impositive verbs can also take a more regular form of the stative suffix, either with imbrication, resulting in a form *-eme*, or with a regular stative suffix *-ite* added after the impositive suffix *-am*, resulting in the form *-amite*. Example (91) gives the three stative forms of the impositive intransitive verb *-nyòngàmà* ‘bend’. All three stative forms are available for all intransitive impositive verbs. Again, regular forms with *-ite* are more common in Zambian Fwe, and irregular forms either with imbrication or with *-i* and spirantization are more common in Namibian Fwe.

- (91) a. *ci-nyónz-ì*
 SM₇-bend-IMP.INTR.STAT
- b. *cì-nyóng-émè*
 SM₇-bend-IMP.INTR-STAT
- c. *cì-nyóng-ám-ìtè*
 SM₇-bend-IMP.INTR-STAT
- ‘It is bent.’ (NF_Elic15)

Only verbs with the intransitive impositive suffix *-am* take the stative suffix *-i*. Verbs with the transitive impositive suffix *-ik* may also be used in the stative (with the passive), in which case the regular stative suffix is used.

- (92) *zìkúníkìtwà*
 zi-kun-ík-itwa
 SM₁₀-smoke-IMP.TR-STAT-PASS-FV
 ‘They are being smoked.’ (ie lying on the smoking shelve) (NF_Elic15)

When the stative is combined with the passive suffix *-(i)w*, the passive suffix is infixated in the stative suffix, resulting in the form *-itwe* in Zambian Fwe, and *-itwa* in Namibian Fwe (see also 8.3 on the passive). This infixation may suggest a bimorphemic analysis of the stative suffix as *-it-e*, which would be consistent with its function as a final vowel suffix even though it does not consist of a single vowel, and with the imbrication of the stative suffix, in which the two vowels of the suffix function independently of each other. However, a bimorphemic analysis *-it-e* would suggest a final vowel suffix *-e*, which is otherwise only used with subjunctive and imperative verbs (see chapter 12), and therefore seems incompatible with its use in the stative.

- (93) *ndìshéhêtwè*
 ndi-she_Hsh-étwe
 SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT.PASS
 ‘I am married (said by a woman).’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (94) *cihàritwà*
 ci-ar-ítwa
 SM₇-close-STAT.PASS
 ‘It is closed.’ (NF_Elic15)

This overview of the different forms of the stative suffix has shown that it has three basic forms: the regular form *-ite*, the form *-ire* seen in a number of lexicalized verbs but also accounting for imbrication with continuant-final verb stems, and *-i*, going back to an earlier high vowel **i* which triggered spirantization. The use of *-ite* and *-ire* (or *-ile*) as variants of the same suffix is also seen in other Bantu Botatwe languages (Crane 2012). Across Bantu languages, suffixes similar to *-ite* and *-ire* often express similar functions, which could either be interpreted as two separate proto-forms which converged in many languages because of their formal and functional similarity (Bastin 1983: 76–77), or as reflexes of the same proto-form (Nurse 2008: 268; see also Crane 2012 for a summary of the argumentation pro and contra this development). In either analysis, the two suffixes are historically related. Although *-ire* is more common across Bantu, in Fwe *-ire* is more restricted and *-ite* more productive, and attested cases of variation suggest that *-ire* is being replaced by *-ite*.

The origin of the allomorph *-i* of the stative suffix is more difficult to explain. It resembles both the near past perfective suffix *-i* and the negative suffix *-i*, though neither of these suffixes ever cause spirantization.³⁸ Nurse (2008: 264) notes that in many Savanna Bantu languages the suffix *-ile* has an allomorph *-i*, but the near-high vowel /i/ rather than the high vowel /i/ does not explain the occurrence of spirantization. Possibly, an earlier form *-ite/-ire/-i*, with a high first vowel, was the oldest form of the suffix, and the spirantization triggered by the high vowel was only maintained in a handful of verbs. Sporadic lexicalization of spirantization is also seen with another suffix in Fwe, the agentive suffix *-i*, which is attested with spirantization in only three nouns (see section 6.1.1). Note that spirantization triggered by high-vowel suffixes can easily be undone at a later stage in the language by analogy with forms of the same verb stem with a suffix *-a* rather than *-i*, which would have retained the non-spirantized consonant.

Verbs in the stative inflection may be negated using a negative prefix *ta-* / *ka-* (see chapter 14 on negation). Negation of a stative form also involves lengthening of the last vowel of the verb stem. The negation of a stative verb does not take melodic tone 3, but melodic tone 1, namely a high tone on the last verb mora.

- (95) *tàndishèshètè:*
 ta-ndi-she_Hsh-ite-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT-NEG
 ‘I am not married.’

³⁸ The stative does, however, share melodic tone 3 with these two other constructions using the suffix *-i*.

- (96) *tàndìkàtìtè*
 ta-ndi-kat-ite-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-become_thin-STAT-NEG
 ‘I am not thin.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The negative form of the stative construction is striking for a number of reasons. It is one of the only constructions where the tonal pattern of the negative differs from the tonal pattern of the affirmative, the only other construction being the present. Interestingly, Crane (2014) notes the same phenomenon in Totela. The stative is also the only verb form where negation involves lengthening of the last vowel of the verb; a possible analysis is that negation of the stative involves the regular negative suffix *-i* (see also chapter 13 on negation), which is absorbed in the final vowel *-e* of the verb but contributes to its lengthening.

11.3.2 Functions of the stative

Crane (2012) presents a preliminary analysis of the suffix *-ite* in Fwe, Mbalangwe and Subiya, and a detailed analysis of the same suffix in Totela (Crane 2013). She concludes that in these languages, the suffix *-ite* attributes a state to the verbal subject, with a focus on the current state rather than on the precipitating situation (Crane 2012: 66). The analysis for Fwe presented here mostly confirms these findings.

The stative has two possible interpretations, depending on lexical aspect: stative with change-of-state verbs, and progressive with dynamic verbs. The following examples show the present state interpretation of the stative with change-of-state verbs.

- (97) *hànsí kùbómbètè*
 ha-N-shí ku-bomb-éte
 NP₁₆-NP₉-ground SM₁₇-become_wet-STAT
 ‘The ground is wet.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (98) *òpótó àzywìré bùsù*
 o-ø-potó a-zywir-é bu-su
 AUG-NP_{1a}-pot SM₁-become_full-STAT NP₁₄-flour
 ‘The pot is full of flour.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The experiencer verbs *-bón-* ‘see’ and *-shú-* ‘hear, feel, smell’ also function as change-of-state verbs; in the present construction, they take a modal, futurate, or conditional interpretation. With the stative, they are interpreted as ongoing at the time of speaking.

- (99) *ndìbwènè*
 ndi-bwe_Hne
 SM_{1SG}-see.STAT
 ‘I see.’

- (100) *ndìshúwírè*
 ndi-shu_H-íre
 SM_{1SG}-hear-STAT
 ‘I hear.’ (ZF_Elic14)

True stative verbs, that is, verbs that express a continuing, unbounded state, as opposed to change-of-state verbs, cannot be used in the stative construction. These verbs are interpreted as an ongoing state when used in the present construction, and are ungrammatical when used in the stative construction, as shown for the true stative verb *-tíiz-* ‘be dangerous’.

- (101) a. **zìtìyìzítè*
 zi-ti_Hiz-íte
 SM₈-be_busy-STAT
 Intended: ‘They are dangerous.’
- b. *zìtìyìzà*
 zi-ti_Hiz-á
 SM₈-be_busy-FV
 ‘They are dangerous.’ (NF_Elic15)

Some verbs have ambivalent lexical aspect, and can be used either as change-of-state verbs or as true stative; both the stative and the present tense give a present stative reading. This is the case for instance with the verb *-cen-* ‘be/become clean’, which is interpreted as a present stative when used in the present tense, as is typical of true stative verbs, but also as present state when used with the stative construction, as is typical of change-of-state verbs.

- (102) a. *èzí zìzwátò zìcénà*
 e-zí zi-zwátò zi-cen-á
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-be_clean-FV
 ‘Are these clothes clean?’
- b. *èzí zìzwátò zìcénète*
 e-zí zi-zwátò zi-cen-éte
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-become_clean-STAT
 ‘Are these clothes clean?’ (ZF_Elic14)

With verbs that are ambivalent between change-of-state and stative, the use of the stative suffix can give a different interpretation than the use of the present tense form. As discussed in section 10.2, the basic meaning of the present construction is that the event nucleus is situated at least partly after the utterance time; overlap with UT is possible (for certain lexical aspects), but not obligatory. The stative form, however, necessarily refers to a state that is ongoing at utterance time. How these different interpretations of the present and stative interact with change-of-state/stative verbs is illustrated with the verb *-rwár-* ‘be/become sick’: in the present construction, it is interpreted as referring to a chronic illness, for instance diabetes, from which a person

can suffer without actually feeling ill all the time. In the stative construction, this verb can only be interpreted as the speaker feeling ill right now.

- (103) a. *ndîrwârà*
 ndi-rwâr-a
 SM_{1SG}-be_sick-FV
 ‘I am sick/have an illness.’
- b. *ndîrwârîte*
 ndi-rwa_{HR}-îte
 SM_{1SG}-be_sick-STAT
 ‘I am (feeling) sick.’ (NF_Elic15)

There are few verbs that can function as both change-of-state and true stative, and most verbs are either true stative or change-of-state verbs, with change-of-state verbs forming a clear majority.

The stative construction presents an event as a currently ongoing state, and does not include reference to if (or when) the state has come about. In examples (104)–(105), the stative suffix is used with change-of-state verbs, indicating a currently ongoing state, which is not the result of an earlier change of state.

- (104) *èzí zîshámù zîgorète wáwà*
 e-zi zi-shamú zi-gor-éte wáwà
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-tree SM₈-become_strong-STAT very
 ‘These trees are very strong.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (105) *èzí zîntù zîkîkózète*
 e-zí zi-ntu zi-ki_H-koz-éte
 AUG-DEM.I₈ SM₈-thing SM₈-REFL-resemble-STAT
 ‘These things are similar.’ (ZF_Elic13)

It is possible, however, that an event referred to in the stative construction is the result of an earlier change of state. States that have not always held, but have come into being at some point in the past, can also be expressed with the stative, but the change in state is not part of their conceptualization. The use of the stative merely presents a state as currently ongoing, and backgrounds the earlier change of state that has given rise to it. In (106), a stative form is used to describe that eggs are rotten; although these eggs were once fresh, and the fact that they are now rotten is the result of a change in their state, this change is not referenced by the stative form, and only their current state is described.

- (106) *àá màyî: àbórète*
 a-á ma-yî: a-bor-éte
 AUG-DEM.I₆ NP₆-egg SM₆-rot-STAT
 ‘These eggs, they’re rotten.’ (NF_Elic15)

The fact that the stative only focuses on a current state of affairs, and backgrounds its cause, also means that verbs in the stative cannot co-occur with an agent phrase;

because the original action that led to the current state is not conceptualized, the agent that instigated this original action can also not be referenced. The sentence *ciàzò ciàrukìtè* ‘the door is open’, is grammatical, but the addition of an agent phrase *kú'ru:ho* ‘by the wind’, is not. An agent phrase can only be used with a verb in the near past perfective construction, as shown in (107)c.

- (107) a. *ciàzò ciàrukìtè*
 cí-azo ci-ar-úk-ite
 NP₇-door SM₇-close-SEP.INTR-STAT
 ‘The door is open.’
- b. **ciàzò ciàrukìtè kú'ru:ho*
 cí-azo ci-ar-úk-ite kú-rú:ho
 NP₇-door SM₇-close-SEP.INTR-STAT NP₁₇-NP₁₁-wind
 Intended: ‘The door is opened by the wind.’
- c. *ciàzò cáàrukì kú'ru:hò*
 cí-azo ci-á-ar-uk-i kú-rú:ho
 NP₇-door SM₇-PST-close-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-wind
 ‘The door is opened by the wind.’ (NF_Elic15)

As the stative does not refer to when or how the current state has come about, temporal adverbs may only describe the time at which the current state holds, as in (108), not the time at which the preceding change in state occurs, as the ungrammaticality of (109) shows.

- (108) *ndìrwáritè shúnu*
 ndi-rwa_Hr-íte shúnu
 SM_{1SG}-be_sick-STAT today
 ‘I am sick today.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (109) **ètèndè ryómbwà wángù rìcò:kétè zyónà*
 e-tèndè rí-o-ø-mbwá u-angú ri-co:k-éte zyóna
 AUG-leg PP₅-AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₅-break-STAT yesterday
 Intended: ‘The leg of my dog broke yesterday.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The near past perfective may also give a present state reading with change-of-state verbs (see 10.3.1), but conceptualizes both the preceding change of state situated in the near past, and the resultant state which holds in the present. This difference is illustrated with the verb *-nyongam-* ‘bend (itr.), become bent’ in (110): in the near past perfective construction, it expresses something that has become bent recently, and both the earlier bending and the current bent state are referenced, whereas in the stative construction, it expresses something that is currently bent, without implying anything about if or how this has come about.

- (110) a. *cànyóngámì*
 ci-a-nyong-ám-i
 SM₇-PST-bend-IMP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘It is bent (has become bent).’
- b. *cìnyòngámìtè*
 ci-nyong-ám-ite
 SM₇-bend-IMP.INTR-STAT
 ‘It is bent.’ (NF_Elic15)

The focus of the stative on the current state and the backgrounding of the previous change of state has a number of effects. For one, it is related to evidentiality (see also Crane 2012); the backgrounding of the previous change of state can be used to indicate that the speaker is unaware when or how the change of state took place. In the following example, the stative is used to describes a state when the speaker does not know how it has come about. In this case, the speaker has found a dog lying on the road while traveling. He checks up on the dog and concludes that it is dead. As the speaker has no knowledge of when or how the dog died, he uses the stative form rather than the near past perfective form of the verb.

- (111) *òzyú mbwà àfwìtè*
 o-zyú o-ø-mbwá a-fw_H-ite
 AUG-DEM.I₁ AUG-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁-die-STAT
 ‘This dog is dead.’ (ZF_Elic14)

For the sake of comparison, (112) gives an example of the same verb in the near past perfective. The context for this example is that the speaker himself has just killed the snake: because the speaker was involved in the killing of the snake, which resulted in its current state of being dead, he uses the recent past, rather than the stative.

- (112) *èzyókà rínáfwì*
 e-ø-zyóka ri-na-fw-í
 AUG-NP₅-snake SM₅-PST-die-NPST.PFV
 ‘The snake is dead.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Another example of the evidential use of *-ite* is given in (113). The context for this utterance is seeing a person staggering and talking incoherently, upon which the speaker concludes that he must be drunk. The speaker is not aware of the previous actions that have led to the current state, but only bases his statement on the current state of the person he describes.

- (113) *ànywìtè*
 a-nyw_H-ite
 SM₁-drink-STAT
 ‘S/he is drunk.’ (NF_Elic15)

The focus of the stative on the current state of affairs, rather than the previous actions that have caused it, also relates to information structure. Example (114) is an ex-

ample of contrastive focus. In this context the speaker has two buckets of clothes; one with dry clothes, and one with wet clothes. The contrastive focus stresses the difference between the current states of the two sets of clothes, not when or how this state occurred. To express the irrelevance of the change in state, and the focus on the current state, the stative is used.

- (114) *èzìzwátò zìbómbètè èzí zìzyúmî̀tè*
 e-zi-zwáto zi-bomb-éte e-zí zi-zyu_Hm-íte
 AUG-NP₈-cloth SM₈-become_{wet}-STAT AUG-DEM.I₈ SM₈-dry-STAT
 ‘These clothes are wet, these are dry.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The interpretation of *-ite* as a focus on the current state of affairs rather than its origin also has temporal implications. The stative tends to refer to states that have a longer duration than states expressed by the near past perfective. An example to illustrate this difference is given in (115) and (116) with the verb *-búk-* ‘wake up’, where the use of the near past perfective expresses a state which has come about recently and is of a fleeting nature, whereas the use of the stative form expresses a state that is relatively more permanent.

- (115) *àbáncè bànbúkì*
 a-ba-ánce ba-na-búk-i
 AUG-NP₂-child SM₂-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
 ‘The children are awake (have woken up).’

- (116) *àbáncè bàbúkî̀tè*
 a-ba-ánce ba-bu_Hk-íte
 AUG-NP₂-child SM₂-wake-STAT
 ‘The children are healthy.’ (ZF_Elic14)

So far, I have discussed the use of the stative construction with change-of-state verbs, showing that it describes a state without reference to its origin. The stative may also be used with dynamic verbs, though its interpretation differs between telic and atelic situations. With dynamic verbs describing a telic situation, the stative describes the resultant state. This use is very similar to the use of the stative with change-of-state verbs. In example (117), the dynamic verb *-zìmburuk-* ‘surround’ is used in the stative construction, and is interpreted as a currently valid state. In example (118), the speaker uses the verb *-bar-* ‘read’ with a stative suffix in order to stress that he has knowledge of the laws, since he has read, and is thus familiar with, a law book.

- (117) *èràpà rìzìmbúrùkìtè njúò*
 e-ø-rapá ri-zi_Hmbúruk-ite N-júo
 AUG-NP₅-courtyard SM₅-surround-STAT NP₉-house
 ‘The courtyard surrounds the house.’

- (118) *ndìbárítè èmbúká 'yémìràhò*
 ndi-bar-íte e-N-buká i-é=mi-raho
 SM_{1SG}-read-STAT AUG-NP₉-book PP₉-CON=NP₄-law
 ‘I’ve read a law book.’ (i.e., I know the law) (NF_Elic15)

Atelic dynamic verbs, however, do not have a result state in their event structure that can be targeted by the stative suffix. With these verbs, the stative is interpreted as progressive, i.e. the state expressed by the stative is a state of dancing (119), a state of walking (120), or a state of shouting (121).

- (119) *ndìzánìtè*
 ndi-zan-íte
 SM_{1SG}-dance-STAT
 ‘I am busy dancing.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (120) *zyónà kàndíyèndètè mùmùtémwà*
 zyóna ka-ndí-end-éte mu-mu-témwa
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-go-STAT NP₁₈-NP₃-bush
 ‘Yesterday I was walking in the bush.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (121) *kwìná òzyù ákàríhìtè*
 ku-iná o-zyu á-ka_Hríh-ite
 SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁-REL-shout-STAT
 ‘There’s someone who is shouting.’ (NF_Elic15)

That the difference between a result state reading and a progressive reading is related to the difference between telic and atelic can be seen with the verb *-be:zya* ‘carve’. In (122), the verb *-be:zya* ‘carve’ is used without an object, and is therefore atelic; this gives a progressive reading with the stative construction, and a resultant state reading is not allowed. In (123), the verb *-be:zya* ‘carve’ is used with an object, giving the event a natural endpoint, and therefore the stative construction gives a result state reading (the context construed by the speaker was one where you describe a storage full of the carver’s handiwork). In this case, a progressive reading was not allowed.

- (122) *mùbèzyì àbé:zyètè*
 mu-bezyi a-be:zy-éte
 NP₁-carver SM₁-carve-STAT
 ‘The carver is carving.’ *The carver has carved.

- (123) *mùbèzyì àbé:zyètè zìntù zìngí:*
 mu-bezyi a-be:zy-éte zi-ntu zi-ngí:
 NP₁-carver SM₁-carve-STAT NP₈-thing PP₈-many
 ‘The carver has carved many things.’ *The carver is carving many things.
 (NF_Elic17)

The progressive use of *-ite* with a dynamic verb usually describes an action with an extended duration, which sets the background for other events. The action described by the stative verb holds for a longer time span, during which several other, shorter actions take place. This is for instance the case in example (120), which is the first sentence of a short narrative about events that transpired during the narrators walk in the bush. As all subsequent events take place during this walk in the bush, the verb *kàndíyèndètè* ‘while I was walking’ refers to an action with a long time span, during which a number of other, shorter events took place.

Except when describing a background state, the stative is rarely used with dynamic verbs, and progressive aspect is mostly expressed with the fronted infinitive construction or the auxiliary *kwesi*, as discussed in section II.1. The progressive use of the stative may also co-occur with the fronted infinitive construction, as in example (124), but not with the progressive *kwesi*, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (125).

- (124) *kùrérè ndírèrè*
 ku-rére ndí-re_Hre
 INF-sleep.STAT SM_{1SG}.REL-sleep-STAT
 ‘I am sleeping.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (125) **ndìkwèsì ndírèrè*
 ndi-kwesi ndi-re_Hre
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-sleep-STAT
 Intended: ‘I am sleeping.’ (NF_Elic17)

Table II.7 summarizes the interpretations of the stative with different lexical aspectual classes.

Table II.7: Interpretation of the stative construction

Lexical aspect	Interpretation with the stative construction
Change-of-state	Present state
Dynamic: telic	Present state
Dynamic: atelic	Progressive (long duration, background to other events)
Stative	ungrammatical

Although the exact interpretation of the stative construction can be quite different between change-of-state and dynamic verbs, its function can be best subsumed under the term stative, following Crane (2011; 2012; 2013). In the case of change-of-state verbs, the state expressed in the stative construction is the coda state that results from the nuclear change in state. In the case of dynamic verbs, the stative is interpreted as ‘to be in the state of doing something’; this may be interpreted as a progressive, but is usually interpreted as a background state, during which other actions take place. The state described by the stative construction may or may not be the result of a past action, but even when it is this past action is not conceptualized.

The stative suffix may be used with various other morphologically and periphrastically marked TAM constructions. The stative may co-occur with the fronted infinitive, as illustrated above in (124), and with the persistive *shí-* (see also section II.4), as in (126)–(127).

- (126) *òshìrwáritè*
 o-shi_H-rwa_Hr-íte
 SM_{2SG}-PER-be_sick-STAT
 ‘Are you still sick?’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (127) *ndìshìbàẓyì:*
 ndi-shi_H-ba_H-zyi_H
 SM_{1SG}-PER-OM₂-know-STAT
 ‘I still know them.’ (NF_Elic15)

The stative may be used in the past tense, in which case it can only co-occur with an imperfective past. Either the remote past imperfective, to refer to states in the remote past (usually at least before the day of speaking), or a near past imperfective, to refer to states in the near past (usually earlier on the day of speaking), are possible. Both imperfective pasts, when used with the stative, refer to a state that held in the past, but that no longer holds at the time of speaking. A state that held in the past and still holds in the present would be expressed by the stative construction without past marking, as in (130).

- (128) *òzyú mùkèntù kànúnitè kònò hànó shànakàtì*
 o-zyú mu-kéntu ka-á-nun-íte
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-woman PST.IPFV-SM₁-become_fat-STAT
 kono hanó sha-na-kat-í
 but DEM.II₁₆ INC-SM₁.PST-become_thin-NPST.PFV
 ‘This woman used to be fat, but now she’s thin.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (129) *ndàkùrwárìtè*
 ndi-aku-rwa_Hr-íte
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-become_sick-STAT
 ‘I was sick (but I am not anymore).’

- (130) *kùzwà ẓyónà àrwárìtè*
 ku-zw-a ẓyóna a-rwa_Hr-íte
 INF-come_out-FV yesterday SM₁-become_sick-STAT
 ‘S/he has been sick since yesterday.’ (NF_Elic17)

11.4 Persistentive

Persistentive aspect is marked with a post-initial prefix *shí-*. Its high tone does not surface when combined with a construction that uses melodic tone 4 (the deletion of underlying high tones), for instance the present construction, as in (131). In constructions that do not use MT 4, such as the near past imperfective, the high tone of the prefix *shí-* can be observed, as seen in (132).

- (131) *èntí ìshìhòrà*
 e-n-tí i-shi_H-hór-a
 AUG-NP₉-tea SM₉-PER-COOL-FV
 ‘The tea is still cooling down.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (132) *ndàkùshíbèrèkà*
 ndi-aku-shí-berek-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-PER-work-FV
 ‘I was still working.’ (NF_Elic17)

A grammatical persistive marker is uncommon crosslinguistically, but common in Bantu, where it is usually a reflex of *kí- (Nurse 2008). This is also the case for the Fwe persistive marker *shí-*.

The persistive expresses that an action started before, and is still ongoing at, the time period under discussion (topic time). When combined with a present construction, where the topic time includes the utterance time, the persistive indicates an event that started before, and is still ongoing at utterance time, as in (133), which indicates a person who was writing before, and is still writing at the time of speaking.

- (133) *àshìyórà*
 a-shi_H-ŋo_Hr-á
 SM₁-PER-write-FV
 ‘He is still writing.’ (NF_Elic17)

The persistive may also be interpreted as an event that held before the topic time, and will continue after, but is currently interrupted. An example is given in (153), which indicates that the speaker has run before, and will run again later, but is currently not running.

- (134) *ndìshìbùtúkà*
 ndi-shi_H-bu_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-run-FV
 ‘I’ll run again.’ (NF_Elic15)

The persistive may even be used to indicate an event that has not yet started at or before utterance time, but will take place after utterance time, as in (135).

- (135) *ndìshìkàzyámbrá 'zò'kúryà*
 ndi-shi_H-ka-zyambir-á zi-ó-ku-ry-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-DIST-gather-FV PP₈-CON-INF-eat-FV
 ‘I still need to go and gather something to eat.’ (NF_Elic17)

The persistive may also occur with past constructions, indicating that an event started before, and is still ongoing at the past time interval that is currently discussed (the topic time). As persistive is a subtype of imperfective aspect, specifying the internal structure of the event, it may only co-occur with the remote past imperfective, in (136), or the near past imperfective, in (137). It may not co-occur with the near past perfective, as the ungrammaticality of (138) shows.

- (136) *káshìké:zyà mùrùshàrá 'rwángù*
 ka-á-shi_H-ké:zy-a mu-ru-shará ru-angú
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-PER-COME-FV NP₁₈-NP₁₁-back PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘The elephant was still coming behind me.’ (ZF_Narr13)

- (137) *àkùshìyòrà*
 a-aku-shí-ŋor-a
 SM₁-NPST.IPFV-PER-write-FV
 ‘S/he was still writing.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (138) **ndàshívùrùmàtì*
 ndi-a-shí-vurumat-i
 SM₁-PST-PER-close_eyes-NPST.PFV
 Int: ‘My eyes are still closed.’

The persistive can co-occur with other subtypes of imperfective aspect, such as the stative *-ite* (see section II.3, examples (126) and (127)), the progressive-marking fronted infinitive construction (see section II.I.I, example (48)), and the progressive auxiliary *kwesi* in example (139) below.

- (139) *àshìkwèsì àfwébà*
 a-shi_H-kwesi a-fwé_b-a
 SM₁-PER-PROG SM₁-smoke-FV
 ‘He is still smoking.’

The persistive can be negated in two ways, giving different interpretations. The persistive can be negated with a negative prefix *ka-/ta-* and a negative suffix *-i*, to express discontinuity: the situation used to hold, but does not hold anymore, as in the following examples.

- (140) *kàndìshìkwàngìtè:*
 ka-ndí-shi_H-kwa_Hng-ite-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PER-tired-STAT-NEG
 ‘I am no longer tired.’
- (141) *àbá bàntù kàbáshìkìzyì:*
 a-bá ba-ntu ka-bá-shi_H-ki_H-zyi_H-í
 AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-person NEG-SM₂-PER-REFL-know-STAT-NEG
 ‘The people do not know each other anymore.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (142) *àbàmbwá tàbáshìbbózi*
 a-ba-mbwá ta-bá-shi_H-bbo_{HZ}-í
 AUG-NP₂-dog NEG-SM₂-PER-bark-NEG
 ‘The dogs are no longer barking.’ (ZF_Narr14)

The persistive can also be negated with an auxiliary *-ni*, which is followed by the main verb in the infinitive, to express negative continuity: the situation did not hold in the past, and still does not hold at the time of speaking, as in the following examples.

- (143) *kàndìshìní kùshéshìwà*
 ka-ndi-shi_H-ní ku-shésh-iw-a
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PER-be INF-marry-PASS-FV
 ‘I am not yet married.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (144) *kàtùshìní kùríbònà*
 ka-tu-shi_H-ní ku-rí-bon-a
 NEG-SM_{1PL}-PER-be INF-REFL-marry-FV
 ‘We have not yet seen each other.’ (NF_Elic17)

11.5 Inceptive

The inceptive indicates that an action is starting or about to happen, and is marked by a pre-initial prefix that can be realized as *shi-*, *she-* or *sha-*.

- (145) *shìrìṅátùrà*
 shi-ri-ṅát-ur-a
 INC-SM₅-tear-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘It [the sun] is starting to come up.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (146) *èzɣúbà shèrìmínà*
 e-ø-zyúba she-ri-min-á
 AUG-NP₅-sun INC-SM₅-set-FV
 ‘The sun is starting to set.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (147) *shàndìkwángà*
 sha-ndi-kwáng-a
 INC-SM_{1SG}-become_tired-FV
 ‘I am getting tired.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The allomorphs of the inceptive prefix are subject to regional and free variation. The main form used in Namibian Fwe is *shi-*, and the main form in Zambian Fwe is *sha-*, but both varieties have a free allomorph *she-*³⁹. In Namibian Fwe, the inceptive prefix can be realized with an alveolar fricative /s/ instead of a post-alveolar fricative /sh/. This variation, as all /s ~ sh/ variation in grammatical prefixes, is mainly speaker-dependent, but it is not observed in Zambian Fwe (cf. section 2.2.2). Table 11.8 summarizes the forms of the inceptive prefix. In addition to these base forms, vowel hiatus resolution between vowel-initial subject markers and the inceptive may result in the surface forms *sha-*, analyzable as /shi-a/, and *sho-*, analyzable as /shi-o/.

Table 11.8: Allomorphs and regional variation in the inceptive prefix

Form	Zambian Fwe	Namibian Fwe
<i>shi-</i>	not attested	default form
<i>she-</i>	free allomorph	free allomorph
<i>sha-</i>	default form	not attested
<i>se-</i>	not attested	inter-speaker variation
<i>si-</i>	not attested	inter-speaker variation

The inceptive highlights the initial phases of an event. Depending on the lexical aspect of a verb, the inceptive can give different interpretations: inchoative (‘starting to’), proximative (‘be about to’), contrastive (‘now’, as opposed to earlier), completive (‘already’). The inchoative interpretation of the inceptive, highlighting the initial

³⁹ A similar kind of variation is seen in the realization of another pre-initial prefix, the remoteness prefix, which is realized as *na-* in Zambian Fwe, as *ni-* in Namibian Fwe, and has a free allomorph *ne-* in both varieties (see section 10.3.2 on the use of the remoteness prefix in the remote past perfective construction).

stages of the event, is available with dynamic verbs. This is shown with the dynamic verbs, *-kwesi tutuma* ‘shiver’ in (148) and *-hík-* ‘cook’ in (149).

- (148) *shàkwèsì kwátùtúmà*
 sha-a-kwesi kwá-tutumá
 INC-SM₁-have NP₁₇-shiver
 ‘She started shivering.’

- (149) *àbó shìbàhíkà*
 a-bó shi-ba-hi_Hk-á
 AUG-DEM.III₂ INC-SM₂-cook-FV
 ‘They start cooking.’ (NF_Narr15)

The inchoative interpretation of the inceptive also occurs with change-of-state verbs that have an onset. Change-of-state verbs have a punctive nucleus, and therefore the inceptive cannot highlight the initial stages of the nucleus. Rather, it highlights the onset phase leading up to the nucleus. This is illustrated with the change-of-state verb *-nun-* ‘become fat’, where the use of the inceptive is interpreted as ‘starting to get fat’.

- (150) *hàno màzyúbà ndìryá nènjà kòbwéné shèndìmúnà*
 hanó ma-zyúba ndi-ri-á nénja
 DEM.II₆ NP₆-day SM_{1SG}-eat-FV well
 ka-o-bwe_Hné she-ndi-nun-á
 NEG-SM_{2SG}-see.STAT INC-SM_{1SG}-become_fat-FV
 ‘These days I’m eating well, don’t you see I’m starting to get fat?’ (NF_Elic15)

With change-of-state verbs that lack an onset, the inceptive yields a proximative interpretation, translatable as ‘be about to’ or ‘almost’. With this type of verbs, the inceptive cannot highlight the initial stages of the nuclear phase, as the nucleus is punctive, nor the onset phase, as the event lacks an onset. Instead, the inceptive highlights the phase just before the event, rather than the event itself, as in (151)–(152).

- (151) *èsáká shàrìñàtúkà*
 e-ø-saká sha-ri-ñatuk-á
 AUG-NP₅-bag INC-SM₅-break-FV
 ‘The bag is about to break.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (152) *énsuí shàyìfwá*
 e-N-swí sha-i-fw-á
 AUG-NP₀-fish INC-SM₀-die-FV
 ‘The fish is about to die.’ (i.e., the fish is out of the water, flapping about, and clearly almost, but not quite, dead) (ZF_Elic14)⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The interpretation of the verb *-fwa* ‘die’ with the inceptive as ‘be about to die’, rather than ‘be dying’, shows that Fwe *-fwá* is an Acute achievement or Resultative verb in Botne’s (2003) typology of ‘die’ verbs.

This use of the inceptive is also seen with dynamic verbs that have a punctive nucleus, such as *-nanuk-* ‘leave’, *-zu-* ‘go out’, and *-u-* ‘fall’. Again, the lack of onset and the punctive nucleus means that the phase highlighted by the inceptive is the phase right before the nucleus.

- (153) *kàtùàmbáhùrì kàkúrí shàndìnànúkà*
 ka-tu-amb-á-ur-i kakúrí sha-ndi-nanuk-á
 NEG-SM_{1PL}-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-NEG because INC-SM_{1SG}-leave-FV
 ‘We cannot talk, I am about to leave.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (154) *shìbàkàzwá 'hánjè hàhánò*
 shi-ba-ka-zu-á ha-njé ha-hanó
 INC-SM₂-DIST-go_out-FV NP₁₆-outside now
 ‘S/he is about to walk out right now.’

- (155) *íné njúò shèyìwá 'yínà*
 iná e-N-júo she-i-w-á iná
 DEM.IV₉ AUG-NP₉-house INC-SM₉-fall-FV DEM.IV₉
 ‘That house is falling apart/about to fall apart (i.e. in a very bad state).’
 (NF_Elic15)

A contrastive interpretation of the inceptive is obtained with verbs that are conceptualized as unbounded, as without a clear starting point. These are not necessarily situations that lack a starting point in reality, but rather situations that are presented as unbounded, mostly because the speaker wants to make a generic statement. Example (156) is cited from a conversation, in which the speaker describes marriage customs in modern times. The modern times that he describes do not have a clear starting point (though logic dictates that they must have started at some point), and as such the verbs used to describe these modern times are conceptualized as lacking a clear onset. In these cases, the use of the inceptive with onset-less situations causes an interpretation of ‘now (in contrast to earlier/ elsewhere)’.

- (156) *mwáînò ènàkò shìtú'hàrà mbàmúwánè màfòní shàbábèrèkísá*
 mwá-ino e-N-nako shi-tú-ha_Hr-á
 NP₁₈-DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-time INC-SM_{1PL}.REL-live-FV
 mba-mú-wán-e
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{2PL}-find-PFV.SBJV
 N-ma-foní sha-bá-berek-is-á
 COP-NP₆-phone INC-SM₂.REL-work-CAUS-FV
 ‘In this time that we now live in, you will find that they are now using phones.’ (ZF_Conv13)

This contrastive interpretation is also used with change-of-state verbs in a stative construction. Whereas change-of-state verbs that are not stativized get an inchoative or proximative interpretation with the inceptive (see (150)–(155) above), with stativized change-of-state verbs the inceptive is interpreted as a state that holds now, and that contrasts with a different state that held earlier.

- (157) *màsíkùsíkù kàndìshùwìrè njàrà hànó shàndìkútùtè*
 ma-síkùsíkù ka-ndí-shu_H-ire N-jára
 NP₆-morningPST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-feel-STAT NP₉-hunger
 hanó sha-ndi-kut-íte
 DEM.II₁₆ INC-SM_{1SG}-become_full-STAT
 ‘This morning I was hungry, but now I am full.’ (ZF_Elic14)

A third class of verbs where the inceptive may give a contrastive ‘now’ interpretation is verbs in the near past perfective (NPP). As discussed in section 10.3.1, the NPP situates the nucleus of an event in the recent past, and in the case of a change-of-state verb, usually situates the coda state at the time of speaking, giving a present stative reading. Because this construction is perfective, presenting an event as lacking internal structure, the inceptive cannot be interpreted as highlighting the initial phases of the event, and is rather used to contrast the current situation with a different, previous situation.

- (158) *cwàré bùryénà shìbá'názyìbì bá'mú'kwá'mé 'wénù*
 cwaré bu-ryená shi-bá-ná-zyib-i
 then NP₁₄-like_that INC-SM₂-PST-know-NPST.PFV
 bá-mú-kwámé u-enú
 NP₂-NP₁-man PP₁-POSS_{2PL}
 ‘Then as you see, your husband has now become aware.’

- (159) *shàbànàbúkì*
 sha-ba-na-búk-i
 INC-SM₂-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
 ‘They are now awake.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (160) *òzyú mùkèntù kànúnítè kònò hànó shànàkátì*
 o-zyú mu-kéntu ka-a-nun-íte
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-woman PST.IPFV-SM₁-become_fat-STAT
 kono hanó sha-na-kat-í
 but DEM.II₁₆ INC-SM₁.PST-become_thin-NPST.PFV
 ‘This woman used to be fat, but now she’s thin.’ (NF_Elic15)

The inceptive with verbs in the near past perfective may also be interpreted as completive, e.g. it adds a sense of ‘already’, as in example (161) and (162), or ‘yet’, as in example (163). Again, the inceptive is used to contrast a current situation with an earlier one, similar to the contrastive interpretation seen in the previous examples.

- (161) *shìryámìnì zyúbà*
 shi-ri-á-min-i ø-zyúba
 INC-SM₅-PST-set-NPST.PFV NP₅-sun
 ‘The sun had already set.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (162) *shètùwàtángì kàré kúryà*
 she-tu-a-táng-i karé ku-rí-a
 INC-SM_{1PL}-PST-start-NPST.PFV already INF-eat-FV
 ‘They’ve already started to eat.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (163) *bèshò shàbànhúrí*
 ba-esh-o sha-ba-na-hur-í
 NP₂-father-POSS_{2SG} INC-SM₂-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘Has your father arrived yet?’ (ZF_Elic13)

The inceptive can also be prefixed to nouns, to refer to a situation that is starting to hold. The range of inceptive meanings with nouns is comparable to that attested with verbs, e.g. inchoative, contrastive, or completive.

- (164) Inchoative: ‘start to’
 a. *shórùmwí kàré*
 sha-ó-ru-mwí kare
 INC-AUG-NP₁₁-heat already
 ‘It’s becoming summer.’ (NF_Elic15)
 b. *kàré: kàré: àbàcèmbèrè shó’ndávù*
 karé karé a-ba-cembere shí-o-ndavú
 now now AUG-NP₂-old_woman INC-AUG-lion
 ‘The old woman immediately turned into a lion.’ (NF_Narr17)
- (165) Contrastive: ‘now (as opposed to earlier)’
 a. *òmùndaré ‘sómùbízù*
 o-mu-ndaré sí-o-mu-bízu
 AUG-NP₃-maize INC-AUG-NP₃-something_ripe
 ‘The maize is now ripe.’ (NF_Elic17)
 b. *sóbùhùbà cáhà òkàhùràkò*
 sí-o-bu-huba cáha o-ka-hur-a=ko
 INC-AUG-NP₁₄-easy very AUG-INF.DIST-arrive-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘It is now very easy to reach there.’ (discussing a place where cattle are watered; in earlier times, it could only be reached with ox carts and sledges, but now, the road is tarred and accessible to cars.) (NF_Narr17)
- (166) Completive: ‘already’
 a. *shémàsíku kàré:*
 shé-N-ma-síku karé:
 INC-COP-NP₆-night already
 ‘It’s already night.’ (NF_Elic15)

- b. *àh' átóndà shécìbàkà shìcàhítìhò*
a-ha á-tónd-a
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-watch-FV
shé-ci-baka shi-ci-a-hít-i=ho
INC-NP₇-place INC-SM₇-PST-pass-PST=LOC₁₆
‘When she looked, he had already covered a large place.’ (Lit: ‘a place
had already passed.’) (NF_Narr15)

Although the inceptive prefix can be used on both nouns and verbs, its verbal use is likely older, and its use as a nominal prefix has developed from the use of the inceptive prefix on the verb *ri* ‘be’, followed by the loss of the verbal base *ri* and the reanalysis of the inceptive as a nominal prefix, as schematized in (167).⁴¹

- (167) a. Putative source construction
shàrì mwáncè
shi-a-ri o-mu-áncè
INC-SM₁-be AUG-NP₁-child
‘S/he is starting to be/is becoming a child.’
- b. Loss of *ri* ‘be’
shì mwáncè
shi o-mu-áncè
INC AUG-NP₁-child
- c. Reanalysis of inceptive as a nominal prefix
shómwáncè
shí-o-mu-áncè
INC-AUG-NP₁-child
‘S/he is starting to be/becoming a child.’

There are different possible origins for the inceptive prefix. One is as a borrowing of the Lozi prefix *sè-*, which ‘expresses “already”, “and then”, “now”, or “soon”’ (Gowlett 1967: 199). This is a prefix that occurs in various Nguni and Sotho languages, where it is referred to as “exclusive” (Poulos and Msimang 1998: 346). Another possible source for the inceptive prefix is in the lexical verb *-shak-* ‘want, like, love, need, look for’. Grammaticalization of earlier lexical verbs of volition into markers of proximate aspect (‘be about to’) is well-attested in African languages (Heine 1994). The volitional element of the original lexical verb can still be seen in some uses of the inceptive *sha-*. For instance, the example in (168) was considered dubious, because it could be interpreted as the speaker wanting to become sick.

⁴¹ This grammaticalization also involves a tonal change, from a low-toned inceptive on verbs to a high-toned inceptive prefix as it is usually realized on nouns. This is the result of the high tone of the nominal augment; as discussed in section 5.2, augments have a floating high tone that is never realized on the augment prefix itself, but always on the immediately preceding syllable.

- (168) ? *shèndìrwàrà*
 she-ndi-rwá-r-a
 INC-SM_{1SG}-be_sick-FV
 'I am getting sick/I want to get sick.' (NF_Elic15)

A second argument for the origin of the inceptive in a lexical verb *-shak-* is that this lexical verb is also used to express meanings similar to the inceptive: in (169), the verb *-shak-* is not used to express volition, but to express an event about to happen.

- (169) *òmvúrà shàshàk' ókùshókà*
 o-ø-rain shi-a-shak-á o-ku-shók-a
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain INC-SM₁-want-FV AUG-INF-fall-FV
 'The rain is about to fall.'

12 Mood

12.1 Imperative

An imperative form in Fwe is formed with a suffix *-e*, but without the subject marker. The imperative form ending in *-a*, as commonly found in Bantu languages, does not exist in Fwe.

- (1) *yéndè*
énd-e
 go-PFV.SBJV
 'Go!'
- (2) *zwé hànò*
 zw-é hano
 come_out-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₆
 'Get out of here!' (ZF_Elic14)

The suffix *-e* used in the imperative is identical to the suffix *-e* used in the perfective subjunctive, which is only distinguished from the imperative form by the presence of the subject marker. The imperative and the perfective subjunctive also take the same melodic tones. When used without an object marker, the imperative takes melodic tone 1, combined with melodic tone 4, the deletion of underlying high tones. (See Table 10.3 in section 10.1.1 for an overview of melodic tones.) The vowels carrying melodic tones are underlined in the phonological transcription.

- (3) Imperative without object marker
- a. *hùwé 'cáha*
 huw-é cáha
 shout-PFV.SBJV very
 'Shout loudly.'
- b. *kàbìré mùnjúò*
 kabir-é mu-N-júo
 enter-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 'Enter the house.' (NF_Elic15)
- c. *fùrùmìké kàsúbà kò*
 fu_Hrumik-é ka-súba ko
 turn_upside_down-PFV.SBJV NP₁₂-dish DEM.III₁₂
 'Turn that dish upside down.' (NF_Elic17)

This melodic tone is only used for imperatives (and perfective subjunctives) without an object marker. With an object marker, they combine melodic tone 4 with melodic tone 3 instead of melodic tone 1.

(4) Imperative with object marker

- a. *bàtúsè*
 ba_H-tus-é
 OM₂-help-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Help them.’
- b. *ndìàmbísè*
 ndi-amb-ís-e
 OM_{1SG}-talk-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Talk to me.’ (NF_Elic17)
- c. *ndìbèrèkèrè*
 ndi-berék-er-e
 OM_{1SG}-work-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Work for me.’ (NF_Elic15)

The imperative form is used to express a command or order. An order expressed with the imperative is interpreted as less polite and more direct than an order expressed with the perfective subjunctive. The imperative can only be used for orders directed at a singular addressee. Orders directed at plural addressees are expressed by subjunctives (see next sections).

(5) *íwè tóndè kúnò*

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>íwè</i> | <i>tónd-e</i> | <i>kunó</i> |
| PERS _{2SG} | watch-PFV.SBJV | DEM.II ₁₇ |
- ‘You! Look here!’ (NF_Narr15)

(6) *tòntórè*

- to_Hntor-é
 be_quiet-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Be quiet!’ (NF_Elic17)

The negation of both the imperative and subjunctive form takes a post-initial prefix *ásha-*, and a final vowel suffix *-i*, as well as a different tonal pattern. The negation of imperatives and subjunctives is discussed in section 14.2.

12.2 Perfective subjunctive

The perfective subjunctive form is formed with a suffix *-e* on the verb, and an obligatory subject marker. Other than the presence of the subject marker, the perfective subjunctive is identical to the imperative, and also takes the same melodic tones: melodic tone 1 and 4, or 3 and 4 when the verb includes an object marker.

(7) Perfective subjunctive without an object marker

- a. *òtùmbùsé mùrìrò*
 o-tu_Hmbus-é mu-riro
 SM_{2SG}-light-PFV.SBJV NP₃-fire
 ‘You should light a fire.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- b. *mùbí:kè òtú'cényà*
 mu-bí:k-e o-tú-cenyá
 SM_{2PL}-put-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁₃-small
 'You should put a little bit.' (NF_Elic15)

(8) Perfective subjunctive with an object marker

- a. *tùmbùbóózèrè ècìntú 'cákwè*
 tu-mu-boó-z-er-e e-ci-ntú cí-akwé
 SM_{1PL}-OM_{1SG}-return-APPL-SBJV AUG-NP₇-thing PP₇-POSS_{3SG}
 'We should bring his thing back to him.' (ZF_Conv13)

- b. *tùzìbbátúrè èzì zìkúni*
 tu-zì_H-bba_Ht-úr-e e-zì zi-kúni
 SM_{1PL}-OM₈-separate-SEP.TR-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-tree
 'Can we separate these trees?' (NF_Elic15)

The perfective subjunctive describes a single, one-time event, and contrasts with the imperfective subjunctive, which describes habitual, ongoing events (see 12.3).

(9) Perfective subjunctive

- òndítúsè*
 o-ndi-tus-é
 SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-help-PFV.SBJV
 'You should help me (one time only).'

(10) Imperfective subjunctive

- wákùndítúsà*
 o-áku-ndi-tus-a
 SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-OM_{1SG}-help-FV
 'You should help me regularly/be helping me.' (NF_Elic17)

A near future can be derived from the perfective subjunctive by addition of a future prefix *mbo-*, and an additional high tone on the subject marker (see section 10.4.1).

The perfective subjunctive has various functions. It can express a plan or intention, as in (11), where the speaker discusses what he plans to do to escape a fire.

- (11) *tùpìcùké mùrìrò tùyé òkò úkàzwírà*
 tu-pì_Hcuk-é mu-riro
 SM_{1PL}-escape-PFV.SBJV NP₃-fire
 tu-y-é o-ko ú-ka-zw-ír-a
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM₃.REL-DIST-come_out-APPL-FV
 'We will dodge the fire, we will go to where it comes from.' (NF_Narr17)

The perfective subjunctive can be used to express volition or desire, as in (12)-(13).

- (12) *néyè àyéndè néyè*
 né=ye a-énd-e né=ye
 COM=PERS_{3SG} SM₁-go-PFV.SBJV COM=PERS_{3SG}
 'She too wanted to go with her.' (NF_Narr15)

- (13) *ndìpátámè*
 ndi-patam-é
 SM_{1SG}-lie_on_stomach-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I want to lie down a bit.’ (ZF_Elic14)

When combined with the adverb *nanga*, the perfective subjunctive expresses uncertainty. Note that the adverb *nanga* with the imperfective subjunctive does not express uncertainty, but immediate future (see section 12.3).

- (14) *nàngà bàkè:zyè bàtùpángé cìmwí*
 nanga ba-kè:zy-e ba-tu_H-pang-é ci-mwí
 even SM₂-come-PFV.SBJV SM₂-OM_{1PL}-do-PFV.SBJV PP₇-other
 ‘He might come and do something else to us.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (15) *wáshàìvùkùmì nàngà ifwé*
 o-ásha-í-vukum-í nanga i-fw-é
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-OM₉-throw-NEG even SM₉-die-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Don’t throw it, it might break.’

- (16) *àndìzìmìsìkìzè málâitì ángù nàngà àndìhìsìkìzè ènjúò*
 a-ndi-zim-ísikiz-e ma-láiti
 SM₁-OM_{1SG}-go_out-CAUS.APPL-PFV.SBJV NP₆-light
 nanga a-ndi-his-íkiz-e e-N-júo
 even SM₆-OM_{1SG}-CAUS-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₉-house
 ‘S/he must turn off the lights for me, they might burn down my house.’
 (NF_Elic17)

With a first person subject, the perfective subjunctive form may express a hortative.

- (17) *tùràpérè*
 tu-raper-é
 SM_{1PL}-pray-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Let’s pray.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (18) *ndìrìkòshórèkó bùryó*
 ndi-ri_H-ko_Hsh-ór-e=ko bu-ryó
 SM_{1SG}-OM₅-cut-SEP.TR-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇ NP₁₄-just
 ‘Let me just cut it.’ (ZF_Narr14)
- (19) *kàntí ndìkùtòmbwérìsè*
 kantí ndi-ku-tombwér-is-e
 well SM_{1SG}-OM_{2SG}-weed-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Then let me help you weed.’ (NF_Narr15)

With a second person subject, the subjunctive form may express a command.

- (20) *òkè:zyè òndítúsè*
 o-ké:zy-e o-ndi-tus-é
 SM_{2SG}-COME-PFV.SBJV SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-help-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Come and help me.’
- (21) *mùtòntórè mùyéndè mùkàrà:rè*
 mu-to_Hntor-é mu-énd-e mu-ka-ra: _Hr-é
 SM_{2PL}-be_quiet-PFV.SBJV SM_{2PL}-go-PFV.SBJV SM_{2PL}-DIST-sleep-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Be quiet and go to sleep.’ (NF_Elic15)

A command expressed with the subjunctive form is usually interpreted as more polite than a command expressed with the imperative form (see section 12.1). To express even more politeness, the prefix *ngá-* ‘can’ can be used with the subjunctive form.

- (22) *ngóndítúsè kùndìkwátìrà ècí cìpùpè*
 ngá-o-ndi-tus-é ku-ndi-kwát-ir-a
 can-SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-help-PFV.SBJV INF-OM_{1SG}-grab-APPL-FV
 e-cí ci-pupe
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-CONTAINER
 ‘Can you please carry that container for me?’ (ZF_Elic14)

Subjunctives are also used in subordinate clauses, where they can carry the same functions as subjunctives in main clauses, or can be used to express the desired or intended consequence of the event expressed in the main clause.

- (23) *bàmùbérékérà òkùtáyè àfúmè*
 ba-mu-berek-er-á okuteye a-fum-é
 SM₂-OM₁-work-FV that SM₁-become_rich-PFV.SBJV
 ‘They work for him, so that he becomes rich.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (24) *mbóshàkèsháké àkàshéréni òpàngé àkà-business*
 mbo-ó-shake-shak-é a-ka-sheréni
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{2SG}-PL2-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁₂-money
 o-pang-é a-ka-business
 SM_{2SG}-make-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁₂-business
 ‘You will find a little money so that you make a small business.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The perfective subjunctive can combine with the remoteness prefix *na-*; in subordinate clauses, this indicates a remote future. In main clauses, the perfective subjunctive with *na-* expresses the same functions as the perfective subjunctive without *na-*, only set in the remote future, for instance a command to be followed up tomorrow, not today. Remoteness is usually considered as at least one day removed from the day of speaking, as it is throughout the tense/aspect system of Fwe (see, for instance, the remote past perfective, section 10.3.2).

(25) Perfective subjunctive + remoteness in subordinate clauses

- a. *mbùtí náyìwánè èyí shérèjì*
 N-bu-tí na-á-i_H-wan-é
 COP-NP₁₄-how REM-SM₁-OM₉-find-PFV.SBJV
 e-í ø-sherèjì
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-money
 ‘How will he get this money?’ (Lit.: ‘It is how that he will get this money?’) (ZF_Conv13)
- b. *éwè zyúmùnyà ndíwè nóbè há’kàtì*
 éwe zyú-munya
 PERS_{2SG} PP₁-other
 ndí-we na-ó-b-e há-ka-tí
 COP-PERS_{2SG} REM-SM_{2SG}-be-PFV.SBJV NP₁₆-NP₁₂-middle
 ‘You, the other one, it is you who will be in the middle.’ (ZF_Narr13)

(26) Perfective subjunctive + remoteness in main clauses

- a. *nóyèndè zyónà*
 na-ó-é-nd-e zyóna
 REM-SM_{2SG}-go-PFV.SBJV tomorrow
 ‘Go tomorrow.’ (NF_Narr17)
- b. *nìbézyè bàkùbónè*
 ni-bá-izy-e ba-ku-bo_Hn-é
 REM-SM_{2SG}-come-PFV.SBJV SM₂-OM_{2SG}-see-PFV.SBJV
 ‘She has to come and take care of you.’ (NF_Narr17)

The remoteness prefix *na-* can be used with the verb *-ta* ‘say’ in the subjunctive, followed by a subjunctive main verb, to express a frustrative, an event that almost, but not quite, took place.

(27) *nàté ndìmùcáísè zywínà*

- na-ta-é ndi-mu-caís-e zwiná
 REM-say-PFV.SBJV SM_{1SG}-OM₁-bump_into-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₁
 ‘I almost bumped into her/him, that one.’ (NF_Elic17)

(28) *nòbónì cwaré rìn’ èòndè nàté òirè*

- no-bón-i cwaré riná e-ø-onde
 SM_{2SG}.PST-see-NPST.PFV then DEM.IV₅ AUG-NP₅-waterlily
 na-ta-é o-ir-é
 REM-say-PFV.SBJV SM_{2SG}-go.APPL-PFV.SBJV

‘Did you see that flower that you wanted to go to?’ (Context: a boy wanted to pick a waterlily. A bird warns him not to, picks up the waterlily and reveals a snake underneath it. The bird returns to the boy and discusses what would have happened if he went to pick the waterlily as he planned.) (NF_Narr17)

12.3 Imperfective subjunctive

An imperfective subjunctive is formed with the post-initial prefix *-áku*. Verbs in the imperfective subjunctive maintain their underlying tones, and aside from the high tone associated with the prefix *-áku*- itself, no melodic high tones are added.

- (29) *ènwé 'bá'nángù mwákùkàrà*
 enwé bá-na-angú mu-áku-kar-a
 PERS_{2PL} NP₂-child-POSS_{1SG} SM_{2PL}-SBJV.IPFV-stay-FV
 'You, my children, must stay here.' (NF_Elic17)

The second syllable *ku* of the prefix *áku*- derives from an infinitive prefix *ku*-. Two of the characteristics of the imperfective subjunctive point to its origin in an infinitive: the fact that the syllable *ku* may change to *ka* when used with the distal marker (see example (34)a), and the lack of melodic tones, which is typical of infinitives and rarely seen in inflected verbs (see also section 10.1.1).

Habitual is a subtype of imperfective aspect, and the imperfective subjunctive is therefore often used with a habitual meaning, combined with the habitual suffix *-ang* (see also section 11.2.1 on the habitual *-ang*).

- (30) *wákùmùtùsàngà*
 o-áku-mu-tus-ang-a
 SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-OM₁-help-HAB-FV
 'You should help her/him regularly.' (NF_Elic17)

Without the habitual suffix *-ang*, both a habitual and a progressive reading are possible. The imperfective subjunctive does not combine with overt progressive markers, and in most cases, the habitual reading appears to be preferred.

- (31) a. *wákùmùtùsà*
 o-áku-mu-tus-a
 SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-OM₁-help-FV
 'You should be helping her/him.' / 'You should help her/him regularly.'
- b. *wákùmùtùsàngà*
 o-áku-mu-tus-ang-a
 SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-OM₁-help-HAB-FV
 'You should help her/him regularly.' (NF_Elic17)

From the imperfective subjunctive, a near future imperfective is derived by addition of the prefix *mbo*-, see section 10.4.1.

More data are needed to study the range of meanings of the imperfective subjunctive, though it appears to be similar to that of the perfective subjunctive, e.g. a command (32), or a hortative (33).

- (32) *mwákùrítèzà*
 mu-áku-rí-teez-a
 SM₂-SBJV.IPFV-REFL-listen-FV
 'You have to listen to each other.'

- (33) *ndákùmenèkàngà*
 ndi-áku-menek-ang-a
 SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV
 'I should regularly wake up early.' (NF_Elic17)

Like the perfective subjunctive, the imperfective subjunctive may combine with the adverb *nanga* 'even', but not to express uncertainty, as is the case for the perfective subjunctive, but to express immediate future.

- (34) *Nanga* + subjunctive imperfective: 'about to'
- a. *nàngà ndákàyà*
 nanga ndi-áka-y-a
 even SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV.DIST-go-FV
 'I am about to leave.' (NF_Elic15)
- b. *òmùndaré nàngà wákùbìzwà*
 o-mu-ndaré nanga u-áku-bízw-a
 AUG-NP₃-maize even SM₃-SBJV.IPFV-ripen-FV
 'The maize is almost ripe/is about to ripen.'
- c. *nàngà bákùhùrà ndìkàré: 'bákànanúkà*
 nanga ba-áku-hur-a
 even SM₂-SBJV.IPFV-arrive-FV
 ndi-ka-ré: bá-ka-nanuk-á
 COP-ADV-long SM₂.REL-DIST-leave-FV
 'S/he is about to arrive, s/he left a long time ago.' (NF_Elic17)

13 Space

Fwe verbs may be inflected for tense and aspect, situating an event in time, but also for space, situating the event in the physical space. The distal marker indicates that the event takes place away from the deictic center, e.g. in a place other than where the utterance is spoken (section 13.1). Fwe also has a locative pluractional, which indicates that an event takes place in multiple locations (section 13.2).

13.1 Distal

The verbal post-initial prefix *ka-* has the function of a distal: it marks that the event happens at a place different from the deictic center, in most cases the place of the speech event. The prefix *ka-* as a distal marker is well-attested in Bantu languages, especially in south-central Bantu (Botne 1999). The Fwe post-initial prefix *ka-* marking distal should not be confused with the pre-initial prefix *ka-*, which marks the remote past imperfective (see section 10.3.4), and or negation (see section 14.1).

The distal is used to indicate that an action takes place away from the deictic center, usually the place where the utterance is spoken. In example (1), the speaker uses the distal because the utterance is spoken at a place other than his house, hence, the action referred to and the place where the utterance is spoken are not the same. The use of the distal in (2) is necessary because this utterance describes an action taking place in Namibia, and the utterance was spoken at the speaker's home village in Zambia.

- (1) *kùnjúò ndìkàzwá*
 ku-N-júo ndi-ka-zw-á
 NP₁₇-NP₉-house SM_{1SG}-DIST-come_out-FV
 'I came from home.' (NF_Elic15)
- (2) *mwákàrí kwànàmíbyá kàndìkàsèbèzà*
 mu-ákàrí kwa-namíbyá ka-ndi-ka-sebez-á
 NP₃-last_year NP₁₇-Namibia PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-DIST-work-FV
 'Last year I worked in Namibia.' (ZF_Elic14)

Botne (1999) notes that Bantu languages with distal *ka-* may differ in terms of which moods the distal *ka-* can combine with. In Fwe, the distal *ka-* can be used in the indicative mood, the infinitive, the subjunctive or the imperative. Examples of the distal marker used in the indicative mood were given in (1) and (2). The distal marker can also combine with an infinitive verb, as in example (3). When the distal combines with an infinitive, the infinitive prefix *ku-* is replaced by the distal prefix *ka-*.⁴²

⁴² The change from the infinitive prefix *ku-* to *ka-* when used with a distal is one of the main diagnostics that can be used to identify infinitives, both synchronically and diachronically, in verbal constructions that derive from earlier infinitive forms. The other main diagnostic is lack of melodic tone.

- (3) *nàndámànà kàtémà èmìsùmò*
 na-ndí-a-man-a ka-tém-a e-mi-sumo
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-FV INF.DIST-chop-FV AUG-NP₄-pole
 ‘I finished chopping poles there.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The distal can also be used with verbs in the imperative, as in (4) and (5), and in the subjunctive, as in (6). Note that the imperative and the subjunctive take the same form, but are distinguished by the use of the subject marker (see chapter 12).

- (4) *yéndè kàtéké mènji*
 énd-e ka-ték-e ma-ínji
 GO-PFV.SBJV DIST-fetch-PFV.SBJV NP₆-water
 ‘Go and fetch water.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (5) *kàsúmwínè bànyòkò*
 ka-sumwin-é ba-nyoko
 DIST-tell-PFV.SBJV NP₂-mother
 ‘Go tell your mother.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (6) *kùtèyè ndìkàkùmbùré rùkùmbà*
 kuteye ndi-ka-kumbur-é ru-kumba
 that SM_{1SG}-DIST-strip-PFV.SBJV NP₁₁-fibre
 ‘... in order to cut strips of fibre there.’ (ZF_Narr14)

In many Bantu languages, the distal marker *ka-* is interpreted as “to go and X”. This itive semantics is possibly the result of a grammaticalization of a verb ‘to go’, for which evidence can be found in southern Bantoid and northwestern Narrow Bantu languages (Botne 1999). The development of distal markers from motion is a well-attested grammaticalization path (Heine *et al.* 1993: 103–104) is also seen in two Tanzanian Bantu languages, where a range of motion verbs are developing into distal markers with varying degrees of grammaticalization (Nicolle 2003). The link between the distal marker and an itive interpretation is not seen in all languages, however; in Yeyi, a Bantu language geographically but not genetically close to Fwe, the distal marker *ka-* is not interpreted as itive (Seidel 2007). In Fwe, itive semantics do appear to form a central part of the interpretation of the distal marker *ka-*. This is seen in the use of the distal with imperative verbs, as in example (5) above, where the itive semantics ‘go and’ is contributed by the distal marker alone. Another example showing that motion is a necessary component for the use of distal *ka-* is illustrated in the following two examples, drawn from a narrative. In (7)a, the speaker narrates that he moves away from the deictic center, as attested by his use of the distal marker *ka-* on the verb. Having reached this place, a second event takes place; he hears Claudia calling him. His hearing of Claudia takes place away from the deictic center, but no movement is involved; therefore, the distal marker is not used in (7)b.

- (7) a. *àhá ndìkàhùrá kùrwámbà*
 a-ha ndí-ka-hur-á ku-ru-ámba
 DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-DIST-arrive-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-middle_of_field
 ‘(...) when I reached the middle of the field...’

- b. *ndìshùwírè bàklàùdìyà bàndíkúwà*
 ndi-shu_H-íre ba-klaudia ba-ndi-kú-a
 SM_{1SG}-hear-STAT NP₂-Claudia SM₂-OM_{1SG}-call
 ‘I heard Mrs. Claudia calling me.’ (ZF_Narr13)

These examples suggest that motion is a necessary component of the interpretation of the distal prefix *ka-*. More specifically, it encodes motion away from the deictic center, and is not used for motion towards the deictic center. The following two examples describe motion towards the deictic center, and in these cases, the distal marker is not used. In (8), the verb *bàhùrè* ‘he will arrive’ is used without the distal because the place of the expected arrival is the same place as the place of speaking. In (9), the verb *kàndíkè:zyà* ‘I was coming’ is used without the distal because it describes a journey that ends at the place of speaking.

- (8) *éni òbùrótù mbòkú'té bàhùrè tùràrè*
 éni o-bu-rótu N-bo-kúteyé ba-hur-é
 yes AUG-NP₁₄-good COP-NP₁₄-that SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV
 tu-rá:r-e
 SM_{1PL}-sleep-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Yes, it’s good that he comes back and we spend the night here.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (9) *àhá kàndíkè:zyà ndàhìtì òcècì*
 a-ha ka-ndí-ké:zy-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-come-FV
 ndi-a-hít-i o-ø-ceci
 SM_{1SG}-PST-pass-NPST.PFV AUG-NP_{1a}-church
 ‘When I came here, I passed by the church.’ (ZF_Elic14)

13.2 Locative pluractional

Fwe has two post-initial prefixes *yabú-* and *kabú-*, that both express a locative pluractional, an event that is carried out in different places. The exact interpretation of verbs derived with *yabú-/kabú-* depends on the lexical aspect and lexical semantics of the verb. The prefixes *kabú-* and *yabú-* are interchangeable, and no difference in meaning could be observed. Which form is used appears to depend on the individual speaker’s preference.

- (10) *cìkàbúkùkà ~ cìyàbúkùkà*
 ci-kabú/yabú-kuk-a
 SM₇-LOC_PL-float-FV
 ‘It floats, it goes by floating.’ (NF_Elic17)

The locative pluractional indicates an event taking place in different places, as shown in (11): without locative pluractional, the verb *-rú:zya* indicates climbing in one place, and with a locative pluractional, the verb *-rú:zya* indicates climbing in several places.

- (11) a. *ndìkwèsì ndírì:zyà*
 ndi-kwesi ndi-rí:zy-a
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-climb-FV
 ‘I am climbing.’
- b. *ndìkabúrì:zyà*
 ndi-kabú-ri:zy-a
 SM_{1SG}-LOC_PL-climb-FV
 ‘I am going around climbing, I am climbing in different places.’
 (NF_Elic17)

The locative pluractional differs from the two other pluractional strategies used in Fwe, which are not strictly locative. As discussed in section 8.9, these pluractional strategies may express that an event is repeated on the same occasion, on different occasions, or involves multiple participants. The locative pluractional *yabú-/kabú-* has a more precise semantic function, and only expresses that an event is repeated in different locations. The locative pluractional may combine with either or both of the other pluractional strategies, combining the interpretation of event repetition of pluractional I or II with the locative pluractional’s interpretation of spatial distribution.

- (12) Locative pluractional + Pluractional I (suffix *-a*)
ndìkabúbàsùndàikà
 ndi-kabú-ba-sund-a-ik-á
 SM_{1SG}-LOC_PL-OM₂-point-PL1-IMP.TR-FV
 ‘I am going around pointing at them.’
- (13) Locative pluractional + Pluractional II (stem reduplication)
àkàbúkàbiràkàbirà múmàràpá ‘ábàntù
 a-kabú-kabira-kabir-a mú-ma-rapá a-á=ba-ntu
 SM₁-LOC_PL-PL2-enter-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-courtyard PP₆-CON=NP₂-person
 ‘S/he keeps going round entering peoples courtyards.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (14) Locative pluractional + Pluractional I + Pluractional II
nàkàyá iyé àkábúyèndàùràyèndàùrà òkábúbónà
 na=ka-y-á iyé
 COM=INF.DIST-go-FV that
 a-kabú-enda-ura-end-a-ur-a o-kabú-bón-a
 SM₁-LOC_PL-PL2-go-PL1-SEP.TR-FV AUG-LOC_PL-see-FV
 ‘And he went out to walk around, and look around.’ (NF_Narr17)

The exact interpretation of the locative pluractional depends on the lexical aspect of the verb, as well as the wider linguistic context. Two main interpretations are possible: an “associated motion” interpretation, where the event and motion co-occur (‘go while X-ing’), and a “distributive” interpretation, where the event alternates with motion (‘go and X, go and X’). The associated motion interpretation of the locative pluractional is available with verbs that have a long nucleus, such as dynamic verbs. An example is given with *-shíba* ‘whistle’; when combined with the locative pluractional, it expresses whistling while moving.

- (15) *àkábú'shíbà*
 a-kabú-shib-á
 SM₁-LOC_PL-whistle-FV
 'S/he whistles while walking.' (NF_Elic17)

Stative verbs also have a long nucleus, and therefore the locative pluractional also takes the associated motion interpretation with these verbs, shown for the stative verb *-tíya* 'be afraid' in (16).

- (16) *àkàbútìyà*
 a-kabú-tiy-a
 SM₁-LOC_PL-be_afraid-FV
 'S/he is afraid on the way/while going.' (NF_Elic17)

The locative pluractional may also take a distributive interpretation with dynamic verbs, marking that an event takes place in different places.

- (17) *mbùryàhó kàbàkàbúpàngà bùyáhò*
 N-bu-ryahó ka-bá-kabú-pang-a bu-ryahó
 COP-NP₁₄-like_that PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC_PL-do-FV NP₁₄-like_that
 'That is how he used to do in different places.' (NF_Narr17)

Whether the locative pluractional with dynamic verbs is interpreted as associated motion or distributive, depends on the lexical semantics of the verb, as well as the wider context. The associated motion interpretation is typically limited to events that may logically co-occur with motion, such as motion verbs.

- (18) *ndìyàbúyèndà bùyáhò ndókùryàt' énjókà*
 ndi-yabú-end-a bu-ryahó
 SM_{1SG}-LOC_PL-walk-FV NP₁₄-like_that
 ndí-o-ku-ryat-á e-N-jóka
 CON_{1SG}-AUG-INF-step-FV AUG-NP₉-snake
 'I was walking like that, then I stepped on a snake.' (ZF_Narr13)

- (19) *kùshàmbà ndí'kábu'shàmbà*
 ku-shamb-a ndí-kabú-shám-b-a
 INF-swim-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-LOC_PL-swim-FV
 'I am swimming (across a distance, or to somewhere).' (NF_Elic15)

- (20) *àkàyàbúcòbà*
 a-ka-yabú-cob-a
 SM₁-DIST-LOC_PL-cycle-FV
 'She goes riding the bicycle.' (NF_Narr17)

The locative pluractional has a distributive interpretation with change of state verbs that lack an onset phase. An example is given with the verb *-wa* 'fall' in (21); when combined with the locative pluractional, it expresses something that repeatedly falls in different places.

- (21) *cikàbúwà*
 ci-kabú-w-a
 SM₇-LOC_PL-fall-FV
 ‘It keeps falling (while traveling; the item keeps falling out of your pocket in different places).’ (NF_Elic17)

Change of state verbs that do contain an onset phase also take *yabú-/kabú-*, but in this case it is not interpreted as marking motion across space, but rather a gradual change through time.

- (22) *kàníni kàníni kùfúmà bákàbúfùmà bènà*
 ka-níni ka-níni
 ADV-small ADV-small
 ku-fúm-a bá-kabú-fum-a bená
 INF-get_rich-FV SM₂.REL-LOC_PL-get_rich-FV DEM.IV₂
 ‘S/he is slowly getting more and more rich.’

- (23) *cikàbúrèmà*
 ci-kabú-rem-a
 SM₇-LOC_PL-become_heavy-FV
 ‘It is becoming heavy.’ (of something that you have been carrying for a long time) (NF_Elic17)

- (24) *shèkùkabúhisà*
 she-ku-kabú-his-a
 INC-SM₁₇-LOC_PL-become_hot-FV
 ‘It is becoming hot.’ (NF_Elic15)

The markers *kabú-* and *yabú-* are historically derived from an inflected verb followed by a verb with the adverbial prefix *bú-* (see section 15 on adverbs). The syllable *ya* derives from the lexical verb *-ya* ‘to go’, which is still used in Fwe with this meaning. The form *kabú-* is the result of the contraction of distal *ka-* with the locative plural *yabú-*. In modern Fwe, *ka-yabú-* is considered to be interchangeable with *kabú-*. The original deictic semantics of distal *ka-* have been lost in the form *kabú-*, which does not mark motion away from the deictic center.

- (25) *ùkàyàbútùmbúkà ~ ùkàbútùmbúkà*
 u-ka-yabú-tumbuk-á ~ u-kabú-tumbuk-á
 SM₃-DIST-LOC_PL-burn-FV ~ SM₃-LOC_PL-burn-FV
 ‘It [fire] comes while burning.’ (NF_Elic17)

When the prefix *yabú-/kabú-* grammaticalized from an earlier combination of an inflected verb with an adverbialized verb, the earlier inflected verb lost its status as an independent lexical verb. This can be seen by the lack of melodic tone in the *ya/ka* element, and the fact that the high tone of the syllable *bú* can spread to the preceding syllable, e.g. *yábú-* and *kábú-*. High tone spread does not cross word boundaries (see section 4.1.6), so its occurrence shows that the formerly independent verb has become part of the prefix.

A similar marker *yabo-* is also found in Subiya, as in *ch'o ya bo sibila* 'he goes while whistling', which is also analyzed as a combination of the prefix *bo* and the lexical verb *-ya* 'go' (Jacottet 1896: 61).

14 Negation

Negation in Fwe is marked through verbal affixes, auxiliaries, and combinations thereof. Which negative marking is used depends mainly on the mood of the verb, with different affixes for indicative, imperative/subjunctive, and infinitive verbs. Certain tenses and aspects do not allow negation with affixes, but instead use an auxiliary.

The most frequently used negative affix is the pre-initial prefix *ka-* (Namibian Fwe) /*ta-* (Zambian Fwe). Fwe also has two post-initial negative suffixes, *ásha-*, used with subjunctive verb forms, and *shá-*, used with infinitive verb forms. A negative final vowel suffix *-i* is seen in certain constructions, but it is never the only marker of negation. Tone also plays a role in negation: the present and stative constructions have different tonal patterns for affirmative and negative forms. Table 14.1 gives an overview of the different negative strategies that are used in Fwe.

Table 14.1: Negation

Position	Form	Inflections in which it is used
preinitial	<i>ka-</i> (Namibian Fwe) <i>ta-</i> (Zambian Fwe)	present, near past perfective, stative
postinitial	<i>(á)sha-</i> / <i>-(á)sa-</i>	subjunctive/imperative
	<i>shá-</i> / <i>sá-</i>	infinitive
final vowel suffix	<i>-i</i>	present, subjunctive
auxiliary	<i>aazyá</i>	stative, FIC
auxiliary	<i>ka-/ta-ri</i>	remote past, future, past progressive, past imperfective, nominal predicates

14.1 Negation of indicative verb forms

Indicative verb forms are negated with a pre-initial prefix *ka-* or *ta-*, and the final vowel suffix *-i*. This is illustrated with the present indicative.

- (1) a. *ndiúra*
 ndi-ur-á
 SM_{1SG}-buy-FV
 ‘I buy.’
- b. *kàndiúri*
 ka-ndi-ur-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-buy-NEG
 ‘I don’t buy.’ (NF_Elic15)
- c. *tàndiúri*
 ta-ndi-ur-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-buy-NEG
 ‘I don’t buy.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Present tense verbs also change their tone pattern when negated. Affirmative present verbs take MT 1 and 4 (see section 10.2), but negated present verbs take only MT 3. The following examples show the different tonal patterns for affirmative and negative present tense verbs.

- (2) a. *ndìzìbàrà*
 ndi-zibar-á
 SM_{1SG}-forget-FV
 ‘I forget.’
- b. *kàndìzìbàrì*
 ka-ndi-zibár-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-forget-NEG
 ‘I don’t forget.’ (NF_Elic15)

The negative suffix *-i* used in negating present tense verbs cannot be directly preceded by a passive suffix *-(i)w*. When a passive verb is negated, the negative suffix *-i* is not used, but rather the default final vowel suffix *-a*, see example (3). However, when the passive suffix *-(i)w* is separated from the final vowel slot by the occurrence of the habitual suffix *-ang*, the negative suffix *-i* is used, as seen in (4).

- (3) *kàcìhíkà*
 ka-ci-hík-w-a
 NEG-SM₇-COOK-PASS-FV
 ‘It cannot be cooked.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (4) *báshàshéshíwàngì*
 ba-ásha-shesh-íw-ang-i
 SM₂-NEG-marry-PASS-HAB-NEG
 ‘They should not be married.’ (ZF_Conv13)

Incompatibility with the passive suffix is also observed for the near past perfective suffix *-i* (see section 10.3.1).⁴³

The two forms of the negative prefix, *ka-* and *ta-*, have a geographic distribution. The form *ka-* is mainly used in Namibian Fwe, the form *ta-* in Zambian Fwe. This areal distribution is also seen in several other Bantu languages of the region, including those of the Bantu Botatwe subgroup, such as Totela and Subiya, but also Yeyi, not part of Bantu Botatwe. Totela, which, like Fwe, has a Zambian and a Namibian variety, exhibits the same distribution as Fwe; the *ta-* form is used in the Zambian variety (Crane 2011: 82), and the *ka-* form in the Namibian variety. Subiya and Yeyi, only

⁴³ There are also other cases of overlap between the near past perfective and the negative present tense form. Both forms use a suffix *-i*, neither of which ever cause spirantization (as opposed to other suffixes consisting of or starting with /i/, where spirantization is attested in lexicalized cases). Both forms use melodic tone 3, which is assigned to the second stem syllable. A possible explanation for this formal overlap between the near past perfective and negative present is that the suffix *-i* seen in both forms is the same suffix, and that the tonal pattern is associated with this specific suffix.

spoken in Namibia, both only use the *ka-* form (Jacottet 1896: 57–58; Seidel 2008: 405–408). The distribution of the *ka-* and *ta-* forms of the negative prefix thus more or less follows the national border between Zambia and Namibia (Gunnink 2015).

The negative prefix *ta-/ka-* is placed directly before the subject marker of the verb. When the subject marker consists of a vowel only, vowel hiatus resolution takes place between the vowel of the negative prefix and the vowel of the subject marker. Aside from subject markers affected by predictable rules of vowel hiatus resolution, there are no special forms of subject markers used exclusively with negative verbs, as opposed to a tendency often observed in Bantu languages for subject markers of the first person singular to have a special negated form. As shown in (5), the negated form of the first person singular is a morphologically regular combination of the negative prefix with the first person singular subject marker *ndi-*.

- (5) a. *ndìbùtúkà*
 ndi-butuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-run-FV
 ‘I run.’
- b. *tàndìbútùkì*
 ta-ndi-bútuk-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-run-NEG
 ‘I don’t run.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The prefix *ka-/ta-* is also used to negate the near past perfective. This tense uses a past suffix *-i* which is homophonous with the negative suffix *-i*. Negated verbs in the near past perfective have the same tonal pattern as their affirmative counterparts.

- (6) a. *ndàzìbònì*
 ndi-a-zì-bon-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁₀-see-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve seen them.’
- b. *kàndàzìbònì*
 ka-ndi-a-zì-bon-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁₀-see-NPST.PFV
 ‘I haven’t seen them.’ (NF_Elic15)

Verbs in the stative construction are also negated with prefix *ka-/ta-*, in combination with lengthening of the last vowel of the verb, which is not seen in the affirmative stative. This can be seen as influence from the negative suffix *-i*. The suffix contributes an extra mora to the last vowel of the verb, but its vowel quality merges with the last vowel of the stative verb (/e/ or /i/, depending on the allomorph of the stative suffix, see section 11.3.1 for an overview). The length difference in the last vowel of affirmative and negative stative verbs is shown in (7) and (8).

- (7) a. *ibórètè*
i-bor-éte
SM₉-rot-STAT
'It is rotten.'
- b. *kàìbòrètè:*
ka-i-bor-ete-í
NEG-SM_{1SG}-rot-STAT-NEG
'It is not rotten.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (8) a. *ndìyìzìyì*
ndi-i_H-zyi
SM_{1SG}-OM₉-know-STAT
'I know it.'
- b. *kàndìyìzìyì:*
ka-ndi-i_H-zyi-í
NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₉-know-STAT-NEG
'I don't know it.' (NF_Elic15)

The negation of stative verbs also involves a change in tone pattern. Affirmative stative verbs take a melodic tone on the second stem syllable (MT 3, see Table 10.3 in section 10.1.1). Negated stative verbs take a melodic tone on the last mora of the verb (MT 1, see Table 10.3 in section 10.1.1). The deletion of the lexical tone of the root, as seen in the affirmative form of the stative construction, also affects the negated stative. Optional high tone spread, i.e. the copying of high tones up to the first syllable of the verb stem, is never seen in negated stative verbs, though it is very common in affirmative stative verbs. Examples of the tone pattern of negated stative verbs are given in (9)b and (10)b, compared with the affirmative form in (9)a and (10)a.

- (9) a. *ndìshéshètè*
ndi-she_Hsh-éte
SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT
'I am married.'
- b. *tàndìshèshètè:*
ta-ndi-she_Hsh-ete-í
NEG-SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT-NEG
'I am not married.'
- (10) a. *tùkátùtè*
tu-kat-íte
SM_{1PL}-become_thin-STAT
'We are thin.'

- b. *tàtùkàtìtè:*
 ta-tu-kat-ite-í
 NEG-SM_{1PL}-become_thin-STAT-NEG
 ‘We are not thin.’ (ZF_Elic14)

14.2 Negation of imperative and subjunctive verb forms

Imperative and subjunctive verb forms are negated with a post-initial prefix *ásha-*, combined with the negative suffix *-i*. In Namibian Fwe, the prefix has a free variant *ása-* (see 2.2.2 on the free variation between /s/ and /sh/ in grammatical prefixes).

- (11) *wáshàyáshàmì òkìmúmé bùryò*
 o-ásha-yásham-i o-ki_H-mum-é bu-ryo
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-open_mouth-NEG SM_{2SG}-REFL-close-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-only
 ‘Don’t open your mouth, just close like that.’ (ZF_Narr13)
- (12) *mwáshàbútúkì cáhà*
 mu-ásha-bútuk-i cáha
 SM_{2PL}-NEG.SBJV-run-NEG very
 ‘Don’t go too fast.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (13) *ndìryá bùryó kànìni òkùtèyè ndáshàníni*
 ndi-ry-á bu-ryó ka-níni
 SM_{1SG}-eat-FV NP₁₄-only ADV-little
 okutéye ndi-ásha-nun-í
 that SM_{1SG}-NEG.SBJV-become_fat-NEG
 ‘I only eat a little, so that I do not become fat.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (14) *kònó náàryá òkùtèyè ásàrémuhi*
 konó ná-a-a-ry-á okutéye á-sa-rémuh-i
 but REM-SM₁-PST-eat-FV that SM₁-NEG.SBJV-find_out-NEG
 ‘But she ate, so that he wouldn’t find out.’ (NF_Narr17)

The negative subjunctive/imperative prefix may be realized as *ásha-/ása-* or *sha-/sa-*. When the first vowel /a/ is dropped, the high tone of the suffix is realized on the subject marker.

- (15) *músàndìtáfùnì*
 mú-sa-ndi-táfun-i
 SM_{2PL}-NEG.SBJV-OM_{1SG}-chew-NEG
 ‘Don’t eat me!’ (NF_Narr17)

14.3 Negation of infinitive verb forms

Infinitive verb forms are negated with a post-initial prefix *-shá-*. In Namibian Fwe, the prefix *shá-* has a free variant *sá-* (/s/ and /sh/ are interchangeable in grammatical prefixes; see section 2.2.2).

- (16) *kùshábònà ~ kùsábònà*
 ku-shá-bon-a
 INF-NEG-INF-see-FV
 ‘to not see’
- (17) *kùshátèèzà mbùká'babù*
 ku-shá-teez-a N-bu-kábabú
 INF-NEG-INF-listen-FV COP-NP₁₄-problem
 ‘Not listening is a problem.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (18) *Nàngá mwínàkò yóbùkòbà, mbàngí: bànàdàmwá kókùsházyibà òkùbàrà. Ècìpùrà nètìyòrétwà iyé cámkúwà, èwé mpàhó àkè:zyà kúkàrà, nòrì muntù ókùsìhà.*
 nangá mú-e-N-nako i-ó=bu-koba N-ba-ngí:
 even NP₁₈-AUG-NP₉-time PP₉-CON=NP₁₄-apartheid COP-PP₂-many
 ba-na-dam-w-á kó-ku-shá-zyib-a o-ku-bar-a
 SM₂-PST-beat-PASS-FV ADV-INF-NEG-INF-know-FV AUG-INF-read-FV
 e-ci-purá ne-ci-ηO_Hr-étwa iyé
 AUG-NP₇-chair REM-SM₇-write-STAT-PASS that
 ci-á-ma-kuwá ewe N-pa-hó a-ke:zy-a
 PP₇-CON=NP₆-white PERS_{2SG} COP-NP₁₆-DEM.III₁₆ SM₁-come-FV
 kú-kar-a na=O-ri mu-ntu u-ó=ku-sih-a
 INF-sit-FV COM=SM_{2SG}-be NP₁-person PP₁-CON=INF-be_black-FV
 ‘Even in the time of apartheid, many were beaten because of not knowing how to read. On a bench, it is written, whites only. You, that is where you sit, while you are a black person.’ (NF_Song17))

14.4 Negation with auxiliaries

All other verbal constructions are negated with the use of an auxiliary *ri* ‘be’, *aazyá* ‘be not’, or a lexical verb *-sí-* ‘stop, leave’. Negation with *ri* ‘be’ involves the negative prefix *ka-/ta-* marked on the auxiliary, followed by the inflected lexical verb. The inflected lexical verb takes a high tone on the subject marker, showing that it is a relative verb (see 16.5.1 on the formal properties of relative clause verbs). This construction is used to negate any verb that may not be negated with affixes directly on the lexical verb: the remote past perfective, the remote past imperfective, and the near past imperfective.

- (19) Negation of the remote past perfective
kàrì ndáyìbònà
 ka-ri ndi-á-i-bon-a
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-see-FV
 ‘I did not see it.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (20) Negation of the remote past imperfective

kàrì kátòmbwèr' é'sózù

ka-ri ka-á-tombwer-á e-ø-sozú
 NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM₁-weed-FV AUG-NP₅-grass
 'He was not weeding grass.' (NF_Narr15)

- (21) Negation of the near past imperfective

kàrì ndákùhíkà

ka-ri ndí-aku-hík-a
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-cook-FV
 'I was not cooking.' (NF_Elic17)

The auxiliary *ri* 'be' with a negative prefix is also used to negate nominal predicates. Affirmative nominal predicates may be marked by a copulative prefix only (see section 7.8). When negated with the auxiliary *ri*, the copulative prefix is maintained.

- (22)
- mbùròtù kònó kàrì mbùròtù nénjà*

N-bu-rótu kònó ka-rí N-bu-rótu nénja
 COP-NP₁₄-good but NEG-be COP-NP₁₄-good well
 'It is good, but it is not very good.' (ZF_Conv13)

- (23)
- òwú kàrì 'ngómùnzí' wángù*

o-ú ka-rí ngó-mu-nzí u-angú
 AUG-DEM.I₃ NEG-be COP.DEF₃-NP₃-village PP₃-POSS_{1SG}
 'This is not my village.' (ZF_Elic13)

Future tense verbs cannot be negated. To express a negative future, the auxiliary *ri* 'be' is used, marked with the negative prefix *ka-/ta-*, followed by a subjunctive verb. To indicate a more remote future, the subjunctive verb takes a remoteness prefix *na-/ne-*, as used in (24) and (25). To express a near future, the remoteness prefix is omitted, as in (26) and (27).

- (24)
- rímwì zyúba kàrì nèmúbú:ké nwè*

rí-mwi ø-zyúba
 PP₅-other NP₅-day
 ka-ri ne-mú-bú:k-e enwé
 NEG-be REM-SM_{2PL}-wake.INTR-PFV.SBJV PERS_{2PL}
 'One day, you are not going to wake up.' (NF_Narr15)

- (25)
- kàrì nándisépè*

ka-ri na-á-ndi-sep-é
 NEG-be REM-SM₁-OM_{1SG}-trust-PFV.SBJV
 'He will not trust me.' (ZF_Conv13)

- (26)
- kàrì ndífiyère*

ka-ri ndí-f_Hyer-é
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-sweep-PFV.SBJV
 'I will not sweep.' (ZF_Elic13)

- (27) *kàrì ndìcìpángè shúnù*
 ka-ri ndí-ci_H-páng-e shúnu
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-OM₇-do-PFV.SBJV today
 ‘I will not do it today.’ (NF_Elic17)

The auxiliary *aazyá* ‘be/have not’ has an inherently negative meaning. It is the negative counterpart of the verb *iná* ‘be at/have’. Example (28) shows the use of the negative auxiliary *aazyá* to negate the auxiliary *iná*.

- (28) a. *kwìn’ écò ndíbwènè*
 ku-iná e-co ndí-bwe_Hne
 SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.III₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 ‘There is something that I see. / I see something.’
 b. *kùààzy’ écò ndíbwènè*
 ku-aazyá e-co ndí-bwe_Hne
 SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 ‘There is not something that I see. / I see nothing.’ (NF_Elic15)

Where the auxiliary *iná* with a locative subject marker is used to express ‘something’, ‘someone’, or ‘somewhere’, its negated counterpart *aazyá* is used to express ‘nothing’, ‘no one’, or ‘nowhere’. Subject markers of all three locative classes can be used with the verb *aazyá*: an example of the use of the subject marker of class 16 is given in (29); class 17, in (30)–(31); and class 18, in (32).

- (29) *ákèizyà kùwànà iyé hààzyá bàntù*
 á-ke:zy-a ku-wan-a iyé ha-aazyá ba-ntu
 SM₁.REL-come-FV INF-find-FV that SM₁₆-be_not NP₂-person
 ‘When he came to find that there were no people there...’ (NF_Narr15)
 (30) *kwààzyá mùntù*
 ku-aazyá mu-ntu
 SM₁₇-be_not NP₁-person
 ‘There is no one.’ (ZF_Elic13)
 (31) *kwààzyó kò nìbáwânè ménò*
 ku-aazyá o-kó ni-bá-wân-e ma-inó
 SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₁₇ REM-SM₂-find-PFV.SBJV NP₆-tooth
 ‘There’s nowhere where he can get the teeth.’ (NF_Narr15)
 (32) *òbú bùsùnsò mwáázyé zwàyi*
 o-bú bu-sunso mu-aazyá e-zwai
 AUG-DEM.I₁₄ NP₁₄-relish SM₁₈-be_not AUG-salt
 ‘This relish, there is no salt in it.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The auxiliary *aazyá* can also be used to negate a fronted infinitive construction. The fronted infinitive construction, which consists of an inflected verb preceded by an infinitive copy of the same verb stem (see section 11.1.1 on the fronted infinitive), cannot be negated through the prefix *ta-/ka-* and the suffix *-i*. Instead a construction

is used with the negative *aazyá* inflected for subject agreement, followed by the lexical verb in the infinitive.

- (33) a. *kùhòndà ndí'hóndà*
 ku-hond-a ndí-hónd-a
 INF-COOK-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-COOK-FV
 'I am cooking.'
- b. *ndààzyá kùhòndà*
 ndi-aazyá ku-hond-a
 SM_{1SG}-be_not INF-COOK-FV
 'I am not cooking.'
- c. **kùhòndà tàndí'hóndì* (ZF_Elic14)

The negative verb *aazyá* is also occasionally used to negate verbs that may also be negated with a prefix *ka-/ta-* or an auxiliary *ri* 'be'. Verbs with a reduplicated stem may be negated with a prefix *ka-/ta-* and a suffix *-i* in the present tense, but most speakers prefer to use the auxiliary *aazyá* followed by the reduplicated verb in the infinitive form.

- (34) a. *ndìtó:ráto:rà*
 ndi-to:ra-tó:r-a
 SM_{1SG}-PL2-pick-FV
 'I pick.'
- b. *kàndìtó:ritò:rì*
 ka-ndi-tó:ri-to:r-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PL2-pick-NEG
 'I don't pick.'
- c. *ndààzy' ókùtó:ràto:rà*
 ndi-aazyá o-ku-tó:ra-to:r-a
 SM_{1SG}-be_not AUG-INF-PL2-pick-FV
 'I don't pick.' (NF_Elic15)

The auxiliary *aazyá* is also used to negate verbs expressing states, either verbs in the stative construction or true stative verbs, where stativity is due to lexical rather than grammatical aspect. As shown in section 14.1, stative verbs can also be negated with affixes on the verb. A meaning difference between periphrastic and morphological negation of stative verbs has not been observed.

- (35) *èciyàngò cààzyá kùbórètè*
 e-ci-àngo ci-aazyá ku-bor-éte
 AUG-NP₇-fruit SM₇-be_not INF-rot-STAT
 'The fruit is not rotten.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (36) *cààzyó kùhárítwà*
 ci-aazyá o-ku-ar-ít-w-a
 SM₇-be_not AUG-INF-close-STAT-PASS-FV
 ‘It is not closed.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (37) *ndàázyá kùshàkà kùrihà òmùrándù*
 ndi-aazyá ku-shak-a ku-rih-a o-mu-randú
 SM_{1SG}-be_not INF-want-FV INF-pay-FV AUG-NP₃-fine
 ‘I don’t want to pay a fine.’ (NF_Elic15)

The lexical verb *-síya* ‘leave, let go, stop’, is used in the imperative form and followed by an infinitive to express a prohibitive, as in examples (38) and (39).

- (38) *sìy’ ókùndìkwátà*
 sì_H-é o-ku-ndi-kwát-a
 stop-PFV.SBJV AUG-INF-OM_{1SG}-grab-FV
 ‘Don’t touch me.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (39) *òsìyé kùyángà kwìnà*
 o-sì_H-é ku-yá-ang-a kwina
 SM_{2SG}-leave-PFV.SBJV INF-go-HAB-FV DEM.IV₁₇
 ‘Never go there.’ (NF_Elic17)

15 Adverbs

Fwe is not very rich in adverbs; many concepts that languages such as English express with adverbs are expressed with nouns, or even more commonly with verbs. Nonetheless, Fwe has a number of words that are invariably used as adverbs, as well as three prefixes for deriving adverbs, *ka-*, *bú-* and *mbó-*.

Adverbs can modify a verb, an adjective or another adverb. All three uses of adverbs are illustrated with the adverb *wáwà* ‘very’ in the following examples.

- (1) *èzí zìshámù zìgórétè wáwà*
 e-zí zi-shamú zi-gor-éte wáwa
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-tree SM₈-become_strong-STAT very
 ‘These trees are very strong.’
- (2) *èyí njúò njìndótù wáwà*
 e-í N-júo nji-N-dótu wáwa
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-house COP₉-NP₉-nice very
 ‘This house is very nice.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (3) *kàré: wáwà ndìnàmanì*
 ka-ré: wáwa ndi-na-man-í
 ADV-long very SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-NPST.PFV
 ‘I finished very long ago.’ (ZF_Elic13)

Fwe has a prefix *ka-* which can be added to an existing word to derive an adverb. This prefix *ka-* resembles the class 12 nominal prefix *ka-* (see section 5.1 on nominal prefixes), but this homophony is likely accidental, as both prefixes function in a different way. This is seen most clearly in the derivation of adverbs from nouns; whereas the use of the class 12 nominal prefix *ka-* causes the noun’s original nominal prefix to be dropped (see for instance the examples in (82) in section 5.4), the use of adverbial *ka-* to a noun causes the noun’s original nominal prefix to be maintained, as in example (2) and (3).

- (4) *njékandé 'ryángù kóbùfwíhì*
 njé-kandé rí-angú ká-o-bu-fwíi
 COP.DEF₉-story PP₅-POSS_{1SG} ADV-AUG-NP₁₄-short
 ‘This is my story, in short.’ (NF_Narr17)
- (5) *kómùtàrà kwíná àbákwámé sò mwànàmibìà*
 ká-o-mu-tara ku-iná a-bá-kwamé so
 ADV-AUG-NP₃-example SM₁₇-be_at AUG-NP₂-man thus
 mwa-Namibia
 NP₁₈-Namibia
 ‘For example, there is a man like that in Namibia.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The adverbial prefix *ka-* can be used to derive adverbs from nouns, as in the previous two examples, or from adjectives (6), infinitive verbs (7), or numerals (8).

- (6) *ndìfwirè kàníni ènjàrà*
 ndi-fw_H-ire ka-níni e-N-jara
 SM_{1SG}-die-STAT ADV-small AUG-NP₉-hunger
 ‘I’m a bit hungry.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (7) *àkórà kòkùóngòzà*
 a-kó:r-a ka-o-ku-óngoz-a
 SM₁-cough-FV ADV-AUG-INF-shout-FV
 ‘S/he coughs loudly.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (8) *náàkórà kòbíré*
 ná-a-a-kó:r-a ka-o=biré
 REM-SM₁-PST-cough-FV ADV-CON=two
 ‘He coughed twice.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The adverbial prefix *ka-* can be used to derive adverbs of manner, such as the previous example, but also temporal adverbs, as in the following examples.

- (9) *zyónà nàndínàbúkà kàfóru*
 zyóna na-ndí-na-búk-a ka-fóru
 tomorrow REM-SM_{1SG}-REM_FUT-wake-FV ADV-four
 ‘Tomorrow I will wake up at four.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (10) *émè nándàré:tìwà ká'nàintínsíkìsìtì*
 emé ná-ndi-a-ré:t-iw-a ká-náintínsíkìsìtì
 PERS_{1SG} REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-bear-PASS-FV ADV-1960
 ‘Me, I was born in 1960.’ (ZF_Narr15)

Some derived adverbs appear to be grammaticalizing, such as the adverb *karé:* ‘long ago’, derived from the adjective *-ré:* ‘far’. It can be used as a temporal adverb with the interpretation ‘long ago’, as in (11), which clearly reflects the lexical meaning of the root *-ré:* ‘far, long’. The adverb *kàré:* can also be used with the interpretation ‘already’, as in (12), where the adverb does not necessarily stress that the event took place long ago, but rather that it is already completed. *kàré:* can even take on nominal properties, as seen in (13) where it is marked with the connective clitic which is restricted to nouns (see section 7.3 on the connective).

- (11) *kàré: kàr' ókò mùmùnzì úmwi*
 ka-ré: ka-ré: o-ko mu-mu-nzi ú-mwi
 ADV-long ADV-long AUG-DEM.III₁₇ NP₁₈-NP₃-village PP₃-other
 ‘Long, long ago, in a certain village...’ (NF_Narr15)
- (12) *ndàzwátì kàré:*
 ndi-a-zwát-i karé:
 SM_{1SG}-PST-dress-NPST.PFV already
 ‘I’m already dressed.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (13) *mùnzì ókàré:*
 mu-nzi u-ó=karé:
 NP₃-village PP₃-CON=old
 ‘an old village’ (ZF_Elic13)

A prefix *bú-* can be used to derive manner adverbs. This prefix is similar to the nominal prefix of class 14 *bu-*, but the adverbial prefix has a high tone whereas the nominal prefix is toneless. The adverbial prefix *bú-* is productive, and can be used with adjectival roots, as in (14), and with verbs, as in (15).

- (14) *àsèbèzà 'búcènyà búcènyà*
 a-sebez-á bú-cenya bú-cenya
 SM₁-work-FV ADV-small ADV-small
 ‘S/he works slowly.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (15) *náàrá:rà bú'tútúmà*
 ná-a-a-rá:r-a bú-tutum-á
 REM-SM₁-PST-sleep-FV ADV-shiver-FV
 ‘She slept shivering.’ (NF_Narr15)

Adverbs derived from verbs maintain certain verbal characteristics: melodic tone (for instance the final high tone on /bú-tutum-á/ in example (15)), and certain verbal affixes, such as the reflexive *rí-* and the stative suffix as seen in example (16). Adverbs derived from verbs can even take their own object, as in example (17).

- (16) *tùkèrè búrígùmbénè*
 tu-ke_Hre bú-ri_H-gumbéne
 SM_{1PL}-sit.STAT ADV-REFL-sit_close_to.STAT
 ‘We sit next to each other.’
- (17) *ndìkèrè búriyàngítè màkàrà*
 ndi-ke_Hre bú-ri_H-ang-íte ma-kará
 SM_{1SG}-sit.STAT ADV-REFL-CROSS-STAT NP₆-leg
 ‘I sit cross-legged.’ (NF_Elic15)

There is also a closed set of underived adverbs that have a nominal prefix of class 14 *bu-*: *bu-tí* ‘how, so/like this’, *bu-ryó* ‘only, just’, and *bu-ryahó* ‘like that’.

- (18) *mbòndítèndè búti kántì*
 mbo-ndí-ténd-e bú-ti kántì
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-do-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-like_this then
 ‘I will do like this then.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (19) *ndìyéndè búryó 'kúmùnzì*
 ndi-énd-e bu-ryó kú-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘Let me just go home.’ (ZF_Narr14)

- (20) *àhà bārèrè bùryáhò*
 a-ha bá-re_Hre bu-ryahó
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-sleep.STAT NP₁₄-like_that
 ‘When they were sleeping like that...’ (NF_Narr17)

The prefix *bu-* in these adverbs is not the same as the productive adverbializer prefix *bú-*: it lacks a high tone, and it functions as a nominal prefix. Its function as a nominal is also seen from the fact that it may take a copulative prefix, either the homorganic nasal, as in example (21), or a definite copulative prefix *mbó-* of class 14, as in example (22) (see also section 7.8 on copulatives).

- (21) *mbùryó 'ndí'zánà*
 N-bu-ryó ndí-zán-a
 COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1SG}.REL-joke-FV
 ‘I am only joking.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (22) *mbóbùryáhó 'tú'ké:zyà*
 mbó-bu-ryahó tú-ké:zy-a
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that SM_{1PL}.REL-come-FV
 ‘It is like that that we are coming.’ (NF_Elic17)

Fwe has another prefix that derives adverbs from nouns, the prefix *mbó-*. Adverbs derived with *mbó-* express a comparison, translatable as ‘like’.

- (23) *àrírà mbómùcècè*
 a-rir-á mbó-mu-cece
 SM₁-cry-FV ADV-NP₁-baby
 ‘She cries like a baby.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (24) *èzí zìkùnì zìfwánà mbómùshòbò wònké:*
 e-zí zi-kúni zi-fwán-a
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-tree SM₈-resemble-FV
 mbó-mu-shobo u-o=nké:
 ADV-NP₃-type PP₃-CON=one
 ‘These trees look like the same type.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Fwe also has a small, closed set of words that (almost) always function as adverbs.

- (25) a. Temporal adverbs
- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>shùnù</i> | ‘today’ |
| <i>zyónà</i> | ‘yesterday/tomorrow’ ⁴⁴ |
| <i>mà-síkùsíkù</i> | ‘(in the) morning’ |
| <i>mà-nténgù</i> | ‘in the evening’ |

⁴⁴ The interpretation of this adverb as either yesterday or tomorrow is dependent on the tense of the verb.

b. Other lexical adverbs

<i>cáhà</i> (Namibian Fwe)/	‘very’
<i>wáwà</i> (Zambian Fwe)	
<i>cwárè</i>	‘then’
<i>hápè</i>	‘again’
<i>nénjà</i>	‘well’
<i>nàngá</i>	‘even’
<i>témà</i> (Namibian Fwe)/	‘maybe’
<i>mwèndí</i> (Zambian Fwe)	

The adverb *cáhà* and its Zambian Fwe counterpart *wáwà* function as adverbs expressing general intensity, translatable as ‘very’, but can receive various more detailed interpretations based on the words they modify.

- (26) *àbùtùká cáhà*
a-bu_Htuk-á cáha
SM₁-run-FV very
‘S/he runs fast.’
- (27) *àkórà cáhà*
a-kó:r-a cáha
SM₁-cough-FV very
‘S/he coughs loudly.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (28) *àbèná bàkèntù bàám̀bà wáwà*
a-bená ba-kèntu ba-ám̀b-a wáwa
AUG-DEM.IV₂ NP₂-woman SM₂-talk-FV very
‘Those women talk a lot.’
- (29) *kòkwí ‘wáwà nòmùbónì*
kokwí wáwa no-mu-bón-i
where very SM_{2SG}.PST-OM₁-see-NPST.PFV
‘Where exactly did you see it?’
- (30) *cìcíná cìrìmò ndìnàshínjì wáwà*
ci-ciná ci-rimo ndi-na-shínj-i wáwa
EMPH₇-DEM.IV₇ NP₇-year SM_{1SG}-PST-harvest-NPST.PFV very
‘This year I had a good harvest.’ (ZF_Elic14)

16 Syntax

16.1 Canonical word order

Constituent order in Fwe depends on three factors; the syntactic function of the constituent, that is if it functions as a subject, object, (inflected) verb, or a locative adjunct or adverb; the information structural properties of the constituent, whether it is in focus, topicalized, or marked for definiteness; and the clause type, either main or subordinate. The canonical, unmarked order of constituents in a main clause in Fwe is SVO, as illustrated in example (1).

- (1) *òmùsá nàhíbí ènjìngà yángù*
 o-mu-sá na-hib-í e-N-jinga i-angú
 AUG-NP₁-thief SM₁.PST-steal-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-bicycle PP₉-POSS_{1SG}
 [Subject] [Verb] [Object]
 ‘A thief has stolen my bicycle.’ (NF_Elic15)

SVO order is used for sentences that are unmarked with respect to information structure; neither of the constituents in a sentence with SVO order is overtly marked for either topic or focus. Constituents may move out of their canonical position to the left periphery of the sentence, in order to be marked as topic, or the right periphery of the sentence, in order to be marked for definiteness. These processes of left dislocation and right dislocation are discussed in the following sections.

16.2 Left dislocation

Constituents can be moved out of their canonical position to the beginning of the clause, in which case they are morphologically and prosodically marked as a separate clause. The prosodic marking of left dislocation is most clearly seen by the application of tonal processes that only occur at the end of a clause, namely the realization of underlying high tones as falling and the shift of final high tones to the penultimate mora (see section 4.1 on tonal processes). The morphological marking of left dislocation is only seen on dislocated constituents that function as an object or locative adjunct, in which case the dislocated constituent needs to be cross-referenced by an object marker, as seen in (3), or locative enclitic, as seen in (4).

- (2) left-dislocated subject
àá màyí: àbórètè
 a-á ma-yí: a-bor-éte
 AUG-DEM.I₆ NP₆-egg SM₆-rot-STAT
 ‘These eggs, they’re rotten.’

- (3) left-dislocated object

*òzyú mú'kwámè kàndìmùzyí:*o-zyú mú-kwamé ka-ndi-mu-zyi_H-íAUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-man NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁-know.STAT-NEG

'This man, I don't know him.'

- (4) left-dislocated locative adjunct

mòwí'n' ómùnzì ndáy'ámò

mu-o-winá o-mu-nzi ndi-á-y-a=mó

NP₁₈-AUG-DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-village SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV=LOC₁₈

'That village, I've been there.' (NF_Elic15)

As the canonical position for the subject can be the preverbal position, not all subjects appearing before a verb are dislocated. This is only the case when a subject constituent at the left edge of a sentence is affected by clause-final tone rules. Pre-verbal subjects that are not affected by these clause-final processes are not left-dislocated, but in situ; an example is given in (5), where the subject constituent *bàmùrúti* 'teachers' is not affected by the clause-final tone process of H retraction, showing that it is not dislocated.

- (5)
- bàmùrúti bàbùtúkà*

ba-mu-rutí ba-bu_Htuk-áNP₂-NP₁-teacher SM₂-run-FV

'The teachers run.' (NF_Elic15)

Constituents are dislocated to the left periphery of the sentence in order to function as a topic, the referent that a sentence is "about" (Lambrecht 1994: 114), the old information, given through physical or linguistic context, to which the speaker intends to add new information. In (6), the left-dislocated constituent *òzyú mwáncè* 'this child' functions as the topic; as it refers to a child who is present at the time, it is known to the discourse through the immediate physical surrounding and as such functions as a topic for the rest of the utterance.

- (6)
- òzyú mwáncè mùmùtwàrè kùcìpátèrà*

o-zyú mu-áncè mu-mu-twár-e ku-ci-patéra

AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-child SM_{2PL}-OM₁-carry-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-NP₇-hospital

'This child, take her/him to the hospital.' (ZF_Elic14)

Another example of the use of left dislocation for topicalization is given in (7), which is the beginning of a story. In (7)a, the referent *òmíùmù* 'a rich man' is introduced. In the second, this same referent is marked as a topic by left-dislocation; it serves as the old information to which the sentences contributes new facts.

- (7) a.
- kàré kàkwín' 'òmíùmù*

ka-ré: ka-ku-iná o-ø-mfúmu

ADV-long PST.IPFV-be_at AUG-NP_{1a}-rich_man

'Long ago, there was a rich man.'

- b. *òmǫ̀fúmu bàmùkúwè mùrè̀nà*
 o-ø-mǫ̀fumu ba-mu-kúw-e mu-rena
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rich_man SM₂-OM₁-call-PFV.SBJV NP₁-chief
 ‘The rich man, they would call him chief.’ (NF_Narr15)

Left-dislocation can be used to mark a contrastive topic; when various referents are accessible, the speaker can choose to pick out a single referent to the exclusion of others. The following two examples are taken from a conversation in which speakers discuss their views on marriage; in (8), the first speaker gives his view, and in (9), the second speaker gives his own, contrastive view, using the personal pronoun *me* ‘I’, in the left-dislocated position to mark a contrastive topic.

- (8) *ndíbwè̀nè mbóbùmángò òkùshéshà òmùkèntù òzyú tàkítùtètè:*
 ndi-bwene mbó-bu-mángo o-ku-shésh-a o-mu-kéntu
 SM_{1SG}-see.STAT COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-bad AUG-INF-marry-FV AUG-NP₁-woman
 o-zyú ta-a-kitut-ite-í
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NEG.SM₁-be_educated-STAT.NEG
 ‘I think that it is bad to marry an uneducated woman.’
- (9) *kòno mè òbùròtù òbò ndíbwè̀nè òkùshéshà òmùkèntù zyù tàkítùtètè:*
 konó mè o-bu-rótu o-bo ndí-bwene
 but PERS_{1SG} AUG-NP₁₄-good AUG-DEM.III₁₄ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 o-ku-shésh-a o-mu-kéntu zyù ta-a-kitut-ite-í
 AUG-INF-marry-FV AUG-NP₁-woman DEM.I₁ NEG.SM₁-be_educated-STAT-NEG
 ‘But me, I think that it is good to marry an uneducated wife.’ (ZF_Conv13)

16.3 Right dislocation

Constituents can also be moved out of their canonical position to the right edge of the clause. Right dislocation resembles left dislocation in that dislocated objects and locative adjuncts require cross-referencing on the main clause verb, as seen in examples (10)-(11), where the dislocated constituent is underlined. Right-dislocation may also target subjects, as seen in (12).

- (10) right-dislocated object
ndírùshákà òrú rùzyímbo
 ndi-ru_H-shak-á o-rú ru-zyímbo
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁₁-like-FV AUG-DEM.I₁₁ NP₁₁-song
 ‘I like this song.’
- (11) right-dislocated locative adjunct
ndá'gámò mòwín' 'ómùnzi
 ndí-a-ya=mó mo-winá o-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV=LOC₁₈ NP₁₈-DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-village
 ‘I’ve been to that village.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (12) *shìbá'názìyìbì bá'mú'kwá'mé 'wénù*
 shi-bá-ná-zyib-i bá-mú-kwámé u-enú
 INC-SM₂-PST-know-NPST.PFV NP₂-NP₁-man PP₁-POSS_{2PL}
 'Your husband has now become aware.' (NF_Narr15)

Right dislocation differs from left dislocation, however, in the phonological phrasing of the dislocated constituent. Whereas left-dislocated constituents are always followed by a prosodic boundary, a prosodic boundary between the clause and the right-dislocated constituent is optional. Examples of right-dislocated constituents that do function as a separate phonological phrase are given in (10)–(11) above, as seen from the application of clause-final tonal processes on the verb preceding the dislocated constituent. An example of a right-dislocated constituent which is not preceded by a prosodic boundary is given in (13), as seen from the lack of high tone retraction on the verb preceding the dislocated constituent.

- (13) *mùrùsháká òrú rùzyímbo*
 mu-ru_H-shak-á o-rú ru-zyímbo
 SM_{2PL}-OM₁₁-like-FV AUG-DEM.I₁₁ NP₁₁-song
 'Do you like this song?' (NF_Elic15)

This mismatch between prosodic phrasing and morphological phrasing is not uncommon in Bantu (Zerbian 2007), though it has mainly been reported for left-dislocation (Downing 2011). The possible lack of a prosodic boundary between the verb and the right-dislocated object might suggest that the object is not dislocated, but occurs in situ, and that the use of the object marker in this context, which is otherwise obligatory only when objects are dislocated, indicates that Fwe allows object marking for agreement, e.g. object marking when an overt object noun is present in the clause. However, right dislocation may target subject and locative constituents as well as objects; for subjects and locatives, right-dislocation clearly involves movement out of the constituent's canonical position, suggesting that objects are moved out of their canonical position as well, and that this explains the occurrence of the object marker.

Constituents are right-dislocated to be marked for definiteness. The notion of definiteness shows some overlap with the notion of topic, because both definite constituents and topic constituents refer to referents that are known to both the speaker and the hearer. They differ, however, in that a topic constituent is not only known, but also the constituent that the rest of the sentence is about, to which the sentence aims to contribute new information. A definite constituent, however, does not (necessarily) play this pivotal role. An example of a definite constituent that does not function as a topic is given in (14). The topic is the locative adjunct *mùnjìrà kwéè cìkùnì* 'along the path, at the tree', which occurs in the sentence-initial topic position. The object noun *ménò énu* 'your teeth', which occurs in the right-dislocated position as seen from the use of the object marker on the verb, is definite but does not function as a topic.

- (14) *mùnjìrà kwècì cìkúnì kókò ndàázìkì ménò énú*
 mu-N-jira kú-e-ci ci-kuní kó-ko
 NP₁₈-NP₉-path NP₁₇-AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-tree COP.DEF₁₇-DEM.III₁₇
 ndi-a-á-zik-i ma-íno a-enú
 SM_{18G}-PST-OM₆-hide-NPST.PFV NP₆-tooth PP₆-POSS_{2PL}
 ‘Along the path, at the tree, that’s where I’ve hidden your teeth.’ (NF_Narr15)

Subjects can be moved to the post-verbal position to be marked for definiteness. An example is given in (15), taken from a narrative about a lion, which has been mentioned frequently in the previous discourse and is therefore construed as definite.

- (15) *shànàkàkàríhì òndávù*
 sha-na-ka-kárih-i o-ø-ndavú
 INC-SM₁-PST-DIST-be_angry-NPST.PFV AUG-NP_{1a}-lion
 ‘The lion was now very angry.’ (NF_Narr15)

Right-dislocated constituents can be prosodically extraclausal or intraclausal, but this does not influence their interpretation. In (16), a right-dislocated subject is used that is prosodically independent of the main clause, and in (17), a right-dislocated subject is used that is prosodically phrased with the main clause; both right-dislocated constituents are interpreted as definite.

- (16) *bókùjwéngà bànjòvù*
 ba-ó=ku-jwéng-a ba-njovu
 PP₂-CON=INF-shout-FV NP₂-elephant
 ‘The elephant shouted.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (17) *néyè ákùbúk’ ómùkèntù*
 ne=yé a-ó=ku-bú:k-a o-mu-kéntu
 COM=PERS_{3SG} PP₁-CON=INF-wake-FV AUG-NP₁-woman
 ‘The woman also woke up.’ (NF_Narr15)

Right-dislocation can also affect constituents that are inherently definite, such as personal pronouns (18)–(19), nouns modified by a demonstrative (20), and proper names (21).

- (18) *rímwì zyúba kàrì nèmúbú:k’ ’énwè*
 rí-mwì ø-zyúba ka-ri ne-mú-bú:k-e enwé
 PP₅-other NP₅-day NEG-be REM-SM_{2PL}-wake-PFV.SBJV PERS_{2PL}
 ‘One day you are not going to wake up.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (19) *èyí nyàmà kàtwíyírí swè*
 e-í N-nyama ka-tu-í-ri-i eswé
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-meat NEG-SM_{1PL}-OM₉-eat-NEG PERS_{1PL}
 ‘This meat, we don’t eat it.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (20) *ndókùrídàmà èryó zyókà*
 ndi-ó=ku-rí-dam-a e-ryó ø-zyókà
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₅-beat-FV AUG-DEM.III₅ NP₅-snake
 ‘Then I beat that snake.’ (ZF_Narr13)
- (21) *mbàndíbànanúnè bàhèni*
 mba-ndí-ba_H-nanún-e ba-heni
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₂-lift-PFV.SBJV NP₂-Hennie
 ‘I will lift up Mr. Hennie.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Although right-dislocated constituents are always definite, a constituent that is not right-dislocated is not necessarily indefinite. An examples of a definite noun phrase used in the pre-verbal position is given in (22), and an example of a definite noun phrase (describing a hoe that was mentioned earlier in the discourse) that is post-verbal but not dislocated, as seen from the lack of object marker, is given in (23).

- (22) *ècí cìkùnì cìrìbórérá bùyó*
 e-cí ci-kuni ci-ri_H-bor-er-á bu-ryó
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-tree SM₇-REFL-ROT-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘This wood rots easily.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (23) *kàshùrwè ákùdànsìká èhàmbà*
 ka-shurwe a-ó=ku-dànsik-á e-ø-amba
 NP₁₂-rabbit PP₁-CON=INF-drop-FV AUG-NP₅-hoe
 ‘The rabbit drops the hoe.’ (NF_Narr15)

Human or humanized referents that are definite are more likely to be overtly marked for definiteness by right-dislocation than non-human and inanimate referents. This is a tendency that is also observed in many other Bantu languages (Riedel 2009).

16.4 Locative inversion

Locative inversion is a type of clause where a locative noun phrase functions as the grammatical subject of the clause, and the logical subject is expressed as a post-verbal constituent. Similar constructions are wide-spread in Bantu, and may involve locatives, e.g. locative inversion, but also other constituents, for instance patient or instrument inversion (Marten and van der Wal 2014). In Fwe, the only attested inversion construction is locative inversion.

An example of locative inversion in Fwe is given (24). In the basic construction in (24)a, the grammatical subject *rùkúngwè* ‘snake’ is also the logical subject. In the locative inversion construction in (24)b, the noun phrase *mwínjúò* ‘in the house’ is the grammatical subject, and the logical subject *rùkúngwè* ‘snake’ is expressed postverbally.

- (24) a. *rùkúngwè nàkàbíri mwínjúò*
 ø-rukúngwe na-kabír-i mú-e-N-júo
 NP_{1a}-snake SM₁.PST-enter-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₉-house
 ‘The/a snake entered the house.’

- b. *mwìnjúò mwàkàbíri rùkúngwè*
 mu-e-N-júo mu-a-kabír-i ø-rukúngwe
 NP₁₈-AUG-NP₉-house SM₁₈-PST-enter-NPST.PFV NP_{1a}-snake
 ‘A snake entered the house.’ (NF_Elic17)

That the locative noun phrase in locative inversion functions as a grammatical subject, is seen by the fact that it triggers subject marking on the verb; as in (24)b, the subject marker on the verb is that of class 18, agreeing with the locative noun phrase *mwìnjúò* ‘in the house’, which is marked with a nominal prefix of class 18. The pre-verbal locative constituent may not be cross-referenced on the verb with a locative clitic, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (25).

- (25) **mùnjúò mwàkàbírimò mùsá*
 mu-N-júo mu-a-kabír-i=mo mu-sá
 NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁₈-PST-enter-PST=LOC₁₈ NP₁-thief
 Intended: ‘Into the house entered a thief.’ (NF_Elic17)

As is typical for Bantu languages, there is no prosodic boundary between the verb and the post-verbal constituent in locative inversion constructions. This is seen in the locative inversion construction in (26), where the verb *kwàhúrí* does not undergo high tone retraction, showing that there is no prosodic boundary between the verb and the post-verbal constituent, and both are phrased together.

- (26) *kùmùnzì kwàhúrí bàbàrà*
 ku-mu-nzi ku-a-hur-í ba-bara
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village SM₁₇-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV NP₂-visitor
 ‘Some visitors arrived in the village.’ (NF_Elic17)

Locative inversion focuses the post-verbal constituent, and presents the pre-verbal locative constituent as discourse-old. An example is given in (27), where the location ‘this courtyard’ is discourse-old, and the post-verbal constituent, ‘a snake’, is new information. Note that in this locative inversion construction, the pre-verbal locative constituent is left out, as it is made clear by context, but the use of locative subject morphology still identifies it as locative inversion.

- (27) *mùbwènè èrí 'rápà mwàkàbíri rùkúngwè*
 mu-bwene e-rí ø-rápá
 SM_{2PL}-see.STAT AUG-DEM.I₅ NP₅-courtyard
 mu-a-kabír-i ø-rukúngwe
 SM₁₈-PST-enter-NPST.PFV NP_{1a}-snake
 ‘Do you see this courtyard? A snake entered in it.’ (NF_Elic17)

As the post-verbal constituent is discourse-new, it cannot be combined with an anaphoric demonstrative. This is shown with the locative inversion construction in (28), where the use of the anaphoric demonstrative *òzyó* is ungrammatical.

- (28) **mwìrápà mwàkàbíri òzyó rùkúngwè*
 Int.: ‘This (aforementioned) snake entered into the courtyard.’ (NF_Elic17)

Locative inversion may also be interpreted asthetic focus, e.g. all the information is presented new. An example is given in (29), repeated from (26). This invites questions about who these visitors are, and what they want, e.g. the information is presented as all new.

- (29) *kùmùnzì kwàhúrí bàbàrà*
 ku-mu-nzi ku-a-hur-í ba-bara
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village SM₁₇-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV NP₂-visitor
 ‘Some visitors arrived in the village.’ (NF_Elic17)

16.5 Clause types

This section discusses a number of complex clause types in Fwe, which consist of a main clause and a dependent clause. Relative clauses are dependent clauses that modify one of the constituents in the main clause; these are discussed in section 16.5.1. There are various other ways of creating a dependent clause, mostly introduced by a specific free morpheme; these are discussed in section 16.5.2.

16.5.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause is syntactically embedded in the matrix clause, and describes one of the arguments of the matrix clause. The main clause contains an antecedent, the noun that the relative clause modifies. The relative clause itself consists of at least a verb, but may contain other constituents as well.

A relative clause differs from a main clause in four respects: the verb is always the first element of the relative clause; the verb has a special form; the relative clause is optionally headed by a demonstrative functioning as a relativizer; and the antecedent noun optionally undergoes tonal changes.

The verb of a relative clause differs from the verb of the same TAM construction in a main clause, mainly by the use of melodic tone 2, which adds a high tone to the subject marker, though the exact differences between main clause and relative clause verbs differ depending on the construction. For the present, the near past imperfective, the stative, and the perfective subjunctive, the use of a high tone on the subject marker changes a main clause verb into a relative clause verb. The following examples contrast main clause verbs with relative clause verbs in the same TAM construction.

- (30) a. Present: Main clause
mùrìrò ùtùmbúkà
 mu-riro u-tu_Hmbuk-á
 NP₃-fire SM₃-burn-FV
 ‘The fire burns.’
- b. Present: Relative clause
mùrìró òwò útùmbúkà
 mu-riró o-o ú-tu_Hmbuk-á
 NP₃-fire AUG-DEM.III₃ SM₃.REL-burn-FV
 ‘the fire that burns’

- (31) a. Near Past Imperfective: Main clause
bànjòvù bàkùjwéngà
 ba-njovu ba-aku-jwéng-a
 NP₂-elephant SM₂-NPST.IPFV-shout-FV
 ‘The elephants were shouting.’
- b. Near Past Imperfective: Relative Clause
bànjòvù bá-kùjwéngà
 ba-njovu bá-aku-jwéng-a
 NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-NPST.IPFV-shout-FV
 ‘the elephants who were shouting’
- (32) a. Stative: Main clause
ènyàmà ibórètè
 e-nyama i-bor-éte
 AUG-meat SM₉-rot-STAT
 ‘The meat is rotten.’
- b. Stative: Relative clause
ènyám’ éyò ibòrètè
 e-nyamá e-yo í-bor-éte
 AUG-meat AUG-DEM.III₉ SM₉.REL-rot-STAT
 ‘meat that is rotten’
- (33) a. Subjunctive: Main clause
àbàntù bàhùpùrè
 a-ba-ntu ba-hupur-é
 AUG-NP₂-person SM₂-think-PFV.SBJV
 ‘People should think.’
- b. Subjunctive: Relative clause
àbàntw’ ábò báhùpùrè
 a-ba-ntú a-bo bá-hupur-é
 AUG-NP₂-person AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-think-PFV.SBJV
 ‘people who should think’ (NF_Elic17)

The remote past perfective uses melodic tone 2 in its main clause form, which is maintained in the relative clause form. In addition, the relative clause form of the RPP makes use of melodic tone 4 (the loss of underlying tones), which is not seen in the main clause form of the RPP (see also section 10.3.2 on the remote past perfective). Examples contrasting the main and relative clause forms of the RPP are given in (34).

- (34) a. Remote Past Perfective: Main clause
nìndádàmà
 ni-ndí-a-dam-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-beat-FV
 ‘I beat.’

b. Remote Past Perfective: Relative Clause

òmùntú ẓyò nìndá'dámà

o-mu-ntú zyo ni-ndí-a-dam-á

AUG-NP₁-person DEM.III₁ REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-beat-FV<REL>

'the person that I beat' (NF_Elic17)

The remote past imperfective has a high tone on the subject marker in the main clause. When used in a relative clause, this high tone is retained and the verb does not undergo any tonal changes.

(35) a. Remote Past Imperfective: Main clause

kàndí'shákà

ka-ndí-shak-á

PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-want-FV

'I used to like/want.'

b. Remote Past Imperfective: Relative clause

cìntw' ícò kàndí'shákà

ci-ntú e-co ka-ndí-shak-á

NP₇-thing AUG-DEM.III₇ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-want-FV

'the thing that I used to like/want' (NF_Elic17)

In the near past perfective, a high tone on the subject marker also appears to play a role when the verb is used in a relative clause, but some variation is observed that can so far not be explained. There are cases where the near past perfective has a high tone on the subject marker in the relative clause, as in (36), and there are also cases where no high tone is used on the subject marker, and the relative clause form is identical to the main clause form, as in (37). More data are needed to study the tonal behavior of the near past perfective in relative clauses, and what, if anything, conditions the use of the high tone on the subject marker.

(36) a. Near Past Perfective: Main clause

bànjòvù bàjàjwéngì

ba-njovu ba-na-jwéng-i

NP₂-elephant SM₂-PST-shout-NPST.PFV

'The elephants shouted.'

b. Near Past Perfective: Relative clause

bànjòvù bájàjwéngì

ba-njovu bá-na-jwéng-i

NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-PST-shout-NPST.PFV

'the elephants who s shouted'

(37) a. Near Past Perfective: Main clause

ècìntù càhíkìwà

e-ci-ntu ci-a-hík-iw-a

AUG-NP₇-thing SM₇-PST-cook-PASS-FV

'The thing is cooked.'

b. Near Past Perfective: Relative clause

ècìntú cò càhíkìwà

e-ci-ntú co ci-a-hík-iw-a
 AUG-NP₇-thing DEM.III₇ SM₇-PST-COOK-PASS-FV
 ‘the thing that is cooked’

Future constructions cannot be used in relative clauses. Various strategies exist to express future temporal reference in a relative clause. A subjunctive verb can be used; either marked with a remoteness prefix *na-/ne-* to express a remote future, as in (38), or preceded by the subordinator *saké*, as in (39), or both, as in (40). The present construction can also be used to express future reference in relative clauses, as in (41); as discussed in 10.2, the present construction can have a futurate use in main clauses as well.

(38) *èṅòmbé zò nèndí'úrè*

e-N-ṅombé zo ne-ndí-ur-é
 AUG-NP₁₀-COW DEM.III₁₀ REM-SM_{1SG}.REL-buy-PFV.SBJV
 ‘the cattle that I will buy’ (NF_Elic17)

(39) *ècò shàké 'cìpàngàhàrè hánù*

e-co shaké cì-pang-ahar-é hánù
 AUG-DEM.III₇ when SM₇-do-NEUT-PFV.SBJV DEM₁₆
 ‘That which will happen now...’ (NF_Narr17)

(40) *címùnyà ècìntù ècò sàké nókàwànè kwàzyúmùnyà*

cì-munya e-ci-ntu
 PP₇-other AUG-NP₇-thing
 e-co saké na-ó-ka-wàn-e kwa-zyú-munya
 AUG-DEM.III₇ when REM-SM_{2SG}-DIST-find-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-PP₁-other
 ‘The other thing that you will get from the other one...’ (NF_Song17)

(41) *òzyw' ásèbèzà zyónà*

o-zyu á-sebez-á zyóna
 AUG-DEM.III₁ SM₁.REL-work-FV tomorrow
 ‘the one who will work tomorrow...’ (NF_Elic15)

Table 16.1 gives an overview of the changes that affect relative clause verbs in different TAM constructions.

Table 16.1: Tonal patterns of relative clause verbs

<i>Inflection</i>	<i>Relative clause form</i>
Present	high tone on the subject marker
Subjunctive	high tone on the subject marker
Stative	high tone on the subject marker
Remote Past Perfective	high tone on the subject marker + different melodic tone
Near Past Perfective	optional (?) high tone on the subject marker
Remote Past Imperfective	high tone on the subject marker

Near Past Imperfective	high tone on the subject marker
Near Future	–
Remote Future	–

Relative clauses are also distinguished from main clauses in the position of the verb. In a relative clause, the verb is always the first constituent. Any other constituent that appears in the relative clause appears after the verb, regardless of its status as subject, object, or adjunct, or its information structural properties. This distinguishes relative clauses from main clauses, where information structure influences word order, and where, in pragmatically neutral contexts, the subject precedes the verb (see section 16.1). An example is given in (42), where the relative clause contains both a nominal subject, *kàshùrwè* ‘the rabbit’, and a nominal object, *òzyú mùkázàà* ‘this girl’; both constituents occur after the relative clause verb.

- (42) *mbóbùryàhó nàáshèshá kàshùrwè òzyú mùkázàà*
 mbó-bu-ryahó na-á-shesh-á ka-shurwe
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that PST-SM₁-PST-marry-FV<REL> NP₁₂-rabbit
 o-zyú mu-kázana
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-girl
 ‘That is how the rabbit married this girl.’ (NF_Narr15)

Relative clauses may be headed by a demonstrative that functions as a relativizer. With subject relatives, where the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause, the demonstrative as a relativizer is optional. This is seen in the following example of a subject relative, where the demonstrative *abo* can be used, as in a), or left out, as in b).

- (43) a. *bànjòvw’ àbò bájwéngà*
 ba-njovú a-bo bá-jwéng-a
 NP₂-elephant AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-shout-FV
 ‘The elephants who shout...’
 b. *bànjòvù bájwéngà*
 ba-njovu bá-jwéng-a
 NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-shout-FV
 ‘The elephants who shout...’ (NF_Elic17)

In object relatives, where the object functions as the antecedent of the relative clause, the demonstrative functioning as a relativizer is obligatory. An example of an object relative is given in (44)a; leaving out the demonstrative is ungrammatical, as (44)b shows.

- (44) a. *bàntw’ àbò ndíbwèné*
 ba-ntú a-bo ndí-bwe_Hne
 NP₂-person AUG-DEM.III₂ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 ‘The people that I see...’

- b. **bàntù ndíbwènè*
 ba-ntu ndí-bwe_Hne
 NP₂-person SM_{1SG}.REL-see-STAT
 Intended: 'The people that I see...' (NF_Elic17)

When the antecedent is a locative, a demonstrative of class 16, 17 or 18 functioning as a relativizer, is obligatory. An example is given in (45), using the class 17 demonstrative *oko* as a relativizer. Cross-referencing of the locative antecedent on the relative clause verb through use of a locative clitic, is not allowed, as seen in (46).

- (45) *kùmùnzí òkò ndíyà kwámákàngà*
 ku-mu-nzí o-ko ndí-i-a ø-kwá-makánga
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV COP-NP₁₇-Makanga
 'The village that I go to is Makanga.'

- (46) **kùmùnzí òkò ndíyàkò kwámákàngà*
 ku-mu-nzí o-ko ndí-i-a=ko
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV=LOC₁₇
 ø-kwá-makánga
 COP-NP₁₇-Makanga
 Intended: 'The village that I go to is Makanga.'

The demonstratives of the locative classes are used as relativizers with antecedents that are marked as locative, such as the antecedent *kumunzi* 'at the village' in example (45) above, but also non-locative antecedents which only have a locative use in the relative clause, such as in example (47): the antecedent *mùsébézi* 'a job' is not locative, but has a locative use in the following relative clause, which is headed by the class 17 demonstrative *òkò*.

- (47) *kùbònàhàrá yé òkwésí mùsébézi òkò kòshákí nòkùàmbà nàbàntù*
 ku-bon-ahar-á yé o-kwesí mu-sebézi o-ko
 INF-see-NEUT-FV that SM_{2SG}-have NP₃-job AUG-DEM.III₁₇
 ka-o-shak-í no=ku-amb-a na=ba-ntu
 NEG-SM_{2SG}-want-NEG COM=INF-talk-FV COM=NP₂-person
 'It seems you have a job where you don't want to talk to people.' (NF_Narr15)

The obligatory use of the demonstrative as a relativizer, with object and locative antecedents, goes together with the absence of agreement marking on the relative clause verb with an object or locative antecedent. As discussed in chapter 9, object and locative cross-referencing is only allowed when the co-referential object or locative noun phrase is not in the same clause as the verb on which it is cross-referenced. This suggests that the obligatory demonstrative that heads these relative clauses functions as an object or locative adjunct within the relative clause.

In cleft constructions, the demonstrative is never used as a relativizer, even when the antecedent, which is the clefted element, has the role of object (see also 16.6 on cleft constructions).

- (48) *mbàntù ndí'dámà*
 N-ba-ntu ndí-dam-á
 COP-NP₂-person SM_{1SG}.REL-beat-FV
 'It's people that I beat.' (NF_Elic15)

Of the four demonstrative series used in Fwe (see section 7.2), most can be used as relativizer. In Namibian Fwe, a series III demonstrative is always used. In Zambian Fwe, a series I demonstrative is preferred, but other demonstratives are also allowed; example (49) shows that all four demonstratives can be used.

- (49) *àkàfùró àkà / àkànò / àkò / àkènà ndíbèrèkìsá*
 a-ka-furó a-ka / a-kano / a-ko / a-kena
 AUG-NP₁₂-knife AUG-DEM.I₁₂/AUG-DEM.II₁₂/AUG-DEM.III₁₂/AUG-DEM.IV₁₂
 ndí-berek-is-á
 SM_{1SG}.REL-work-CAUS-FV
 'The knife that I am using...' (ZF_Elic13)

As discussed in section 7.2.1, the tonal realization of demonstratives varies depending on their syntactic function. When used as a relativizer, the demonstrative does not have a high tone on the demonstrative stem. The demonstrative does, however, have an underlying high tone on the augment which attaches to the last syllable of the preceding word, namely the antecedent. An example is given with the noun *bànjòvù* 'elephants', which is realized without high tones in isolation, but is assigned a final high tone when followed by the demonstrative functioning as a relativizer.

- (50) a. *bànjòvù*
 ba-njovu
 NP₂-elephant
 'elephants'
- b. *bànjòvú àbò bánínítè*
 ba-njovú a-bo bá-nun-íte
 NP₂-elephant AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-become_fat-STAT
 'Elephants who are fat...' (NF_Elic17)

This high tone only occurs on the antecedent noun when a demonstrative used as relativizer is present. When the demonstrative is absent, as it may be in subject relatives, no high tone is assigned to the last syllable of the antecedent.

- (51) *bànjòvù bánínítè*
 ba-njovu bá-nun-íte
 NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-become_fat-STAT
 'Elephants who are fat...' (NF_Elic17)

The high tone of the demonstrative's augment does appear, however, when the segmental augment is not realized. This is seen in the following example, where the demonstrative *zyo* lacks the augment *o-*, but still assigns a high tone to the preceding antecedent *ònjòvú* 'elephant'.

- (52) *ònjòvú zγò ndíbwènè*
 o-ø-njovú zyo ndí-bwe_Hne
 AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant DEM.III₁ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 ‘The elephant that I see...’ (NF_Elic17)

The behavior of the augment on demonstratives in relative clauses is similar to the behavior of augments in other contexts, where the tonal and segmental form of the augment are also separated and one may occur without the other (see section 5.2).

All the previous examples contain relative clauses with an overt antecedent. Fwe also allows headless relative clauses, where the antecedent is not a constituent of the main clause but a demonstrative that functions as both antecedent and relativizer in the relative clause. Examples of headless relatives are presented in (53).

- (53) *òzyw’ ázìzγyì: òzyw’ ázìshúwírè òzyw’ ázìbwènè*
 o-zyu á-zì_H-zyì_H o-zyu á-zì_H-shu_H-íre
 AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-OM₈-know.STAT AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-OM₈-hear-STAT
 o-zyu á-zì_H-bwe_Hne
 AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-OM₈-see.STAT
 ‘The one who knows them, the one who hears them, the one who sees them.’
 (NF_Song17)

Headless relative clauses introduced by a class 16 demonstrative, *àhà*, express a temporal clause, translated as ‘when’. Noun class 16 is primarily a locative class, but is also used for expressing location in time rather than in space, as discussed in section 5.5. Fwe also has various other ways of expressing temporal clauses, which are discussed in the following sections.

- (54) *àhà báké:zγà kùkúw’ òbwátò*
 a-ha bá-ké:zy-a ku-kúw-a o-bu-áto
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-come-FV INF-call-FV AUG-NP₁₄-canoe
 ‘When they came to call the canoe...’ (NF_Narr15)
- (55) *àhà kàndírwarà nàndákàtà*
 a-ha ka-ndí-rwár-a na-ndí-a-kat-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-be_sick-FV PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-become_thin-FV
 ‘When I was sick, I was very thin.’ (ZF_Elic14)

16.5.2 Other types of dependent clauses

There are various other ways in which a dependent clause can be connected to a main clause. Dependent clauses can be marked by a free morpheme, or by a verbal affix. Table 16.2 gives an overview of the different strategies for marking dependent clauses, which will be discussed in the following sections.

Table 16.2: Markers of dependent clauses

<i>kùtí / kùtéyè / ìyé</i>	- complement ‘that’ - quotative ‘that’
----------------------------	---

	- purpose ‘(so) that’ - conditional ‘if’
<i>hâibà</i>	- conditional
<i>shàké</i>	- conditional ‘if’ - temporal ‘when’
<i>nâri</i>	- counterfactual ‘if, if not for’
<i>-shi-</i>	- conditional ‘if’

kùtí / kùtêyè / iyé ‘that, so that, if’

The marker *kùtí / kùtêyè / iyé* ‘that, so that, if’ can be used to introduce a dependent clause. This morpheme has three realizations: *kùtí* is used in Zambian Fwe, *iyé* is used in Namibian Fwe, and *kùtêyè* is used in both varieties. The forms *kùtí* and *kùtêyè* are contractions of the verb *kùtá* ‘to say’, with the complementizer *iyé* ‘that’.

The free morpheme *kùtí / kùtêyè / iyé* can introduce various types of dependent clauses. It can be used to introduce a complement clause, a dependent clause that functions as one of the arguments of the main clause. An example is in (56), where *iyé* marks a complement clause that functions as the object of the main clause verb *shòshùwírè* ‘you hear’.

- (56) *kàpá shòshùwírè iyé shàkwèsí òmúkwàmé 'kwímbari*
 kapá sha-o-shu_H-íre iyé
 or INC-SM_{2SG}-hear-STAT COMP
 sha-a-kwesí o-mú-kwamé kú-e-N-bari
 INC-SM₁-have AUG-NP₁-man NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-side
 ‘Or you hear that she now has a man on the side.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The complementizer function is seen with all three forms of the marker, as seen in the previous example (56), using the form *iyé*, in example (57), using the form *kùtí*, and in example (58), using the form *kùtêyè*.

- (57) *mbábònè kùtí cìpèpà bùryó cìbámùdàrà*
 mbo-á-bo_Hn-é kutí
 NEAR_FUT-SM₁-see-PFV.SBJV COMP
 ø-ci-pepa bu-ryó ci-bá-mu-dara
 COP-NP₇-paper NP₁₄-only PP₇-NP₂-NP₁-old_man
 ‘She will see that it is just a paper of her husband.’ (ZF_Conv13)

- (58) *ndìké:zyà kùtòndà kùtêyè ndùngwè*
 ndi-ké:zy-a ku-tónd-a kutêye ndu-ø-ngwe
 SM_{1SG}-come-FV INF-see-FV COMP COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-leopard
 ‘I came and saw that it is a leopard.’ (ZF_Narr14)

Complement clauses are often introduced by a verb of saying in the main clause, where the complement clause represents that which is said. Both direct speech, where the complement clause literally quotes what is said (example (59)), and indirect speech, where the complement clause paraphrases what is said from the perspective of the speaker (example (60)), are possible.

- (59) *rùkúngwè àké:zyà kùmutórokèrà iyé mùyé'nzángù ndìkùfwirà ènshé:*
 ø-rukúngwe a-ké:zy-a ku-mu-tórok-er-a iyé
 NP_{1a}-snake SM₁-come-FV INF-OM₁-explain-APPL-FV COMP
 mu-énz-angú ndi-ku-fw-ír-a e-nshé:
 NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}-OM_{2SG}-die-APPL-FV AUG-pity
 'Snake came to tell him: my friend, I feel pity for you.' (NF_Narr17)
- (60) *nàndisúmwìnì iyé ndákùménèkàngà*
 na-ndi-súmwìn-i iyé ndi-áku-mének-ang-a
 SM₁.PST-OM_{1SG}-tell-NPST.PFV COMP SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV
 'S/he told me that I should regularly wake up early.' (NF_Elic17)

The marker *iyé* can also be used as a quotative without an overt speech verb in the main clause, as in the following examples, where the quotative *iyé* is directly followed by the quoted speech.

- (61) *òmbwá 'ákùshwáhùrà iyé hmm òzyú mùntù kàndíhì ècí cífúhà*
 o-mbwá á-ku-shwáhur-a iyé hmm o-zyú mu-ntu
 AUG-dog CON₁-INF-give_up-FV COMP hmm AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
 ka-ndí-ha-i e-cí ci-fúha
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-give-NEG AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-bone
 'The dog then gave up. [He said] that, hmm, this person, he will not give me this bone.' (NF_Narr17)
- (62) *iyé njìnyàmà njìnyàmà indìrwárikà*
 iyé nji-N-nyama
 COMP COP₉-NP₉-meat
 nji-N-nyama í-ndi-rwa_Hr-ik-á
 COP₉-NP₉-meat SM₉.REL-OM_{1SG}-be_sick-IMP.TR-FV
 '[She said] that, it's meat. It's meat that makes me sick.' (NF_Narr17)

The marker *kùtí* / *kùtèyè* / *iyé* may introduce a dependent clause that expresses the (intended) goal of the main clause, in which case the dependent clause contains a subjunctive verbs, as in the following examples.

- (63) *ákùhá òmòyà kwínwàràrà iyé àyéndè kózywìnà òmùntù*
 á-ku-há-a o-mu-oya kú-e-ø-ɲwarará
 CON₁-INF-give-FV AUG-NP₃-soul NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-crow
 iyé a-énd-e kú-o-zywina o-mu-ntu
 COMP SM₁-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-AUG-DEM.IV₁ AUG-NP₁-person
 'Then he gave a soul to the crow, so that he can go to that person.'
 (NF_Narr17)

- (64) *mbùtí nàyi'wànè èyí shéréjì òkùtèyè àyé ndìbòózèrè*
 N-bu-tí na-í-wan-é e-í ø-shéréjì
 COP-NP₁₄-how REM.SM₁-OM₉-find-PFV.SBJVAUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-money
 okutèye a-y-é ndi-boó-z-er-e
 COMP SM₁-GO-PFV.SBJV OM_{1SG}-return-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 'How will he get this money, so that he brings it back to me?' (ZF_Conv13)

The complementizer *kùtí* / *kùtèyè* / *iyé* may also be used to introduce a dependent clause that functions as a conditional.

- (65) *mùzyí: òmfúmù kùtèè àkwèsí bānà bèná bānà bàsé páhára 'cáha*
 mu-zyí: o-ø-mfúmu kuteye a-kwesí ba-ána
 SM_{2PL}-know.STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-chief COMP SM₁-have NP₂-child
 bená ba-ána ba-sep-ahar-á cáha
 DEM.IV₂ NP₂-child SM₂-trust-NEUT-FV very
 'You know, a chief, if he has children, those children are highly respected.'
 (NF_Narr15)

- (66) *èswé tùbá'kwámè òkùtèyè tùshúwé bùryáhò ryètú èfufá rihítirizè*
 eswé tu-bá-kwamé o-kutèye tu-shu_H-é
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-man AUG-COMP SM_{1PL}-hear-PFV.SBJV
 bu-ryahó ri-etú e-ø-fufá ri-hi_Ht-íriz-e
 NP₁₄-like_{that} PP₅-POSS_{1PL} AUG-NP₅-jealousy SM₅-pass-INT.CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 'Us men, if we hear like that, our jealousy is very big.' (ZF_Conv13)

háibà 'if, when'

The free morpheme *háibà* 'if, when' can be used to introduce a conditional clause ('if...') or a temporal clause ('when...'), as shown in examples (67)–(69).

- (67) *háibà mbwáshòk' ómvúra kàndiyèndì*
 háiba mbo-á-sho_Hk-é o-ø-mvúra ka-ndi-é-nd-i
 if NEAR_FUT-SM_{1a}-rain-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP_{1a}-rain NEG-SM_{1SG}-go-NEG
 'If it rains, I will not go.' (NF_Elic15)

- (68) *háibà ènyázi yàkàkùnjórèrì ñjòrò*
 háiba e-N-nyázi i-a-ka-ku-ñjór-er-i
 if AUG-NP₉-mistress SM₉-PST-DIST-OM_{2SG}-write-APPL-NPST.PFV
 ø-ñjoró
 NP₅-letter
 'If your mistress has written you a letter...' (ZF_Conv13)

- (69) *èfoni háibà mbò'rírè òitábè*
 e-ø-foni háiba mbo-í-rir-é
 AUG-NP₉-phone if NEAR_FUT-SM₉-cry-PFV.SBJV
 o-i_H-tab-é
 SM_{2SG}-OM₉-answer-PFV.SBJV
 'The phone, when it rings, you must answer it.' (NF_Elic17)

The word *hâibà* is a borrowing from Lozi *haiba* ‘if’ (Burger 1960: 78). In Fwe, it may occur on its own, as in the previous examples, or it may combine with the native complementizer *kùtí* (and variations thereof, see above), as in the following example.

- (70) *hâibà kùtényè siànàmání mênjì kàzì'yangà kúmìrákà*
háiba kutéye si-a-na-man-í ma-ínji
 when COMP INC-SM₆-PST-finish-NPST.PFV NP₆-water
ka-zí-ya-áng-a kú-mi-ráka
 PST.IPFV-SM₁₀-GO-HAB-FV NP₁₇-NP₄-kraal
 ‘When the water is finished, they would go to the kraals.’ (NF_Narr17)

shaké ‘if, when’

The free morpheme *shaké* ‘when, if’ is used to introduce a dependent clause that is either conditional (examples (71)–(72)), or temporal (examples (73)–(74)). The verb in dependent clauses with *shaké* is in the subjunctive mood. The morpheme itself is realized as *shaká* in Zambian Fwe, and as either *shaké* or *saké* in Namibian Fwe. The interchangeability of /s/ and /sh/ is also seen in other grammatical morphemes (see section 2.2.2). The marker *shaké* is derived from the lexical verb *-shàkà* ‘want’.

- (71) *òzyú mùntù shàkà ndimùshèshè ndimùkwànìsà kàpá kàndimùkwànìsì*
o-zyú mu-ntu shaká ndi-mu-shésh-e
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person if SM_{1SG}-OM₁-marry-PFV.SBJV
ndi-mu-kwan-is-á kapá ka-ndi-mu-kwan-ís-i
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁-fit-CAUS-FV or NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁-fit-CAUS-FV
 ‘This person, if I marry her, will I manage her, or will I not manage her?’
 (ZF_Conv13)

- (72) *shaké bàké:zyè bàtùbùrè hànò mbòbátùcìrìrè*
shaké ba-ké:zy-e ba-tu_H-bur-é
 if SM₂-come-PFV.SBJV SM₂-OM_{1PL}-miss-PFV.SBJV
hano mbo-bá-tu_H-cìrìr-é
 DEM.II₁₆ NEAR_FUT-SM₂-OM_{1PL}-follow-PFV.SBJV
 ‘If he comes and does not find us here, he will follow us.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (73) *shaké ndí-ka-hur-é kú-N-júo*
shaké ndí-ka-hur-é kú-N-júo
 when SM_{1SG}.REL-DIST-arrive-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-NP₉-house
ndi-ka-rá:r-a bu-ryó
 SM_{1SG}-DIST-sleep-FV NP₁₄-just
 ‘When I arrive home, I will just sleep.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (74) *wíná òmùndaré sàké mùwánè mùkàcìncìsà èyòmbè*
winá o-mu-ndaré saké mu-wán-e
 DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-maize when SM_{2PL}-find-PFV.SBJV
mu-ka-cinc-is-á e-N-ñombe
 SM_{2PL}-DIST-change-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁₀-cattle
 ‘That maize, when you get it, you exchange for cattle.’ (ZF_Conv13)

***shi-* conditional**

The verbal post-initial prefix *shi-* marks a dependent clause with a conditional interpretation. This prefix is glossed as ‘conditional’ COND.

- (75) *òshìshónj’ ónjòvù òkwàtìwá*
 o-shi-sho_Hnj-á o-ø-njovu o-kwat-iw-á
 SM_{2SG}-COND-shoot-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant SM₁-catch-PASS-FV
 ‘If you shoot an elephant, you will be caught.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (76) *òshìpángà búti tùzwírà hábùsò*
 o-shi-páng-a bu-tí tu-zw-ír-a há-bu-so
 SM_{2SG}-COND-do-FV NP₁₄-SO SM_{1PL}-come_out-APPL-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₄-front
 ‘If you do like this, we will make a profit.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The post-initial conditional prefix *shi-* resembles the post-initial persistive prefix *shí-*, which marks persistive aspect, i.e. a subtype of imperfective aspect that highlights that an event is still ongoing (see section 11.4). It is unclear if conditional *shi-* and persistive *shí-* are two functions of the same morpheme, or accidentally homophonous. According to Nurse (2008), there are two separate morphemes common in Bantu that are a reflex of *ki-; one expressing persistive, and one expressing a situative, possibly both with a different tone. For Fwe, it is not possible to establish if there is a tonal difference between persistive *shí-* and conditional *shi-*. Persistive *shí-* is underlyingly high-toned, but the underlying tones of conditional *shi-* cannot be established, because it is only ever used with verbs in the present construction, and therefore always combines with melodic tone pattern 4, the deletion of underlying tones. It can therefore not be established if the low-toned realization of conditional *shi-* is a reflex of an underlyingly toneless morpheme, or the result of the tonal pattern imposed by the present construction.

Counterfactuals

There are two markers that introduce counterfactuals, a type of conditional dependent clause in which the condition is presented as not met. A conditional clause that contains a verb is introduced by the marker *nári*, the main clause verb is marked with the remoteness prefix *na-/ne-/ni-*.

- (77) *nári nónditúsì nìndàkùríhì*
 nári nó-ndi-tus-i ni-ndi-a-ku-rih-í
 if SM_{2SG}.PST-OM_{1SG}-help-NPST.PFV REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{2SG}-pay-NPST.PFV
 ‘If you had helped me [but you did not], I would have paid you.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (78) *nári nómutúkì nánàkùkùtì*
 nári nó-mu-tuk-í ná-na-ku-kut-i
 if SM_{2SG}.PST-OM₁-insult-NPST.PFV REM-SM₁.PST-OM_{2SG}-curse-NPST.PFV
 ‘If you had insulted her/him, s/he would have cursed you.’ (NF_Elic17)

The remoteness prefix used on the main clause verb in a counterfactual is the same remoteness prefix used in, for instance, the remote past perfective. When the main

clause verb in a counterfactual is in the remote past perfective, the remoteness prefix is stacked onto the prefix marking remote past, as in (79).

- (79) *nári nìmwáké:zyà zyónà nìmwáké:zyà kùshàngà nà mùyé'nzàngù*
 nári ni-mú-a-ké:zy-a zyóna
 if PST-SM_{2PL}-PST-come-FV yesterday
ni-ni-mú-a-ké:zy-a ku-shangan-a mu-yénz-angú
 REM-PST-SM_{2PL}-PST-come-FV INF-meet-FV NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
 'If you had come yesterday [but you did not], you would have met my friend.'
 (NF_Elic15)

The use of the remoteness prefix to mark temporal remoteness as well as counterfactual meaning can be united in the model developed by Botne and Kershner (2008). They conceptualize tense not as a linear timeline, but as a number of separate cognitive “worlds” or domains, which can be associated, i.e. close to the here and now, or dissociated. The remoteness prefix *na-/ne-/ni-* in Fwe could be analyzed as a marker of the dissociated domain, marking temporal remoteness in the case of the remote past perfective or remote future, and marking irrealis in the case of the counterfactual.

Counterfactuals may also contain a conditional clause that lacks a verb, in which case they are introduced by the marker *shári*.

- (80) *shári òmwézi nèkùsìhà*
 shári o-mu-ézi ne-ku-sih-á
 if AUG-NP₃-moon REM-SM₁₇-be_dark-FV
 'If not for the moon, it would be dark.' (NF_Elic17)
- (81) *ákùbá'téyè shári zyùzyú mwâncè nìndá'yéndà néyè nìnìndámàn' ó'káfwà*
 á-ku-bá-téyè shári zyù-zyú mu-ânce
 CON₁-INF-OM₂-say_that if EMPH₁-DEM.I₁ NP₁-child
 ni-ndí-a-énd-a ne=ye
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV COM=PERS_{3SG}
 ni-ni-ndí-a-man-á o-ka-fw-á
 REM-REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-FV AUG-INF.DIST-die-FV
 'She told them: if not for this very child, that I went with, I would have died there.' (NF_Narr15)

16.6 Cleft constructions

This section discusses cleft constructions in Fwe, which are used to mark that a constituent is in focus. A constituent that is in focus contains new information, not recoverable from the pragmatic context. However, the use of a cleft construction is not obligatory for presenting new information in Fwe; information can be new or unrecoverable from the pragmatic context even when it is not presented in a cleft construction. An example is given in (82), which answers the question ‘what did you buy?’. Although the bicycle is new information and the fact that the speaker bought something is old information, no cleft construction is used to present the new information.

- (82) *nìndákàùr' énjìngà*
 ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á e-N-jinga
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-FV AUG-NP₉-bicycle
 'I bought a bicycle.' (NF_Elic15)

Even though a focus interpretation is available outside a cleft construction, clefts are extremely common in Fwe, especially in Zambian Fwe. A cleft construction consists of two clauses, a main clause and a relative clause. The main clause consists of a copulative prefix and a nominal, and the relative clause, which can be much longer and more complex, modifies the constituent in the main clause. An example of a cleft construction is given in (83), consisting of the clefted element *ndìyòmbè* 'It's a cow' and the relative clause *ndí'shákà* 'that I want'.

- (83) *ndìyòmbè ndí'shákà*
 ndi-N-ɲombe ndí-shak-á
 clefted element relative clause
 COP-NP₉-COW SM_{1SG}.REL-want-FV
 'It's a cow that I want.' (NF_Elic15)

The copulative prefix on the clefted element can be the basic copula *N-* or the definite copulative prefix (which differs in form according to the noun class, see section 7.8 on the copulative), but as clefts are mainly used to present new information, the copulative forms expressing definiteness are rarely used.

The clefted element is always a nominal, but rarely a complex noun phrase. If the noun that is clefted is modified by a connective, only the head noun is clefted, and the connective modifying it is expressed in the relative clause. This is illustrated in (84), where the noun *mbóbùrótù* 'it is good' is clefted, and the connective *bókùshéshà* modifying it is expressed in the relative clause modifying the clefted element.

- (84) *kònò mbóbùrótù ndíbwenè bókùshéshà zywin' ákìtùtìtè*
 konó mbó-bu-rótu ndí-bwe_Hne
 but COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-good SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 bu-ó=ku-shésh-a zywina á-kitut-íte
 PP₁₄-CON=INF-marry-FV DEM.IV₁ SM₁.REL-be_educated-STAT
 'But I think that it is good to marry one who is educated.' (Literally: 'It is goodness that I see in marrying an educated one.') (ZF_Conv13)

Less complex nominal modifiers, such as a possessive or a numeral, are allowed in the clefted element, as in the following examples; the clefted element is underlined.

- (85) *ndìwá' ryángù kàndíkèkérà*
 ndi-ø-wá ri-angú ka-ndí-ke_Hker-á
 COP₅-NP₅-field PP₅-POSS_{1SG} PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-plough-FV
 'It was my field that I was ploughing.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (86) *n̄jicéci yònké: tókàbírà*
 n̄ji-ø-céci i-onké t̄ú-kabir-á
 COP₉-NP₉-church PP₅-one SM_{1PL}.REL-enter-FV
 ‘It’s the same church that we go to.’ (ZF_Narr15)

The clefted element does not need to consist of a full noun, but can also consist of a demonstrative, as in (87), or a personal pronoun, as in (88)

- (87) *mómò n̄bákìtòbòhérà*
 N-o-mó ni-bá-ki_H-to_Hboh-er-á
 COP-AUG-DEM.III₁₈ PST-SM₂-REFL-CONSOLE-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘That’s how they consoled themselves.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (88) *ndíw’ ózyá:kà*
 ndi-wé ó-zyá:k-a
 COP-PERS_{2SG} SM_{2SG}.REL-build-FV
 ‘It is you who builds.’ (NF_Elic15)

The clefted element is modified by a relative clause. Section 16.5.1 has discussed the formal properties of relative clauses, showing that they are marked by a special relative clause form of the verb, which is mostly distinguished in tone; the verb in the initial position of the relative clause, and an optional demonstrative functioning as a relativizer. A relative clause in a cleft construction never takes the demonstrative functioning as a relativizer; the relative clause verb immediately follows the clefted element. As with other relative clauses, there is no prosodic break between the antecedent and the relative clause; the clefted element and the relative clause form a single prosodic unit, as seen in (89), where the clefted element *mùndaré* ‘maize’, is not subject to high tone retraction, which would take place if the clefted element were in a separate clause.

- (89) *mùndaré 'ndí'kúnà*
 N-mu-ndaré ndí-ku_Hn-á
 COP-NP₃-maize SM_{1SG}.REL-plant-FV
 ‘It’s maize that I plant.’ (ZF_Elic14)

When the clefted element is an object or a locative adjunct, it is not cross-referenced on the relative clause verb with an object marker or locative clitic. Thus the prosodic and morphosyntactic properties of cleft constructions suggest that they do not behave as a biclausal construction. Again, this is a property that cleft constructions share with relative clauses; as shown in section 16.5.1, object relatives do not cross-reference the object antecedent on the relative clause verb.

Any kind of constituent can be clefted; examples where the clefted element is a subject, object, locative, adverb, or temporal adverb, are given below.

- (90) subject cleft
ndúmbwá ábbòzà
 ndu-ø-mbwá á-bbo_Hz-á
 COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁.REL-bark-FV
 ‘It’s a dog who barks.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (91) object cleft
hápé ndígámbùtì ndíz yàbèrè
 hapé ndi-ø-gámbuti ndí-zyabere
 again COP₅-NP₅-boot SM_{1SG}.REL-wear.STAT
 ‘Again, it’s boots that I am wearing.’ (ZF_Narr13)
- (92) locative cleft
shùnù kùmùnzì ndíyà
 shunu ø-ku-mu-nzi ndí-y-a
 today COP-NP₁₇-NP₃-village SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV
 ‘Today, it is to home that I go.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (93) adverbial cleft
mbóbùryáhò nìyápàngàhàrírà
 mbó-bu-ryáho ni-í-a-pang-ahar-ir-á
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that PST-SM₉-PST-do-NEUT-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘That is how it happened.’ (ZF_Narr15)
- (94) adverbial cleft
mbùryó ndízánà
 N-bu-ryó ndí-zán-a
 COP-NP₁₄-just SM_{1SG}.REL-play-FV
 ‘I’m just joking.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (95) temporal cleft
ndìshúnù ndàtátìkì kè:zyà kùnù
 ndi-shúnu ndi-a-tátik-i ke:zy-a kunu
 COP-today SM_{1SG}-PST-start-NPST.PFV come-FV DEM.II₁₇
 ‘It’s today that I started to come here.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions can be embedded into longer sentences, where a constituent can be moved to the position before the clefted element (see also section 16.2 on left dislocation). This left-dislocated constituent behaves like other left-dislocated constituents in that it functions as a topic, and that it is prosodically marked as extracausal, i.e. it is affected by clause-final tonal processes such as high tones realized as falling, as in the left-dislocated constituent *òbú:ci* in (96).

- (96) *òbú:ci, ndìmpùkà názàbúpàngà*
 o-bú:ci ndi-N-puká ná-zi-a-bú-pang-a
 AUG-NP₁₄-honey COP-NP₁₀-beepST-SM₁₀-PST-OM₁₄-make-FV<REL>
 ‘Honey, it’s bees who make it.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions are used to mark focus on the clefted element. A constituent is in focus when a speaker wants to mark that it contains information that is contrary to what the hearer knows, believes or presupposes. Example (97) answers the question ‘when did you become ill?’, showing that the speaker becoming ill is old information, but the time at which this happens is not. To mark this as new information, the speaker uses a cleft construction.

- (97) *ndìzyónà nàndárwàrà*
 ndi-zyóna na-ndí-a-rwár-a
 COP-yesterday PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-become_sick-FV<REL>
 ‘It was yesterday that I became sick.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions are not only used to mark information as new, but also to mark information as contradicting the beliefs of the hearer (or rather, the beliefs that the speaker assumes the hearer has). An example of this type of focus, called ‘counter-presuppositional’ by Dik (1997), is given in (98). This example contains direct speech taken from a narrative in which a girl becomes angry at a rabbit who is weeding in her field, pulling out crops instead of weeds. The girl corrects the rabbit by explaining that it is not maize that people usually weed, but grass, using a cleft construction.

- (98) *ndìsózú 'bàrimàngà*
 ndi-ø-sozú bá-rim-àng-a
 COP₅-NP₅-grass SM₂.REL-weed-HAB-FV
 ‘It’s grass that people usually weed.’ (NF_Narr15)

Another example where a cleft construction marks counter-presuppositional focus is given in (99), from a conversation between two sisters which is part of a narrative. Previously, the older sister did not believe her younger sister; now that the younger sister has provided proof, the older sister concedes that she was in fact right.

- (99) *njì'nítì wákuàmbà*
 njí-N-níti ó-aku-amb-a
 COP₉-NP₉-truth SM_{2SG}.REL-NPST.IPFV-speak-FV
 ‘It’s the truth that you were speaking.’ (NF_Narr15)

Another type of focus for which cleft constructions are used is exclusive or restrictive focus; the speaker uses a cleft construction to indicate that only the referent in focus, and no other, is meant, combined with the adverb *bu-ryo* ‘only’.

- (100) *màbére bùryò ndíbyàrà*
 N-ma-beré bu-ryo ndí-byár-a
 COP-NP₆-millet NP₁₄-only SM_{1SG}.REL-plant-FV
 ‘It’s only millet that I plant.’ (ZF_Elic14)

In a cleft construction, it is usually only the clefted element that is interpreted as focal. One exception is made forthetic sentences, where all the information is new and therefore the entire utterance is in focus, and not just one constituent. Fwe also uses the cleft construction forthetic sentences; though only one element (either the subject or the object) is clefted, the entire construction is interpreted as being in focus. An example is given in (101); the context for this utterance is that a noise was heard, and the speaker was asked what happened. In this context, neither the breaking nor the fact that it was a cup that broke are known to the hearer, yet only the cup is marked as the clefted element, and the verb expressing the breaking, though equally focal, is expressed in the relative clause.

- (101) *njĩnkómókí yàpwàcúkì*
 njĩ-N-komokí i-a-pwacúk-i
 COP₉-NP₉-cup SM₉-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘A cup broke.’ (NF_Elic15)

Another example ofthetic focus using a cleft is given in (102). In this context, the speaker was asked if his wife is at home. Although the hearer does not know that the wife is fetching something, nor what she is fetching, only the constituent *ménjì* ‘water’ is expressed as the clefted element, and the verb *bá'tékà* ‘she fetches’ is expressed in the relative clause.

- (102) *tàbènáhò ménjì bá'tékà*
 ta-ba-ina=hó N-ma-ínji bá-te_Hk-á
 NEG-SM₂-be=LOC₁₆ COP-NP₆-water SM₂.REL-fetch-FV
 ‘She’s not here, she’s fetching water.’ (ZF_Elic14)

So the use of a cleft construction either focuses the clefted element, or expressesthetic focus. In order to focus the verb, a fronted-infinitive construction (FIC) is used, which is essentially a cleft construction in which the inflected verb is copied as an infinitive and clefted. The infinitive form which forms the clefted element is a nominalized infinitive, which behaves like nouns of class 15. As the infinitive functions as a clefted element, it is marked with a copulative prefix, which is realized as zero before a voiceless consonant (see section 7.8 on the form of copulatives). The copulative prefix has an alternative, longer form which is used on definite constituents, and for class 15 (the class of nominalized infinitives), this form of the copulative is (*n*)*kó-*. This definite copulative can also be used to mark the infinitive in a FIC.

- (103) *kùshèkà bá'shéka*
 ø-ku-shek-a bá-shek-á
 COP-NP₁₅-laugh-FV SM₂.REL-laugh-FV
 ‘They laugh.’

- (104) *kókùmàná ndí'mána*
 kó-ku-man-a ndí-man-á
 COP.DEF-NP₁₅-finish-FV SM_{15G}.REL-finish-FV
 ‘I just finished.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The fronted-infinitive construction is also used to mark progressive aspect. This use, as well as other formal aspects of the construction, are discussed in section 11.1.1 of chapter 11 on verbal aspect. An example of the use of the FIC to express focus on the verb is given in (105), in which the speaker warns someone not to drink the tea yet, as it is still cooling down.

- (105) *èntí: kùhórà í'hórà*
 e-N-tí: ku-hór-a í-ho_Hr-á
 AUG-NP₉-tea INF-COOL-FV SM₉.REL-COOL-FV
 ‘The tea is cooling down.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Another example of the use of the FIC to express focus on the verb is given in (106), which is the answer to the question ‘what did you do today?’.

- (106) *kùkékèrà kàndíkèkèrà*
 ku-kéker-a ka-ndí-ke_Hker-á
 INF-plough-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-plough-FV
 ‘I was ploughing.’ (ZF_Elic14)

In many cases where the FIC marks verb focus, the verb is also interpretable as progressive. There are, however, examples of the fronted-infinitive construction where the verb is in focus, but not progressive. This is the case in (107), where the inflected verb of the FIC is in the near past perfective. As this is a perfective tense (see section 10.3.1 on the near past perfective), a progressive interpretation is not possible. This sentence is uttered in a context where an injured child is brought to the clinic, and the clinic personnel inquires how the injury came about.

- (107) *òmúwáncè kùgwà nágwì*
 o-mu-áncé ku-gw-a ná-gw-i
 AUG-NP₁-child INF-fall-FV SM₁.PST-fall-NPST.PFV
 ‘The child has fallen down.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Although the FIC can either express verb focus or progressive aspect, its focal use must be older, as the form of the FIC is that of a cleft, a construction used for expressing focus. As discussed in section 11.1.1, the progressive interpretation of the FIC in Fwe probably developed out of its focal meaning.

The use of the fronted-infinitive construction differs between Namibian and Zambian Fwe. In Zambian Fwe, a simple present verb may not occur on its own, but only in a FIC.

- (108) a. **ndìshékà*
 b. *kùshékà ndí’shékà*
 ku-shek-a ndí-shek-á
 INF-live-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-laugh-FV
 ‘I am laughing/I laugh.’ (ZF_Elic14)

A verb may occur without the FIC if it is combined with an object, an adverb or a subject, though in the latter case the use of the FIC is still preferred. In Namibian Fwe, however, an inflected verb is allowed outside the FIC, even if no other constituent is present. The use of the FIC in Zambian Fwe whenever the verb is the only element in the sentence is related to the focal meaning of the FIC; when no other constituent is present, focus must be marked on the verb.

Cleft constructions are also used in questions, where the question word functions as the clefted element. Examples with the question words *-ni* ‘who’, *-nji* ‘what’, *kwi* ‘where’, and *bu-ti* ‘how’ are given below.

- (109) *ndìní náàṇánk' òndóngò*
 ndi-ní ná-a-ṇánk-a o-ø-ndóngo
 COP-who SM₁-PST-peel-FV<REL> AUG-NP_{1a}-groundnut
 'Who has peeled the groundnuts?' (ZF_Elic14)
- (110) *cìnjí báténdà*
 ø-ci-ṇjí bá-ténd-a
 COP-NP₇-what SM₂.REL-do-FV
 'What are they doing?'
- (111) *nkòkwí 'múyà*
 N-kokwí mú-y-a
 COP-where SM_{2PL}-go-FV
 'Where are you going?' (NF_Elic15)
- (112) *mbùtí mwàbúkì*
 N-bu-tí mu-a-búk-i
 COP-NP₁₄-how SM_{2PL}-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
 'How did you wake up?' (morning greeting)

17 Epilogue: language contact in the history of Fwe

This thesis has given a grammatical description of the Fwe language. It has focused on a synchronic description of the language, rather than on the origin and development of the specific structures as they occur today. In this chapter, I will take a diachronic perspective, and consider the role that contact with speakers of Khoisan languages has played in the history of Fwe, which features currently found in Fwe are likely to be contact-induced, and what putative prehistoric contact situation can best explain their occurrence.

17.1 Prehistoric contact

The geographic location where Fwe is spoken is situated at the edge of the Bantu-speaking area. It borders on areas where, at least up until recently, Khoisan languages were the dominant languages. “Khoisan” is alternatively spelled “Khoesan”, as done by Vossen (2013), or “Khoesaan”, which is preferred as a phonologically more correct spelling by Haacke (2010: 201). As the term “Khoisan” is coined by academics, and does not exist as a word in any of the languages it refers to, I consider the attempt at phonological accuracy unnecessary, and will use the more widespread term “Khoisan”. Khoisan has long been recognized as a phylum, initially implying a genetic unity (Greenberg 1963), but more recently as a group of five genetically unrelated language families that share the typologically highly unusual feature of having click consonants as regular phonemes. Within southern Africa, three Khoisan language families are represented; the Tuu language family in South Africa and adjacent areas in Botswana, the Kx’a language family, consisting of the Ju language cluster in northern Namibia (spilling over into Botswana and Angola), and the language ǀHoan in Botswana, and the Khoe-Kwadi family, consisting of the now extinct Kwadi language formerly spoken in Angola and the close-knit Khoe family, covering most of central Botswana and Namibia.

There are a number of indications that contact between Fwe and contact between speakers of one or more Khoisan languages has played a role. The clearest sign is the use of phonemic clicks in Fwe, as discussed in section 2.2.8 (see also Bostoen and Sands 2012; Gunnink to appear; Gunnink et al. 2015). Clicks are not reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Meeussen 1967: 83), but are native consonants in Khoisan languages, where clicks have a very high functional load, that is, they have a large number of click phonemes that are used in a large proportion of the vocabulary (Güldemann and Stoneking 2008; Sands and Güldemann 2009). In Bantu languages, clicks only occur in a number of Bantu languages spoken in southern Africa. It is thus widely accepted that clicks in Bantu languages are the result of contact with Khoisan languages (Pakendorf et al. 2017).

The specific Khoisan language(s) that Fwe has been in contact with can be identified by looking at ongoing contact situations, and at the etymologies of lexical borrowings. Ongoing contact takes place between speakers of Namibian Fwe and speakers of (West-Caprivi) Khwe, which is spoken in scattered villages throughout Namib-

ia's Zambezi region (Boden 2009; Brenzinger 1998; Jones and Dieckmann 2014). Brenzinger (1998) also reports small Khwe-speaking communities in south-western Zambia, but I could not confirm this during my fieldwork.⁴⁵

Historically, however, contact between Fwe and Khoisan languages must have been different. Gunnink et al. (2015) report Fwe click words with both Khwe and Ju etymologies, providing evidence for historical contact with Ju languages as well, even though they are no longer spoken in the close vicinity of Fwe. Evidence for historical contact between Fwe and speakers of Ju varieties also comes from molecular anthropology; Fwe speakers carry significant percentages of haplogroups in the female line that are typical of Ju speakers, though of a divergent branch with respect to those found in modern day Ju speakers (Barbieri et al. 2013). Pakendorf et al. (2017: 28) interpret this as contact between Fwe speakers and Khoisan groups that have now disappeared.

Both the genetic and the linguistic data show that Fwe speakers have been in contact with Khoisan speakers, and that both speakers of Ju languages and the Khwe language must have been involved. The clearest linguistic outcome of this contact is the acquisition of phonemic clicks, but Gunnink et al. (2015) also note lexical borrowings from Khoisan, as well as structural influence in the form of calques and head-final compounds, and nominal suffixes (see also Güldemann 1999). This shows that the impact of Khoisan contact on Fwe has been varied, and that various grammatical domains have been affected. It also raises the possibility that even more Fwe features can be identified that have been influenced by contact with speakers of Khoisan languages. In the following sections, I test this possibility by discussing a number of Fwe features that are unexpected from a Bantu perspective. First, however, I introduce a number of diagnostic criteria that can be used to determine whether a specific linguistic feature has been influenced by language contact.

17.2 Diagnosing contact

Proving that a certain linguistic feature in one language is the result of contact with another language is a complex, multi-step process, and it is often not possible to complete all the steps due to a lack of data. The first step is to establish that contact between the two languages has actually taken place (Thomason 2017); as discussed above, the presence of both Khwe and Ju loanwords in Fwe proves this. The next step is to identify features that Fwe shares between Khwe and Ju. Such features can be analyzed as the result of language contact, when the feature is inherited in the donor language, and is not inherited in the recipient language (Thomason 2006: 347).

These last two steps are the most difficult to complete, and run into the most speculation. Making the case that a certain Fwe feature is not inherited can be done by comparing Fwe to its Bantu sister languages. The Bantu language family is a close-knit genealogical unit, consisting of 300 to 600 different languages (depending on one's definition of language versus dialect). Some of the typical characteristics of Ban-

⁴⁵ That is not to say that Khwe speakers are not or no longer present in Fwe-speaking areas South-Western Zambia. Khwe-speakers are most likely also fluent in one or more surrounding Bantu languages, and as they are regarded very negatively by their Fwe- and Mbukushu speaking neighbors, it is likely that they would keep their Khwe identity to themselves.

tu languages include an open syllable, the use of contrastive tone, a highly agglutinative morphology, and SVO as a basic word order, with the expected head – modifier order.

In order to establish if a certain Fwe feature is likely to be inherited from Bantu, this typological profile can be used as a reference. Furthermore, Proto-Bantu reconstructions, both grammatical (Meeussen 1967) and lexical (Bastin et al. 2002), can serve as a frame of reference. Insight into the recent developments of Fwe can be gleaned from lower level historical work. Detailed studies based on lexicostatistics (de Luna 2010) and regular sound change (Bostoen 2009) have situated Fwe as part of a subgroup named Bantu Botatwe. Within Bantu Botatwe, Fwe is the only language with phonemic clicks. That Khoisan influence sets Fwe apart from its sister languages is also corroborated by genetic studies, which show that Khoisan gene flow is much higher in Fwe speaking populations than in populations speaking other Bantu Botatwe languages (Barbieri et al. 2013; Pakendorf et al. 2017). Fwe is thus clearly the Bantu Botatwe language that has undergone the most linguistic influence from Khoisan. In other Bantu Botatwe languages, Khoisan influence was much smaller or possibly even absent. Therefore, if certain linguistic features in Fwe are not found in any of its close linguistic relatives, they may have developed as the result of contact with Khoisan.

Here, however, comparison is hindered by a lack of data. As discussed in section 1.1, Fwe's closest linguistic relative is Shanjo, a virtually undescribed language; the only available data are the phoneme inventory and lexemes in Bostoen (2009). The other members of the western branch of Bantu Botatwe, to which Fwe and Shanjo belong, are Subiya, Mbalangwe, and Totela. Subiya is known from the grammar by Jacottet (1896); Totela is described by Crane (2011; 2013; 2014), but for Mbalangwe, the only available data is a short grammar sketch in Baumbach (1997). So although historical-linguistic research has proven the genetic unity of the Bantu Botatwe subgroup, very little is still known of the specific linguistic features of Proto-Bantu Botatwe, due to the lack of data on many of the current Bantu Botatwe languages. The presence or absence of a specific Fwe feature in other Bantu Botatwe languages can therefore not always be conclusively proven.

Based on comparison with living Bantu languages and historical reconstruction, both on the level of Bantu Botatwe and on Bantu in general, hypotheses can be made about whether a specific Fwe feature is likely to be inherited. If it is not, a possible alternative explanation is that Fwe acquired it through contact with Khwe or one of the Ju languages. In order to make this claim, it first needs to be shown that the relevant feature is present in Khwe or Ju, which hinges on the documentation of these languages. Khwe is well-described, with an extensive grammar and dictionary by Kilian-Hatz (2003; 2008); see also the work by Köhler (1989; 1991; 1997). Documentation of the Ju language cluster is less comprehensive. Description of the Jul'hoan variety is the most extensive (see e.g. Dickens 1994; 2005; Snyman 1975; 1997, among others). Heine and König's dialect grammar (2015) is also a valuable source on the different Ju varieties.

The next step is to show that a feature is not only present in Khwe or Ju, but is also inherited in these languages, in order to eliminate the hypothesis that its occurrence in both Khoisan and Fwe could be the result of transfer from Fwe to Khoisan. This,

too, is hindered by a lack of data. Khoisan languages have a long history of language endangerment and extinction. Many Khoisan languages are likely to have become extinct before they could be documented, and of the Khoisan languages spoken today, many of the smaller languages and varieties remain undocumented (Chebanne and Nthapelelang 2000; Chebanne 2008). Hypotheses about whether a specific Khoisan feature is inherited are therefore only as strong as the documentation on which they are based.

Khwe is a member of the Khoe family, which in itself forms a family with the now extinct Kwadi language (Güldemann 2004; Güldemann and Elderkin 2010). Extensive historical-reconstructive work on the Khoe languages has been done by Voßen (1997). This provides an opportunity to verify if specific Fwe features that are present in Khwe are also likely to be inherited in Khwe, if they are reconstructed to Proto-Khoe (or possibly to one of its lower branches).

The Ju languages form a tight-knit language or even dialect cluster (Heine and König 2015), which form a single family with the ǀHoan language spoken in Botswana (Heine and Honken 2010). Little work has been done in the reconstruction of Proto-Kx'a or Proto-Ju (though see Heine and Honken (2010); Heine and König (2015); Sands (2010)).

In conclusion, specific Fwe features can be attributed to contact with Khoisan when the feature is shared by Fwe and a Khoisan language, is unlikely to be inherited in Fwe due to its absence in Bantu in general, and is likely to be inherited in the putative Khoisan donor language. This straightforward situation is complicated, however, not only by a lack of data and (historical) analysis, but also by the fact that there is not necessarily a clear divide between language-internal and contact-induced language changes. Rather, a specific linguistic change may be the result of multiple causation (Thomason 2006; 2008): language contact may extend certain native constructions, and similarly, constructions introduced through language contact may subsequently undergo language-internal developments.

17.3 Khoisan influence on Fwe

The following sections will highlight a number of features found in Fwe that have possibly been influenced by Khoisan languages. All these features have been discussed in the preceding chapters.

17.3.1 Phonemes

The clearest case of Khoisan influence on Fwe structure is found in its phonology, namely its acquisition of phonemic clicks. Clicks are relatively marginal in Fwe, however. There are only four click phonemes, as compared to Khoisan languages where inventories of 20 up to 80 click phonemes are common, and they only occur in about 80 lexical items, many of which belong to specialized vocabulary relating to fish, plants, and insects (Gunnink et al. 2015). In the northernmost variety of Fwe spoken in Zambia, clicks have been lost. As Gunnink (to appear) shows, the replacement patterns of clicks in northern Fwe when compared to southern Fwe show that northern Fwe must have had clicks in the past but lost them, rather than never having acquired clicks at all.

Other possible cases of phonemes borrowed from Khoisan languages are much more difficult to identify. Fwe has a series of voiced stops /bb, d, g/ which are not direct reflexes of Proto-Bantu *b, *d, *g, and therefore appear to be borrowed, but no clear cases are identified where a Fwe lexeme with a voiced stop has a Khoisan etymology.

17.3.2 Nominal suffixes

As discussed in section 6.1, Fwe has a number of deverbal derivational strategies, most of which consist of a single vowel suffix and have a clear Bantu origin. One derivational suffix, however, does not fit this pattern: it has a NCV shape *-ntu* rather than a single vowel, and unlike all other derivational suffixes, it imposes its own tonal pattern on the verbal stem it combines with. Formally, this suffix is of Bantu origin, corresponding to the nominal root *-ntu* used in the Fwe nouns *mu-ntu* ‘person’, *bu-ntu* ‘humanity’, but also *ci-ntu* ‘thing’. Furthermore, reflexes of the Proto-Bantu root **-ntù* are extremely wide-spread in Bantu, commonly with the meanings ‘person’ or ‘thing’ (Bastin et al. 2002). The development of this originally nominal root to a deverbal suffix is, however, unattested in Bantu (one exception is the Bantu language Herero, spoken in northern and central Namibia, where compounds with *-ndu* as the reflex of **-ntù* are attested, Möhlig and Kavari 2008: 106–107). It is also unlikely to have grammaticalized without outside influence in Fwe; like all Bantu languages, Fwe has a strict head-initial structure, and therefore grammaticalization tends to lead to new prefixes, rather than new suffixes. Rather, contact with Khoisan languages is likely to have played a role in the development of this suffix. In Khwe, nouns are derived from verbs with suffixes that are historically derived from the nouns *xó* ‘thing’ and *khóé* ‘person’ (Kilian-Hatz 2008: 90–91). Ju languages also use nominal suffixes to derive nouns from verbs, though none are attested that go back to a lexical noun ‘person’ or ‘thing’ (Heine and König 2015: 201–207), making Ju a less likely source for this construction in Fwe.

Another nominal suffix in Fwe for which more or less the same argument can be made is the diminutive suffix *-ána*. A Bantu origin for this suffix is unlikely, as Fwe generally lacks nominal suffixes, with the exception of suffixes used to derive nouns from verbs, which all consist of a single vowel and are underlyingly toneless. The diminutive suffix *-ána* is the only nominal suffix, it is disyllabic and has its own tone. A general Bantu origin of this suffix is unlikely, because no such suffix is reconstructed (Meeussen 1967), and the more common Bantu strategy for expressing diminutive meaning is through noun class shift (Maho 1999: 214–225). Instead, Khoisan influence has likely played a role in the development of this suffix, as Khoisan languages make use of a head-final structure in the noun phrase; Ju is generally head-initial, but head-final when it comes to genitives (Güldemann 2013a). Many Khoisan languages use constructions with a post-posed lexeme meaning ‘child’ to express diminutive meaning. Furthermore, similar constructions with a diminutive suffix *-ana* or cognate forms are only seen in Bantu languages of southern Africa, e.g. those which are or have been in contact with Khoisan languages. For a more extensive treatment of the development of this diminutive suffix in Bantu languages and the role that contact with Khoisan languages has played, see Güldemann (1999).

It should be noted, however, that similarly to the suffix *-ntu*, the suffix *-ána* only owes its function as a diminutive suffix to Khoisan contact. The lexical root from which it has developed is inherited in Fwe, and is used in nouns such as *mw-á'n-ángù* 'my child', or *mw-án-è* 'his/her child'. The lexical root is of clear Bantu origin, going back to the reconstructed root **-jánà* 'child' (Bastin et al. 2002).

17.3.3 Demonstratives

In section 7.2, I have discussed the use of demonstratives in Fwe, showing that they are typically placed before the noun they modify (e.g. Dem N order). There is only one exception, namely that demonstratives can follow the noun they modify (N Dem order) when the noun is an object of an imperative or subjunctive verb describing an order. This is a highly specific environment, and even there, demonstratives can also be used prenominally. Such a strong preference for pre-nominal demonstratives is uncommon; modifiers in Bantu tend to be post-nominal, and in Bantu languages where both orders exist, the pre-nominal demonstrative is likely to be an innovation (Van de Velde 2005). Variation in the placement of the demonstrative is also seen, and this is also the case in many Bantu Botatwe languages. In the Western Bantu Botatwe language Subiya, demonstratives can be either pre- or postnominal (Jacottet 1896: 33); in the Eastern Bantu Botatwe languages, a similar picture emerges, for instance in Tonga, both orders are possible, though N Dem is preferred for postverbal objects, and Dem N for preverbal subjects (Carter 2002: 40); Collins (1962: 83) notes for Tonga that the prenominal position is used for demonstratives that are emphatic, and in Ila, the most frequent position of the demonstrative is postnominal, though prenominal demonstratives are also attested (Smith 1964: 105). Clearly, Bantu languages in general have the capacity for using demonstratives prenominally, and all Bantu Botatwe languages make use of this option, though Fwe does this more extensively than all its closest relatives, and appears to have generalized the prenominal position of the demonstrative in all but one very specific context.

A possible explanation for the prevalent prenominal position of Fwe demonstratives is contact with Khwe. Contact with Ju is not a likely explanation, as in Ju most demonstratives follow the noun they modify (Heine and König 2015: 153–160). Khwe consistently uses a demonstrative – noun order (Kilian-Hatz 2008: 205), which is also the most common order in Khoe languages in general (Voßen 1997: 251). Although the innovation of using demonstratives prenominally probably already occurred in Fwe before contact with Khwe occurred, as the comparison with other Bantu Botatwe languages suggests, contact with Khwe would explain why prenominal demonstratives are so much more common in Fwe than they are in other Bantu Botatwe languages.

17.3.4 Pluractionals

Section 8.9 has described two pluractional strategies in Fwe, and section 13.2 the use of the locative pluractional. Pluractionality is a common category in African languages (Brooks 1992; Kießling et al. 2008: 206), and as described in the aforementioned sections, pluractionality in Fwe functions in a very similar way to pluraction-

ality in other African languages. However, a dedicated marker for pluractionality is rarely described for Bantu languages.

In Khoisan languages, pluractionality is more common, in Kx'a languages #Hoan (Collins 2001) and Ju (Heine and König 2015: 62–67), but also in Tuu languages, such as Nluu (Collins and Namaseb 2011: 20), Taa/!Xoon (Dickens and Traill 1977; Güldemann 2013b: 240); see also the typological overview by Güldemann (2013a). These languages make use of suppletive plural verb forms, where a number of highly frequent verbs have different singular and plural forms. With intransitive verbs, the singular forms are used with singular subjects, and the plural forms with plural subjects. With transitive verbs, the number of the object determines the choice of verb form. In some languages, these appear to be present a simple case of number agreement, but on closer inspection function like pluractionality rather than number agreement (Brooks 1992; Collins 2001; Durie 1986). In all languages for which suppletive plurals have been described, they follow the same type of ergative alignment that is typical for pluractionals, e.g. intransitive plurals are used with multiple subjects, and transitive plurals with multiple objects.

Contact with Kx'a languages, specifically the Ju cluster, may have played a role in the development of three different pluractional strategies in Fwe. Formally, all three pluractional strategies used in Fwe are of Bantu origin; pluractional 1 derives from a suffix **-ag* reconstructed as “habitual, imperfective, repetitive” (Meeussen 1967: 110); the locative pluractional is a grammaticalization from a verb ‘go’ followed by a verb with an adverbial prefix (see section 13.2 for details); and the pluractional 2 strategy makes use of stem reduplication, which is crosslinguistically a common strategy for marking pluralization of any kind (Inkelas 2014; Inkelas and Zoll 2005: 13–14), including pluractionals (Newman 2012). The development of these native structures into dedicated pluractional expressions may have been facilitated by contact with Ju languages, in which such pluractionals are common.

An important factor in the analysis of the development of pluractionals as contact-induced (or influenced) is that they are not of Bantu origin. Although pluractionals are rarely described for Bantu languages, it is possible that pluractionals tend to be overlooked in Bantu, and that certain strategies that are commonly described with different labels, actually display the behaviour that is typical of pluractionals. Pluractionals are described for a number of languages of southern Tanzania, northern Mozambique, and Malawi, namely Nyakyusa (Persohn 2017: 108–109), Chindali (Botne 2008: 68–69), Tumbuka (Chavula 2016), and Makwe (Devos 2008: 235). Affixes similar to the pluractional suffix *-a* in Fwe are found in various Bantu languages of Namibia, Angola, and Zambia; they resemble the Fwe construction in that the suffix *-a* is combined with another derivational suffix, most commonly a reflex of the separative **-ud/*-uk*. Recurrent labels are “extensive”, e.g. Yeyi *-aar/* (Seidel 2008: 250–254); Lamba *-al/-aul/-auk* (Doke 1922: 112–114); Kwangali *-ag-ur/-ag-an* (Westphal 1958: 70). The Tonga suffix *-aul/-auk* is analyzed as “dispersive/frequentative” (Carter 2002: 50), and the Mbukushu suffix *-aghur* as “frequentative” (Fisch 1998: 126). The examples given often suggest that pluractionality plays a role in the use of these markers, e.g. Yeyi *-tj'embaara* ‘pinch repeatedly’ (Seidel 2008: 251), Kwangali *-tab-ag-ur-a* ‘split into pieces’ (Westphal 1958: 70). More data and a

careful reanalysis are required to establish if such morphemes can be reanalyzed as pluractional markers.

17.4 Reconstructing the prehistoric contact situation

Having listed the (possible and probable) Khoisan-derived linguistic features that currently exist in Fwe, they can now be linked to a specific language contact situation. As has been noted since Thomason and Kaufman's seminal book (1988), the linguistic outcome of a contact situation is determined by its social settings. Therefore, from the contact-induced features observed in modern languages, the social circumstances of the historical contact situation can be reconstructed.

Two main types of contact situations are distinguished, borrowing and interference through shift (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Borrowing takes place in a situation of language maintenance, where L2 speakers incorporate features from their second language into their native language. As L2 speakers are the driving force behind this contact-induced change, it has also been termed recipient language agentivity by Van Coetsem (1988; 2000), e.g. the changes are brought about by mother tongue speakers of the language in which they occur. Borrowing, or recipient language agentivity, typically results in the copying of forms, rather than structures. In cases of more superficial contact, copying will be limited to lexical material, which are easily acquired and copied even without a thorough knowledge of the source language. More extensive bilingualism may lead to the copying of grammatical forms, which requires a deeper understanding of the source's language structure in order to isolate a particular grammatical form and replicate it in the recipient language.

Interference through shift (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), also known as substrate, takes place in a situation of language shift. Speakers acquire a second language, and in doing so, import certain features from their native language into their second language, which subsequently spread to the rest of the speech community. Because the changes are brought about by native speakers of the language from which the change originate, Van Coetsem (1988; 2000) terms this source language agentivity. The outcome of this contact situation is distinct from borrowing: interference through shift leads to the copying of structures, rather than of forms.

The majority of (possible) contact-induced features identified in Fwe are cases of structural copying, rather than formal copying: the development of the nominal suffixes *-ntu* and *-ána*, the pre-nominal position of demonstratives, and the acquisition of the category of pluractional, all make use of native Fwe forms, e.g. no formal copying has taken place. In the case of the nominal suffixes and prenominal demonstratives, it is the position of the grammatical form that is influenced by contact; the categories of diminutive, nominalization, and demonstrative, were already present in Fwe before contact took place. In the case of pluractionals, however, contact appears to have led to the development of a new functional category. Assuming the scenario developed in 17.3.4 is correct (and barring the pitfalls discussed there, namely that pluractionality is not such a marginal category in Bantu as is commonly accepted), Fwe did not originally have a dedicated marker for pluractionality. When Fwe came into contact with speakers of languages that used pluractionals, several native affixes and strategies developed into pluractional markers.

The putative donor languages from which these cases of structural copying originate are both Khwe, a Khoe-Kwadi language, and languages from the Ju cluster. Click phonemes and nominal suffixes may derive from either Khwe or Ju; the category of pluractionality is of Ju origin; and the pre-nominal position of demonstratives comes from Khwe.

These cases of structural copying point towards a historical situation of language shift: speakers of Khwe and Ju languages acquired Fwe as a second language, imposing certain features from their native language, which were subsequently taken over by native Fwe speakers. In the case of Khwe, language shift was not complete, as Khwe is still spoken in the relative vicinity of Fwe. In the case of Ju, however, language shift is likely to have originated from a now extinct Ju variety; Ju speakers are no longer found close to the area where Fwe is spoken, suggesting that Ju speakers shifting to Fwe completely abandoned their native language, and the Ju speech community was completely subsumed into the Fwe community (and, possibly, other Bantu speech communities). The acquisition of clicks also fits this language shift scenario (Gunnink et al. 2015: 215).

The only clear examples of formal copying from Khwe or Ju in Fwe are a handful of loanwords: Gunnink et al. (2015) identified 3 Fwe click words of possible Khwe origin, 6 of possible Ju origin, and 2 that have both Khwe and Ju etymologies. Although lexical copying is typical of borrowing rather than interference through shift (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), these borrowed words are mostly in the semantic domains of flora, fauna, hunting and fishing, where influence from a language spoken by an autochthonous population on the language of an immigrating population is expected (Ross 2013).

In conclusion, the attested contact-induced changes in Fwe point towards a situation of historical language shift from speakers of both Khwe and Ju languages to Fwe, imposing structural features from Khwe and Ju onto Fwe, which were subsequently taken over by the native speech community, and became entrenched in the language. It should be noted, however, that the vast majority of Fwe grammar is of clear Bantu origin, and does not seem to have undergone any changes, either in form or function, that are unexpected from a Bantu perspective. Furthermore, the shift of Khoisan speakers to Fwe does not seem to have been accompanied by a simplification of the target language. Typical examples of simplification of Bantu languages in cases of language shift and L2 learning are a simplification of the noun class system (Di Garbo and Verkerk 2017). Lingala, a Congolese Bantu language with a history of intense contact and creolization, has reduced its noun class system to a distinction of animate/inanimate (Meeuwis 2013). A similar reduction is seen in a number of Bantu languages spoken in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, such as Bila (Kutsch Lojenga 2003), possibly as a result of contact with Central-Sudanic languages. The noun class system of Fwe, however, shows no signs of reduction or simplification: it uses 19 noun classes, with separate agreement patterns for each class which are consistently applied (see chapter 5).

The outcome of this research shows that it is possible to detect prehistoric cases of language contact, and even to reconstruct the social setting in which this contact took place, on the basis of synchronic language data. This is possible by following a rig-

ourous methodology, in which several pieces of unrelated evidence are needed to prove that two languages have been in contact, that this contact has influenced one of the languages, and what the kind and direction of influence was. Furthermore, the importance of multidisciplinary research is stressed. Molecular anthropological studies allowed the identification of Fwe as a likely candidate for Khoisan linguistic influence by showing the relatively high degree of Khoisan genetic admixture. By combining linguistic and genetic research, prehistoric processes of migration, contact, and shift can be identified and described that would otherwise have gone undetected.

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Appendix A: ‘A man who does not like dogs’

This appendix contains a story told in Fwe by Mr. Charles Kendwa, a native speaker of Fwe who hails from Makanga, Namibia.

mbòndímìkàndékéré èkàndè

mbo-ndí-mi_H-kandek-er-é

e-ø-kande

NEAR_FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM_{2PL}-tell-APPL-PFV.SBJV

AUG- NP₅-story

‘I will tell you a story.’

òrùtángù rwángù rwá'bakwámé bòbírè

ru-tángu ru-angú

rú-a=bá-kwamé

ba-o=biré

NP_{II}-story

PP_{II}-POSS_{1SG}

PP_{II}-CON=NP₂-man

PP₂-CON=two

‘My story, about two men.’

àbó 'bakwámé bòbírè kàbàrì bàntù nòmùshère

a-bó

bá-kwamé

ba-o=biré

AUG-DEM.III₂ NP₂-man

PP₂-CON=two

ka-bá-ri

ba-ntu

no=mu-shére

PST.IPFV-SM₂-be

NP₂-person

COM=NP₁-friend

‘These two men were friends.’

bànàhàrì òzyú zyúmùnyà kámùnitè ómbwà

ba-na-hár-i

SM₂-PST-live-NPST.PFV

o-zyú

zyú-munya

ka-á-mun-íte

o-ø-mbwá

AUG-DEM.I₁

PP₁-other

PST.IPFV.SM₁-OWN-STAT

AUG-NP_{1a}-dog

‘They lived. One of them had a dog.’

òzyù zyúmùnyà kàrì ká'sháká 'bámbwà

o-zyu

zyú-munya

ka-ri

ka-á-shak-á

ba-mbwá

AUG-DEM.I₁

PP₁-other

NEG-be

PST.IPFV.SM₁-like-FV

NP₂-dog

‘The other one did not like dogs.’

mbóbùryáhò kàbáhàrá múmùnzi múmò bànàhàrì bànàhàrì

mbó-bu-ryáho

ka-bá-ha_Hr-á

mú-mu-nzi

COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like.that

PST.IPFV-SM₂-live-FV

NP₁₈-NP₃-village

mú-mo

ba-na-hár-i

ba-na-hár-i

EMPH-DEM.III₁₈

SM₂-PST-live-NPST.PFV

SM₂-PST-live-NPST.PFV

‘Like that, they were living in that village. In there, they lived, they lived.’

kókùwànìsìkà òkùtèyè bókùhìnd' ómùsípìrì iyé bàkàpóté kúcìbàkà címùnyà

kó-ku-wan-isik-a

okutéye

ba-ó=ku-hind-á

COP₁₅-INF-find-NEUT-FV

that

PP₂-CON=INF-take-FV

o-mu-sipíri iyé ba-ka-pot-é kú-ci-baka cí-munya
 AUG-NP₃-journey that SM₂-DIST-visit-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-NP₇-place PP₇-other
 ‘It came to pass that they took a journey to visit another place.’

bànáhíndì òwó mùsípíri bànanánúkì múnjìrà múmò nèrà tùyéndè
 ba-na-hínd-i o-wó mu-sipíri
 SM₂-PST-take-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.III₃ NP₃-journey
 ba-na-nanúk-i mu-N-jira mú-mo nera tu-énd-e
 SM₂-PST-leave-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-NP₉-wayEMPH-DEM.III₁₈ then SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV
 ‘They took that journey. They left on their way: “Let’s go!”’

nìbáhìndà nèzíryó 'zábò zó'káburýà èmpùmpò
 ni-bá-a-hind-a ne=zi-ryó zi-a=bó
 REM-SM₂-PST-take-FV COM=NP₈-food PP₈-CON=DEM.III₂
 zi-ó=kabú-ry-a e-N-pumpo
 PP₂-CON=LOC_PL-eat-FV AUG-NP₉-travel_food
 ‘They brought their food for eating in different places, food for along the way.’

àhò kàbákàbúràrà bùryáhò
 a-ho ka-bá-kabú-rá-r-a bu-ryahó
 AUG-DEM.III₁₀ PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC_PL-sleep-FV NP₁₄-like.that
 ‘When they were sleeping in different places like that...’

nàkàsùnsò kàbò bàrìhíndìrè
 na=ka-sunso ka-a-bo ba-ri_H-hind-ír-e
 COM=NP₁₂-relish PP₁₂-CON=DEM.III₂ SM₂-REFL-take-APPL-STAT
 ‘And also their relish, they were carrying.’

òzyù zyúmùnyà nàáyèndà nòmbwá wàkwé bùryáhò
 o-zyu zyú-munya na-á-a-end-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁ PP₁-other REM-SM₁-PST-go-FV
 no=ø-mbwá u-akwé bu-ryahó
 COM=NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{3SG} NP₁₄-like.that
 ‘One of them went with his dog like that.’

bàkàbúyèndà nòmbwá 'wábò bùryáhò
 ba-kabú-end-a no=ø-mbwá u-abó bu-ryahó
 SM₂-LOC_PL-go-FV COM=NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-AUG-DEM.III₂ NP₁₄-like_that
 ‘They were going with their dog like that.’

básihúra àhò báníhúri kùzyímànà òkùtèyè bàryé
 bá-si_H-hur-á a-ho bá-na-hur-í
 SM₂.REL- PER-arrive-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₀ SM₂-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ku-zyíman-a okutéye ba-ry-é
 INF-stop-FV that SM₂-eat-SBJV
 ‘When they arrived where they arrived, to stop so that they can eat...’

ìn' ényàmà yézìfúhà

iná e-N-nyama i-é=zi-fúha
DEM.IV₉ AUG-NP₉-meat PP₉-CON=NP₈-bone
'That meat with bones...'

òzyó káshàká cáhà kùnyàbùr' èzìfúhà ènyàmà yézìfúhà

o-zyó ka-á-shak-á cáha ku-yabur-a e-zi-fúha
AUG-DEM.III₁ PST.IPFV-SM₁-like-FV very INF-take-FV AUG-NP₈-bone
e-N-nyama i-é=zi-fúha
AUG-NP₉-meat PP₉-CON=NP₈-bone
'The one who liked to take bones, meat with bones...'

sìkwàsìyàrìrì èzìfúhà

si-kw-a-síyar-ir-i e-zi-fúha
INC-SM₁₇-PST-leave-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₈-bone
'Now the bones remain.'

ndózywìn' ààzy' ómbwà

ndó-zywiná á-azyá o-ø-mbwá
COP.DEF₁-DEM.IV₁ SM₁.REL-have_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
'It's the one who doesn't have a dog.'

ècò kápàngírá kùtèyè òzyw' ákwès' úmbwà

e-co ka-á-pang-ir-á kutéye
AUG-DEM.III₇ PST.IPFV-SM₁-do-APPL-FV that
o-zyu á-kwesí o-mbwá
AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁-have AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
'He was doing that so that the one who has a dog...'

òmbwá wàkwé nàngà àryé zìn' ézìfúhà

o-ø-mbwá u-akwé nanga a-ry-é
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} even SM₁-eat-PFV.SBJV
ziná e-zi-fúha
DEM.IV₈ AUG-NP₈-bone
'...his dog might eat those bones.'

mbùryàhó kàbápàngàngà bú'ryáhò

N-bu-ryahó ka-bá-pang-áng-a bú-ryahó
COP-NP₁₄-like.that PST.IPFV-SM₂-do-HAB-FV NP₁₄-like.that
'That's how he did.'

àsìmanà òkùnyàbùrà zywinà ààzy' ómbwà èzìfúhà

a-si-man-á o-ku-yabur-a
SM₁-COND-finish-FV AUG-INF-pick-FV
zywina á-azyá o-ø-mbwá e-zi-fúha
DEM.IV₁ SM₁.REL-have_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP₈-bone
'When he finishes picking the bones, that one without a dog...'

àsìmaná 'kúryà kúzífúhà ákùzíhìndà kùzízìkà mwívù
a-si-man-á ku-ry-á kú-zi-fúha
SM_I-COND-finish-FV INF-eat-FV NP₁₇-NP₈-bone
á-ku-zí-hind-a ku-zí-zik-a mu-e-ø-vú
PP_I-INF-OM₈-take-FV INF-OM₈-bury-FV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-ground
‘When he finishes eating from the bones, he takes them to bury them in the ground.’

òkùtè òmbwá 'wózywínà mùyéñzè àswábè
okuté o-ø-mbwá u-ó=zywiná mu-yéñz-e
that AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP_I-CON=DEM.IV_I NP_I-friend-POSS_{3SG}
a-swab-é
SM_I-be_sad-PFV.SBJV
‘So that the dog of that friend of his would be sad.’

kàrì náàrìshùwìsìsìsá nénjà òzyú 'sím bwà
ka-ri ná-a-a-ri_H-shu_H-isis-á nénja o-zyú sí-ø-mbwá
NEG-be REM-SM_I-PST-REFL-feel-INT-FV<REL> well AUG-DEM.I_I AS-NP_{1a}-dog
‘He did not feel good, the one with the dog.’

àhà òzyú mùshéré wángù mbùtí àh' áténdà
aha o-zyú mu-shére u-angú
oh AUG-DEM.I_I NP_I-friend PP_I-POSS_{1SG}
N-bu-tí a-ha á-ténd-a
COP-NP₁₄-how AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_I.REL-do-FV
‘Oh, this friend of mine, why is he doing this?’

mòñsh' ómò túyàbwírà èyè àpìhènerá òkùyàbùrà èzìfúhà hàpé èyè ààzy' òmbwà
mo-nshé: o-mo tú-yabw-ír-a eyé a-pihener-á
NP₁₈-all AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM_{1PL}.REL-pick-APPL-FV PERS_{3SG} SM_I-insist-FV
o-ku-yabur-a e-zi-fúha
AUG-INF-pick-FV AUG-NP₈-bone
hápé eyé a-azyá o-ø-mbwá
again PERS_{3SG} SM_I-lack AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
‘Whenever we pick, he insists on picking the bones, he doesn’t even have a dog.’

émé 'ndímùnít' òmbwà hàpé kàndìsìyì iyé ndiyàbùré zìfúhà
emé ndí-mun-íte o-ø-mbwá
PERS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}.REL-OWN-STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
hápé ka-a-ndi-sí-i iyé ndi-yabur-é zi-fúha
again NEG-SM_I-OM_{1SG}-leave-NEG that SM_{1SG}-pick-PFV.SBJV NP₈-bone
‘Me, who owns a dog, he doesn’t let me pick the bones.’

áu nìyámùryángànìsà
áu nì-i-á-mu-ryánganis-a
oh REM-SM₉-PST-OM_I-disturb-FV
‘It disturbed him.’

kàkùbíràèzì
 ka-ku-bíraez-i
 NEG-SM₁₅-matter-NEG
 ‘It doesn’t matter.’

mbùryáhó kàbákábúpàngà bùyááhò àhò kàbákábúràrà bùyááhó
 N-bu-ryaho ka-bá-kabú-páng-a bu-ryahó
 COP-NP₁₄-like.that PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC_PL-do-FV NP₁₄-like.that
 a-ho ka-bá-kabú-ráir-a bu-ryaho
 AUG-DEM.III₁₀ PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC_PL-sleep-FV NP₁₄-like.that
 ‘That is how he used to do, when they were spending the night in different places.’

éni àkàbúyàbùrà èzífúhà zyúzyò áàzy’ ómbwà
 éni a-kabú-yabur-a e-zi-fúha
 yes SM₁-LOC_PL-pick-FV AUG-NP₈-bone
 zyú-zyo á-azyá o-ø-mbwá
 EMPH-DEM.III₁ SM₁.REL-have_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘In each place he takes the bones, the one who doesn’t have a dog.’

màmànikizò àhò bákàràrà hápè nàyábùrì hápè cìtùnùrà cécífúhà
 ma-manikizo a-ho bá-ka-ráir-a hapé
 NP₆-end AUG-DEM.III₁₀ SM₂-DIST-sleep-FV again
 na-yabúr-i hapé ci-tunura ci-é=ci-fúha
 SM₁.PST-pick-NPST.PFV again NP₇-big_piece_of_meat PP₇-CON=NP₇-bone
 ‘In the end, when they slept again, he has taken a big piece of meat with a bone in it.’

shànàhíndì cícò cífúhà zyúzyò áàzy’ ómbwà
 shi-a-na-hínd-i cí-co ci-fúha
 INC-SM₁-PST-take-NPST.PFV EMPH-DEM.III₇ NP₇-bone
 zyú-zyo á-azyá o-ø-mbwá
 EMPH-DEM.III₁ SM₁.REL-have_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘He has now taken that bone, that one who doesn’t have a dog.’

tùyéndè ákùhìndà kùcìshùminìnà kùmùzìò
 tu-énd-e á-ku-hind-a ku-cí-shumin-in-a ku-mu-zío
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV PP₁-INF-take-FV INF-OM₇-tie-APPL-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-load
 ‘Let’s go. He then takes it and ties it on his luggage.’

kókw’ àcìshùminìnà cícò cífúhà càkwé
 kókwì a-ci_H-shu_Hmin-in-á cí-co ci-fúha ci-akwé
 where SM₁-OM₇-tie-APPL-FV EMPH-DEM.III₇ NP₇-bone PP₇-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘That is where he ties it, that bone of his.’

nìbàkàyá bàkàbúyèndà bàkàbúyèndà
 ni=ba-ka-y-á ba-kabú-end-a ba-kabú-end-a
 COM=SM₂-DIST-go-FV SM₂-LOC_PL-go-FV SM₂-LOC_PL-go-FV
 ‘And they went. They were walking, walking.’

ómbwà kébàkà ryécífúhà cínà sàpìhénèrè kúmàshàrà òmùzìò zywìn' ákùrìkítè

o-ø-mbwá ø-kébaka ri-é=ci-fúha ciná
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog NP₅-because PP₅-CON=NP₇-bone DEM.IV₇
 si-a-pìhénere kú-ma-shára o-mu-zío
 INC-SM₁-insist.STAT NP₁₇-NP₆-back AUG-NP₃-load
 zywina á-ku_Hrík-ite
 DEM.IV₁ SM₁.REL-carry-STAT

'The dog, because of that bone, he is now behind the load, the one who is carrying.'

àtòndèrèrè kúcífúhà iyé téma zywìn' ómùntù mbwámùdànsíkìrè cìn' écífúhà

a-to_Hnd-érer-e kú-ci-fúha iyé téma zywíná
 SM₁-watch-INT-STAT NP₁₇-NP₇-bone that maybe DEM.IV₁
 o-mu-ntu mbo-á-mu-da_Hnsík-ir-e ciná e-ci-fúha
 AUG-NP₁-person NEAR_FUT-SM₁-OM₁-drop-APPL-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₇ AUG-NP₇-bone

'He is staring at the bone, so that maybe that person will drop the bone for him.'

ècífúhà cìpàrà òkùcìshùmùnùnà iyé àcìh' ómbwà

e-ci-fúha ci-pár-a o-ku-cí-shum-unun-a
 AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-fail-FV AUG-INF-OM₇-tie-SEP.TR-FV
 iyé a-ci_H-h-é o-ø-mbwa
 that SM₁-OM₇-give-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog

'The bone failed to become untied, so that he would give it to the dog.'

bàrànyèndì bùyárhò ècífúhà cìpàrà òkùcìshùmùnùnà

ba-na-énd-i bu-ryaho
 SM₂-PST-go-NPST.PFV NP₁₄-like.that
 e-ci-fúha ci-par-á o-ku-cí-shum-unun-a
 AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-fail-FV AUG-INF-OM₇-tie-SEP.TR-FV

'They went like that. The bone did not become untied.'

òmbwá àrí kùtòndèrèrè kúcífúhà kúmùzìò

o-ø-mbwá a-rí ku-tónd-erer-a kú-ci-fúha kú-mu-zío
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁-be INF-look-INT-FV NP₁₇-NP₇-bone NP₁₇-NP₃-load

'The dog was just looking at the bone on the load.'

bàkàbúyèndà bùyárhò

ba-kabú-end-a bu-ryahó
 SM₂-LOC_PL-go-FV like.that

'They went like that.'

òmbwá ákùshwáhùrà iyé hm òzyó mùntù kàndìhì ècì cífúhà

o-ø-mbwa á-ku-shwáhur-a iyé hm
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-INF-give.up-FV that hm
 o-zyú mu-ntu ka-a-ndí-h-i e-cí ci-fúha
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person NEG-SM₁-OM_{1SG}-give-NEG AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-bone

'The dog now gives up, saying that hhm, this person won't give me this bone.'

ákùshwáhùrà kùhítà kù'búsò nàkàbùrìcànìnàcànínà z'íngì:

á-ku-shwáhur-a ku-hít-a kù-bu-só

PP₁-INF-give_up-FV INF-pass-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₄-front

na=a-kabú-ri_H-canina-can-ín-a zi-ngí:

COM=SM₁-LOC_PL-REFL-PL2-hunt-APPL-FV PP₈-many

'He now gives up and goes to the front, and he started hunting other things.'

ómbwà àshàká 'cáha èzífúhà

o-ø-mbwá a-shak-á cáha e-zi-fúha

AUG-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁-like-FV very AUG-NP₈-bone

'The dog, he likes bones very much.'

téma mbwákàcìndihé zywínà

téma mbo-á-ka-ci_H-ndi-h-é zywína

maybe NEAR_FUT-SM₁-DIST-OM₇-OM_{1SG}-give-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₁

'Maybe he will give it to me, that one.'

shókùbòrà hàpé kùmùzìò kàtòndàkò kùwàn' ècìfúhà sìcákùàázyà

shi-ó-ku-boor-a hapé ku-mu-zíò ka-tónd-a=ko

INC-AUG-INF-return-FV again NP₁₇-NP₃-load DIST.INF-look-FV=LOC₁₇

ku-wan-a e-ci-fúha si-ci-áku-aazyá

INF-find-FV AUG-NP₇-bone INC-SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be_not

'He went back again to the load to look at it, to find that the bone is no longer there.'

sìcákùàázyà ècìfúhà sìcákùàázyà

si-ci-áku-aazyá e-ci-fúha si-ci-áku-aazyá

INC-SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be_not AUG-NP₇-bone INC-SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be.not

'It's not there anymore, the bone is no longer there.'

kàntì háhò mwéyò ènàkò zyúzzyò sícìfúhà, zyúzzyò mùntù ákùcìhìndà kùcìshònjèrà

múmùtémwà cókùwà

kanti há-ho mú-e-yo e-N-nako zyú-zyo

then EMPH-DEM.III₁₆ NP₁₈-AUG-DEM.III₉ AUG-NP₉-time EMPH-DEM.III₁

sí-ci-fúha zyú-zyo mu-ntu á-ku-cí-hind-a

AS-NP₇-bone EMPH-DEM.III₁ NP₁-person PP₁-INF-OM₇-take-FV

ku-cí-shonj-er-a mú-mu-témwa ci-ó=ku-w-a

INF-OM₇-throw-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-forest PP₇-CON=INF-fall-FV

'And in that time, that one with the bone, that person, he takes it and throws it into the forest, and it falls.'

àhà shècìkàwá kàntì cìkàwírà hámfùmò

a-ha she-cí-ka-w-á kanti

AUG-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM₇-REL-DIST-fall-FV then

ci-ka-w-ír-a há-ø-mfumo

SM₇-DIST-fall-APPL-FV NP₁₀-NP_{1a}-rhino

'When it fell, it fell onto a rhino.'

ómbwà ècífúhà càkùààzγ' ókò, kúmùzìò
 o-ø-mbwá e-ci-fúha ci-aku-aazyá
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be_not
 o-ko kú-mu-zío
 AUG-DEM.III₁₇ NP₁₇-NP₃-load
 'The dog: the bone is not on the load.'

ákùbòòrà múmàshàrà kàbúnùnkìzà nùnkìzà ècò cífúhà
 á-ku-boor-a mú-ma-shàra
 PP₁-INF-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 kabú-nunkiza-nunkiz-a e-có ci-fúha
 INF.LOC_PL-PL2-sniff-FV AUG-DEM.III₇ NP₇-bone
 'He then goes back to sniff around for that bone.'

mànì náàcìwánè ómbwà
 mani na-á-ka-ci_H-wán-e o-ø-mbwá
 until REM-SM₁-DIST-OM₇-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 'Until the dog finds it.'

àh' ákàtòndà ndùm fùmò páhà náàfwírà
 a-ha á-ka-tònd-a ndu-ø-mfumo
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₁.REL-DIST-look-FV COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-rhino
 pá-ha na-á-a-fw-ír-a
 COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆ REM-SM₁-PST-die-APPL-FV<REL>
 When he looked there, there was a rhino, it had died there.'

òmbwá ákùtángisà òkùbbóòzà
 o-ø-mbwá á-ku-tángis-a o-ku-bbóoz-a
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-INF-start-FV AUG-INF-bark-FV
 'The dog starts to bark.'

bèn' ábò bànéti múmùsípìrì
 bena a-bó ba-néti mú-mu-sipíri
 DEM₂ AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂-be_gone NP₁₈-NP₃-journey
 'Them, they continued their journey.'

zywiná 'sím bwà àhà sákàbóná bùryáhò òmbwá 'wángù àhà kàndìsìmùbwènè mbùtí
 zywiná sí-ø-mbwá a-ha si-á-ka-bo_Hn-á bu-ryahó
 DEM.IV₁ AS-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM₁.REL-DIST-see-FV NP₁₄-like.that
 o-ø-mbwá u-angú a-ha ka-ndi-si_H-mu-bwe_Hne
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} AUG-DEM.I₁₆ NEG-SM_{1SG}-PER-OM₁-see.STAT
 N-bu-tí
 COP-NP₁₄-how
 'The one with the dog, when he starts to look around like that: My dog, why do I not see it anymore?'

òmbwà òmbw' éyè ákwèsì àbbòðzá kúkò
 o-ø-mbwá o-ø-mbwá
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 éye a-kwesi a-bbo_Hoz-á ku-kó
 PERS_{3SG} SM₁.REL-PROG SM₁-bark-FV EMPH-DEM.III₁₇
 'The dog, the dog who is barking there.'

òmbwá 'wángù iwè acho kàndimùbwéne
 o-ø-mbwá u-angú íwe acho ka-ndi-mu-bwéne
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} PERS_{2SG} please NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁-see.STAT
 'My dog, you, please, I don't see him.'

tùyéndè bùryó ècìbbwà ncènjí
 tu-énd-e bu-ryó e-ci-bbwá N-ci-e=njí
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just AUG-NP₇-dog COP-PP₇-CON=what
 'Let's just go. What about the stupid dog?'

mùntù káshàkí 'bámbwà
 N-mu-ntu ka-á-shak-í ba-mbwá
 COP-NP₁-person NEG-SM₁.REL-like-NEG NP₂-dog
 'He is a person who does not like dogs.'

tùyéndè bùryó cààzy' éntàbà cìbbwà ncènjí
 tu-énd-e bu-ryó
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just
 ci-aazyá e-N-taba ci-bbwá N-ci-e=njí
 SM₇-be_not AUG-NP₉-issue NP₇-dog COP-PP₇-CON=what
 'Let's just go. Why should you care about the stupid dog?'

ènkàni èmé sèndibòórà ndìsitónd' òmbwá 'wángù múmàshàrà
 e-N-káni emé se-ndi-boor-á
 AUG-NP₁₀-argument PERS_{1SG} INC-SM_{1SG}-return-FV
 ndi-si_H-tònd-a o-ø-mbwá u-angú mú-ma-shára
 SM_{1SG}-PER-look-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 'An argument. Me, I'm going back to look for my dog.'

tùyéndè á'à sèndibòórà émé nditòndé òmbwá 'wángù múmàshàrà
 tu-énd-e á'a se-ndi-boor-á emé
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV no INC-SM_{1SG}-return-FV PERS_{1SG}
 ndi-to_Hnd-é o-ø-mbwá u-angú mú-ma-shára
 SM_{1SG}-look-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 'Let's go! No. I am going back to look for my dog.'

bókùfútùmùkà kùbòórà
 ba-ó=ku-futumuk-a ku-boor-a
 PP₂-CON=INF-turn_around-FV INF-return-FV
 'He turns around and goes back.'

òzù àbòórà ndózwìnà símbwà

o-zyu á-boor-á ndó-zywina sí-ø-mbwá
 AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-return-FV COP.DEF₁-DEM.IV₁ AS-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘The one who returns is the one with the dog.’

òzyù áàzy’ ómbwà kàbòòrì iyé bòóré wé

o-zyu á-azyá o-ø-mbwá
 AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-be_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ka-a-boór-i iyé boor-é wé
 NEG-SM₁-return-NEG that return-PFV.SBJV PERS_{2SG}
 ‘The one who does not have a dog does not go back. He says, you can go back.’

nìkwápàrà kàkúri òmwìni wómùsípìrì òzyù ázyì òkò báya ndóòzyù mwini wómbwà
 ni-kú-a-par-a kakúri o-mw-íni u-ó=mu-sipíri
 PST-SM₁₅-PST-fail-FV because AUG-NP₁-owner PP₁-CON=NP₃-journey

o-zyu á-zyi_H o-ko bá-y-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-know.STAT AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM₂.REL-go-FV
 ndó-o-zyú mu-íni u-o-ø=mbwá
 COP-AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-owner PP₁-CON=NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘It became difficult, because the owner of the journey, the one who knows where they are going, is that owner of the dog.’

mùshére sànbòòrì mbùtí sàké ndìpángè

mu-shére si-a-na-boór-i
 NP₁-friend INC-SM₁-PST-return-NPST.PFV
 N-bu-tí sàké ndi-pang-é
 COP-NP₁₄-how if SM_{1SG}-do-PFV.SBJV
 ‘My friend has gone back. What can I do?’

nòkùmúcirirà kùbòòrà múmàshàrà

no=ku-mú-cirir-a ku-boor-a mú-ma-shàrà
 COM=INF-OM₁-follow-FV INF-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 ‘He follows him going back.’

ómbwà éyè àkwèsì àbbòòzá òkó

o-mbwa eye a-kwesi a-bbo_Hoz-á o-kó
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PERS_{3SG} SM₁-PROG SM₁-bark-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₇
 ‘The dog is barking far away!’

sàkàshúwìrè òmbwá wàkwé àbbòòzá

si-a-ka-shu_H-íre o-ø-mbwá u-akwé a-bbo_Hoz-á
 INC-SM₁-DIST-hear-STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₁-bark-FV
 ‘He now hears his dog barking.’

òh ndómbwà wángù zyunú sàbbòòzá

oh ndó-ø-mbwá u-angú zyunú si-a-bbo_Hoz-á
 oh COP.DEF₁-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} DEM.II₁ INC-SM₁.REL-bark-FV
 ‘Oh! That is my dog that is barking there!’

kùbòrà kàmùwán' 'ómbwà òzyú kùtòndà hárubbári cìpáu cìtùúmèné
ku-boor-a ka-mu-wan-á o-ø-mbwá
INF-return-FV DIST-INF-OM₁-find-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
o-zyú ku-tónd-a há-ru-bbári ø-ci-páu ci-tuúmen-e
AUG-DEM.I₁ INF-look-FV NP₁₀-NP_{II}-side COP-NP₇-animal SM₇-lie-STAT
‘They went and got the dog there. When they look to the side, it’s a wild animal. It’s lying there.’

ómbwà kútà ndùmbwá 'wángù sànwání cìpáu njìnyàmà nyàmà nyàmà
o-ø-mbwá kutá ndu-ø-mbwá u-angú
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog true COP-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
si-a-na-wan-í ci-páu nji-N-nyama N-nyama N-nyama
INC-SM₁-PST-find-NPST.PFV NP₇-animal COP₉-NP₉-meat NP₉-meat NP₉-meat
‘It’s true! It’s my dog. It has got an animal. It’s meat, meat, meat.’

ákàbòrà néyè zywiná zywiná 'káshàkí 'bámbwà kùtòndà néyè óh
á-ka-boor-a né=ye zywína
PP₁-DIST-INF-return-FV COM=PERS_{3SG} DEM.IV₁
zywiná ka-á-shak-í ba-mbwá ku-tónd-a né=ye óh
DEM.IV₁ NEG.SM₁-REL-like-NEG NP₂-dog INF-look-FV COM=PERS_{3SG} oh
‘He also came back, that one, the one who doesn’t like dogs, when he looks, he says, oh!’

òzyú mbwà sànwání ènyàmà
o-zyú o-ø-mbwá si-a-na-wan-í e-N-nyama
AUG-DEM.I₁ AUG-NP_{1a}-dog INC-SM₁-PST-find-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-meat
‘This dog found some meat.’

nìkwáwàn' ènkànì cwaré
ni-kú-a-wan-a e-N-káni cwaré
PST-SM₁₅-PST-find-FV AUG-NP₉-argument then
‘There broke out an argument.’

zyúzyò áàzy' ómbwà sàpìhénerè néyè ècìpáu ncángù ncángú cìpáu
zyú-zyo á-azyá o-ø-mbwá si-a-pihéner-e
EMPH-DEM.I₁ SM₁-REL-be.not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog INC-SM₁-insist-STAT
né=ye e-ci-páu N-ci-angú N-ci-angú ci-páu
COM=PERS_{3SG} AUG-NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG} COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG} NP₇-animal
‘The one who doesn’t have a dog, he is now insisting: the animal is mine, it’s my animal.’

òzyú 'sìmbwà néyè nè kàkùò:résèkì ècìpáu ncángù
o-zyú sí-ø-mbwá né=ye ne ka-ku-oir-ések-i
AUG-DEM.I₁ AS-NP_{1a}-dog COM=PERS_{3SG} no NEG-SM₁₅-can-NEUT-NEG
e-ci-páu N-ci-angú
AUG-NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
‘The one with the dog says no, it’s not possible, the animal is mine.’

òzyú iyé ncángù
 o-zyú iyé N-ci-angú
 AUG-DEM.I₁ that COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘This one says, it’s mine.’

nìkwáwàn’ ènkàni kàbàsí’shúwàni
 ni-kú-a-wan-a e-N-káni ka-ba-sí-shuwán-i
 REM-SM₁₅-PST-find-FV AUG-NP₉-argument NEG-SM₂-PER-get_along-NEG
 ‘There was an argument. They did not get along anymore.’

tùyéndè bùryó kàntì tùhíndè
 tu-énd-e bu-ryó kanti tu-hínd-e
 SM_{1PL}-GO-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just then SM_{1PL}-take-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Let’s just go and take [it].’

kùyá kùzyùnà cìn’ ècìpàù kùkúrikà ábò nòmùsípìrì kàbàshúwàni
 ku-y-á ku-zyun-a ciná e-ci-pau
 INF-go-FV INF-skin-FV DEM.IV₇ AUG-NP₇-animal
 ku-kúrik-a a-bó no=mu-sipíri ka-ba-shuwán-i
 INF-shoulder-FV AUG-DEM.III₂ COM=NP₃-journey NEG-SM₂-agree-NEG
 ‘He starts skinning that animal. They loaded it onto their shoulders and went. They did not get along.’

níbàriàbèrè níbàribbàtwìrà há’kàtì
 ní-ba-a-rí-ab-er-a
 REM-SM₂-PST-REFL-divide-APPL-FV
 ní-ba-a-rí-bbatw-ir-a há-ka-tí
 REM-SM₂-PST-REFL-split-APPL-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₂-middle
 ‘They divided it. They split it in half for each other.’

nìbàkáyá mùsípìrì kàbàshúwéne
 ni=ba-ka-y-á mu-sipíri ka-ba-shuwéne
 COM=SM₂-DIST-go-FV NP₃-journey NEG-SM₂-agree.STAT
 ‘And they went on their journey. They couldn’t agree.’

néyè á’à cìpàù ncángù
 né=ye á’a ci-páu N-ci-angú
 COM=PERS_{3SG} no NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘He says no, the animal is mine.’

tùyéndè kàntì mbòtúkàbúze hówù mùnzì kúbàntù àbò báyéndèsá òmùnzì
 tu-énd-e kanti mbo-tú-ka-búze-e
 SM_{1PL}-GO-PFV.SBJV then NEAR_FUT-SM_{1PL}-DIST-ask-PFV.SBJV
 há-o-wu mu-nzi
 NP₁₆-DEM.I₃ NP₃-village
 kú-ba-ntu a-bo bá-end-es-á o-mu-nzi
 NP₁₇-NP₂-person AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-go-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₃-village
 ‘Let’s go then. We’ll go and ask at this village, from the people who lead the village.’

àhà bákàhúra 'hámùnzì kàbàrùmérérenè mònsh' òmò
a-ha bá-ka-hur-á há-mu-nzi
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂-REL-DIST-arrive-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-village
ka-ba-ruméréne mo-nshé: o-mo
PST-IPFV-SM₂-differ-STAT NP₁₈-all AUG-DEM.III₁₈
‘When they arrived at the village, they differed even more.’

kàhùrà kàsúsà kùbàrùmèrèsàrùmèrèsà bànákarì
ka-hur-a ka-sús-a ku-bá-rumeresa-rumeres-a
DIST-INF-arrive-FV DIST-INF-put_down-FV INF-OM₂-PL2-greet-FV
ba-ná-kar-i
SM₂-PST-sit-NPST.PFV
‘They arrived and put down (their loads) and they greeted them. They sat down.’

mbàní bàìndùnà hánù hámùnzì
N-ba-ní ba-induná hánù há-mu-nzi
COP-NP₂-who NP₂-headman DEM.II₁₆ NP₁₆-NP₃-village
‘Who is the headman of this village?’

nábò iyé mbá'babà kwìrápá 'ryábò kó 'kwínà
ná=bo iyé mbába-bá
COM=DEM.III₂ that COP.DEF₂-DEM.I₂
ku-e-ø-rápá ri-abó kó ku-iná
NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-courtyard PP₅-DEM.III₂ DEM.III₁₇ SM₁₇-be_at
‘They said, it’s this one. His courtyard is that one.’

nìbàyákò
ni=ba-y-a=kó
COM=SM₂-go-FV=LOC₁₇
‘And they went there.’

hápé mbùtí kùyá kùbásùkùrùrì zònsché: zómùsípírì wábò
hapé N-bu-ti ku-y-á ku-bá-sukurw-ir-a
again COP-NP₁₄-how INF-go-FV INF-OM₂-report-APPL-FV
zi-onshé: zi-ó=mu-sípíri u-abó
PP₈-all PP₈-CON=NP₃-journey PP₃-DEM.III₂
‘And what? They go and tell him all about their journey.’

nèrà nìtwákè:zyà nètùrùmérérenè
nera ni-tú-a-ke:zy-a ne=tu-ruméréne
then REM-SM_{IPL}-PST-come-FV COM=SM_{IPL}-agree-STAT
‘We came while understanding each other.’

tùrì bàntù nòmùshéré
tu-ri ba-ntu no=mu-shére
SM_{IPL}-be NP₂-person COM=NP₁-friend
‘We are friends.’

cwàré àhà tú'ké:zyà kùhùrà há'kàtì zyúzy' òmbwá 'wángù nèrà nàábòrà múmàshàrà
 cwaré a-ha tú-ké:zy-a ku-hur-a há-ka-tí
 then AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1PL}.REL-come-FV INF-arrive-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₂-middle
 zyú-zyu o-mbwa u-angú
 EMPH-DEM.I₁ AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 nera na-á-a-boor-a mú-ma-shára
 then PST-SM₁-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 'Then when we reached halfway, this dog of mine, he went back.'

ákàwàn' ècìfúhà cìdànsì
 á-ka-wan-á e-ci-fúha ci-dans-í
 PP₁-DIST.INF-find-FV AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-put_down-IMP.INTR.STAT
 'He found a bone lying there.'

àhà sákàwàná cìfúhà ákàwàn' ècìpáu
 a-ha si-á-ka-wan-á ci-fúha
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM₁.REL-DIST-find-FV NP₇-bone
 á-ka-wan-á e-ci-páu
 PP₁-DIST.INF-find-FV AUG-NP₇-animal
 'After getting the bone, he got an animal.'

shànàwàní ècò cìpáu páhà nìhá'zwírà ènkàni zétù twèbirè
 shi-a-na-wan-í e-có ci-páu pá-ha
 INC-SM₁-PST-find-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.III₇ NP₇-animal COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆
 nì-há-a-zw-ír-a e-N-káni zi-etú twe-biré
 REM-SM₁₆-PST-come_out-APPL-FV AUG-NP₁₀-argument PP₁₀-POSS_{1PL} CON_{1PL}-two
 'When he got this animal, that is when our argument started, the two of us.'

néyè zyúzyò áàzy' ómbwà néyè ákàsùkùrùrà zàkwé
 ne=ye zyú-zyo á-azya o-ø-mbwá
 COM=PERS_{3SG} EMPH-DEM₁ SM₁.REL-be_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 né=ye á-ka-sukurur-a zi-akwé
 COM=PERS_{3SG} PP₁-DIST.INF-report-FV PP₈-POSS_{3SG}
 'And the one who does not have a dog, he too reports his side of the story.'

kàtúyéndà nózyù mùyé'nzángù
 ka-tú-énd-a nó=zyu mu-yénz-angú
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-go-FV COM=DEM.I₁ NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
 'I was walking with this friend of mine.'

àhà túhùrà 'há'kàtì èmé kàndíshùminínè ècìfúhà kúmùzìò
 a-ha tú-hur-á há-ka-tí
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1PL}.REL-arrive-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₂-middle
 emé ka-ndí-shu_Hmin-ín-e e-ci-fúha kú-mu-zío
 PERS_{1SG} PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-tie-APPL-STAT AUG-NP₇-bone NP₁₇-NP₃-load
 'When we were halfway, me, I had the bone tied to my luggage.'

àhà kàndíshùminínè bùyáhò páhà sèndìcìhìndà kùcìshònjèrà múmùtémwà kùcìbùkùmùnà
a-ha ka-ndí-shumin-ín-e buryahó
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-tie-APPL-STAT NP₁₄-like.that
pá-ha se-ndí-ci_H-hínd-a ku-cí-shonj-er-a mú-mu-témwa
COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM_{1SG}.REL-OM₇-take-FVINF-OM₇-throw-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-bush
ku-cí-bukum-un-a
INF-OM₇-throw-SEP.TR-FV
‘When I had it tied like that, that is when I took it and threw it into the bush, to throw it away.’

àhà sècìkàwá kàntì cìkàwírà hácìpáu
a-ha se-cí-ka-w-á kanti
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM₇.REL-DIST-fall-FV then
ci-ka-w-ír-a há-ci-páu
SM₇-DIST-fall-APPL-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-animal
‘When it fell down, it fell on an animal.’

càkàwírì hécìpáu
ci-a-ka-w-ír-i há-e-ci-páu
SM₇-PST-DIST-fall-APPL-NPST.PFV NP₁₆-AUG-NP₇-animal
‘It fell onto the animal.’

cwàré òzyú mbwà wózyò mpáhà sìkábòdòrá múmàshàrà ákàwàn’ ècò cìpáu
cwaré o-zyú ø-mbwá u-ó=zyo
then AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-CON=DEM.III₁
mpá-ha si-ka-á-boor-á mú-ma-shára
COP₁₆-DEM₁₆ INC-PST.IPFV-SM₁-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back
á-ka-wan-a e-có ci-páu
PP₁-DIST-find-FV AUG-DEM.III₇ NP₇-animal
‘Then this one’s dog, that’s when he went back, he found that animal.’

sànakàcì’wànì mpáhà nézàzwírà ènkàni iyé ècìpáu càkwé
si-a-na-ka-cí-wan-í
INC-SM₁-PST-DIST-OM₇-find-NPST.PFV
mpá-ha ne-zí-a-zw-ír-a
COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆ REM-SM₁₀-PST-come_out-APPL-FV<REL>
e-N-káni iyé e-ci-páu ø-ci-akwé
AUG-NP₁₀-argument that AUG-NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{3SG}
‘When he had found it, that is when the argument broke out, that the animal is his.’

kàntí mé ncángù ècìpáu
kantí mé N-ci-angú e-ci-páu
then PERS_{1SG} COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG} AUG-NP₇-animal
‘But the animal is mine.’

cwàré mbóbùryàhó 'tú'ké:zyà kàtùsìrùmèrèné:
 cwaré mbó-bu-ryaho tú-ké:zy-a ka-tu-si_H-rumerené:
 then COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_{that} SM_{1PL}.REL-come-FV NEG-SM_{1PL}-PER-agree.STAT.NEG
 'That is how we are coming. We no longer see eye to eye.'

mbóbùryàhò bùyànú
 mbó-bu-ryahó bu-ryanu
 COP.DEF₁₄-like.that NP₁₄-like.this
 'Is it like that? It is like this.'

kàntì èswé túbàsí'nkútà mbòtúmìààtùrè
 eswé tu-ba-sí-N-kutá mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-AS-NP₉-court NEAR_FUT-SM_{1PL}-OM_{2PL}-judge-PFV.SBJV
 'Then us, the people of the court, we will judge you.'

mbòtúmìààtùr' èswé
 mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é eswé
 NEAR_FUT-SM_{1PL}-OM_{2PL}-judge-PFV.SBJV PERS_{1PL}
 'We will judge you.'

ècò shàké cìpàngàhàré hânù
 e-co shaké ci-pang-ahar-é hānu
 AUG-DEM.III₇ if SM₇-do-NEUT-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₆
 'What will happen now...'

éwè wèmwínì wómbwà ècí cìpáu ncákò
 ewé we-mw-íni u-ó=mbwá
 PERS_{2SG} APP_{2SG}-NP₁-owner PP₁-CON=NP_{1a}-dog
 e-cí ci-páu N-ci-akó
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{2SG}
 'You, the owner of the dog, this animal is yours.'

kàkúrí kùbònàhàrá òkùtèyè òzyú kàshàkí 'bámbwà
 kakúri ku-bo_Hn-ahar-á
 because SM₁₅-see-NEUT-FV
 okutéye o-zyú ka-a-shak-í ba-mbwá
 that AUG-DEM.I₁ NEG-SM₁-like-NEG NP₂-dog
 'Because it seems that this one doesn't want dogs.'

kàshàkí 'bámbw' ózyù
 ka-a-shak-í ba-mbwá o-zyú
 NEG-SM₁-like-NEG NP₂-dog AUG-DEM.I₁
 'He doesn't like dogs, this one.'

kùbònàhàrá òkùtèyè éwè ècò ó'ké:zyà kùzèkàkw' éwè
 ku-bon-ahar-á okutéye ewé
 SM₁₅-see-NEUT-FV that PERS_{2SG}
 e-co ó-ké:zy-a ku-zek-a=ko ewé

AUG-DEM.III₇ SM_{2SG}.REL-come-FV INF-sue-FV=LOC₁₇ PERS_{2SG}

‘It seems that you, what are you coming to sue for?’

ncífúhà cákò ècò nówàshònjérà múmùtémwà, ècò nìcákàwáníwà kó'zyú mbwà wózyù

N-ci-fúha ci-akó e-co n_ó-w-a-sho_Hnj-er-á
 COP-NP₇-bone PP₇-POSS_{2SG} AUG-DEM.III₇ REM-SM_{2SG}-PST-throw-APPL-FV<REL>
 mú-mu-témwà e-co ni-c-á-ka-wan-iw-á
 NP₁₈-NP₃-bush AUG-DEM.III₇ REM-SM₇-PST-DIST-find-PASS-FV<REL>
 kú-o-zyú ø-mbwá u-ó=zyu
 NP₁₇-AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-CON=DEM.I₁

‘It is your bone that you threw into the forest, and that was found by this one’s dog.’

cwàré éwè wèmwíni wómbwà kùtí nòmàni kúryà kwényàmà kùryà ènyàmà inà

cwaré ewé we-mu-íni u-ó=ø-mbwá
 then PERS_{2SG} APP_{2SG}-NP₁-owner PP₁-CON=NP_{1a}-dog
 kutí no-man-í ku-ry-á kú-e-N-nyama
 if SM_{2SG}.PST-finish-NPST.PFV INF-eat-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-meat
 ku-ry-á e-N-nyama iná
 INF-eat-FV AUG-NP₉-meat DEM.IV₉

‘Then you, the owner of the dog, when you have finished eating from the meat, eating that meat...’

wókùhìndá èzífúhà kùzìhà zyúzyù

u-ó=ku-hind-á e-zi-fúha ku-zí-ha-a zyú-zyú
 PP_{2SG}-CON=INF-take-FV AUG-NP₈-bone INF-OM₈-give-FV EMPH-DEM.I₁

‘...then you take the bones and give them to this one.’

kàkúri kùbònàhàrá iyé nzífúhà á'ké:zyà kùzèk' ózyù

kakúri ku-bon-ahar-á iyé
 because SM₁₅-see-NEUT-FV that
 N-zi-fúha á-ké:zy-a ku-zek-a o-zyú
 COP-NP₇-bone SM₁.REL-come-FV INF-sue-FV AUG-DEM.I₁

‘Because it seems that it’s bones that he comes to sue about, this one.’

mùshúwíre iyé twàshúwì

mu-shu_H-íre iyé tu-a-shúw-i
 SM_{2PL}-hear-STAT that SM_{1PL}-PST-hear-FV

‘Do you understand? They say, we understand.’

njénkàtùrò yàmàni

njé-N-katuró i-a-man-í
 COP.DEF₉-NP₉-judgment SM₉-PST-finish-NPST.PFV

‘That’s the judgment. It is finished.’

kàkúri wé kòshákí zìmùnántù

kakúri wé ka-o-shak-í zi-munántu
 because PERS_{2SG} NEG-SM_{2SG}-like-NEG NP₈-pet

‘Because you don’t like pets.’

kózyì òkùtèyè àh' óshónjà cìn' écìfúhà ócìbùkùmúnà kózyì iyé hèn' écìpáu
 ka-ó-zyi_H okutéye a-ha ó-shónj-a
 PST.IPFV-SM_{2SG}-know.STAT that AUG-DEM.I₁₀ SM_{2SG}.REL-throw-FV
 ciná e-ci-fúha ó-ci_H-bukum-un-á
 DEM.IV₇ AUG-NP₇-bone SM_{2SG}.REL-OM₇-throw-SEP.TR-FV
 ka-ó-zyi_H iyé ha-iná e-ci-páu
 PST.IPFV-SM_{2SG}-know.STAT that SM₁₀-be_at AUG-NP₇-animal
 'Did you know that when you threw that bone, when you threw it, did you know
 there was an animal there?'

néyè kàrì kàndîzyì kàrì kózyì
 né=ye ka-ri ka-ndî-zyi_H
 COM=PERS_{3SG} NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-know.STAT
 ka-ri ka-ó-zyi_H
 NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM_{2SG}-know.STAT
 'He said, I did not know. Yes, you did not know.'

cwàré ènyàmà njózyù
 cwaré e-N-nyama nji-ó=zyu
 then AUG-NP₉-meat COP₉-CON=DEM.I₁
 'Then the meat is his.'

éwè mbwákùkúhà bùryó èzìfúhà
 ewe mbo-a-áku-ku-h-á bu-ryó e-zi-fúha
 PERS_{2SG} NEAR_FUT-SM₁-SBJV.IPFV-OM_{2SG}-give-FV NP₁₄-only AUG-NP₈-bone
 'He will give you bones only.'

ndìbwènè mpáhò nìkwámànínà ènkàtùró 'yínù
 ndi-bwe_Hne mpá-ho ni-kú-a-man-in-á
 SM_{1SG}-see.STAT COP₁₀-DEM.III₁₀ REM-SM₁₅-PST-finish-APPL-FV<REL>
 e-N-katuró inú
 AUG-NP₉-judgment DEM.IV₉
 'I see that that is where the judgment has ended.'

nábò kókùmànà bókùshúwànà nénjà nénjà hápè
 ná=bo kó-ku-man-a
 COM=DEM.III₂ COP₁₅-INF-finish-FV
 ba-ó=ku-shuwan-a nénja nénja hápè
 PP₂-CON=INF-get_along-FV well well again
 'It ended there. They are good friends again.'

ndìbwènè ndórùtángò rwángù rúró
 ndi-bwe_Hne ndó-ru-tángu ru-angú ru-ró
 SM_{1SG}-see.STAT COP.DEF_{II}-NP_{II}-story PP_{II}-POSS_{1SG} EMPH-DEM.III_{II}
 'I see that this is my story.'

Appendix B: Useful phrases

This appendix contains a number of words and phrases that can be useful when communicating with Fwe speakers. A learner's grammar or handbook of Fwe has, to my knowledge, never been made. Although the purpose of the current grammar is not the instruction of those who intend to learn Fwe as a second language, it is nonetheless hoped that the remarks made here can be of use.

When greeting Fwe speakers, non-verbal communication is as important as verbal communication. A practice that is widely spread across Western Zambia and the Zambezi region, and probably of Lozi origin, involves repeatedly clapping the hands, as a sign of respect. A typical greeting consists of clapping the hands once or twice, shaking the other person's hand, and clapping the hands again. This process is repeated, depending on the relative importance of the participants, and the degree of respect that is due. Even more respect is expressed by bending the knees.

The morning greeting is *mbùtí mwàbú:kì*, literally 'how did you wake up?', comparable to English 'good morning'. It can be shortened to *mwàbú:kì*, literally 'did you wake up?'.

(1) Morning greeting

a. *mbùtí mwàbú:kì*

N-bu-tí

mu-a-bú:k-i

COP-NP₁₄-how

SM_{2PL}-PST-wake-NPST.PFV

'Good morning.' (Lit. 'How did you wake up?')

b. *mwàbú:kì*

mu-a-bú:k-i

SM_{2PL}-PST-wake-NPST.PFV

'Good morning.' (Lit. 'Did you wake up?')

The answer to the morning greeting is *twàbú:kì nénjà*, literally 'we woke up well', comparable to English good morning. It can be shortened to *twàbú:kì*, 'we woke up', or to *nénjà* 'well'.

(2) a. *twàbú:kì nénjà*

tu-a-bú:k-i

nénja

SM_{1PL}-PST-wake-NPST.PFV well

'Good morning.' (Lit. 'We woke up well.')

b. *twàbú:kì*

tu-a-bú:k-i

SM_{1PL}-PST-wake-NPST.PFV

'Good morning.' (Lit. 'We woke up.')

- c. *nénjà*
nénja
 well
 ‘[We woke up] well.’

Morning greetings are appropriate to about midday. From midday onwards, a different greeting is used, *mbùtí mwàrí'shàrí*, comparable to English ‘good afternoon’, though with a literal meaning ‘how have you stayed?’. As with the morning greeting, *mbùtí* ‘how’ can be left out.

- (3) a. *mbùtí mwàrí'shàrí*
 N-bu-tí mu-a-rí-shar-í
 COP-NP₁₄-how SM_{2PL}-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
 ‘Good afternoon.’ (Lit. ‘How have you stayed?’)
- b. *mwàrí'shàrí*
 mu-a-rí-shar-í
 SM_{2PL}-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
 ‘Good afternoon.’ (Lit. ‘Have you stayed?’)

The answer to the afternoon greeting is *twàríshàrí nénjà*, which can be shortened to *twàrí'shàrí*. A correct response to the afternoon greeting is also *nénjà*, ‘well’.

- (4) a. *twàríshàrí nénjà*
 tu-a-rí-shar-í *nénja*
 SM_{1PL}-PST-stay-NPST.PFV well
 ‘Good afternoon.’ (Lit. ‘We’ve stayed well.’)
- b. *twàrí'shàrí*
 tu-a-rí-shar-í
 SM_{1PL}-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
 ‘Good afternoon.’ (Lit. ‘We’ve stayed.’)
- c. *nénjà*
nénja
 well
 ‘[We’ve stayed] well.’

Afternoon greetings are appropriate from midday until the end of the day. All greetings are reciprocal; after the first participant has asked after the well-being of the second, the second inquires after the well-being of the first.

Like greeting, thanking involves non-verbal expressions of respect such as (repeated) clapping, handshaking, and bowing, depending on the level of respect and gratitude one wishes to express. There is a Namibian and a Zambian variant, one with *kí-* using the form of the reflexive prefix as it is used in Zambina Fwe, and one with *rí-* using the form of the reflexive prefix as it is used in Namibian Fwe.

- (5) Namibian Fwe
twàrítùmèrì
 tu-a-rí-tumér-i
 SM_{1PL}-PST-REFL-thank-NPST.PFV
 ‘Thank you.’
- (6) Zambian Fwe
twàkítùmèrì
 tu-a-kí-tumér-i
 SM_{1PL}-PST-REFL-thank-NPST.PFV
 ‘Thank you.’

The expression for thanking can take a first person plural subject marker, or, less commonly, a first person singular subject marker, *ndàrítùmèrì* / *ndàkítùmèrì*.

The verb stem *-tumel-* is not of Fwe origin, as the lack of vowel and nasal harmony in the putative applicative suffix *-el* show. It is evidently borrowed from the Lozi verb *ku itumela* ‘be thankful’, which is inflected as *ni itumezi* to mean ‘thank you’ (Burger 1960).

As in many African/Bantu languages, the expressions for goodbye depend on who stays and who goes. To bid farewell to someone who leaves, the person who stays says *mùyéndè nénjà*, literally ‘go well’. The person who leaves bids farewell to the person who stays with *mùsìyàré nénjà* ‘stay well’.

- (7) *mùyéndè nénjà*
 mu-énd-e nénja
 SM_{2PL}-go-PFV.SBJV well
 ‘Goodbye (said to someone who leaves).’
- (8) *mùsìyàré nénjà*
 mu-siar-é nénja
 SM_{2PL}-stay-PFV.SBJV well
 ‘Goodbye (said to someone who stays).’

Appendix C: Word list

This appendix contains a list of Fwe lexical items that I collected during my field-work. Words are organized alphabetically by the first letter of their lexical root, that is without nominal prefix for nouns, and without infinitive prefix for verbs. Nouns with a nasal prefix are all listed by the first letter of the prefix, however, due to the ongoing reanalysis of this prefix as part of the root. Lexical roots that begin with a click are given at the very end of the list. Prefixes are separated from the root with a hyphen. Verbs are listed in the infinitive form. Nouns are given in the singular (except when no singular is attested). For each lexical item, the part of speech is listed: n for nouns, v for verb, adj for adjective, adv for adverb, num for numeral, con for conjunction, and id for ideophone. Each lexical item is given an approximate English translation or description. For nouns, the noun class and plural form (if attested) are listed. The last column lists the source language for known borrowings, and regional variation (NF for Namibian Fwe and ZF for Zambian Fwe).

All words are given with their surface tones in citation form, e.g. in isolation. When words have an underlying high tone that is not realized in the citation form (for instance a floating high tone or a tone that is subject to high tone retraction), this high tone is marked separately to the left of the word.

Singular	Part of speech	Translation	Noun class	Plural	Other
<i>mw-áánjà</i>	n	silver terminalia (<i>Terminalia sericea</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-áánjà</i>	
<i>kù-ààtùrà</i>	v	to judge			
<i>kw-àhà</i>	n	armpit	15,6	<i>m-àhà</i>	
<i>mw-ákà</i>	n	year	3,4	<i>mì-ákà</i>	
<i>àmbà</i>	n	scales (of a fish)	5,6	<i>mà-àmbà</i>	
<i>kù-àmbààmbà</i>	v	to talk a lot			
<i>kù-àmbàhùrà</i>	v	to discuss			
<i>zì-ámbántù</i>	n	things people talk about	8		
<i>mw-áncè</i>	n	child	1,2	<i>b-áncè</i>	
<i>bw-ánce</i>	n	youth	14		
<i>c-ándà</i>	n	pole	7,8	<i>z-ándà</i>	NF
<i>kù-àndà</i>	v	to freeze			
<i>cì-ándè</i>	n	frost	7		
<i>kù-àngà</i>	v	to tie			
<i>mw-àni</i>	n	mopane tree	3,4	<i>mì-yáni</i>	
<i>ànjà</i>	n	hand	5,6	<i>mà-ànjà</i>	
<i>mà-àno</i>	n	knowledge	6		
<i>ányìsì</i>	n	onion	9		English
<i>kú-àrà</i>	v	to close			
<i>kù-àrìrà</i>	v	to follow (in order of birth)			
<i>cì-àrìsò</i>	n	latch	7,8	<i>zì-àrìsò</i>	

<i>cì-àrò</i>	n	basket	7,8	<i>zì-àrò</i>	
<i>kú-àrùkà</i>	v	to open (intr.)			
<i>kù-àrùkà</i>	v	to go back			
<i>kù-àrùmùkà</i>	v	to roll (intr.)			
<i>kù-àrùmùnà</i>	v	to roll (tr.)			
<i>kú-àrùrà</i>	v	to open			
<i>rw-àtá</i>	n	crack	II		
<i>bw-átò</i>	n	canoe	14,6	<i>m-átò</i>	
<i>cí-àzò</i>	n	door	7,8	<i>zì-àzò</i>	
<i>kù-àzyàrà</i>	v	to plan			
<i>kù-àzyàràrà</i>	v	to wish (onto s.o.)			
<i>mù-bàngà</i>	n	tree (<i>Combretum imberbe</i> ; <i>Acacia sieberiana</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-bàngà</i>	
<i>bázyì</i>	n	<i>Euphorbia ingens</i>	5,6	<i>màbázyì</i>	
<i>kù-bábà</i>	v	to itch; to be bitter			
<i>kù-bábàrèrà</i>	v	to guard			
<i>cì-bàkà</i>	n	place	7,8	<i>zì-bàkà</i>	
<i>bàndò</i>	n	wing	5,6	<i>mà-bàndò</i>	
<i>rù-bàngò</i>	n	fish sp.	II,6	<i>mà-bàngò</i>	
<i>kù-bànjà</i>	v	to scoop			
<i>rù-bánjè</i>	n	cannabis	II		
<i>kù-bàrà</i>	v	to read			
<i>mù-bàrà</i>	n	guest	I,2	<i>bà-bàrà</i>	NF
<i>mù-bàrà</i>	n	colour, spot, stripe	3,4	<i>mì-bàrà</i>	
<i>kù-bàràkàtà</i>	v	to flap (as a fish on dry land)			
<i>mù-bàràná</i>	n	guinea fowl	3,4	<i>mì-bàràná</i>	
<i>rù-bàrè</i>	n	palm leaves	II		
<i>rù-bàrè</i>	n	seed, pip	II,10	<i>m-bàrè</i>	
<i>mù-bàrì</i>	n	reader	I,2	<i>bà-bàrì</i>	
<i>mù-bàrù</i>	n	<i>Calodendrum capense</i>	3,4	<i>mì-bàrù</i>	
<i>kù-bàrùkà</i>	v	to taste (a crop to test if it is ripe)			
<i>rù-bàsì</i>	n	swallow-tailed bee eater	II		
<i>rù-bàsì</i>	n	extended family	II,6	<i>mà-bàsì</i>	
<i>cì-bàtá</i>	n	scar	7,8	<i>zì-bàtá</i>	
<i>cì-bàtànà</i>	n	predator, carnivore	7,8	<i>zì-bàtànà</i>	
<i>cì-bàzù</i>	n	body part	7,8	<i>zì-bàzù</i>	
<i>bbábbà</i>	n	grandfather	1a,2	<i>bà-bbábbà</i>	
<i>kù-bbábbàtà</i>	v	to touch with fland hands			
<i>cì-bbákù</i>	n	snake sp.	7,8	<i>zì-bbákù</i>	
<i>kù-bbàmpà</i>	v	to bounce (tr.)			
<i>kù-bbàmpùkà</i>	v	to bounce (intr.)			
<i>kù-bbàmùkà</i>	v	to break in half (intr.)			

<i>kù-bbàmùnà</i>	v	to break in half (tr.)		
<i>kù-bbáryàntà</i>	v	to burn across a stretch of land		
<i>kù-bbátàùrà</i>	v	to divide		
<i>kù-bbátùkà</i>	v	to separate (intr.)		
<i>kù-bbátùrà</i>	v	to separate (tr.)		
<i>'-bbì</i>	adj	bad		
<i>kù-bbíhà</i>	v	to become bad		
<i>bbìmbìrìrò</i>	n	rubbish heap to be set on fire	5,6	<i>mà-bbìmbìrìrò</i>
<i>kù-bbìsà</i>	v	to look bad because of one's clothes		
<i>m-bórà</i>	n	ball	9,10	<i>m-bórà</i>
<i>kù-bbô:zà</i>	v	to bark		
<i>kù-bbùà</i>	v	to swim, splash around		
<i>kù-bbùkùkà</i>	v	to be blown on (of fire)		
<i>kù-bbùkùrà</i>	v	to blow on fire		
<i>cì-bbùkùrìsò</i>	n	bellows	7,8	<i>zì-bbùkùrìsò</i>
<i>kù-bémbàmà</i>	v	to stand next to		
<i>kù-bémbèkà</i>	v	to put next to		
<i>kù-béngà</i>	v	to become angry		
<i>kù-béngèrèrà</i>	v	to be always angry		
<i>bù-béngì</i>	n	anger	14	
<i>rù-bénzwà</i>	n	pancreas	11,6	<i>mà-bénzwà</i>
<i>mà-béré</i>	n	millet	6	
<i>kà-bérébèrè</i>	n	centipede	12,13	<i>tù-bérébèrè</i>
<i>kù-bèsà</i>	v	to shine, flash		
<i>kù-bèzyà</i>	v	to carve (wood)		
<i>mù-bèzyàmpâmpà</i>	n	tree sp.	3,4	<i>mì-bèzyàmpâmpà</i>
<i>mù-bèzyì</i>	n	carver	1,2	<i>bà-bèzyì</i>
<i>bìbère</i>	n	bible	9,6	<i>mà-bìbère</i>
<i>kù-bìkà</i>	v	to prepare for a fight		
<i>kù-bínzwà</i>	v	to ripen		
<i>kù-bìrà</i>	v	to boil (intr.)		
<i>kù-bìràèrà</i>	v	to complain		
<i>-bìrè</i>	num	two		
<i>mù-bìrì</i>	n	body	3,4	<i>mì-bìrì</i>
<i>kù-bìrìsà</i>	v	to boil (tr.)		
<i>cì-bìshì</i>	n	something unripe	7	
<i>mù-bìsì</i>	n	root	3,4	<i>mì-bìsì</i>
<i>mà-bìsì</i>	n	sour milk	6	
<i>bìtà</i>	n	grave	5,6	<i>mà-bìtà</i>
<i>kù-byàrà</i>	v	to plant		
<i>cì-bízù</i>	n	something ripe	7	
<i>bìzyù</i>	n	Baobab tree	5,6	<i>mà-bìzyù</i>
<i>kù-bì:kà</i>	v	to put		

<i>bókò ~ kù-bókò</i>	n	arm	15/5,6	<i>mà-bókò</i>	
<i>kù-bòmbà</i>	v	to become wet			
<i>mà-bòmbà</i>	n	blisters	6		
<i>kù-bòmbàmà</i>	v	to soak (intr.)			
<i>kù-bòmbèkà</i>	v	to soak (tr.)			
<i>kù-bónà</i>	v	to see			
<i>kù-bónàhàrà</i>	v	to be visible, seem			
<i>kù-bónàhàzà</i>	v	to make visible			
<i>cì-bónàntù</i>	v	something visible			
<i>rù-bônò</i>	n	castor oil plant (<i>Ricinus communis</i>)	11,10	<i>m-bônò</i>	
<i>kù-bòòrà</i>	v	to return			
<i>kù-bòòzà</i>	v	to bring back			
<i>kù-bòrà</i>	v	to rot			
<i>bòtélà</i>	n	bottle	5,6	<i>mà-bòtélà</i>	English
<i>bówà</i>	n	amaranth	5		
<i>bù-bózù</i>	n	rot	14		
<i>bùbì</i>	n	spider	5,6	<i>mà-bùbì</i>	
<i>m-búkà</i>	n	book	9,10	<i>m-búkà</i>	
<i>kù-búkà</i>	v	to wake up (intr.); to consult spirits (as a witch doctor)			
<i>kù-búkìsà</i>	v	to have a witch doctor consult spirits			
<i>mù-búkù</i>	n	African dream herb	3,4	<i>mì-búkù</i>	
<i>kù-búkùshùrà</i>	v	to rub hard (an itch)			
<i>mà-bùkùtà</i>	n	cattle skin used for sharpening axes	6		
<i>kù-bùkùtà</i>	v	to sharpen (an axe)			
<i>kù-bùmbà</i>	v	to make a pot; to create			
<i>mù-bùmbì</i>	n	potter; creator (God)	1,2	<i>bà-bùmbì</i>	
<i>zì-bùmbwàntù</i>	n	creatures (people)	8		
<i>bùnà</i>	n	leaf	5,6	<i>mà-bùnà</i>	
<i>kà-bùndù</i>	n	mist	12		
<i>kù-bùnnìkìzà</i>	v	to be stingy			
<i>kù-bùpùrà</i>	v	to beat			
<i>kù-bùrà</i>	v	to not find, miss, fail			
<i>cì-bùrù</i>	n	Afrikaans	7		
<i>mù-bùrù</i>	n	Afrikaner	1,6	<i>mà-bùrù</i>	
<i>kù-bùrùkà</i>	v	to remember			
<i>kù-bùsà</i>	v	to wake up (tr.); to greet			
<i>kù-bùtùkà</i>	v	to run			
<i>kù-bùtùkìsà</i>	v	to drive			
<i>mù-bùtùkìsirò</i>	n	driving	3		
<i>kù-bùtùrà</i>	v	to clear a field (from			

		small shrubs)		
<i>kù-búzá</i>	v	to ask		
<i>bù-búzi</i>	n	poverty		
<i>cì-bwángà</i>	n	frog	7,8	<i>zì-bwángà</i>
<i>bwè</i>	n	stone	5,6	<i>mà-bwè</i>
<i>bw-íri</i>	n	<i>Grielum humifusum</i>	14	
<i>cì-byà</i>	n	household item	7,8	<i>zì-byà</i>
<i>cì-byáràntù</i>	n	cultivated plant	7,8	<i>zì-byáràntù</i>
<i>kù-cábà</i>	v	to fetch, collect (firewood)		
<i>kù-cábàcàbà</i>	v	to fish by scooping with a bucket		
<i>cáhà</i>	adv	very		
<i>kù-câisà</i>	v	to collide; to knock off (work)		
<i>kù-cákànzà</i>	v	to rattle		
<i>kù-càkànsà</i>	v	to shake (a liquid)		
<i>kù-càmàùnà</i>	v	to divide food		
<i>kù-càmùnà</i>	v	to cut off a piece; to take (food)		
<i>kù-càncàùsà</i>	v	to be fast		
<i>rù-cáncì</i>	n	lavender croton (<i>Croton</i> II <i>gratissimus</i>)		
<i>mù-cáni</i>	n	hunter	1,2	<i>bà-cáni</i>
<i>kù-cànkà</i>	v	to sow		
<i>kù-cànkàmà</i>	v	to stand on the fire (of a pot)		
<i>kù-cànkàwìrà</i>	v	to sow an entire field		
<i>kù-cànkikà</i>	v	to put a pot on the fire		
<i>kù-cáncùrà</i>	v	to remove a pot from the fire		
<i>mù-càrò</i>	n	buffalo thorn (<i>Ziziphus</i> 3 <i>mucronata</i>)		Khwe
<i>n-càrò</i>	n	fruits of the buffalo thorn	10	
<i>kù-cá:nà</i>	v	to hunt		
<i>kù-cébùkà</i>	v	to look behind		
<i>mù-cècè</i>	n	baby	1,2	<i>bà-cècè</i>
<i>kù-cécèntà</i>	v	to winnow		
<i>-cékù</i>	adj	sharp		
<i>kù-cékùrà</i>	v	to cut oneself		
<i>mù-cèmbèrè</i>	n	old lady	1,2	<i>bà-cèmbèrè</i>
<i>kù-cèmpà</i>	v	to cut at the stem of a sorghum plant		Lozi
<i>kù-cènà</i>	v	to become clean		
<i>kù-cènèsà</i>	v	to clean		
<i>kù-céngàmà</i>	v	to be right next to		
<i>mù-céngè</i>	n	bushwillow	3,4	<i>mì-céngè</i>
<i>kù-céngèkà</i>	v	to smoke/dry by the fire		
<i>cènkà</i>	n	aloe	5,6	<i>ma-cènkà</i>

<i>kù-cènkùkà</i>	v	to look behind, over one's shoulder		
<i>kù-cènkùrà</i>	v	to cut off half; to look over one's shoulder		
<i>ⁿ-cényà</i>	adj	small		
<i>bù-¹cényà</i>	n	smallness	I4	
<i>ká-¹cényácènyà</i>	n	sth. very small	I2	
<i>kù-cényèhèsà</i>	v	to make small		
<i>kù-cèrà</i>	v	to wound, injure		
<i>rù-cérè</i>	n	grass sp., used for mats	II, IO	<i>n-cérè</i>
<i>kù-cérùkà</i>	v	to become torn		
<i>kù-cérùrà</i>	v	to tear		
<i>bù-cì</i>	n	honey	I4	
<i>cìkàrìrà</i>	adv	always		
<i>kù-cìmbùrà</i>	v	to lift up, improve		
<i>kù-cìncà</i>	v	to change		
<i>kù-cìncànà</i>	v	to be different; to exchange		
<i>cìndù</i>	n	wild date palm	5,6	<i>mà-cìndù</i>
<i>cìnkà</i>	n	tree sp.	5,6	<i>mà-cìnkà</i>
<i>mù-cìrà</i>	n	tail	3,4	<i>mì-cìrà</i>
<i>kù-cìrìrà ~ kù-cìrìrà</i>	v	to follow		
<i>kù-cìrùkà</i>	v	to jump		
<i>kà-cìyó'cìyò</i>	n	chick	I2,I3	<i>tù-cìyó'cìyò</i>
<i>kù-còbà</i>	v	to cycle		
<i>kù-còkàmà</i>	v	to spy, hide in order to spy		
<i>kù-còkòkà</i>	v	to come off (of chaff)		
<i>kù-còkòrà</i>	v	to remove chaff		
<i>kù-còm̀pòrà</i>	v	to snatch		
<i>kù-cònà</i>	v	to disappear, be gone for a long time		
<i>kù-cònkà</i>	v	to press, push, poke		
<i>kù-cònkò̀mònà</i>	v	to press buttons		
<i>c-òrò</i>	n	rubbish	8	<i>zì-còrò</i>
<i>kù-cò:kà</i>	v	to break (intr.)		
<i>kù-cò:rà</i>	v	to break (tr.)		
<i>kù-cùkàcùkà</i>	v	to shake (a drink)		
<i>kù-cùkùnsà</i>	v	to shake		
<i>kù-cùncùnà</i>	v	to kiss		
<i>kù-cùncùrà</i>	v	to stumble		
<i>kù-cùnkùtà</i>	v	to limp		
<i>n-cùpà</i>	n	whip	9,IO	<i>n-cùpà</i>
<i>kù-cùpùrà</i>	v	to undress		
<i>kù-cùùnà</i>	v	to limp		
<i>bù-cwàrà</i>	n	beer	I4	

~ bù-jwàrà					
cwàré	adv	then			
cwè	n	stone	5,6	mà-cwè	
kù-dàbbàmà	v	to jump into water			
kù-dàbbìkà	v	to throw s.o. into water			
cì-dàkwà	n	heavy drinker, addict	7,8	zì-dàkwà	
kù-dàmà	v	to beat			
kù-dàmàdàmà	v	to beat repeatedly			
kù-dàmàùrà	v	to beat up			
-dànà	adj	small			
mù-dànà	n	child	1,2	bà-dànà	
kù-dánkàmà	v	to be put down			
kù-dànsàikà	v	to scatter (tr.)			
kù-dànsikà	v	to drop			
kù-débà	v	to hang loose			
kù-dèbèrà	v	to be not taut			
kù-dékèshèrà	v	to move the shoulders in a dancing movement			
kù-dékètà	v	to move the shoulders up and down in a dancing movement			
kù-dìbà	v	to tie (a <i>chitenge</i>)			
kù-dòkòmà	v	to clear one's throat			
kù-dòkòrà	v	to belch, clear one's throat			
dòkótà	n	doctor	1a,2	bà-dòkótà	
n-dòngà	n	needle	9,10	n-dòngà	
kù-dònkà	v	to drip			
kù-dònkèsà	v	to cause to drip			
~ kù-dònsà					
kù-dònsà	v	to cause to drip; to pull			
kù-dòntà	v	to get blisters			
mù-dòrò	n	back of the knee	3,4	mì-dòrò	
drámù	n	drum	5		English
cì-dùdì	n	fat person	7		
dùdùsà ~ dùdùsá	n	dust, dried black clay	5		
cì-dùkùtùrì	n	owl, hawk	7,8	zì-dùkùtùrì	
kù-dùnà	v	to stare round-eyed			
kù-dùnàmìnà	v	to stare at s.o. with round eyes			
kù-dùnkà	v	to swim			
kù-dùnkùrà	v	to thresh			
kù-dùrà	v	to be expensive			Afrikaans
c-éhò	n	winter	7		
bw-ékè	n	grain	14		
kù-èkèzà	v	to continue			
m-énjì	n	water	6		

<i>mw-èrì</i>	n	firstborn	I,2		
<i>mw-èzì</i>	n	moon, month	3,4	<i>mì-èzì</i>	
<i>cì-fàtéhò</i>	n	face	7,8	<i>zì-fàtéhò</i>	Lozi
<i>kà-fìfì</i>	n	darkness	12		
<i>kù-fìyèrà</i>	v	to sweep			Lozi
<i>rù-fìyèrò</i>	n	grass sp. (<i>Stipagrostis uniplumis</i>)	11		
<i>mù-fìyézò</i>	n	broom	3,4	<i>mì-fìyézò</i>	Lozi
<i>cí-fò</i>	n	poison (used in hunting)	7,8	<i>zì-fò</i>	
<i>fônì</i>	n	phone	5,6	<i>mà-fônì</i>	English
<i>kù-fòsà</i>	v	to sin, make a mistake			
<i>kù-fòsàhàrà</i>	v	to be wrong, be a bad person			
<i>rú-fù</i>	n	death	11,6	<i>má-fù</i>	
<i>kù-fúàmà</i>	v	to park (a boat)			
<i>fúfà</i>	n	jealousy	9		
<i>kù-fùfùrèrùwà</i>	v	to sweat			
<i>cì-fúhà</i>	n	bone	7,8	<i>zì-fúhà</i>	
<i>fùkèrà</i>	n	fever	9		
<i>kù-fùmà</i>	v	to become rich			
<i>mù-fùmbò</i>	n	Cheesewood tree (<i>Pittosporum viridiflorum</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-fùmbò</i>	
<i>mù-fúmì</i>	n	rich person	I,2	<i>bà-fúmì</i>	
<i>kù-fùndà</i>	v	to carve meat			
<i>kù-fùndùkà</i>	v	to leave, start off (on a journey)			
<i>kù-fùndùsà</i>	v	to escort out			
<i>cì-fúpì</i>	n	lid	7,8	<i>zì-fúpì</i>	
<i>kù-fùrà</i>	v	to sharpen, weld			
<i>kù-fùrà</i>	v	to pick (fruit)			
<i>fúráyì</i>	n	airplane	9,6	<i>mà-fúráyì</i>	English
<i>cì-fùrì</i>	n	duck	7,8	<i>zì-fùrì</i>	
<i>mù-fùrì</i>	n	blacksmith	I,2	<i>bà-fùrì</i>	
<i>kà-fùrò</i>	n	knife	12,13	<i>tù-fùrò</i>	
<i>cì-fùròfùrò</i>	n	aloe	7,8	<i>zì-fùròfùrò</i>	
<i>kù-fùrùmàrà</i>	v	to become adult (of girls)			
<i>kù-fùrùmìkà</i>	v	to place upside down			
<i>kù-fùrùmùnà</i>	v	to remove a lid; to put upright			
<i>mà-fútà</i>	n	oil (for putting on skin)	6		
<i>kù-fútàtìrà</i>	v	to stand with one's back to s.o.; to quit a job			
<i>kù-fútùmùkà</i>	v	to turn around			
<i>kù-fútùrùkà</i>	v	to turn to face s.o.			
<i>mù-fúzì</i>	n	blacksmith	I,2	<i>bà-fúzì</i>	
<i>kù-fúzìrà</i>	v	to blow on a fire to get			

		it going			
<i>kù-fúzirà</i>	v	to blow on a fire			
<i>kú-fwà</i>	v	to die; to break			
<i>kù-fwáfwatìrà</i>	v	to get crushed			
<i>kù-fwáfwatìzà</i>	v	to crush			
<i>mù-fwákàzì</i>	n	co-wife (said by co-wife)	1,2	<i>bà-fwákàzì</i>	
<i>kù-fwánìkìzà</i>	v	to be better			
<i>kú-^lfwányà</i>	v	to be nothing			
<i>mù-fwè</i>	n	stone (used for sharpening)	3,4	<i>mì-fwè</i>	
<i>cì-fwè</i>	n	Fwe language, culture	7		
<i>kù-fwèbà</i>	v	to smoke (tobacco)			
<i>mù-fwèzì</i>	n	smoker	1,2	<i>bà-fwèzì</i>	
<i>kù-fwûkà</i>	v	to park			
<i>kù-fwûmpìsà</i>	v	to make short			
<i>kù-fwìnkà</i>	v	to seal a hole			
<i>cì-fwìnkìsò ~ cì-fwìnsò</i>	n	stopper, seal	7,8	<i>zì-fwìnkìsò ~ zì-fwìnsò</i>	
<i>mù-fwírwà</i>	n	widow, widower	1,2	<i>bà-fwírwà</i>	
<i>kù-fwíyàùrà</i>	v	to be blessed with sth.			
<i>-fwíyì</i>	adj	short			
<i>bù-fwíyì</i>	n	shortness	14		
<i>kù-fwíyìmpà</i>	v	to become short			
<i>kù-fwízyà</i>	v	to curse			
<i>kù-gábà</i>	v	to block			
<i>kù-gábàgàbà</i>	v	to talk nonsense			
<i>kù-gábàmà</i>	v	to hang on a hook (intr.)			
<i>gàbbà</i>	n	tin	5,6	<i>màgàbbà</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-gábìkà</i>	v	to hang on a hook (tr.)			
<i>kù-gábùkà</i>	v	to break off			
<i>kù-gábùrùrà</i>	v	to unblock			
<i>kù-gángìrà</i>	v	to freeze			
<i>kù-gàrà</i>	v	to dig (with hands)			
<i>kù-gàyà</i>	v	to sew			
<i>kù-gáyìrà</i>	v	to fence in			
<i>-gèné ~ -glénè</i>	adj	thin			
<i>gí: (ZF)</i>	n	egg	5,6	<i>mà-gí: ~ mà-yí:</i>	
<i>~ yí: (NF)</i>					
<i>kù-góbbòrà</i>	v	to wade			
<i>kù-gòrà</i>	v	to become strong			
<i>cì-gòrògòrò</i>	n	puddle; well	7,8	<i>zì-gòrògòrò</i>	
<i>mà-grázì</i>	n	glasses	6		English
<i>kù-gùmbàmà ~ kù-gùmbànà</i>	v	to stand next to each other			

<i>kù-gùmbìkà</i>	v	to put next to each other		
<i>rù-gú'ngúra</i>	n	dead tree	11,6	<i>mà-gú'ngúra</i>
<i>kù-gùnkà</i>	v	to bump/lean into		
<i>kù-gùnkàrà</i>	v	to kneel		
<i>n-gúrí</i>	n	namegiver	9,10	<i>n-gúrí</i>
<i>n-gúró</i>	n	business	9,10	<i>n-gúró</i>
<i>kù-gwà (ZF) ~</i>	v	to fall		
<i>kù-wà (NF)</i>				
<i>kù-gwàgùrà</i>	v	to brush (teeth); to remove callous		
<i>rù-gwàràrà</i>	n	grass sp. (<i>Juncus kraussii</i>)	11	
<i>mù-gwégwèsi</i>	n	ankle bone	3,4	<i>mì-gwégwèsi</i>
<i>kù-gwìsà (ZF) ~</i>	v	to drop		
<i>kù-wìsà (NF)</i>				
<i>háfù</i>	n	lung	5,6	<i>mà-háfù</i>
<i>kù-háfùkà</i>	v	to be not normal; to be half full		
<i>kù-háfùrà</i>	v	to make half full		
<i>hâibà</i>	con	if		Lozi
<i>kù-hâkà</i>	v	to not feel, hear, understand		
<i>cì-hàmbà kùfùrà</i>	n	duck sp., with a beak shaped like a hoe	7,8	<i>zì-hàmbà kùfùrà</i>
<i>kù-hàmbàùkà</i>	v	to walk this way and that		
<i>mù-àmbì</i>	n	speaker	1,2	<i>bà-àmbì</i>
<i>kù-hàmbìkà</i>	v	to accuse		
<i>kù-hàmbìrìzà</i>	v	to accuse		
<i>hândè</i>	n	bark; 200 dollar bill (plural only)	5,6	<i>mà-hândè</i>
<i>kù-hángàmà</i>	v	to be put in a high position, be hung		
<i>kù-hángùmùkà</i>	v	to fall down from a high position		
<i>kù-hángùrà</i>	v	to remove from a high position		
<i>kù-hánjikà</i>	v	to hang (tr.), put in a high position		
<i>hápè</i>	adv	again		Lozi
<i>hápù</i>	n	watermelon	5,6	<i>mà-hápù</i>
<i>kù-hàrà</i>	v	to live, survive		
<i>kù-hàrà</i>	v	to scrape, rake		
<i>kà-hàrà'hàrà</i>	n	African finger millet	12	
<i>hàrànténè</i>	n	cockroach	5,6	<i>mà-hàrànténè</i>
<i>kù-hàràùkà</i>	v	to be completely scratched		
<i>kù-hàribìkà</i>	v	to try hard, apply oneself		
<i>kù-hàrikà</i>	v	to fry		
<i>bù-hàrò</i>	n	life	14	

<i>kù-hàsàná</i>	v	to scatter			
<i>rù-hátì</i>	n	rib	11,10	<i>m-pátì</i>	
<i>hátò</i>	n	amaranth (<i>Amaranthus</i> <i>hybrides</i>)	5		
<i>hàwà</i>	adv	very			NF
<i>kù-házà</i>	v	to save			
<i>kù-hèmbà</i>	v	to blow one's nose			
<i>hèmèrè</i>	n	bucket	5,6	<i>mà-hèmèrè</i>	Afrikaans, via Lozi
<i>kù-hénjà</i>	v	to look secretly, spy			
<i>kù-hèrà ~</i>	v	to hurry			
<i>kù-hwèrà</i>					
<i>kù-híbà</i>	v	to steal			
<i>kù-híkà</i>	v	to cook (relish)			
<i>mù-híkì</i>	n	cook	1,2	<i>bà-híkì</i>	
<i>cì-híkìsò</i>	n	cooking utensil	7,8	<i>zì-híkìsò</i>	
<i>kù-hímìnìnà</i>	v	to sink, go down			
<i>kù-hìnà</i>	v	to disagree (by saying "hm")			
<i>kù-hìndà</i>	v	to take			
<i>kù-hìndìrìrà</i>	v	to take all, take and take			
<i>kù-híngìsà</i>	v	to put more, make full			
<i>mà-hìrà</i>	n	sorghum	6		
<i>kù-hítà</i>	v	to pass by			
<i>kù-hítùrà</i>	v	to carry			
<i>rù-hò</i>	n	wind	11		
<i>bù-hóbè</i>	n	porridge	14		from Lozi; ZF
<i>kù-hómà</i>	v	to lie			
<i>bù-hómà</i>	n	mongongo tree (<i>Schinziophyton rau-</i> <i>tanenii</i>)	14,6	<i>mà-hómà</i>	
<i>kà-hòmò</i>	n	disease with symptoms similar to AIDS	12		
<i>kù-hòmpwèrà</i>	v	to hammer			
<i>kù-hòndà</i>	v	to cook (porridge)			
<i>mà-hóndèrò</i>	n	kitchen	6		
<i>hó'ngórò</i>	n	millipede	5,6	<i>mà-hó'ngórò</i>	
<i>kù-hòrà</i>	v	to be paid			
<i>kù-hórà</i>	v	to cool down, to recover			
<i>cì-hórè</i>	n	disabled person (from an injury)	7,8	<i>zì-hórè</i>	
<i>kù-hóròngàrà</i>	v	to become worn, broken			
<i>kù-hóshà</i>	v	to plait; to twist a rope			
<i>kù-hóshòròrà</i>	v	to take out plaits			
<i>kù-hósòkà</i>	v	to slip out			
<i>kù-hótòkà</i>	v	to break off (of a branch)			

<i>kù-hôzà</i>	v	to heal			
<i>mù-hôzì</i>	n	healer	I,2	<i>bà-hôzì</i>	
<i>bù-hùbà</i>	n	lightness	I4		
<i>-hùbà</i>	adj	light			
<i>mù-húkò</i>	n	lid	3,4	<i>mì-húkò</i>	
<i>hùkò</i>	n	water snake sp.	5,6	<i>mà-hùkò</i>	
<i>hùmbwà</i>	n	cheetah	5,6	<i>mà-hùmbwà</i>	
<i>kù-hùmpà</i>	v	to follow			
<i>kù-hùmpirìrà</i>	v	to follow excessively			
<i>mù-hùngà</i>	n	tree sp.	3,4	<i>mì-hùngà</i>	
<i>kù-hùpùrà</i>	v	to remember, think			Lozi
<i>kù-hùrà</i>	v	to arrive			
<i>kù-hùrèhà</i>	v	to put a yoke			
<i>mù-hùrì</i>	n	buyer	I,2	<i>bà-hùrì</i>	
<i>mù-hùrìsì</i>	n	seller	I,2	<i>bà-hùrìsì</i>	
<i>kù-hùrùrà</i>	v	to take a yoke off			
<i>kù-húwà</i>	v	to shout			
<i>kù-húwèrèzà</i>	v	to shout			
<i>mù-húwò</i>	n	shouting	3		
<i>húzγù</i>	n	breath	5		
<i>kù-húzγà</i>	v	to breathe			
<i>kù-hù:tà</i>	v	to sip			
<i>mw-ìkà</i>	n	slave	I,2	<i>b-èkà</i>	
<i>mw-í'kánà</i>	n	slave	I,2	<i>b-é'kánà</i>	
<i>mw-ìndì</i>	n	leg of a pot	3,4	<i>m-ìndì</i>	
<i>ìndúnà</i>	n	induna (political figure)	Ia,6	<i>mà-ìndúnà</i>	Lozi
<i>kà-ìngà</i>	n	clay bowl; spot on the skin	I2,I3	<i>tù-ìngà</i>	
<i>mw-ìngà</i>	n	thorn	3,4	<i>m-ìngà</i>	
<i>mw-ínì</i>	n	handle of a tool	3,4	<i>m-ínì</i>	
<i>mw-ìnshì</i>	n	pestle	3,4	<i>m-ìnshì</i>	
<i>r-ìnshò</i>	n	eye	5,6	<i>m-énshò</i>	
<i>kù-ísà</i>	v	to burn, be hot			
<i>mw-ísì</i>	n	thorn	3,4	<i>m-ísì</i>	
<i>rw-ízyì</i>	n	river	II		
<i>kù-jàjùrà</i>	v	to shell groundnuts			
<i>kù-jánà</i>	v	to gape			
<i>kù-jánàmà</i>	v	to gape			
<i>kù-jàrùmùkà</i>	v	to raise one's voice			
<i>'n-jè</i>	n	outside	9		
<i>jéfù</i>	n	poison	5		
<i>kù-jérùmùkà</i>	v	to be sour, have a strong taste that makes the mouth contract			
<i>kù-jìkìtà</i>	v	to dance (a type of dance)			

<i>mù-jìsíwà</i>	n	poison (used on humans)	3,4	<i>mì-jìsíwà</i>
<i>jókwè</i>	n	yoke	5,6	<i>mà-jókwè</i>
<i>kù-jómbèzà</i>	v	to shout		
<i>kù-jùjùkà</i>	v	to become bleached, fade		
<i>kù-jùjùrà</i>	v	to bleach		
<i>kù-jùkùtà</i>	v	to rinse clothes		
<i>kù-jùkùtùrà</i>	v	to scrub clothes; to struggle to remove sth.		
<i>kù-jùmbà</i>	v	to leave in protest		
<i>kù-jùntà</i>	v	to hop		
<i>kù-jùntàùkà</i>	v	to hop across a distance		
<i>cì-jùdò</i>	n	nest	7,8	<i>zì-jùdò</i>
<i>rù-jùù</i>	n	pea, jugo bean	II,IO	<i>n-jùù</i>
<i>kù-jwéngà</i>	v	to shout (of an elephant)		
<i>bù-kà</i>	n	black ant	I4	
<i>bù-ká'ábù</i>	n	problem	I4	
<i>cì-kàbì</i>	n	skins	7,8	<i>zì-kàbì</i>
<i>kù-kábùhàrà</i>	v	to be difficult		
<i>kù-kàbùà</i>	v	to stop raining		
<i>kù-kácìkìrà</i>	v	to be interrupted		
<i>kù-kácìkìzà</i>	v	to interrupt		
<i>cì-káhù</i>	n	flat tray-like basket used for winnowing	7,8	<i>zì-káhù</i>
<i>kù-kákàrà</i>	v	to argue		
<i>rù-kákàtìrà</i>	n	burdock	II	
<i>kù-kákàtìrà</i>	v	to become stuck		
<i>kù-kàmà</i>	v	to milk		
<i>kù-kámàtà</i>	v	to scoop		
<i>kàmbà</i>	n	river bank	5,6	<i>mà-kàmbà</i>
<i>kù-kàmbà</i>	v	to clap (once)		
<i>kù-kàmbàmà</i>	v	to be on top of e.a.		
<i>kù-kàmbìkà</i>	v	to put on top of e.a.		
<i>n-kàmbìkìrò</i>	n	profit	9	
<i>n-kàmbìkwà</i>	n	profit	9	
<i>kù-kàmbìrìzà</i>	v	to applaud		
<i>kù-kàmbùrà</i>	v	to remove things from on top of each other		
<i>mù-kámìsò</i>	n	squeezing tool	3,4	<i>mì-kámìsò</i>
<i>kù-kàmùnà</i>	v	to comb		
<i>kù-kànàmà</i>	v	to lay down while facing up		
<i>kù-kànànà</i>	v	to argue		
<i>kù-kàndà</i>	v	to massage		
<i>kàndájòmbè</i>	n	lily sp.	5	
<i>kàndè</i>	n	story	5,6	<i>mà-kàndè</i>

<i>kù-kàndèkà</i>	v	to tell			
<i>mà-kándò</i>	n	type of treatment for success or luck	6		
<i>rù-kàni</i>	n	jaw	II,IO	<i>n-kàni</i>	
<i>kù-kànkà</i>	v	to hack			
<i>kù-kànkàurà</i>	v	to destroy crops by cutting			
<i>kàntì</i>	adv	then			
<i>kù-kàntùkà</i>	v	to cross (a river, road)			
<i>kù-kàntùsà</i>	v	to help s.o. cross (a river, road)			
<i>n-kànzà</i>	n	central village square	9		
<i>kápà</i>	con	or			Lozi
<i>kàpàsò</i>	n	policeman	1a,2	<i>bà-kàpàsò</i>	Lozi
<i>kàrà</i>	n	charcoal	5,6	<i>mà-kàrà</i>	
<i>kù-kàrà</i>	v	to sit, stay			
<i>kàràmindwà</i>	n	crab	5,6	<i>mà-kàràmindwà</i>	
<i>zì-kàràntù</i>	n	problems	8		
<i>kù-kàrihà</i>	v	to shout, scold			
<i>kù-kàrikà</i>	v	to put down			
<i>kù-kàrimà</i>	v	to borrow			
<i>kù-kàrisà</i>	v	to keep s.o. company			
<i>mà-kàrò</i>	n	place	6		
<i>kù-kàtà</i>	v	to become thin			
<i>bù-kàtà</i>	n	weakness	14		
<i>kù-kàtàzà</i>	v	to be naughty			
<i>kà-tì</i>	n	middle	12		
<i>n-kàtùrò</i>	n	judgment	9,10	<i>n-kàtùrò</i>	
<i>mà-kàtùrò</i>	n	shoes	6		Lozi
<i>kù-kàwùhàrà</i>	v	to be separated			Lozi
<i>kù-kàwùhànyà</i>	v	to separate			Lozi
<i>kù-kàyà</i>	v	to tie with rope; to tie a cow while milking			
<i>mù-kàzàrà</i>	n	girl			
<i>cì-kàzì</i>	n	sp. of women's disease	7		
<i>kù-kà:nà</i>	v	to divorce, reject, refuse			
<i>cì-kébégà ~</i>	n	criminal	7,8	<i>zì-kébégà ~</i>	Lozi
<i>cì-gébégà</i>				<i>zì-gébégà</i>	
<i>kù-kékèrà</i>	v	to plough			
<i>cì-kékèrè</i>	n	disc plough	7,8	<i>zì-kékèrè</i>	
<i>kù-kènà</i>	v	to be present			
<i>mù-kènà</i>	n	tree sp. (<i>Burkea africana</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-kènà</i>	
<i>bù-kéntù</i>	n	female genitals	14		
<i>mù-kéntù</i>	n	woman, wife	1,2	<i>bà-kéntù</i>	
<i>cì-kérè</i>	n	scissors	7,8	<i>zì-kérè</i>	
<i>n-kèrézò</i>	n	advice	9,10	<i>n-kèrézò</i>	
<i>rù-késhà</i>	n	foxtail millet	11		

<i>cì-kèsì</i>	n	eyebrow	7,8	<i>zì-kèsì</i>	
<i>kù-kè:zyà</i>	v	to come			
<i>kù-kíðibbà</i>	v	to put on a chitenge			
<i>kù-kíkòzà</i>	v	to be the same			
<i>-kìmà</i>	adj	fat			
<i>bù-kìmà</i>	n	fatness	14		
<i>kù-kímùmà</i>	v	to close one's mouth			
<i>kù-kíshàngà</i>	v	to meet			
<i>mù-kítì</i>	n	party	3,4	<i>mì-kítì</i>	
<i>kù-kítùkìsèzà</i>	v	to get ready			
<i>kù-kítùtà</i>	v	to learn			
<i>kù-kìyà</i>	v	to lock			
<i>kù-kíyùrùrà</i>	v	to unlock			
<i>kù-kízìmà</i>	v	to close one's eyes			
<i>mù-kò:</i>	n	lid	3,4	<i>mì-kò:</i>	
<i>bù-kòbà</i>	n	apartheid	14		Lozi
<i>kù-kòbòcà</i>	v	to drive			
<i>kóbúmàyì</i>	adv	unfortunately			
<i>cì-kòcì</i>	n	skirt	7,8	<i>zì-kòcì</i>	
<i>kù-kùhà</i>	v	to wink, blink			
<i>kù-kókà</i>	v	to pull, suck			
<i>kù-kókìyà</i>	v	to cock a gun			
<i>kù-kókòbà</i>	v	to crawl			
<i>rù-kó'kónà</i>	n	elbow	11,10	<i>n-kó'kónà</i>	
<i>kù-kókòròrà</i>	v	to drag			
<i>mù-kókòsì</i>	n	bush (<i>Osyris compressa</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-kókòsì</i>	
<i>kù-kòmà</i>	v	to win			
<i>n-kómbà</i>	n	lastborn	9		
<i>kù-kómbà</i>	v	to lick			
<i>rù-kómbò</i>	n	navel	11,10	<i>n-kómbò</i>	
<i>cì-kómbómbà</i>	n	flower (<i>Acrotome angustifolia</i>)	7,6	<i>mà-kómbómbà</i>	
<i>mù-kòmbwè</i>	n	rooster	3,4	<i>mì-kòmbwè</i>	
<i>n-kòmókì</i>	n	cup	1a/9, 10	<i>n-kòmókì</i>	
<i>kù-kòmòkwà</i>	v	to be surprised			
<i>mù-kónà</i>	n	tree (<i>Acacia fleckii</i>)	3,		
<i>kòndè</i>	n	banana	5/9,6	<i>mà-kòndè</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-kòndòrà</i>	v	to brew			
<i>kó'ngórò</i>	n	flower sp.	5,6	<i>mà-kó'ngórò</i>	
<i>kù-kònkà</i>	v	to swear			
<i>kù-kókòmònà</i>	v	to hatch			
<i>kónò</i>	con	but			
<i>kù-kònsà</i>	v	to doze			
<i>kù-kòpànà</i>	v	to meet			Lozi
<i>kù-kòpànìsà</i>	v	to gather			Lozi

<i>n-kòpèrò ~</i>	n	button	9,10	<i>n-kòpèrò ~ n-kòpézò</i>
<i>n-kòpézò</i>				
<i>kù-kòrà</i>	v	to irritate		
<i>kù-kórèkà</i>	v	to carry on the shoulders		
<i>kù-kòròtà</i>	v	to borrow		
<i>mù-kòròtèrà</i>	n	pod	3,4	<i>mì-kòròtèrà</i>
<i>kù-kòshà</i>	v	to take meat apart after cooking		
<i>kù-kòshàùkà</i>	v	to be (easily) cut		
<i>kù-kòshàùrà</i>	v	to cut into two		
<i>kù-kòshòrà</i>	v	to cut off, pull off, cross		
<i>kòsì</i>	n	nape of the neck	5,6	<i>mà-kòsì</i>
<i>kù-kòsòròkwà</i>	v	to sleep until rested		
<i>kù-kòtàrà</i>	v	to bend over		
<i>mù-kòtánà</i>	n	bag	3,4	<i>mì-kòtánà</i>
<i>cì-kòtè</i>	n	basket	7,8	<i>zì-kòtè</i>
<i>kù-kòtèkà</i>	v	to delegate		
<i>kòtò</i>	n	knot	5,6	<i>mà-kòtò</i>
<i>kù-kòtòmòkà</i>	v	to hold up one's head		
<i>kù-kòtòmònà</i>	v	to hold up s.o.'s head		
<i>mù-kòwà</i>	n	age group; family	3,4	<i>mì-kòwà</i>
<i>kù-kòwà</i>	v	to blink		
<i>mù-kózu</i>	n	strength, power	3,4	<i>mì-kózu</i>
<i>mù-kózu</i>	n	strong person	1,2	<i>bà-kózu</i>
<i>kù-kózyàùrà</i>	v	to pick (fruit)		
<i>kù-kòrà</i>	v	to cough		
<i>cì-kùbábè</i>	n	plant (<i>Dioscorea quartiniana</i>)	7	
<i>kù-kùbàzà</i>	v	to hurt		
<i>kùbì</i>	n	vulture	5,6	<i>mà-kùbì</i>
<i>cì-kùbò</i>	n	time	7	
<i>kù-kùbùrà</i>	v	to pluck (a chicken)		
<i>kù-kùkà</i>	v	to float away		
<i>kù-kùkùrà</i>	v	to cut nails, cut the side of a mat to make it even		
<i>n-kùkwè</i>	n	leftovers	9	
<i>rù-kùmbà</i>	n	rope, used in building	11,6	<i>mà-kùmbà</i>
<i>kù-kùmbàtà</i>	v	to hug		
<i>kù-kùmbìrà</i>	v	to beg		
<i>kù-kùmbùkà</i>	v	to come out (fibres from a tree)		
<i>kù-kùmbùrà</i>	v	to cut fibres from a tree		
<i>kà-kùmbwàtìtì</i>	n	laughing dove	12,13	<i>tù-kùmbwàtìtì</i>
<i>kù-kúnà</i>	v	to grow (crops)		
<i>kù-kúnàmà</i>	v	to lie on a smoking shelf		

<i>cì-kúnàntù</i>	n	plant	7,8	<i>zì-kúnàntù</i>
<i>mù-kùngù</i>	n	dish used for washing with medicine	3,4	<i>mì-kùngù</i>
<i>kù-kúngùrà</i>	v	to clean up after a meal		
<i>cì-kùnì</i>	n	tree	7,8	<i>zì-kùnì</i>
<i>kù-kúnìkà</i>	v	to smoke (food stuff)		
<i>mù-kúnkù</i>	n	tree sp., roots are used as medicine	3,4	<i>mì-kúnkù</i>
<i>kù-kùrà</i>	v	to grow		
<i>kù-kùrà</i>	v	to sweep		
<i>cì-kùrìkùrì</i>	n	shrub sp. (<i>Euclea undulata</i>)	7,4	<i>mì-kùrìkùrì</i>
<i>kù-kùrìrà</i>	v	to infect, be infectious		
<i>cì-kùrìsò</i>	n	broom	7,8	<i>zì-kùrìsò</i>
<i>mù-kùrò</i>	n	district	3,4	<i>mì-kùrò</i>
<i>mù-kùró:</i>	n	your older sibling	1,2	<i>bà-kùró:</i>
<i>mù-kùrù</i>	n	elder, older sibling, adult	1,2	<i>bà-kùrù</i>
<i>mù-kùrùàná</i>	n	young man	1,2	<i>bà-kùrùàná</i>
<i>cì-kùrùbè ~</i>	n	pig	7,8	<i>zì-kùrùbè</i>
<i>cì-gùrùbè</i>				
<i>cì-kùrùkùrù</i>	n	padlock	7,8	<i>zì-kùrùkùrù</i>
<i>kù-kùrùmpàrà</i>	v	to become old		
<i>kù-kùrùrà</i>	v	to cut hair		
<i>mù-kùsì</i>	n	Zambezi teak	3,4	<i>mì-kùsì</i>
<i>n-kútà</i>	n	courtroom	9,10	<i>n-kútà</i>
<i>kù-kútà</i>	v	to become satiated		
<i>kù-kútà</i>	v	to curse		
<i>kù-kútàzà</i>	v	to preach		
<i>kù-tékèhà</i>	v	to be respectable		
<i>kù-kútìkà</i>	v	to respect		
<i>kù-kúwà</i>	v	to call		
<i>cì-kúwà</i>	n	English	7	
<i>bù-kúwà</i>	n	urban area	14	
<i>mù-kúwà</i>	n	white person	1,6	<i>mà-kúwà</i>
<i>kù-kúzìkìzà</i>	v	to infect		
<i>kùzyà</i>	n	outer cover of a <i>mongongo</i> nut	5,6	<i>mà-kùzyà</i>
<i>kù-kúzyùkà</i>	v	to come out (of the outer shell of a <i>mongongo</i> nut)		
<i>kù-kúzyùrà</i>	v	to take off the outer shell of a <i>mongongo</i> nut		
<i>kù-kùrà</i>	v	to shift, move		
<i>kwàcàmà</i>	n	watermelon	5,6	<i>mà-kwàcàmà</i>
<i>rù-kwákùwà</i>	n	fence	11	

<i>mù-kwàkwà ~</i>	n	road	3,4	<i>mì-kwàkwà ~ mì-gwàgwà</i>
<i>mù-gwàgwà</i>				
<i>mú-'kwámè</i>	n	man, husband	I,2	<i>bá-'kwámè</i>
<i>bú-'kwámè</i>	n	male genitals	I4	
<i>ká-'kwáméàà</i>	n	boy	I2,I3	<i>tú-'kwáméàà</i>
<i>kù-kwàà</i>	v	to fit, be normal		
<i>kù-kwàngà</i>	v	to become tired, weak		
<i>kù-kwàngìsà</i>	v	to be tiresome		
<i>kù-kwàngwà</i>	v	to fail		
<i>n-kwàràkwàsì</i>	n	trouble	9	
<i>mù-kwàrèzò</i>	n	sticks that close a kraal	3,4	<i>mì-kwàrèzò</i>
<i>cì-kwàrò</i>	n	door	7,8	<i>zì-kwàrò</i>
<i>kù-kwàsà</i>	v	to help		
<i>kù-kwàtà</i>	v	to catch		
<i>kù-kwàtàkwàtà</i>	v	to touch everywhere		
<i>kù-kwàtàùrà</i>	v	to touch everywhere		
<i>mà-kwàtìrò</i>	n	handle	6	
<i>cì-kwàyèzò</i>	n	lid	7,8	<i>zì-kwàyèzò</i>
<i>rù-kwé:</i>	n	reed sp.	II	
<i>kù-kwèrà</i>	v	to board a vehicle		
<i>cì-kwèrèsò</i>	n	money for a taxi	7,8	<i>zì-kwèrèsò</i>
<i>kà-kwíkwíndè</i>	n	ebony	I2,I3	<i>tù-kwíkwíndè</i>
<i>rù-kwírà</i>	n	cyphia sp.	II,I0	<i>n-kwírà</i>
<i>bù-kwízýù</i>	n	sycamore fig	I4,6	<i>mà-kwízýù</i>
<i>kù-kyèrà</i>	v	to cut with scissors		
<i>mâîrûmè</i>	n	maternal uncle	Ia,2	<i>bà-mâîrûmè</i>
<i>kù-màkà</i>	v	to be watchful		
<i>rù-màkà</i>	n	berries of <i>Grewia flava</i>	II,I0	<i>màkà</i>
<i>cì-màkà</i>	n	tree sp. (<i>Grewia flava</i>)	7,8	<i>zì-màkà</i>
<i>mámà</i>	n	grandmother	Ia,2	<i>bà-mámà</i>
<i>kù-màmèrà</i>	v	to take care of		
<i>kù-mànà</i>	v	to finish		
<i>bù-màngò</i>	n	evil, ugliness	I4	
<i>-màngò</i>	adj	bad, ugly		
<i>kù-màngùrà</i>	v	to remove a thorn		
<i>mà-mànikìzò</i>	n	end	6	
<i>kù-mànìnà</i>	v	to disappear		
<i>kù-mántà</i>	v	to hop		
<i>mà-ràndà</i>	n	village of one's husband	6	
<i>màryánjò ~</i>	n	virgin	Ia,2	<i>bà-màryánjò ~ bà-màryánshò</i>
<i>màryánshò</i>				
<i>cì-mátè</i>	n	wall	7,I4	<i>bù-mátè</i>
<i>máyè</i>	n	mother	Ia,2	<i>bà-máyè</i>
<i>máyèmwàncè</i>	n	maternal aunt	Ia,2	<i>bà-máyèmwàncè</i>
<i>màýí'wúyè</i>	n	wild duck sp.	Ia	

<i>màzùkà</i>	n	squirrel	1a,2	<i>bà-màzùkà</i>	
<i>m-bàndè</i>	n	eagle	9,6	<i>mà-mbàndè</i>	
<i>mbàràmanya</i>	n	dragon fly	1a,2	<i>bà-mbàràmanya</i>	
<i>kà-</i>	n	lizard sp.	12,13	<i>tù-mbàryàmbàryà</i>	
<i>mbàryàmbàryà</i>					
<i>cì-mbàyàmbàyà</i>	n	storage drum	7,8	<i>zì-mbàyàmbàyà</i>	
<i>mbèbà</i>	n	rat	1a,2	<i>bà-mbèbà</i>	
<i>mù-mbétà</i>	n	bed	3,4	<i>mì-mbétà</i>	Lozi
<i>m-bèzyò</i>	n	ax for making surfaces smooth	9,6	<i>mà-mbèzyò</i>	
<i>m-bìngwà</i>	n	leprosy	9		
<i>m-bìrìmbìrì</i>	n	pepper	9,10	<i>m-bìrìmbìrì</i>	
<i>mbìzyì</i>	n	zebra	1a,2	<i>bà-mbìzyì</i>	
<i>mbó'érà</i>	n	wild dog	1a,2	<i>bà-mbó'érà</i>	
<i>m-bòmà</i>	n	python	9,6/10	<i>mà-mbòmà ~ m-bòmà</i>	
<i>mù-mbòngòrò</i>	n	plant sp. (<i>Hyaenanche globosa</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-mbòngòrò</i>	
<i>mù-mbòrè</i>	n	shrub (<i>Flacourtia indica</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-mbòrè</i>	
<i>cì-mbòtwè</i>	n	frog	7,8	<i>zì-mbòtwè</i>	
<i>mbòwà</i>	n	mushroom	9/14		
<i>m-búfù</i>	n	bream	9,10	<i>m-búfù</i>	
<i>kà-mbú'mbúrù</i>	n	beetle sp.	12,13	<i>tù-mbú'mbúrù</i>	
<i>m-bùndù</i>	n	dew	9		
<i>m-bútò</i>	n	seed	9,6	<i>mà-mbútò</i>	
<i>mù-mbùwà</i>	n	grass sp.	3		
<i>m-búzi</i>	n	lie (ZF); information (NF)	9		
<i>'-mbwà</i>	n	dog	1a,2	<i>bá-mbwà</i>	
<i>kà-mbwánà</i>	n	puppy	12,13	<i>tù-mbwánà</i>	
<i>mbwéshì</i>	n	giraffe	1a,2	<i>bà-mbwéshì</i>	
<i>mbwítì</i>	n	horned melon	1a,2	<i>bà-mbwítì</i>	
<i>mù-mè</i>	n	dew	3		
<i>kù-mèmà</i>	v	to invite			
<i>kù-mènà</i>	v	to sprout (of cultivated plants)			
<i>kù-ménèkà</i>	v	to be early			
<i>kù-mérèsà</i>	v	to greet			
<i>mfùmò</i>	n	rhinoceros	1a,2	<i>bà-mfùmò</i>	
<i>mfùmù</i>	n	chief, king	1a,2	<i>bà-mfùmù</i>	
<i>m-fùrèmfùrè</i>	n	small insect that walks backwards	9,10	<i>m-fùrèmfùrè</i>	
<i>mfúzi</i>	n	blacksmith	1a,2	<i>bà-mfúzi</i>	
<i>bú-mì</i>	n	life (state of being alive)	14		
<i>kú-mìnà</i>	v	to set (of the sun)			
<i>kù-mìnà</i>	v	to swallow			
<i>rù-mìnànjókà</i>	n	small plant sp.	11		

<i>kú-mìnìnà</i>	v	to sink			
<i>kú-mìnìsà</i>	v	to put in, tuck in			
<i>mírò yóngùrù</i>	n	sweet potato stalks	4		
<i>cí-'mónshò</i>	n	left	7	<i>zí-'mónshò</i>	
<i>mótà</i>	n	car	9,6	<i>mà-mótà</i>	English
<i>ká-'mpáfàwà ~</i> <i>ká-mpáfàwà</i>	n	bat sp.	12,13	<i>tú-'mpáfàwà ~</i> <i>tú-mpáfàwà</i>	
<i>m-pàmà</i>	n	slap	9,6	<i>mà-mpàmà</i>	
<i>m-pàmpà</i>	n	forked stick	9,10	<i>m-pàmpà</i>	
<i>cì-mpàngò</i>	n	silver barbel fish	7,8	<i>zì-mpàngò</i>	
<i>m-péhò</i>	n	cold; malaria	9		
<i>m-pénè</i>	n	goat	9,10	<i>m-pénè</i>	
<i>mpéngù</i>	n	white impala	1a,2	<i>bà-mpéngù</i>	
<i>m-pérèmpère</i>	n	butterfly	9,10	<i>m-pérèmpère</i>	
<i>mpíyù</i>	n	kudu	1a,2	<i>bà-mpíyù</i>	
<i>mpókò</i>	n	vegetable sp.	1a,2	<i>bà-mpókò</i>	
<i>m-pòndà</i>	n	spear	9,6	<i>mà-mpòndà</i>	
<i>cì-mpónì</i>	n	mirror	7,8	<i>zì-mpónì</i>	
<i>kà-mpòrwè</i>	n	diarrhea	12		
<i>m-púkà</i>	n	bee	9,10	<i>m-púkà</i>	
<i>-'mpúndù</i>	n	sandpaper raisin bush	9,10	<i>-'mpúndù</i>	
<i>mpúngù</i>	n	pumpkin	1a,2	<i>bà-mpúngù</i>	
<i>cì-</i> <i>mpùrùmùnùnkà</i>	n	small insect sp., secretes bad small	7,8	<i>zì-mpùrùmùnùnkà</i>	
<i>m-pùzò</i>	n	question	9,10	<i>m-pùzò</i>	
<i>mú-kwè</i>	n	mother-in-law	1		
<i>kà-múmbùrù</i>	n	Rhinoceros beetle	12,13	<i>tù-múmbùrù</i>	
<i>kù-múmùtùrà</i>	v	to open one's mouth			
<i>kù-mùnà</i>	v	to own			
<i>cì-múnántù</i>	n	domesticated animal	7,8	<i>zì-múnántù</i>	
<i>mù-mùnì</i>	n	lightning, light	3,4	<i>mì-mùnì</i>	
<i>kù-mùmìkà</i>	v	to shine			
<i>mùn ápì</i>	n	frog sp.	1a,2	<i>bà-mùn ápì</i>	
<i>mú-zà</i>	n	steam	3		
<i>mvùmbè</i>	n	snake sp.	1a,2	<i>bà-mvùmbè</i>	
<i>mvúra</i>	n	rain	1a		
<i>mvúù</i>	n	hippopotamus	1a,2	<i>bà-mvúù</i>	
<i>rú-mvwì</i>	n	grey hair	11,10	<i>-mvwì</i>	
<i>mvwì</i>	n	kudu	1a,2	<i>bà-mvwì</i>	
<i>rù-mwè</i>	n	mosquito	11,10	<i>mwè</i>	
<i>kù-mwémwètà</i>	v	to smile			
<i>kù-mwénà</i>	v	to be quiet			
<i>mwèndì</i>	adv	maybe			
<i>kù-mwéngèsà</i>	v	to greet			
<i>kà-mwî:</i>	n	heat (from the sun);	12		

		afternoon		
<i>rù-mwĩ</i>	n	summer	II	
<i>mwĩnshì</i>	n	under	9	
<i>mw-í'wángù</i>	n	grandchild	I,2	<i>bw-é'bánù</i>
<i>ɲà</i>	n	callous	5,6	<i>mà-ɲà</i>
<i>kù-nàhàrà</i>	v	to think		
<i>rù-nákà</i>	n	horn	II,6	<i>mà-nákà</i>
<i>nàkò</i>	n	time, period	9	
<i>kà-nàmání</i>	n	calf	I2,I3	<i>tù-nàmání</i>
<i>nàmúntàbùrà</i>	n	flower sp. (<i>Commelina subulata</i>)	Ia,2	<i>bà-nàmúntàbùrà</i>
<i>nàmùróbá'róbà</i>	n	flower sp. (<i>Scilla natalensis</i>)	Ia,2	<i>bà-nàmùróbá'róbà</i>
<i>kù-ɲáɲà</i>	v	to be stingy; to tie firmly		
<i>nángà</i>	adv	even (if)		
<i>ɲàngà</i>	n	doctor	Ia,2	<i>bà-ɲàngà</i>
<i>mù-ɲángà</i>	n	flower sp. (<i>Pelargonium luridum</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-ɲángà</i>
<i>nákàrà</i>	n	acacia	Ia	
<i>kù-ɲánkùsùrà</i>	v	to struggle free, prise open		
<i>kù-nánùkà</i>	v	to leave, stand up		
<i>kù-nànùnà</i>	v	to lift		
<i>kù-nànùnìsà</i>	v	to ask for help in carrying sth.		
<i>bù-nànzì</i>	n	brown ants	I4	
<i>ɲàró</i>	n	chameleon	Ia,2	<i>bà-ɲàró</i>
<i>kù-ɲàrùkà</i>	v	to be scratched		
<i>nàrùnkàrámbà</i>	n	praying mantis	Ia,2	<i>bà-nàrùnkàrámbà</i>
<i>nàrwézá'ézà</i>	n	chameleon	Ia,2	<i>bà-nàrwézá'ézà</i>
<i>kù-ɲàtà</i>	v	to beat		
<i>kù-ɲàtàùkà</i>	v	to be full of scratches		
<i>kù-ɲàtàùrà</i>	v	to cut in strips		
<i>kù-ɲàtùkà</i>	v	to crack, tear		
<i>kù-ɲàtùrà</i>	v	to tear		
<i>ɲàtùrààmùshòrò</i>	n	vine	Ia,2	<i>bà-ɲàtùrààmùshòrò</i>
<i>kù-ɲàtùzà</i>	v	to stay up all night		
<i>ɲàù</i>	n	cheetah	5,6	<i>mà-ɲàù</i>
<i>n-càkà</i>	n	rattle	9,I0	<i>n-càkà</i>
<i>ncénjè</i>	n	cricket	Ia,2	<i>bà-ncénjè</i>
<i>ncèrè</i>	n	snake sp.	Ia,2	<i>bà-ncèrè</i>
<i>cì-ncèrè</i>	n	Swainson's francolin	7,8	<i>zì-ncèrè</i>
<i>n-dàànò</i>	n	message	9,I0	<i>n-dàànò</i>
<i>kà-ndàngàrà</i>	n	striped ground squirrel	I2,I3	<i>tù-ndàngàrà</i>
<i>mù-ndàrè</i>	n	maize	3	
<i>ndàrè</i>	n	cob of maize	5,6	<i>mà-ndàrè</i>
<i>ndávù</i>	n	lion	Ia,2	<i>bà-ndávù</i>

<i>n-dìshì</i>	n	dish	9,10	<i>n-dìshì</i>	English
<i>ndóngò</i>	n	groundnuts	1a		
<i>n-dúngàtì</i>	n	disturbance	9		
<i>rù-nèmbwè</i>	n	cannabis plant	11		
<i>-néné</i>	adj	big			
<i>kù-nénèhà</i>	v	to become big			
<i>kù-nèngà</i>	v	to dance, play			
<i>nèngò</i>	n	aardvark	9,6	<i>mà-nèngò</i>	
<i>nénjà</i>	adv	well			
<i>ká-'nénsà</i>	n	pink, little toe	12,13	<i>tú-'nénsà</i>	
<i>-né:</i>	num	four			
<i>rú-ngàmàzyòbà</i>	n	plant sp.	11		
<i>n-gàzyàrà</i>	n	plan	9,10	<i>n-gàzyàrà</i>	
<i>n-gè</i>	n	scorpion	9,6	<i>mà-ngè</i>	
<i>n-gèrè</i>	n	part between bones	9,10	<i>n-gèrè</i>	
<i>bù-ngì</i>	n	multitude	14		
<i>n-gìnà</i>	n	louse	9,10	<i>n-gìnà</i>	
<i>ngìrì</i>	n	warthog	1a,2	<i>bà-ngìrì</i>	
<i>n-gìrìngìrì</i>	n	shell	9,6	<i>mà-ngìrìngìrì</i>	
<i>n-gómà</i>	n	drum (musical instrument)	9,6	<i>mà-òrà</i>	
<i>ngóngà mùrívù</i>	n	adam's apple	9		
<i>n-gòngò</i>	n	joint	9,10	<i>n-gòngò</i>	
<i>n-gó'ngórézà</i>	n	resin	9,10	<i>n-gó'ngórézà</i>	
<i>kù-ngóngòtá</i>	v	to knock			
<i>n-gòrò</i>	n	curse	9,10	<i>n-gòrò</i>	
<i>n-gù</i>	n	sheep	9,10	<i>n-gù</i>	
<i>n-gùbò</i>	n	blanket	9,10/6	<i>n-gùbò ~ mà-hùbò</i>	
<i>cì-ngùndè</i>	n	fishing implement	7		
<i>n-gùrìsò</i>	n	profit; sales	9		
<i>ngùrù</i>	n	sweet potato	1a		
<i>ngúyà</i>	n	baboon	1a,2	<i>bà-ngúyà</i>	
<i>ngwè</i>	n	leopard	9/1a,2	<i>bà-ngwè</i>	
<i>ngwébùnà</i>	n	plant sp.	1a		
<i>ngwènà</i>	n	crocodile	1a,2	<i>bà-ngwènà</i>	
<i>n-gwéngwè</i>	n	ankle	9,10	<i>n-gwéngwè</i>	
<i>n-gwéngwèsì</i>	n	joint	9,10	<i>n-gwéngwèsì</i>	
<i>kù-ngwénjùrà</i>	v	to slash grass (to clear a piece of land)			
<i>n-gwèshì</i>	n	tigerfish	9,10		
<i>-nínì</i>	adj	small			
<i>kù-nínìsà</i>	v	to make small			
<i>mà-nyínjà</i>	n	border	6		
<i>n-jàrà</i>	n	hunger	9		
<i>bù-njèwè</i>	n	poverty	14		

<i>njèwè</i>	n	poor person	1a,2	<i>bà-njèwè</i>	
<i>njibà</i>	n	dove	1a,2	<i>bà-njibà</i>	
<i>n-jìngà</i>	n	bicycle	9,6	<i>mà-njìngà</i>	
<i>n-jìnjò</i>	n	funeral	9		
<i>n-jìrà</i>	n	way	9,6	<i>mà-zyìrà</i>	
<i>n-jókà ~ zyókà</i>	n	snake	9/5,6	<i>mà-zyókà</i>	
<i>kù-njòmbà</i>	v	to get stuck (for in- stance a car in the sand)			
<i>mù-njòngòrò</i>	n	bush sp.	3,4	<i>mì-njòngòrò</i>	
<i>njòvù</i>	n	elephant	1a,2	<i>bà-njòvù</i>	
<i>n-júò</i>	n	house	9,6	<i>mà-zyúò</i>	
<i>mù-nkà</i>	n	shortness of breath	3		
<i>ká-nkàfwà</i>	n	bat	12,13	<i>tú-nkàfwà</i>	
<i>n-kámà</i>	n	comb	9,10	<i>n-kámà</i>	
<i>n-ká'mbámò</i>	n	upward slope	9,6	<i>mà-nká'mbámò</i>	
<i>n-kándà</i>	n	plain, valley	9,6	<i>mà-nkándà</i>	
<i>nkàngà</i>	n	guinea fowl	1a,2	<i>bà-nkàngà</i>	
<i>nkàràmbà</i>	n	old person	1a,2	<i>bà-nkàràmbà</i>	
<i>n-kárúró</i>	n	share	9,6	<i>n-kárúró</i>	
<i>n-kàwùhànò</i>	n	divorce	9,10	<i>n-kàwùhànò</i>	
<i>nkázè</i>	n	cat	1a,2	<i>bà-nkázè</i>	
<i>n-kèrékè</i>	n	church	9,10	<i>n-kèrékè</i>	Afrikaans
<i>-nkéi</i>	num	one			
<i>n-kòhè</i>	n	eyelid	9,10	<i>n-kòhè</i>	
<i>n-kókò</i>	n	porridge	9,6	<i>mà-kókò</i>	
<i>nkòmò</i>	n	bush tortoise	1a,2	<i>bà-nkòmò</i>	
<i>cì-nkómbwà</i>	n	slave	7,8	<i>zì-nkómbwà</i>	
<i>nkómbwè</i>	n	tortoise	1a,2	<i>bà-nkómbwè</i>	
<i>n-kómòngù</i>	n	part of Cape Bulrush	9,10	<i>n-kómòngù</i>	
<i>n-kòngòròfù ~</i> <i>n-kòngòròkòfù</i>	n	snail	9,10	<i>n-kòngòròfù ~ n-kòngòròkòfù</i>	
<i>-'nkóri</i>	n	walking stick	9,10	<i>-'nkóri</i>	
<i>nkúkù</i>	n	chicken	1a,2	<i>bà-nkúkù</i>	
<i>n-kúmbà</i>	n	plant sp. (<i>Ancylanthos</i> <i>bainesii</i>)	9,10	<i>n-kúmbà</i>	
<i>nkúmbìzì</i>	n	beggar	1a,2	<i>bà-nkúmbìzì</i>	
<i>kà-nkúnè</i>	n	smoking shelve	12,13	<i>tù-nkúnè</i>	
<i>kà-nkúnè</i>	n	snake sp.	12,13	<i>tù-nkúnè</i>	
<i>n-kúnjù</i>	n	mortar	9,6	<i>mà-nkúnjù</i>	
<i>nkùtè</i>	n	bird sp.	1a,2	<i>bà-nkùtè</i>	
<i>n-kúwà</i>	n	tick	9,10	<i>n-kúwà</i>	
<i>cì-nkwà</i>	n	bread	7,8	<i>zì-nkwà</i>	
<i>n-kwánà</i>	n	pot for beer or water	9,6	<i>mà-nkwánà</i>	
<i>n-kwànì</i>	n	hat	9,10	<i>n-kwànì</i>	
<i>nkwéngà</i>	n	parrot	1a,2	<i>bà-nkwéngà</i>	

<i>kà-nkwìrìmbà</i>	n	pigeon	12,13	<i>tù-nkwìrìmbà</i>	
<i>nkwìzyù</i>	n	rabbit sp.	1a,2	<i>bà-nkwìzyù</i>	
<i>nókà</i>	n	hip	5,6	<i>mà-nókà</i>	
<i>kù-ṣòkòkà</i>	v	to charge, attack			
<i>bú-¹ṣóm̐bà</i>	n	plant sp. (<i>Lannea edulis</i>)	14		
<i>ṣòmbè</i>	n	cow	9,10	<i>ṣòmbè</i>	
<i>kà-ṣóm̐byà</i>	n	xylophone	12,13	<i>tù-ṣóm̐byà</i>	
<i>ṣòmézò</i>	n	button	9,10	<i>ṣòmézò</i>	
<i>cì-nóngò</i>	n	nose booger	7,8	<i>zì-nóngò</i>	
<i>cì-nónò</i>	n	black-footed cat	7,8	<i>zì-nónò</i>	
<i>kù-nòndàsà</i>	v	to exaggerate, blow out of proportion			
<i>ṣónzì</i>	n	sleep, drowsiness	9		
<i>kù-ṣórà</i>	v	to write			Lozi
<i>cì-ṣórìsò</i>	n	pen	7,8	<i>zì-ṣórìsò</i>	Lozi
<i>ṣórò</i>	n	letter	5,6	<i>mà-ṣórò</i>	Lozi
<i>nsá</i>	n	klipspringer	1a,2	<i>bà-nsá</i>	
<i>n-sàbátà</i>	n	Saturday	9,10	<i>n-sàbátà</i>	
<i>n-sàndò</i>	n	hammer	9,6/10	<i>mà-nsàndò ~ n-sàndò</i>	
<i>mù-nséfà</i>	n	sieve	3,4	<i>mì-nséfà</i>	English
<i>n-sèkè</i>	n	female chicken	9,10	<i>n-sèkè</i>	
<i>nsèmbèrè</i>	n	rhinoceros	1a,2	<i>bà-nsèmbèrè</i>	
<i>kà-nsènè</i>	n	tortoise (appears during the rainy season)	12,13	<i>tù-nsènè</i>	
<i>n-shàngù</i>	n	pair of shoes	9		
<i>mù-nshàrè</i>	n	sugar cane	3,4	<i>mì-nshàrè</i>	
<i>má-¹nsáwánshàwà</i>	n	berries of <i>Grewia</i> sp.	6		
<i>nshéfu</i>	n	eland	1a,2	<i>bà-nshéfu</i>	
<i>nshíndì</i>	n	squirrel, mongoose	1a,2	<i>bà-nshíndì</i>	
<i>nshókò</i>	n	monkey	1a,2	<i>bà-nshókò</i>	
<i>nshòhò</i>	n	barbel fish	1a,2	<i>bà-nshòhò</i>	
<i>nshómbò</i>	n	edible plant sp.	1a,2	<i>bà-nshómbò</i>	
<i>nshóngè</i>	n	puku	1a,2	<i>bà-nshóngè</i>	
<i>nshúkì</i>	n	hair	10		
<i>nshúngwè</i>	n	Matabele ant	1a,2	<i>bà-nshúngwè</i>	
<i>n-shwá</i>	n	termite	9,10	<i>n-shwá</i>	
<i>nshwé</i>	n	breast	5,6	<i>mà-nshwé</i>	
<i>n-síkì</i>	n	disease	9,10	<i>n-síkì</i>	
<i>ká-nsìkwè</i>	n	darkness	12		
<i>nsímbà</i>	n	genet	1a,2	<i>bà-nsímbà</i>	
<i>n-síngò</i>	n	neck	9,6	<i>mà-nsíngò</i>	
<i>ká-¹sísì</i>	n	small blue bird sp.	12,13	<i>tú-¹sísì</i>	
<i>nsíwà</i>	n	orphan	1a,2	<i>bà-nsíwà</i>	
<i>n-sòngà</i>	n	needle	9,6	<i>mà-nsòngà</i>	
<i>cí-¹nsózì</i>	n	tear	7,8/4	<i>zì-¹nsózì ~ mí-¹nsózì</i>	

<i>nsùmbò</i>	n	black impala	1a,2	<i>bà-nsùmbò</i>	Afrikaans
<i>n-súndà</i>	n	week	9,6	<i>mà-nsúndà</i>	
<i>-nswì</i>	n	fish	9,10		
<i>mà-ntà</i>	n	power	6		
<i>n-tábà</i>	n	case	9,10	<i>n-tábà</i>	
<i>n-táúró</i>	n	headveil	9,10	<i>n-táúró</i>	
<i>mà-nténgù</i>	n	evening	6		
<i>n-tètè</i>	n	kingfisher	9,6	<i>mà-ntètè</i>	
<i>n-tètè zìkàzì</i>	n	yellow berries sp.	10		
<i>n-tètè zìrúmè</i>	n	red berries sp.	10		
<i>ntìmbìrà</i>	n	dung beetle	1a,2	<i>bà-ntìmbìrà</i>	
<i>n-tòbòrò</i>	n	gun	9,6	<i>mà-ntòbòrò</i>	
<i>rù-ntù</i>	n	pupil	11		
<i>bù-ntù</i>	n	humanity	14		
<i>mù-ntù</i>	n	person, human being	1,2	<i>bà-ntù</i>	
<i>cì-ntù</i>	n	thing	7,8	<i>zì-ntù</i>	
<i>n-tùkèrò</i>	n	responsibility, right	9,10	<i>n-tùkèrò</i>	
<i>n-tùmbù</i>	n	calf (of the leg)	9,10	<i>n-tùmbù</i>	
<i>ntúù</i>	n	amaranth	1a		
<i>ntúù</i>	n	hyena	1a,2	<i>bà-ntúù</i>	
<i>kù-nùná</i>	v	to become fat			
<i>núngù</i>	n	porcupine	5,6	<i>mà-núngù</i>	
<i>rù-nùngùrà</i>	n	waterlily sp.	11,6	<i>mà-nùngùrà</i>	
<i>kù-nùnkà</i>	v	to smell			
<i>mù-nùnkò</i>	n	(bad) smell	3,4	<i>mì-nùnkò</i>	
<i>kù-nùnsà</i>	v	to make (s.o.) smell; to crave a certain food (during pregnancy)			
<i>kà-nwà</i>	n	mouth	12,13	<i>tù-nwà</i>	
<i>ɣwàrárá</i>	n	crow	5,6	<i>mà-ɣwàrárá</i>	
<i>mù-nwè</i>	n	finger; toe	3,4	<i>mì-nwè</i>	
<i>kù-ɣwètà</i>	v	to pull tight			
<i>kù-ɣwètètèzà</i>	v	to tighten			
<i>kù-nyà</i>	v	to defecate			
<i>kù-nyàkàùrà</i>	v	to kick the limbs			
<i>kù-nyàkùrà</i>	v	to kick, stretch a limb			
<i>nyàmà</i>	n	meat	9		
<i>nyámbè</i>	n	god	1a		
<i>kà-nyàndì</i>	n	fishing net	12,13	<i>tù-nyàndì</i>	
<i>kù-nyàngànìsà</i>	v	whobble (tr.)			
<i>kù-nyàngànà</i>	v	whobble (intr.)			
<i>nyángù</i>	n	beans	10		
<i>ká-'nyángwé-</i>	n	tree (<i>Mundulea sericea</i>)	12,13	<i>tú-'nyángwényàngwè</i>	
<i>nyàngwè</i>					
<i>kù-nyànsà</i>	v	to blame, accuse			

<i>kù-nyánsirìzà</i>	v	be ignorant			
<i>nyàtèrà</i>	n	sandal	5,6	<i>mà-nyàtèrà</i>	
<i>nyátì</i>	n	buffaloe	1a,2	<i>bà-nyátì</i>	
<i>kù-nyàya</i>	v	to scratch			
<i>nyàzì</i>	n	lover	9,6/2	<i>mà-nyàzì ~</i> <i>bà-nyàzì</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-nyèèrwà</i>	v	to become angry			
<i>kù-nyèèzà</i>	v	to annoy, anger			
<i>kù-nyèhèrèrà</i>	v	to be sad			
<i>cì-nyémbéré</i>	n	barbary fig (<i>Opuntia</i> <i>ficus-indica</i>)	7,8	<i>zì-nyémbéré</i>	
<i>nyéndà</i>	n	visitor	1a,2	<i>bà-nyéndà</i>	
<i>kù-nyéngètèkà</i>	v	to be unstable, wobbly			
<i>kù-nyéngwà</i>	v	to be nauseous			
<i>kù-nyènsà</i>	v	to defeat			
<i>kù-nyényètèzà</i>	v	to warn			
<i>kù-nyérèrà</i>	v	to hang from, dangle			
<i>nyìnà</i>	n	mother	1a,2	<i>bà-nyìnà</i>	
<i>nyìnàkúrwè</i>	n	his grandmother	1a,2	<i>bà-nyìnàkúrwè</i>	
<i>nyìnàkú'rwétù</i>	n	our grandmother	1a,2	<i>bà-nyìnàkú'rwétù</i>	
<i>nyìnyàni</i>	n	earrings			
<i>nyírù</i>	n	tigerfish sp.			
<i>nyòkòkúró</i>	n	your grandmother	1a,2	<i>bà-nyòkòkúró</i>	
<i>kù-nyònà</i>	v	to have heartburn			
<i>kù-nyòngàmà</i>	v	to bend sideways (intr.)			
<i>kù-nyòngèkà</i>	v	to bend (tr.)			
<i>kù-nyónkà</i>	v	to breastfeed (intr.)			
<i>kù-nyónkèsà ~</i>	v	to breastfeed (tr.)			
<i>kù-nyónsà</i>					
<i>kù-nyòndònà</i>	v	to twist			
<i>cì-nyórò</i>	n	plant remains or rub- bish in the fields which needs to be removed before cultivating	7,8	<i>zì-nyórò</i>	
<i>nyótà</i>	n	thirst	9		
<i>kù-nyùkàùrà</i>	v	to uproot, pull out			
<i>kù-nyùkùrà</i>	v	to uproot			
<i>nyúmbù</i>	n	wildebeest	1a,2	<i>bà-nyúmbù</i>	
<i>kà-nyùndwè</i>	n	small stone, pebble	12,13	<i>tù-nyùndwè</i>	
<i>kù-nyùngà</i>	v	to shake			
<i>kù-nyùngànyùngà</i>	v	to shake repeatedly			
<i>cì-nyùngèrà</i>	n	food, put in a container with water which needs to be shaken before eating	7		

<i>kú-nywà</i>	v	to drink			
<i>kù-nywínìnà</i>	v	to drink incessively			
<i>mù-nzì</i>	n	village	3,4	<i>mì-nzì</i>	
<i>rù-nzì</i>	n	fly	II		
<i>nzìkè</i>	n	single, unmarried	Ia,2	<i>bà-nzìkè</i>	
<i>mú-'nzúré</i>	n	shadow, malaria	3,4	<i>mí-'nzúré</i>	
<i>m-ôfû</i>	n	blind person	I,2	<i>b-ôfû</i>	
<i>kù-òmbà</i>	v	to play (an instrument)			
<i>kù-òmbàrà</i>	v	to be quiet, calm			
<i>kù-ònà</i>	v	to snore			
<i>òndè</i>	n	waterlily (<i>Nymphaea nouchali</i>)	5,6	<i>mà-òndè</i>	
<i>m-òndò</i>	n	shrub (<i>Bauhinia petersiana</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-òndò</i>	
<i>cì-òngò</i>	n	storage	7,8	<i>zì-òngò</i>	
<i>rù-òngòrà</i>	n	backbone	II,IO	<i>ng-òngòrà</i>	
<i>kù-óngòzà</i>	v	to shout			
<i>mù-ònò</i>	n	snoring	3		
<i>kù-ònzòndòkà</i>	v	to stretch			
<i>kù-òrà</i>	v	can, to be able to			
<i>kù-òrèsèkà</i>	v	to be necessary			
<i>m-òyà</i>	n	wind	3,4		
<i>r-ózi</i>	n	plant (used as rope)	II,IO	<i>nyózi</i>	
<i>b-òzyà</i>	n	feathers	I4		
<i>m-òzyò</i>	n	heart	3,4	<i>mì-òzyò</i>	
<i>kú-pàkà</i>	v	to carry in a sling on the back			
<i>cì-pàkò</i>	n	bead	7,8	<i>zì-pàkò</i>	
<i>m-pákwà</i>	n	cloth used to carry a baby	9,IO	<i>m-pákwà</i>	
<i>kù-pànà</i>	v	to put on a yoke			
<i>kù-pàngà</i>	v	to do, make, repair			
<i>kù-pàngàhàrà</i>	v	to happen			
<i>kù-pàpàurà</i>	v	to divide a dead animal into pieces			
<i>kù-pàrà</i>	v	to fail, refuse			
<i>pàrìsà</i>	n	flower	5,6	<i>mà-pàrìsà</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-pàtàmà</i>	v	to lie on stomach, be flat			Lozi
<i>kù-pátèhà</i>	v	to be busy			Lozi
<i>cì-pátèrà</i>	n	hospital	7,8	<i>zì-pátèrà</i>	Lozi
<i>cì-pátù</i>	n	duck	7,8	<i>zì-pátù</i>	Lozi
<i>cì-pàù</i>	n	wild animal	7,8	<i>zì-pàù</i>	
<i>pékà</i>	n	honeycomb	5,6	<i>mà-pékà</i>	
<i>kù-pèndà</i>	v	to paint			
<i>kà-péntà</i>	n	Lake Tanganyika sar-	I2,I3	<i>tù-péntà</i>	

		dine			
<i>cì-pèpà</i>	n	paper	7,6	<i>mà-pèpà</i>	English
<i>pèrèsà</i>	n	horse	5,6	<i>mà-pèrèsà</i>	Lozi
<i>kà-pérù</i>	n	pail	12,13	<i>tù-pérù</i>	English
<i>kù-pícùkà</i>	v	to escape, dodge			
<i>kà-píkìrì</i>	n	nail	12,13/8	<i>zì-píkìrì ~ tù-píkìrì</i>	Afrikaans
<i>m-pòhò</i>	n	bull	9,6	<i>mà-pòhò</i>	
<i>pòmpi</i>	n	pump, tap	9/5,6	<i>mà-pòmpi</i>	English
<i>kù-pòmporòkà</i>	v	to become deflated			
<i>cì-pòncì</i>	n	sponge	7,8	<i>zì-pòncì</i>	
<i>kù-pòpòkà</i>	v	to pop			
<i>kù-pòròkà</i>	v	to have diarrhea			
<i>kù-pòtà</i>	v	to visit			
<i>m-pùmpò</i>	n	food for on the road	9		
<i>kù-pùmùrà</i>	v	to be on holiday, rest			Lozi
<i>kù-pùndà</i>	v	to doubt, guess			
<i>cì-pùrà</i>	n	chair	7,8	<i>zì-pùrà</i>	Lozi
<i>kà-pùrà</i>	n	stool	12,13	<i>tù-pùrà</i>	Lozi
<i>m-pùràni</i>	n	plan	9,6	<i>mà-pùràni</i>	English
<i>pùrù</i>	n	ox	5,6	<i>mà-pùrù</i>	Lozi
<i>cì-pùrùpùrù</i>	n	deaf and dumb person	7,8	<i>zì-pùrùpùrù</i>	
<i>kà-pùtùrà</i>	n	short trousers	12,13	<i>tù-pùtùrà</i>	Lozi
<i>mù-pùzò</i>	n	gift	3,4	<i>mì-pùzò</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-pwàcàùkà</i>	v	to be broken (everything)			
<i>kù-pwàcàùrà</i>	v	to break everything			
<i>kù-pwàcùkà</i>	v	to break (intr.)			
<i>kù-pwàcùrà</i>	v	to break (tr.)			
<i>mù-rà</i>	n	intestine	3,4	<i>mì-rà</i>	
<i>kù-rààrà</i>	v	to say goodbye			
<i>kù-ràbbùnùkà</i>	v	to stretch (of rubber)			
<i>cì-ràbì</i>	n	wound	7,8	<i>zì-ràbì</i>	
<i>cì-ràbò</i>	n	paddle, punting pole	7,8	<i>zì-ràbò</i>	
<i>cì-ràhà</i>	n	trap	7,8	<i>zì-ràhà</i>	
<i>kù-ràhà</i>	v	to kick			
<i>mù-ràhò</i>	n	law	3,4	<i>mì-ràhò</i>	Lozi
<i>cì-ràhò</i>	n	paddle	7,8	<i>zì-ràhò</i>	
<i>mù-ràkà</i>	n	kraal	3,4	<i>mì-ràkà</i>	Lozi
<i>ràkàtà</i>	n	gill; plural: uvula	5,6	<i>mà-ràkàtà</i>	
<i>cì-ràmà</i>	n	part	7,8	<i>zì-ràmà</i>	
<i>rà'mátwà</i>	n	devil's claw	5,6	<i>mà-rà'mátwà</i>	
<i>kù-ràmbà</i>	v	to plaster a mud wall			
<i>ràmbò</i>	n	pit			
<i>kù-ràmbùrùrà</i>	v	to smoothen a wall after applying plaster			

<i>mù-rámù</i>	n	stick	3,4	<i>mì-rámù</i>	Lozi
<i>mù-rámù</i>	n	sibling in law	1,2	<i>bà-rámù</i>	
<i>cì-ràndàbèrè</i>	n	secondborn	7		
<i>kù-ràndàtā</i>	v	to follow (tracks)			
<i>mù-rándù</i>	n	fine	3,4	<i>mì-rándù</i>	
<i>ràngù</i>	n	Mozambique cherry orange (<i>Citropsis daweana</i>)	5,6	<i>mà-ràngù</i>	Lozi
<i>mù-ràngù</i>	n	bell	3,4	<i>mì-ràngù</i>	
<i>bù-ránzàbì</i>	n	sleeping uneasily	14		
<i>bù-rànzì</i>	n	ants	14		
<i>rápà</i>	n	fence, courtyard	5,6	<i>mà-rápà</i>	
<i>kù-rápèrà</i>	v	to pray			
<i>mú-ràrà</i>	n	leftovers	3,4	<i>mí-ràrà</i>	
<i>kù-rá:rà</i>	v	to sleep, lie down			
<i>mù-ràràmbíndà</i>	n	milky way	3		
<i>rù-ràrì</i>	n	palm tree	11		
<i>kù-rá:rìkà</i>	v	to lay down (tr.)			
<i>kù-ràrìrà</i>	v	to eat dinner			
<i>kù-ràrìrà</i>	v	to sleep close to a sick person			
<i>mù-ràrìrò</i>	n	dinner	3		
<i>mà-ràrò</i>	n	room	6		
<i>kù-ràtèrà</i>	v	to follow a plough, sowing			English
<i>ràyìsì</i>	n	rice	9		
<i>bù-ré:</i>	n	length	14		
<i>kù-rèhà</i>	v	to become tall			
<i>kù-rèkà</i>	v	to leave (s.o.)			
<i>kù-rèmà</i>	v	be heavy			
<i>kù-rémànà</i>	v	to become injured			
<i>kù-rémèkà</i>	v	to injure (tr.)			
<i>bù-rémù</i>	n	weight	14		
<i>-rémù</i>	adj	heavy			
<i>kù-rémùhà</i>	v	discover			
<i>kù-rèndà</i>	v	to go very high			
<i>kù-rèndèrà</i>	v	to flee from			
<i>kù-rèngà</i>	v	hurt (in bones); to be beaten, to thunder			
<i>kù-rèrà</i>	v	feed			Lozi
<i>mù-rèrì</i>	n	animal breeder	1,2	<i>bà-rèrì</i>	
<i>mù-rérò</i>	n	plan	3,4	<i>mì-rérò</i>	
<i>kù-ré:sà</i>	v	to prolong			
<i>kù-ré:tà</i>	v	to bring; to give birth (humans)			
<i>mù-ré:tìsì</i>	n	midwife	1,2	<i>bà-ré:tìsì</i>	

<i>kù-ré:tiwà ~</i>	v	to be born (humans)		
<i>kù-ré:twà</i>				
<i>cì-réyì</i>	n	sledge	7,8	<i>zì-réyì</i>
<i>cì-rèzù</i>	n	cheek	7,8	<i>zì-rèzù</i>
<i>cì-rì</i>	n	puff-adder	7,8	<i>zì-rì</i>
<i>kù-rìhà</i>	v	to pay		
<i>kù-rìhà</i>	v	to pretend to be important		
<i>kù-rìkà</i>	v	to try		
<i>kù-rìkùkà</i>	v	to hiccup		
<i>kà-rìkùrìkù</i>	n	hiccup	12,13	<i>tù-rìkùrìkù</i>
<i>rù-rímà</i>	n	bat	11,13/2	<i>tù-rímà ~ bà-rùrímà</i>
<i>kù-rìmà</i>	v	to farm		
<i>cì-rìmbà</i>	n	lamellophone, thumb piano	7,8	<i>zì-rìmbà</i>
<i>kù-rìmbàùzà</i>	v	to not pay attention; to be ignorant		
<i>mù-rìmbùrìmbù</i>	n	ignorance	3	
<i>kù-rìmbùrùrà</i>	v	to discover, figure out, prove wrong		
<i>rù-rìmì</i>	n	tongue	11,6/10	<i>mà-rìmì ~ n-dìmì</i>
<i>mù-rìmì</i>	n	farmer	1,2	<i>bà-rìmì</i>
<i>cì-rìmò</i>	n	season, year	7,8	<i>zì-rìmò</i>
<i>kù-rìndà</i>	v	to wait		
<i>kù-rìnèkà</i>	v	to dance on tiptoes with the stomach held in		
<i>mù-rìngà</i>	n	thunder	3,4	<i>mì-rìngà</i>
<i>rì-nò</i>	n	tooth	5,6	<i>m-énò</i>
<i>kù-rìrà</i>	v	to cry, mourn		
<i>mù-rìrì</i>	n	mourner	1,2	<i>bà-rìrì</i>
<i>mù-rìrò</i>	n	fire	3	
<i>kà-rìròrìrò</i>	n	plant sp.	12,13	<i>tù-rìròrìrò</i>
<i>kù-rìsà</i>	v	to feed		
<i>mù-rìsàni</i>	n	herder	1,2	<i>bà-rìsàni</i>
<i>kù-rìsikà</i>	v	to feed		
<i>kù-rìsùkà</i>	v	to have breakfast		
<i>mù-rìsikò</i>	n	breakfast	3	
<i>kù-rìsùngàmìnà</i>	v	to look down		
<i>kù-rìtàbìrìrà</i>	v	to ignore advice		
<i>kù-rìùmà</i>	v	to be quiet		
<i>mù-rìvù</i>	n	windpipe	3,4	<i>mì-rìvù</i>
<i>kù-rìvwàngà</i>	v	to put on a <i>chitenge</i>		
<i>kù-rìvwàngùrùrà</i>	v	to take off a <i>chitenge</i>		
<i>rù-rìyà</i>	n	taro (<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>)	11,10	<i>n-dìyà</i>
<i>kù-rìhèhà</i>	v	to be late		
<i>mà-rì'zìkò</i>	n	hiding place	6	

<i>kù-rízingà</i>	v	to twist (like a vine)		
<i>kù-rízingàizà</i>	v	to wrap oneself around		
<i>mù-rízingè</i>	n	klímop	3	
<i>kù-rí:zyà</i>	v	to climb		
<i>kù-rízyùmìnìnà</i>	v	to ignore; to be unconscious		
<i>kù-rízyùmìnìzà</i>	v	to pretend to be un- conscious, be ignorant; to keep quiet		
<i>bù-rò</i>	n	sleeping place	14,6	<i>má-rò</i>
<i>mù-róbà</i>	n	young male, teen	1,2	<i>bà-róbà</i>
<i>kù-ròbèrà</i>	v	to capsize; to eat fast		
<i>kù-ròbòrà</i>	v	to pay dowry		
<i>mà-ròhà</i>	n	blood		
<i>cì-ròmbòrà</i>	n	elephant's trunk	7	
<i>mù-ròmò</i>	n	mouth, plural: lips	3,4	<i>mì-ròmò</i>
<i>kù-ròndà</i>	v	to be slow		
<i>kà-ròndòròndwè</i>	n	beetle sp.	12,13	<i>tù-ròndòròndwè</i>
<i>mù-róngà</i>	n	seasonal stream	3,4	<i>mì-róngà</i>
<i>kù-róngà</i>	v	to load		
<i>kà-róngò</i>	n	three-legged cooking pot	12,13	<i>tù-róngò</i>
<i>kù-róngòrà</i>	v	to offload		
<i>kù-rònzòròrà</i>	v	to compare		
<i>mù-ròrà</i>	n	soap	3,4	<i>mì-ròrà</i>
<i>mù-ròrì</i>	n	whistling	3,4	<i>mì-ròrì</i>
<i>ròrò</i>	n	custard apple (<i>Annona stenophylla</i>)	5,6	<i>mà-ròrò</i>
<i>kù-rò:tà</i>	v	to dream		
<i>cì-ròtò</i>	n	dream, the topic of the dream	7,8	<i>zì-ròtò</i>
<i>bù-ròtù</i>	n	goodness, beauty	14	
<i>-ròtù</i>	adj	good, beautiful		
<i>kù-ròtùhà</i>	v	to be exciting, nice		
<i>kù-ròwà</i>	v	to perform witchcraft		
<i>bù-ròzì</i>	n	witchcraft	14	
<i>mù-ròzì</i>	n	witch, sorcerer	1,2	<i>bà-ròzì</i>
<i>kù-rùbà</i>	v	to not recognize; to mix		
<i>bù-rùbì</i>	n	brain	14	
<i>kù-rùkà</i>	v	to braid, sew (with machine)		
<i>kù-rùkà</i>	v	to vomit		
<i>kù-rùkìsà</i>	v	to repair		
<i>rùkúngwè</i>	n	snake; black mamba	1a,2	<i>bà-rùkúngwè</i>
<i>kù-rùkùrùrà</i>	v	to divorce		
<i>bù-rúkwè</i>	n	long trousers	14,6	<i>mà-rúkwè</i> Afrikaans, via Lozi
<i>cì-rùmbà</i>	n	ghost	7,8	<i>zì-rùmbà</i>

<i>mù-rúmbùrùmbù</i>	n	robber fish	3,4	<i>mì-rúmbùrùmbù</i>	
<i>mù-rùméhò</i>	v	horn used to suck blood (same as <i>mù-shúwì</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-rùméhò</i>	
<i>rúmò</i>	n	bullet	5,6	<i>mà-rúmò</i>	
<i>mù-rùmò</i>	n	sound	3,4	<i>mì-rùmò</i>	
<i>kù-rùmùkà</i>	v	to go/come down			
<i>rúndù</i>	n	mountain	5,6	<i>mà-rúndù</i>	
<i>kù-rúngàrùngà</i>	v	to disturb (with noise)			
<i>kù-rúngàùzà</i>	v	to make noise			
<i>kù-rúngàwìzà</i>	v	to disturb (s.o.)			
<i>bù-rùngù</i>	n	beads	I4		
<i>rùngwè</i>	n	morning star	9		
<i>mù-rùò</i>	n	mother/daughter-in-law	I,2	<i>bà-rùò</i>	
<i>kù-rúpùkà</i>	v	to arrive			
<i>kù-rùrà</i>	v	to be bitter			
<i>kà-rùréurè</i>	n	plant sp.	I2,I3	<i>tù-rùréurè</i>	
<i>rùrì</i>	n	dust	5,6	<i>mà-rùrì</i>	
<i>bù-rùrù</i>	n	bitterness	I4		
<i>kù-rùtà</i>	v	to teach			Lozi
<i>mù-rútì</i>	n	teacher	I,6	<i>mà-rútì</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-rúvùkà</i>	v	to stare			
<i>bù-rúwàrúwà</i>	n	centella (<i>Centella asiatica</i>)	I4		
<i>mà-rùwò</i>	n	village of one's in-laws	6		
<i>kù-rwà</i>	v	to fight			
<i>kù-rwàrà</i>	v	to become sick			
<i>cì-rwàràntù</i>	v	disease	7		
<i>kù-rwàrikà</i>	v	to take care of a sick person			
<i>mà-rwà'rìrà</i>	n	sickness	6		
<i>cì-rwàrù</i>	n	disease	7,8	<i>zì-rwàrù</i>	
<i>kù-rwàrùkà</i>	v	to get better			
<i>kù-rwèrà</i>	v	to watch			
<i>mù-rwèrè</i>	n	sick person	I,2	<i>bà-rwèrè</i>	
<i>rwézyà</i>	n	taboo	9,6	<i>mà-rwézyà</i>	
<i>mù-rwì</i>	n	fighter	I,2	<i>bà-rwì</i>	
<i>kú-ryà</i>	v	to eat			
<i>kà-ryábàcànì</i>	n	flower (<i>Pelargonium tomentosum</i>)	I2,I3	<i>tù-ryábàcànì</i>	
<i>bù-ryáhò</i>	n	like that	I4		
<i>kù-ryángànìsà</i>	v	to disturb, trouble			
<i>kù-ryàtà</i>	v	to step on			
<i>kù-ryénkwètà</i>	v	to bribe			
<i>kù-ryôwà</i>	v	to be sweet			

<i>mù-sá ~ mú-sà</i>	n	thief	1,2	<i>bà-sá</i>	
<i>kú-sà</i>	v	to dig			
<i>sákà</i>	n	bag	5,6	<i>mà-sákà</i>	Afrikaans, via Lozi
<i>sàmbà</i>	n	tea	5,6	<i>mà-sàmbà</i>	
<i>cì-sàndùrè</i>	n	turned language (me- tathesis)	7		
<i>sáni</i>	n	hard grains left after pounding	9,6	<i>mà-sáni</i>	
<i>kù-sànzà</i>	v	to wash			
<i>sàrùtó' mbórwà</i>	n	tree (<i>Combretum mos- sambicense</i>)	1a		
<i>bù-sàwàrà</i>	n	lie	14		
<i>ká-sè</i>	n	cat	12,13	<i>tú-sè</i>	
<i>kù-sèbèzà</i>	v	to work			
<i>mù-sébézì</i>	n	work, job	3,4	<i>mì-sébézì</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-séfà</i>	v	to sieve			Lozi
<i>kù-séhèkà</i>	v	to suffer			
<i>kà-sèkà</i>	n	bracelet	12,13	<i>tù-sèkà</i>	
<i>kù-sèkà</i>	v	to put on (ring, bangle, cap...)			
<i>kù-sèpà</i>	v	to trust, hope			Lozi
<i>kù-sèpàhàrà</i>	v	to be honest, important			
<i>kù-sèpìsà</i>	v	to promise			Lozi
<i>n-sépò</i>	n	hope	9		Lozi
<i>sèsì</i>	n	bullfrog	5,6	<i>mà-sèsì</i>	
<i>mù-sètò</i>	n	border	3,4	<i>mì-sètò</i>	
<i>rù-sézà</i>	n	fruit sp, grows under- ground	11,10	<i>n-sézà</i>	
<i>kù-shábùrà</i>	v	to cut down			
<i>kù-sháhìkà</i>	v	to cook (relish)			
<i>kù-shàkà</i>	v	to love, like, want, look for			
<i>kù-shàkàhàrà</i>	v	to be necessary			
<i>kù-shàkàshàkà</i>	v	to look for			
<i>mù-shàkàshèrà</i>	n	tree (<i>Albizia versicolor</i> , <i>Bobgunnia madagascari- ensis</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-shàkàshèrà</i>	
<i>kù-shàkìsìsà</i>	v	to investigate			
<i>kù-shàmà</i>	v	to make strips of dried meat			
<i>cì-shá' mátwà</i>	n	sickness involving nausea	7		
<i>kù-shàmbà</i>	v	to swim, bathe			
<i>kù-shàmbàrà</i>	v	to play in water			
<i>cì-shàmbàngò</i>	n	place to play around in the water	7,8	<i>zì-shàmbàngò</i>	

<i>kù-shàmbèrèrà</i>	v	to pray; to dance in celebration of s.o. who has been away for a long time		
<i>cì-shàmbìrò</i>	n	bathroom	7	
<i>kù-shàmpùrà</i>	v	to deny		
<i>mù-shámù</i>	n	medicine	3,4	<i>mì-shámù</i>
<i>cì-shámù</i>	n	tree; stick	7,8	<i>zì-shámù</i>
<i>mù-shànà</i>	n	back	3,4	<i>mì-shànà</i>
<i>kù-shândà</i>	v	to suffer		
<i>shândò</i>	n	suffering	5,6	<i>mà-shândò</i>
<i>kù-shàngànà</i>	v	to meet		
<i>rù-shá'ngànì</i>	n	plant (<i>Salsola aphylla</i>)	11	
<i>mà-shàngànjìrà</i>	n	crossroads	6	
<i>kù-shàngàshàngà</i>	v	to contribute (money)		
<i>kù-shàngàùrà</i>	v	to contribute (money)		
<i>shànshà</i>	n	shoulder	5,6	<i>mà-shànshà</i>
<i>kù-shàràngàrà</i>	v	to scatter		
<i>kù-shàrùrà</i>	v	to take out rotten groundnuts from good ones		
<i>shâshà</i>	n	mat	5,6	<i>mà-shâshà</i>
<i>kù-shèbà</i>	v	to sieve		
<i>bù-shèbè</i>	n	gossip	14	
<i>kù-shèbèkà</i>	v	to gossip		
<i>shèhà</i>	n	joke	5	
<i>kù-shèkà</i>	v	to laugh		
<i>kù-shèkàshèkà</i>	v	to laugh often		
<i>shékè</i>	n	sand (in the bush)	5	
<i>shékèshékè</i>	n	sand	5	
<i>mù-shêmì</i>	n	parent	1,2	<i>bà-shêmì</i>
<i>kù-shémpèkà</i>	v	to shoulder a load		
<i>mù-shémpù</i>	n	load	3	
<i>kù-shémpùrà</i>	v	to walk with a load on one's shoulders		
<i>kù-shèmunà</i>	v	to carry a child on one's shoulders		
<i>kù-shèndàmà</i>	v	to recline		
<i>kù-shèndèkà</i>	v	to put into a leaning position		
<i>kù-shèndèkèrà</i>	v	to joke, mock		
<i>shènè</i>	n	worm	5,6	<i>mà-shènè</i>
<i>shèngà</i>	n	liver	5,6	<i>mà-shèngà</i>
<i>kù-shèngà</i>	v	to sharpen		
<i>kù-shèngèkà</i>	v	to veer off course		
<i>mù-shèngèrà</i>	n	sharp tip	3,4	<i>mì-shèngèrà</i>
<i>mù-shêrè</i>	n	friend	1,2	<i>bà-shêrè</i>

<i>kù-shéshà</i>	v	to marry (of a man)		
<i>kù-shéshwà ~</i>	v	to be married (of a woman)		
<i>kù-shéshùwà</i>				
<i>bù-shéshèzì</i>	n	village of one's in-laws	14	
<i>mà-shéshwà</i>	n	marriage	6	
<i>cì-shéwò</i>	n	tree (<i>Boscia albitrunca</i>)	7,8	<i>zì-shéwò</i>
<i>cí-shì</i>	n	country, world	7,8	<i>zì-shì</i>
<i>kù-shíbà</i>	v	to whistle		
<i>bù-shìbì</i>	n	tree (<i>Berchemia zeyheri</i>)	14,6	<i>mà-shìbì</i>
<i>rú-'shíkà</i>	n	African Mangosteen (<i>Garcinia livingstonei</i>)	11,10	<i>n-shíkà</i>
<i>shíká'nkózè</i>	n	falcon	1a,2	<i>bà-shíká'nkózè</i>
<i>shikàrìmbìrè</i>	n	kite	1a,2	<i>bà-shikàrìmbìrè</i>
<i>kù-shìmbà</i>	v	to carry a baby on the shoulder		
<i>shímùlòpwè</i>	n	fish sp.	1a,2	<i>bà-shímùlòpwè</i>
<i>mù-shínjà</i>	n	soup	3	
<i>kù-shínjà</i>	v	to harvest		
<i>shínténgwè</i>	n	red-winged starling	1a,2	<i>bà-shínténgwè</i>
<i>kù-shírìrà</i>	v	to desire		
<i>shírùbùmbìrà</i>	n	mud wasp	1a,2	<i>bà-shírùbùmbìrà</i>
<i>shíryà</i>	n	other side	5	
<i>shò</i>	n	bow	5,6	<i>mà-shò</i>
<i>mù-shóbéngwà</i>	n	tree (<i>Acacia sieberi- ana/hebeclada</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-shóbéngwà</i>
<i>cì-shòbò</i>	n	language	7,4	<i>mì-shòbò</i>
<i>mù-shòbò</i>	n	tribe, kind, type	3,4	<i>mì-shòbò</i>
<i>kù-shòhà</i>	v	to lose weight; to throw away		
<i>kù-shòkà</i>	v	to fall (rain)		
<i>mà-shókèrà</i>	n	falling	6	
<i>bù-shó'mání</i>	n	bad luck	14	
<i>shòmbò</i>	n	cassava leaves	1a	
<i>kù-shòmpà</i>	v	to stab, spear		
<i>kù-shòngà</i>	v	to talk about s.o. who is not there, tattle		
<i>cì-shóngò</i>	n	bullet cartridge	7,8	<i>zì-shóngò</i>
<i>kù-shónjà</i>	v	to shoot, throw		
<i>mù-shónjì</i>	n	hunter	1,2	<i>bà-shónjì</i>
<i>kù-shòrà</i>	v	to produce a click in offense		
<i>rù-shòshò</i>	n	shin	11,10	<i>n-shòshò</i>
<i>kù-shòshòtà</i>	v	to whisper		
<i>kù-shótàùkà</i>	v	to jump up and down		
<i>kà-shòtò</i>	n	fish-hook	12,13	<i>tù-shòtò</i>

Lozi

<i>kù-shótòkà</i>	v	to cross, jump		
<i>mù-shú</i>	n	urine	3,4	<i>mì-shú</i>
<i>kù-shùbà</i>	v	to urinate		
<i>cì-shùkà</i>	n	rooftop	7,8	<i>zì-shùkà</i>
<i>n-shúkì</i>	n	hair	10	
<i>kù-shúmà</i>	v	to bite		
<i>cì-shúmì</i>	n	biting insect	7,8	<i>zì-shúmì</i>
<i>kù-shúminà</i>	t	to tie		
<i>kù-shúminìnà</i>	v	to be engaged		
<i>kù-shùmpùrà</i>	v	to shout		
<i>kù-shúmùnùkà</i>	v	to be interesting; to become untied; to give birth (euphemism); to feel better		
<i>kù-shúmùnùnà</i>	v	to untie		
<i>mù-shúndùkìrè</i>	n	lizard	3,4	<i>mì-shúndùkìrè</i> ZF
<i>shùndùrùkùtù</i>	n	water rat	5,6	<i>mà-shùndùrùkùtù</i>
<i>kù-shúngùrà</i>	v	to distrust		
<i>cì-shúngwà</i>	n	African cabbage (<i>Cleome gynandra</i>)	7,8	<i>zì-shúngwà</i>
<i>kù-shùnshà</i>	v	to shrug		
<i>cì-shúnshù</i>	n	burnt grass remains	7,8	<i>zì-shúnshù</i>
<i>shúnù</i>	adv	today		
<i>kà-shùrù</i> (ZF) ~ <i>kà-shùrwè</i> (NF)	n	rabbit	12,13	<i>tù-shùrù</i> ~ <i>tù-shùrwè</i>
<i>kù-shùtà</i>	v	to fish (with hook)		
<i>kà-shùtò</i>	n	fishing hook	12,13	<i>tù-shùtò</i>
<i>kù-shúwà</i>	v	to understand, hear, feel		
<i>mù-shúwì</i>	n	horn used to suck blood (same as <i>mù-rùméhò</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-shúwì</i>
<i>kù-shúwìkà</i>	v	to suck blood (same as <i>kù-nlúmà</i>)		
<i>kù-shúwìsìsà</i>	v	to understand		
<i>n-shwá</i>	n	termite	10	
<i>kù-shwáhùrà</i>	v	to console; to be disappointed, give up		
<i>mù-shwátì</i>	n	sugar cane	3,4	<i>mì-shwátì</i>
<i>kù-shwátìrà</i>	v	to whip		
<i>kù-shwènà</i>	v	to become tired		
<i>kù-shwènùnùkà</i>	v	to become rested		
<i>bù:-sì</i>	n	smoke	14	
<i>sì-bbwé</i>	n	jackal	1a,2	<i>bà-sìbbwé</i>
<i>kù-sìhà</i>	v	to be dark, black		
<i>kù-síkà</i>	v	to light		
<i>mù-sìkà</i>	n	market	3,4	<i>mì-sìkà</i>

<i>sikíò</i>	n	earring	5,6	<i>mà-sikíò</i>	
<i>cì-síkí'síkì</i>	n	tree stump	7,8	<i>zì-síkí'síkì</i>	
<i>sìkónò</i>	n	type of roasted food	5,6	<i>mà-sìkónò</i>	
<i>mà-síkù</i>	n	night	6		
<i>mà-síkùsíkù</i>	n	morning	6		
<i>'-!símà</i>	n	well	5,6	<i>má-'símà</i>	
<i>kù-sìnà</i>	v	to wrestle			
<i>kà-sìndè</i>	n	bracelet, made of beads or ivory (same as <i>ka- sekenyengi</i>)	12,13	<i>tù-sìndè</i>	
<i>mù-sìndè</i>	n	Indian finger millet	3		
<i>kù-sìndìkìzà</i>	v	to escort			
<i>rù-sìngà</i>	n	vein	11,10	<i>n-sìngà</i>	
<i>kù-sìngà</i>	v	to paint			
<i>kù-sìngàbà</i>	v	to apply oil on one's skin			
<i>kù-sìnkà</i>	v	to patch			
<i>kù-sìntà</i>	v	to pour			
<i>kù-sìnyà</i>	v	to destroy			Lozi
<i>'-!sínzà</i>	n	snot	9,6	<i>má-'sínzà</i>	
<i>cì-sínzì</i>	n	termite	7,8	<i>zì-sínzì</i>	
<i>cì-sí'nzínà</i>	n	heel	7,8	<i>zì-sí'nzínà</i>	
<i>mù-sípírì</i>	n	journey	3,4	<i>mì-sípírì</i>	Lozi
<i>sírá</i>	n	piece of cloth	5,6	<i>mà-sírá</i>	
<i>mà-sìrà</i>	n	dirt	6		
<i>kù-sìrà</i>	v	to grind; to cross a river			
<i>cì-sìrìsò</i>	n	upper grinding stone	7,8	<i>zì-sìrìsò</i>	
<i>bù-sìrù</i>	n	stupidity	14		
<i>mù-sìrù</i>	n	stupid person	1,2	<i>bà-sìrù</i>	
<i>mù-sìrù</i>	n	tree (<i>Acacia ataxantha</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-sìrù</i>	
<i>kù-sìrùhà</i>	v	to be stupid			
<i>rù-síwù</i>	n	reed (<i>Cyperus fulgens</i>)	11,10	<i>n-síwù</i>	
<i>kù-síyà</i>	v	to leave, drop			
<i>síyàbàrìrà</i>	n	black mamba	5,6	<i>mà-síyàbàrìrà</i>	
<i>kà-síyè</i>	n	forehead wrinkle	12,13	<i>tù-síyè</i>	
<i>rù-sí'yízà</i>	n	darkness before rain	11		
<i>rù-síyò</i>	n	kidney	11,10	<i>n-síyò</i>	
<i>bú-sò</i>	n	front	14		
<i>kù-sókòròrà ~</i>	v	to feel heartburn			
<i>kù-sòkòròrà</i>					
<i>mù-sókwànì</i>	n	stirring stick	3,4	<i>mì-sókwànì</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-sóndàikà</i>	v	to point (to multiple things); to wag your finger at s.o.			
<i>kù-sóndèkà</i>	v	to point (to one thing)			
<i>cì-sóngò</i>	n	kind of disease	7,8	<i>zì-sóngò</i>	

<i>kù-sónsònìsà</i>	v	to search around			
<i>bù-sòròsòrò</i>	n	tree (<i>Abrus precatorius</i>)	14		
<i>kù-sòsèrà</i>	v	to poke (a fire)			
<i>cì-sòtì</i>	n	woollen hat	7,8	<i>zì-sòtì</i>	
<i>só-zù</i>	n	grass	5		
<i>bù-sù</i>	n	flour	14		
<i>mú-sù</i>	n	acacia (<i>Acacia tortilis</i>)	3,4	<i>mí-sù</i>	
<i>kà-súbà</i>	n	dish	12,13	<i>tù-súbà</i>	
<i>kù-sùbìrà</i>	v	to be red			
<i>kù-sùhà</i>	v	to spit			
<i>kù-sùkà</i>	v	to disembark, climb down			
<i>kù-sùkà</i>	v	to soften (a skin)			
<i>kù-sùkùrà</i>	v	to doze			
<i>kù-sùkùrùrà</i>	v	to report, tell			
<i>kù-súmà</i>	v	to sew			
<i>rú-'súmà</i>	n	jackalberry (<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>)	11,10	<i>n-súmà</i>	
<i>bù-súmbà</i>	n	pregnancy	14		
<i>mù-súmbà</i>	n	pregnant woman	1,2	<i>bà-súmbà</i>	
<i>kù-súmbàrà</i>	v	to be pregnant			
<i>kù-súmbàzà</i>	v	to impregnate			
<i>súmbì</i>	n	Marsh cane-rat	5,6	<i>mà-súmbì</i>	
<i>kù-súmbìkà</i>	v	to impregnate			
<i>kù-súmìkà</i>	v	to burn			
<i>mù-sùmò</i>	n	big pole (for houses)	3,4	<i>mì-sùmò</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-súmùnà</i>	v	to report			
<i>kù-súmwìnà</i>	v	to explain, tell			
<i>kù-súnà</i>	v	to love (romantically)			
<i>kù-súndà</i>	v	to show			
<i>n-súndè</i>	n	bush (<i>Baphia mas-saiensis</i>)	9		
<i>mù-súngà</i>	n	belt	3,4	<i>mì-súngà</i>	
<i>kù-súngàmà</i>	v	to bow the head			
<i>kù-sùnsà</i>	v	to dip porridge in relish			
<i>bù-sùnsò</i>	n	relish	14,6	<i>mà-sùnsò</i>	
<i>mù-súnsù</i>	n	front part of lower leg	3,4	<i>mì-súnsù</i>	
<i>mù-sùrà</i>	n	bushwillow	3,4	<i>mì-sùrà</i>	
<i>cì-sùrìràmbízyì</i>	n	green stink bug	7,8	<i>zì-sùrìràmbízyì</i>	
<i>kù-sùrùmùkà</i>	v	to descend			
<i>n-sùrùmùkò</i>	n	downward slope	9		
<i>kù-sùsà</i>	v	to put down (when carrying sth.), drop			
<i>sútù</i>	n	chaff	5		
<i>mú-swà</i>	n	small rope (for making mats)	3,4	<i>mí-swà</i>	

<i>kù-swábà</i>	v	to be ashamed			
<i>mà-swàbì</i>	n	death; shame	6		
<i>kù-swànà</i>	v	to be the same			Lozi
<i>kú-swànèrà</i>	v	must			
<i>kù-swàyà</i>	v	to sharpen			
<i>mù-swítì</i>	n	magic guarri (<i>Euclea divinorum</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-swítì</i>	
<i>bú-tà</i>	n	bow	14,6	<i>má-tà</i>	
<i>kú-tà</i>	v	to say			
<i>rù-tà:</i>	n	crack	11		
<i>kú-tàbà</i>	v	to answer			
<i>kù-tàbà</i>	v	to become happy			
<i>cì-tàbàmàhùrè</i>	n	plant (<i>Gunnera perpensa</i>)	7,8	<i>zì-tàbàmàhùrè</i>	
<i>mù-tábì</i>	n	branch	3,4	<i>mì-tábì</i>	
<i>kù-tàbìsà</i>	v	to be interesting, exciting			
<i>kù-táfùnà</i>	v	to chew, graze			
<i>mù-táfùnànjòvù</i>	n	acacia sp, with thorns	3,4	<i>mì-táfùnànjòvù</i>	
<i>kù-táhà</i>	v	to give, be generous			
<i>kù-tàhùrà</i>	v	to divide food			
<i>rù-tàkà</i>	n	reeds	11,3	<i>mù-tàkà</i>	
<i>tákò</i>	n	buttock	5,6	<i>mà-tákò</i>	
<i>kù-tàkùmà</i>	v	to scream			
<i>tàmà</i>	n	cheek	5,6	<i>mà-tàmà</i>	
<i>kù-tàmbà</i>	v	to give herbs (as witchcraft)			
<i>kù-tàmbìkà</i>	v	to give			
<i>kù-tàmbùrà</i>	v	to receive			
<i>tànàrà</i>	n	tree (<i>Croton megalobotrys</i>)	5,6	<i>mà-tànàrà</i>	
<i>kù-tàndà</i>	v	to chase			
<i>kù-tàndàbàrà</i>	v	to stretch one's legs (in sitting position)			
<i>kù-tàndàbìkà</i>	v	to make s.o. stretch his/her legs			
<i>kù-tàngà</i>	v	to start			
<i>rù-tàngà</i>	n	pumpkin stem	11		
<i>n-tàngà</i>	n	pumpkin seeds	10		
<i>tàngányàmbè</i>	n	calabash	5,6	<i>mà-tàngányàmbè</i>	
<i>kù-tàngàràrà</i>	v	to rejoice			
<i>kù-tàngàùrà</i>	v	to provoke			
<i>kù-tàngìsà</i>	v	to start			
<i>kù-tàngìzà</i>	v	to walk in front of s.o., lead			
<i>rù-tàngò ~ tàngò</i>	n	story, proverb	11/5,6	<i>mà-tàngò</i>	
<i>kù-tàngùrà</i>	v	to tell a story			
<i>cì-tántà</i>	n	hill	7,8	<i>zì-tántà</i>	
<i>kù-tàntà</i>	v	to overtake, pass			

<i>ká-tànzì</i>	adv	first		
<i>cì-tàpà</i>	n	garden at the river or floodplain	7,8	<i>zì-tàpà</i>
<i>tàpà</i>	n	mud	5	
<i>kù-tàpà</i>	v	to take forcibly, against s.o.'s will		
<i>mù-tàrà</i>	n	footprint	3,4	<i>mì-tàrà</i>
<i>kù-tàràùkà</i>	v	to go step by step		
<i>cì-tàrè</i>	n	tool; piece of iron	7,8	<i>zì-tàrè</i>
<i>bù-tàri</i>	n	wisdom	14	
<i>kù-tàràùkà</i>	v	to take a step		
<i>kù-tàràùsà</i>	v	to explain		
<i>tátà</i>	n	father	1a,2	<i>bà-tátà</i>
<i>tàtámwáncè</i>	n	paternal uncle	1a,2	<i>bà-tàtámwáncè</i>
<i>tàtánkázì</i>	n	paternal aunt	1a,2	<i>bà-tàtánkázì</i>
<i>kù-tàtèrà</i>	v	to cock a gun		
<i>kù-tàtìkà</i>	v	to start (intr.)		
<i>bù-tátù</i>	n	third	14	
<i>kù-tátùrùrà</i>	v	to take out stitches (person, clothes)		
<i>-tátwè</i>	num	three		
<i>rù-táyà</i>	n	walking stick	11,13	<i>tù-táyà</i>
<i>má-tè</i>	n	saliva	6	
<i>rú-tè</i>	n	saliva gland	11,6	<i>má-tè</i>
<i>mù-tébè</i>	n	reed (<i>Typha capensis</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-tébè</i>
<i>kù-tèèrà</i>	v	to limp		
<i>kù-tékà</i>	v	to fetch		
<i>-téké</i>	adj	fresh		
<i>kù-témà</i>	v	to chop		
<i>témà</i>	adv	maybe		
<i>kà-témù</i>	n	axe	12,13	<i>tù-témù</i>
<i>mù-témwà</i>	n	forest	3,4	<i>mì-témwà</i>
<i>kù-tèndà</i>	v	to do, make		
<i>kù-tèndàhàrà</i>	v	to happen		
<i>cì-téndántù</i>	n	(human) action	7	
<i>téndè</i>	n	foot, leg, footprint	5,6	<i>mà-téndè</i>
<i>cì-tèndò</i>	n	action	7	
<i>kà-tènè</i>	n	calabash	12,13	<i>tù-tènè</i>
<i>kà-tènè</i>	n	otter	12,13	<i>tù-tènè</i>
<i>kù-tèngà</i>	v	to be dissatisfied (with what you are given)		
<i>kù-téngàmà</i>	v	to bend (intr.)		
<i>kù-téngèkà</i>	v	to bend (tr.)		
<i>kù-tèngènà</i>	v	to carry on the head		
<i>kà-téntèrè</i>	n	xiphoid	12	

<i>mù-tèpwèrèrè</i>	n	thin porridge (with sugar and/or sour milk)	3		
<i>kù-tèrà</i>	v	to pay tax			
<i>kù-tèrèrà</i>	v	to be soft, slippery			
<i>kù-térèzà ~ kù-téèzà</i>	v	to listen			
<i>kù-téyà</i>	v	to trap			
<i>kù-tíkà</i>	v	to roll/fall out of			
<i>kù-tìmbà</i>	v	to push			
<i>kù-tìmbikà</i>	v	to send			
<i>kù-tìnà</i>	v	to press, push			
<i>cì-tìnà</i>	n	brick	7,8	<i>zì-tìnà</i>	
<i>kù-tìshùmùkà</i>	v	to sneeze			
<i>kù-tíyà</i>	v	to be afraid			
<i>kù-tíyìzà</i>	v	to be fearsome, dangerous, scare s.o.			
<i>mù-tóbò</i>	n	bushwillow	3,4	<i>mì-tóbò</i>	
<i>kù-tóbòhà</i>	v	to console			
<i>kù-tòkwàhàrà</i>	v	to pass away			
<i>mà-tòkwànì</i>	n	cannabis	6		
<i>kù-tòmà</i>	v	to charge dowry; to pull apart/taut; to sentence			
<i>cì-tómbò</i>	n	wound	7,8	<i>zì-tómbò</i>	Lozi
<i>mù-tómbwè</i>	n	tobacco; cigarette	3		
<i>kù-tómbwèrà</i>	v	to weed			
<i>kù-tómèsà</i>	v	to give s.o. meat			
<i>kù-tòmpòrà</i>	v	to uproot			
<i>kù-tóndà</i>	v	to look, watch			
<i>kù-tóndèrèrà</i>	v	to stare			
<i>kù-tóndèsà</i>	v	to look carefully			
<i>kù-tóngà</i>	v	to become sick, complain about feeling sick, groan			
<i>kù-tòngàmà</i>	v	to kneel			
<i>kù-tóngàùkà</i>	v	to complain			
<i>kù-tòngèkà</i>	v	to bend one's knees; to lean on an elbow			
<i>mà-tòngèrà</i>	n	illness	6		
<i>tòngò</i>	n	deserted village	5/9,6	<i>mà-tòngò</i>	
<i>kù-tóntòrà</i>	v	to be cold; to be calm, quiet			
<i>kù-tó:rà</i>	v	to pick up			
<i>kù-tó:ràtò:rà</i>	v	to pick, gather			
<i>-tòrè</i>	adj	soft, easy			

<i>cì-tòrè</i>	n	female cow	7,8	<i>zì-tòrè</i>	
<i>kù-tòrèhà</i>	v	to become soft			
<i>kù-tóròkà</i>	v	to translate, explain			
<i>kù-tòyà</i>	v	to hate			
<i>mù-tòyà</i>	n	tree (<i>Ficus burkei</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-tòyà</i>	
<i>kù-tùbà</i>	v	to be white			
<i>kù-tùbìsà</i>	v	to make white			
<i>kù-tùkà</i>	v	to insult			
<i>mà-tùkà</i>	n	insults	6		
<i>bù-tùkù</i>	n	disease	14		
<i>kù-tùkùsà</i>	v	to warm up (tr.)			
<i>mù-tù'kútà</i>	n	heat	3,4	<i>mì-tù'kútà</i>	
<i>tù'kútà</i>	n	dirt	5		
<i>kù-tùkùtà</i>	v	to become warm			
<i>cì-tùkùtùkù</i>	n	sweat	7		
<i>kù-tùmà</i>	v	to send			
<i>rù-tùmbù</i>	n	back of calve	11,10	<i>n-tùmbù</i>	
<i>kù-tùmbùkà</i>	v	to burn (intr.)			
<i>kù-tùmbùrà</i>	v	to cut and gut a fish			
<i>tùmbùrwà</i>	n	roasted scone	5,6	<i>mà-tùmbùrwà</i>	
<i>kù-tùmbùsà</i>	v	to light, burn (tr.)			
<i>kù-tùmìkà</i>	v	to send			
<i>kù-tùmìnìzà</i>	v	to send			
<i>kù-tùmpà</i>	v	to sprout (of wild plants)			
<i>kù-tùmpìkà</i>	v	to poison (a pot)			
<i>kù-tùmpùrà</i>	v	to fish with a net; to take meat from a pot on the fire			
<i>kù-tùmpwàmà</i>	v	to plunge			
<i>kù-tùmpwìkà</i>	v	to put sth. in water			
<i>cì-tùndù</i>	n	flat open basket	7,8	<i>zì-tùndù</i>	
<i>kù-tùngà</i>	v	to take fire to one's own fireplace			
<i>cì-tùngù</i>	n	canopy	7,8	<i>zì-tùngù</i>	
<i>kù-tùngùrùrà</i>	v	to hit (while shooting)			
<i>rù-tùngwézì</i>	n	star	11,10	<i>n-tùngwézì</i>	
<i>kà-tùò</i>	n	spoon	12,13	<i>tù-tùò</i>	
<i>cì-tùpù</i>	n	corpse	7,8	<i>zì-tùpù</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-tùrà</i>	v	to land			
<i>kù-tùrùkà</i>	v	to burst			
<i>kù-tùrùrà</i>	v	to pierce			
<i>kù-tùsà</i>	v	to help; to cure			
<i>n-tùsò</i>	n	help	9		
<i>mù-tùtàbónì</i>	n	blind person	1,2	<i>bà-tùtàbónì</i>	
<i>kù-tùtùmà</i>	v	to shiver			

<i>cì-túwà</i>	n	roof	7,8	<i>zì-túwà</i>	
<i>kú-twà</i>	v	to pound			
<i>kù-twámikà</i>	v	to succeed; to be spot on, be exactly right			
<i>kù-twàrà</i>	v	to bring			
<i>'-twè</i>	n	ash	5		
<i>mú-twì</i>	n	head	3,4	<i>mí-twì</i>	
<i>kú-twì ~ twì</i>	n	ear	15/5,6	<i>má-twì</i>	
<i>c-úngù</i>	n	bird sp., red tail	7,8	<i>z-úngù</i>	
<i>kù-ùrà</i>	v	to buy			
<i>kù-ùrikà</i>	v	to name			
<i>kù-ùrìsà</i>	v	to sell			
<i>cì-ùrù</i>	n	anthill, mud	7,8	<i>zì-ùrù</i>	
<i>kù-ùrù</i>	n	leg	15,6	<i>mà-ùrù</i>	
<i>kù-ùrùkà</i>	v	to fly			
<i>kù-ùrùsà</i>	v	to blow away (tr.), winnow			
<i>ùtwánà</i>	n	small pole	5,6	<i>mà-ùtwánà</i>	
<i>múzyà</i>	n	character	3,4	<i>my-úzyà</i>	
<i>vù</i>	n	wasp	5,6	<i>mà-vù</i>	
<i>'-vù</i>	n	sand, soil, land	5		
<i>kù-vúkùmà</i>	v	to throw			
<i>kù-vùkùtà</i>	v	to blow the fire			
<i>vùmò</i>	n	stomach	5,6	<i>mà-vùmò</i>	
<i>kù-vùngà</i>	v	to fold			
<i>kù-vùngùrùrà</i>	v	to unfold			
<i>kù-vùrùmàtà</i>	v	to close one's eyes			
<i>kù-vùrùrà</i>	v	to winnow			
<i>rù-vú'támò</i>	n	lower part of stomach	II		
<i>kù-vwìkà</i>	v	to cover			
<i>kù-vwìkùrà</i>	v	to uncover			
<i>wà</i>	n	field	5,6	<i>mà-wà</i>	
<i>kú-wà (ZF) ~</i>	v	to give			
<i>kú-hà (NF)</i>					
<i>cì-wàkàkà</i>	n	horned melon (<i>Cu- cumis metuliferus</i>)	7,8	<i>zì-wàkàkà</i>	
<i>kù-wàrà</i>	v	to find			
<i>kù-wàràhàrà</i>	v	to be found			
<i>kù-wàràsìkà</i>	v	to be found			
<i>rù-wáwà</i>	n	jackal	II,2	<i>bà-wáwà</i>	
<i>kù-wàya</i>	v	to fish with a spear			
<i>mù-wàyo</i>	n	arrow, spear	3,4	<i>mì-wàyo</i>	Lozi
<i>kù-wèzà</i>	v	to add			
<i>wìrù</i>	n	sky	5		
<i>wízyù</i>	n	baobab	5,6	<i>mà-wízyù</i>	
<i>wóngòrò</i>	n	millipede	14,6	<i>mà-óngòrò</i>	

<i>kú-yà</i>	v	to go		
<i>kù-yàbùrà</i>	v	to take meat from a plate		
<i>cí-yàisì</i>	n	killer	7	
<i>yámbà</i>	n	hoe	5,6	<i>mà-yámbà</i>
<i>kù-yàmbà</i>	v	to fish		
<i>kù-yángà</i>	v	to pick fruit		
<i>cì-yàngà</i>	n	cripple (from birth)	7,8	<i>zì-yàngà</i>
<i>cì-yángò</i>	n	fruit	7,8	<i>zì-yàngò</i>
<i>kù-yáshìmisà</i>	v	to sneeze		
<i>kà-yávù</i>	n	piece of meat	12,13	<i>tù-yávù</i>
<i>kú-yàà</i>	v	to kill		
<i>cí-yàzì</i>	n	traitor	7,8	<i>zì-yàzì</i>
<i>ìyé</i>	con	that, so that		
<i>kù-yècà ~ kù-yòcà</i>	v	to roast (in ash)		
<i>mà-yémò</i>	n	nature, characteristics	6	
<i>kù-yèndà</i>	v	to go, walk, travel		
<i>kù-yèndàùrà</i>	v	to walk around		
<i>bù-yèndàòzì</i>	n	walking too much	14	
<i>kù-yèndàyèndà</i>	v	to continue walking; to walk back and forth		
<i>kù-yèndèsà</i>	v	to guide		
<i>rù-yèndò</i>	n	journey	11	
<i>mù-yé'nzángù</i>	n	my friend	1,2	<i>bà-yé'nzángù</i>
<i>mù-yénzè:</i>	n	his/her friend	1,2	<i>bà-yénzè:</i>
<i>mù-yénzò:</i>	n	your friend	1,2	<i>bà-yénzò:</i>
<i>kù-yèrèkà</i>	v	to try, taste		
<i>mà-yìkútò</i>	n	feelings	6	
<i>mà-yìrà</i>	n	sorghum	6	
<i>kù-yùrùmìkà</i>	v	to pile up		
<i>kù-zàrà</i>	v	to play (a game), joke, dance		
<i>zándò</i>	n	fishing trap made out of reed	9,10	<i>zándò</i>
<i>cì-zàrà</i>	n	game	7,8	<i>zì-zàrà</i>
<i>kù-zàrà</i>	v	to give birth (animals)		
<i>n-zàsì</i>	n	sparks	10	
<i>kù-zàsìmità</i>	v	to sneeze		
<i>kù-zèkà</i>	v	to appear in court		
<i>mù-zèkò</i>	v	court hearing		
<i>kù-zérà ~ kù-zérèrà</i>	v	to hang, dangle		
<i>kù-zèrikàv</i>	v	to faint		
<i>kù-zézà</i>	v	to carry in the hand		
<i>kù-zèzà</i>	v	to think, plan		
<i>mà-túzi</i>	n	excrement	6	

<i>zìbà</i>	n	lake	5,6	<i>mà-zìbà</i>
<i>kù-zìbàrà</i>	v	to forget		
<i>n-zìbísò</i>	n	notice	9	
<i>kù-zîzà</i>	v	to imitate		
<i>kù-zìkà</i>	v	to hide, bury		
<i>zíkò</i>	n	hearth, nuclear family	5	
<i>kù-zímà</i>	v	to turn off, extinguish		
<i>kù-zímbà</i>	v	to swell, hit		
<i>kù-zímbàùkà</i>	v	to walk in circles, keep walking around		
<i>kù-zímbìkà</i>	v	to cause to swell		
<i>kù-zímbùkà</i>	v	to go around		
<i>kù-zímbùrùkà</i>	v	to walk around, surround; to smuggle		
<i>kù-zímbùrùsà</i>	v	to smuggle; to spin (tr.)		
<i>kùzìmbùsà</i>	v	to bring sth. around		
<i>kù-zímìsà</i>	v	to extinguish		
<i>mù-zímù</i>	n	spirit	3,4	<i>mì-zímù</i>
<i>zínà</i>	n	name	5,6	<i>mà-zínà</i>
<i>kù-zíngà</i>	v	to twist		
<i>kù-zíngàizà</i>	v	to tie around		
<i>mù-zìò</i>	n	load	3,4	<i>mì-zìò</i>
<i>kù-zìzà</i>	v	to obey an instruction		
<i>cì-zò</i>	n	tradition, traditional	7,8	<i>zì-zò</i>
<i>kù-zòkàùkà</i>	v	to turn around, toss and turn while sleeping; to be unreliable		
<i>kù-zò:kà</i>	v	to turn around (intr.)		
<i>kù-zò:rà</i>	v	to turn around (tr.)		
<i>n-zózi</i>	n	(process of) dreaming	9	
<i>cì-zúbà</i>	n	chest	7,8	<i>zì-zúbà</i>
<i>kù-zùbìrìrà</i>	v	to put the first flour into a pot of boiling water to make porridge		
<i>kù-zùbùkà</i>	v	to ford		
<i>kù-zùbùrà</i>	v	to take food from a boiling pot		
<i>kù-zúhà</i>	v	to pole (a boat)		
<i>kù-zùkàùkà</i>	v	to move around (of food in a pot)		
<i>kù-zùkàùrà</i>	v	to stir		
<i>kù-zúmà</i>	v	to hum		
<i>mù-zùmàngòmà</i>	n	tree (<i>Albizia versicolor</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-zùmàngòmà</i>
<i>mù-zúmbì</i>	n	continuous rain	3,4	<i>mì-zúmbì</i>
<i>kù-zùmìnà</i>	v	to believe, agree, accept a marriage proposal		

<i>kù-zùmìnizà</i>	v	to allow			
<i>kù-zùmìnzàna</i>	v	to agree with/ understand each other			
<i>zùngùzùngù</i>	n	tree (<i>Kigelia africana</i>)	5,6	<i>mà-zùngùzùngù</i>	
<i>bù-zúnzù</i>	n	loneliness, homesickness	14		
<i>zúpà</i>	n	wet clay	5		Lozi
<i>kù-zúrà</i>	v	to undress			
<i>kù-zúràùkà</i>	v	to miss (people)			
<i>mù-zúzù</i>	n	grass roof	3,4	<i>mì-zúzù</i>	
<i>mù-zúzùmbì</i>	n	shadow; light rain	3,4	<i>mì-zúzùmbì</i>	
<i>kù-zùzùnyà</i>	v	to doubt			
<i>kù-zwà</i>	v	to come out, come from			
<i>mù-zwákérà</i>	n	poison (used for humans)	3,4	<i>mì-zwákérà</i>	
<i>kù-zwàkérà</i>	v	to poison			
<i>kù-zwàsà</i>	v	to dress (tr.)			
<i>kù-zwàtà</i>	v	to dress (oneself)			
<i>cì-zwâtò</i>	n	bottom garment	7,8	<i>zì-zwâtò</i>	
<i>zwáyì</i>	n	salt	5		
<i>'-zwì</i>	n	knee	5,6	<i>má-zwì</i>	
<i>kù-zwìsà</i>	v	to take out; to fire			
<i>kù-zyàbàrà</i>	v	to dress (oneself)			
<i>cì-zyàbàrò</i>	n	top garment	7,8	<i>zì-zyàbàrò</i>	
<i>kù-zyábìkà</i>	v	to dress s.o.			
<i>kù-zyàbùrà</i>	v	to undress			
<i>kù-zyá:kà</i>	v	to build			
<i>mù-zyá:kì</i>	n	builder	1,2	<i>bà-zyá:kì</i>	
<i>kù-zyákùnùkà</i>	v	to be destroyed, taken apart			
<i>kù-zyákùrùrà</i>	v	to take apart (to be reused)			
<i>kù-zyàmbìrà</i>	v	to gather			
<i>zì-zyàmbìrò</i>	n	gathered fruits	8		
<i>kù-zyánàmà</i>	v	to hang to dry (intr.)			
<i>kù-zyángùrà</i>	v	to harvest			
<i>kù-zyánìkà</i>	v	to stretch out to dry			
<i>rù-zyàrà</i>	n	finger nail, claw	11,10/6	<i>njàrà ~ mà-zyàrà</i>	
<i>kù-zyàrà</i>	v	to spread a bed			
<i>cì-zyàrò</i>	n	mat	7,8	<i>zì-zyàrò</i>	
<i>kù-zyàrùrà</i>	v	to take blankets off a bed			
<i>mà-zyáshà</i>	n	yawn	6		
<i>kù-zyáshàmà</i>	v	to open one's mouth			
<i>kù-zyáwà</i>	v	to be denied what one expects			
<i>kù-zyáwìsà</i>	v	to deny s.o. what s/he expects			
<i>kù-zyéèkà</i>	v	to put in a leaning position			
<i>kù-zyéndàmà</i>	v	to lean			

<i>cì-zyì</i>	n	door	7,8	<i>zì-zyì</i>
<i>kù-zyámà</i>	v	to lean back, lean onto (s.o.)		
<i>kú-zyìbà</i>	v	to get to know		
<i>kù-zyìbàhàrà</i>	v	to be known, famous		
<i>mú-zyìhìsì</i>	n	teacher	1,2	<i>bá-zyìhìsì</i>
<i>kù-zyìmànà</i>	v	to stop, stand up; to be pregnant		
<i>kù-zyìmbà</i>	v	to sing		
<i>zì-zyìmbàntù</i>	n	song	8	
<i>kù-zyìmbàzyìmbà</i>	v	to hum		
<i>mù-zyìmbì</i>	n	singer	1,2	<i>bà-zyìmbì</i>
<i>rù-zyìmbò</i>	n	song	11,10	<i>n-jìmbò</i>
<i>kù-zyìmìkà</i>	v	to put in a standing position		
<i>rù-zyìyì</i>	n	fruit of <i>Berchemia discolor</i>	11,10	<i>n-jìyì</i>
<i>bù-zyìyì</i>	n	tree (<i>Berchemia discolor</i>)	14	
<i>zyòbà</i>	n	cloud	5,6	<i>mà-zyòbà</i>
<i>kù-zyòbà</i>	v	to get lost		
<i>kù-zyónà</i>	v	to destroy, spill, waste		
<i>zyónà</i>	adv	tomorrow; yesterday		
<i>kù-zyónàùkà</i>	v	to get destroyed		
<i>kù-zyónàùrà</i>	v	to destroy		
<i>kù-zyó:tà</i>	v	to warm oneself by the fire		
<i>mà-zyòvù</i>	n	twins	6	
<i>zyúbà</i>	n	sun, day	5,6	<i>mà-zyúbà</i>
<i>kù-zyùbà</i>	v	to peel		
<i>kù-zyúmà</i>	v	to become dry		
<i>bù-zyúmì</i>	n	life	14	
<i>kù-zyúmìnìà</i>	v	to be unconscious; to dry (of grains, wood)		
<i>kù-zyúmìsà</i>	v	to dry (tr.)		
<i>kù-zyùnà</i>	v	to skin		
<i>cì-zyùnì</i>	n	bird	7,8	<i>zì-zyùnì</i>
<i>kú-zyùrà</i>	v	to become full		
<i>zyúrù</i>	n	nose; plural: nostrils	5,6	<i>mà-zyúrù</i>
<i>kù-zyùsà</i>	v	to fill		
<i>'-zywì</i>	n	voice, word	5,6	<i>má-zywì</i>
<i>kù-zywìzyà</i>	v	to leak		
<i>kù-làmpùtùrà</i>	v	to dig		
<i>kù-lánàùnà</i>	v	to divide, share		
<i>kù-làpàùrà</i>	v	to destroy		
<i>kù-làpàikà</i>	v	to put mud on a wall		
<i>kù-làpìkà</i>	v	to put mud on a wall		
<i>kù-làpùrà</i>	v	to tear		

<i>kù-làpùrùrà</i>	v	to take mud from a wall; to dismantle		
<i>kù-làpùrà ~ kù-làpùrùrà</i>	v	to tear		
<i>kù-làrùmùnà</i>	v	to search through s.o.'s belongings		
<i>kù-làrùmùnà</i>	v	to stretch a fishing net		
<i>kù-làsàùkà</i>	v	to spark		
<i>bù-ló:</i>	n	tastelessness	I4	
<i>rù-lómà</i>	n	papyrus	II	
<i>rù-lómà</i>	n	papyrus	II	
<i>mù-lómbè</i>	n	anus	3,4	<i>mì-lómbè</i>
<i>kù-ló:hà</i>	v	to become tasteless		
<i>kù-lòpòrà</i>	v	to run fast		
<i>kù-ló:sà</i>	v	to be boring		
<i>kù-lùtùrà</i>	v	to bite a piece of tough/undercooked meat		
<i>kù-lwápìzà</i>	v	to click in anger or insult		
<i>kù-^glábùrùrà</i>	v	to stick on clothes (thorns)		
<i>kù-^glákàmìnà</i>	v	to sit with arms and legs extended (to catch fish; to warm oneself by the fire)		
<i>kù-^glàmbùrà</i>	v	to strip a tree		
<i>kù-^glàndàùkà</i>	v	to disperse		
<i>kù-^glàndàùrà</i>	v	to scatter (tr.)		
<i>kù-^glàndùkà</i>	v	to disperse		
<i>kù-^glàrùmùsà</i>	v	to warm oneself		
<i>kù-^glázà</i>	v	to shiver, be startled		
<i>-^glénè ~ -géné</i>	adj	thin		
<i>^glìmà</i>	n	small fish sp.	5,6	<i>mà^glìmà</i>
<i>kù-^glòntà</i>	v	to drip		
<i>kù-^glòntàùrà</i>	v	to drip continuously		
<i>kù-^glòtòmònà</i>	v	to scrub; to wash s.o.'s back		
<i>^glúkùmù</i>	n	fruit sp.	5,6	<i>mà^glúkùmù</i>
<i>kù-^glúkùmùnà</i>	v	to scrub		
<i>kù-^glàpùrà</i>	v	to spread one's legs or arms		
<i>kù-^glàrùmùkà</i>	v	to shout loudly		
<i>cì-^glìnjò</i>	n	tree sp.	7,8	<i>zì-^glìnjò</i>
<i>kù-^glínkìtà</i>	v	to pound with short, sharp movements		
<i>kù-^glònsà</i>	v	to make drip		
<i>kù-^glòpòkà</i>	v	to widen (intr.)		
<i>kù-^glòpòrà</i>	v	to widen (tr.); to remove flesh, an eye		

<i>kù-nlambùkà</i>	v	to burst (of a <i>mukusi</i> pod)			
<i>nlambùrà nkúsi</i>	n	<i>mukusi</i> seed; hundred dollars	5,6	<i>mà-nlambùrà nkúsi</i>	
<i>kù-nlâmpà</i>	v	to suck (even though there is no milk)			
<i>kù-nlâmpàùrà</i>	v	to go from one breast to another when the milk is finished			
<i>kù-nllâmpwìzà</i>	v	to say a click as insult			
<i>rú-'nlánlâ</i>	n	sedge-leaf (<i>Kilyinga alba</i>)	II		
<i>nlângì</i>	n	resin	5/9		
<i>kù-nlânkà</i>	v	to shell groundnuts			
<i>kù-nlânkùmùnà</i>	v	to take maize off a cob			
<i>kù-nllàrànlàsà</i>	v	to rummage noisily			
<i>mù-nlâwà</i>	n	tree (<i>Rhus tenuinervis</i>)	3,4	<i>mì-nlâwà</i>	
<i>nlínlâ</i>	n	fruit of the wild date palm	9,10	<i>nlínlâ</i>	
<i>kù-nlômpà</i>	v	to taste by sucking one's finger			
<i>kù-nlòndòrà</i>	v	to take a fingerful of sth.			
<i>kù-nlòngòmòrà</i>	v	to hollow out			
<i>rù-nlórè</i>	n	toe	II		
<i>kù-nlúmà</i>	v	to suck blood (as treatment for pain, a snake bite, or a curse; same as <i>kù-shúwìkà</i>)			
<i>kù-nlónzòròkà</i>	v	to be thread-like, stretching (like ocre)			
<i>nlórèzà</i>	n	resin	5/9		
<i>nlúmàrè</i>	n	fruit sp.	5,6	<i>mà-nlúmàrè</i>	
<i>kù-nlùmàùnà</i>	v	to uproot			
<i>kù-nlùmèntà</i>	v	to kiss			
<i>kù-nlùmpàmà</i>	v	to be planted (of a pole)			
<i>kù-nlùmpìkà</i>	v	to plant (a pole)			
<i>kù-nlùmpwàmà</i>	v	to fall in water (of an inanimate object)			
<i>nlùmpwí</i>	id	ideophone of falling in water			
<i>kù-nlùmùnà</i>	v	to pull out, uproot			
<i>cì-nlùnà</i>	n	grasshopper sp.	7,8	<i>zì-nlùnà</i>	
<i>mú-nlùryà ~</i>	n	lizard	3,4	<i>mí-nlùryà ~</i>	type of lizard in ZF; generic word for lizard in NF
<i>mú-'nlùryà</i>				<i>mí-'nlùryà</i>	
<i>cì-nlúshù</i>	n	sore	7,8	<i>zì-nlúshù</i>	
<i>llósè</i>	int	true			

English summary

This thesis describes the grammar of Fwe. Fwe is a Bantu language spoken by about 20,000 people in the Zambezi region (former Caprivi strip) of Namibia, and in adjacent areas in Zambia, in the southwestern tip of the Western Province. This research is based on data that I collected in Zambia and Namibia on four field trips, of about 7 months total. The data consist of elicitation, narratives, conversation, and pop music.

Chapter 2 describes the phonemic consonants and vowels used in Fwe, and their phonetic realization. Chapter 3 describes a number of morphophonological processes, namely prenasalization, vowel hiatus resolution, and vowel and nasal harmony in verbal suffixes. Fwe uses contrastive tone, that is the relative pitch of a vowel is used contrastively. Chapter 4 shows that Fwe has a binary contrast, but only high tones are phonologically active. This chapter discusses the tonal processes that determine the realization of tones, and the tonal patterns that can occur on nouns and verbs.

Like most Bantu languages, Fwe makes use of noun classes, or genders, that are marked on the noun with a prefix and trigger agreements on other parts of speech. Chapter 5 discusses the 19 noun classes that occur in Fwe, which are numbered 1 to 18 (including a class 1a) according to the Bantu tradition. Noun classes can also be used derivationally, for instance to express diminutives or augmentatives. Chapter 6 describes processes that create new nouns. Fwe has various nominalizing suffixes used on verb roots, and a diminutive suffix used on nominal roots. Compounding and reduplication are also attested as processes of noun formation.

Chapter 7 discusses all other elements that may occur in the noun phrase. Adjectives are a closed class in Fwe, that show many similarities with nouns, but also some differences. Fwe has four paradigms of demonstratives, distinguished by the relative distance between the referent and the speaker and hearer. Demonstratives are also used for non-situational functions, for instance anaphorically. Fwe makes use of quantifiers, that are similar to adjectives but have a different agreement pattern. Possessives in Fwe may occur as free pronouns, in which case they typically follow the noun they modify, or as suffixes. Fwe may link two nouns through use of a connective clitic, to express notions such as ownership, association, or qualification. Another strategy for linking nouns is a comitative, roughly translatable as “and” or “with”. Nominal predication is expressed by a copulative prefix that exists in two paradigms, which are distinguished by definiteness. Finally, Fwe nouns may take an appositive prefix, that expresses that the referent is identical to a first or second person.

Chapters 8 and following discuss the verb. Verbs in Fwe are morphologically highly complex, and tense, aspect, negation, modality, subject, object, locatives, and spatial deixis can all be expressed through verbal affixes and clitics. Chapter 8 discusses verbal derivation in Fwe, showing that there are 15 derivational strategies, 13 of which make use of a derivational suffix, and two make use of reduplication. Some derivational strategies are productive, others are only recognizable in a lexicalized form.

Chapter 9 discusses the subject, object and locative marking on the verb. The use of a subject prefix is obligatory, even when a subject noun is used in the same clause. An object prefix is only obligatory when the object noun is not used in the same clause;

otherwise, the presence of the object marker expresses the definiteness of the object. A locative enclitic may only be used when the co-referential locative phrase is not used in the same clause as the verb. These clitics also have non-locative functions, marking a partitive, a polite request, or aspect focus in progressive constructions.

Chapter 10 discusses the inflection of verbs for tense, which makes use of segmental affixes and tone changes, referred to as melodic tones. The interpretation of tense constructions is influenced by lexical aspect, the event structure of the verb (or verb phrase). The present construction can have interpretations such as present, futurate, modal, generic, or hypothetical. Fwe has four past constructions, distinguished by aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and remoteness (near, usually on the day of speaking, vs. remote, usually before the day of speaking). Fwe also has a remoteness distinction in future constructions, distinguishing near from remote future.

Chapter 11 discusses aspect, which is marked by affixes and auxiliaries. Fwe has two progressive constructions: a fronted-infinitive construction, which involves preceding the inflected verb by an infinitive copy of the same verb stem, and which also marks verb focus, and a construction with a progressive auxiliary. Fwe has a prefix and a suffix both marking habitual aspect. Fwe has a stative suffix which has a large variety of allomorphs. Its basic function is to express a state, but its exact interpretation varies greatly depending on lexical aspect. Persistent aspect is expressed by a verbal prefix. An “inceptive” prefix is used with a wide variety of meanings, including inceptive (‘start to X’), proximative (‘be about to X’), contrastive (‘X now, as opposed to earlier/elsewhere’), and completive (‘have already X-ed’).

Inflection for mood is discussed in chapter 12, specifically the imperative, perfective subjunctive, and imperfective subjunctive. Chapter 13 discusses the expression of spatial deixis on verbs, namely the distal, which indicates an event that takes place away from the deictic center, and the locative pluractional, indicating an event that takes place in different locations. Chapter 14 discusses the expression of verbal negation, by means of affixes or auxiliaries, depending on the inflection of the verb.

Chapter 15 discusses the strategies that Fwe uses to form adverbs. In chapter 16, the syntax of Fwe is discussed. Basic word order in Fwe is subject – verb – object, though constituents can be moved to the beginning of the clause to be marked as topic, or to the end to be marked for definiteness. Fwe also has a locative inversion construction, where a locative noun phrase is fronted in order to focus the post-verbal constituent. Focus is more commonly expressed through a cleft construction, which combines a predicated noun with a relative clause. Relative clauses in Fwe are formally distinct from main clauses by the use of a demonstrative as relativizer, the obligatory clause-initial position of the verb, and the use of a special tonal pattern on the relative clause verb. Other types of dependent clauses are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 17 discusses the structure of Fwe from the point of view of language contact. It is clear that Fwe speakers have once been in contact with speakers of various Khoisan languages, as attested by the incorporation of click phonemes, one of the hallmarks of Khoisan languages. This chapter describes the methodology used for identifying contact-induced features, and proposes a number of linguistic features found in modern Fwe that may have been influenced by contact with Khoisan.

Nederlandstalige samenvatting

Deze scriptie bespreekt de grammatica van het Fwe. Het Fwe is een Bantoetaal die gesproken wordt in de Zambezi regio van Namibië (voorheen bekend als Caprivistroom), en in aangrenzende delen van Zambia, in de zuidwestelijke punt van de Western Province. Met ongeveer 20,000 moedertaalsprekers is het Fwe een kleine taal, maar desondanks niet bedreigd. De gegevens waarop dit onderzoek gebaseerd is heb ik verzameld door middel van veldwerk in zowel Zambia als Namibië. Ik heb vier veldwerkreizen ondernomen van in totaal zeven maanden, en heb gegevens verzameld door middel van elicitatie, maar ook verhalen, gesprekken, en popmuziek.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de contrastieve medeklinkers en klinkers het Fwe gebruikt. Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft enkele morfofonologische processen in het Fwe, namelijk prenasalisatie, de verschillende manieren waarop aangrenzende klinkers elkaar kunnen beïnvloeden, en klinker- en nasaalharmonie in werkwoordelijke suffixen. Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft het toonsysteem van het Fwe, en toont aan dat er een binair contrast is tussen hoog en laag, maar dat enkel hoge tonen fonologisch gespecificeerd zijn. Dit hoofdstuk bespreekt de toonregels die actief zijn in het Fwe, en welke toonpatronen voor kunnen komen of naamwoorden en werkwoorden.

Zoals kenmerkend is voor Bantoetalen zijn zelfstandig naamwoorden in het Fwe opgedeeld in naamwoordklassen, ook wel geslachten, die gemarkeerd zijn met een prefix op het werkwoord en die congruentie op andere woordsoorten bepalen. Fwe heeft 19 naamwoordklassen, die besproken worden in hoofdstuk 5. Naamwoordklassen hebben ook een derivationeel gebruik, bijvoorbeeld voor het uitdrukken van verkleining en vergroting. In hoofdstuk 6 worden processen besproken die zelfstandig naamwoorden creëren: deverbale suffixen, een nominaal diminutief suffix, samenstelling en geredupliceerde woorden.

Hoofdstuk 7 bespreekt overige elementen die voor kunnen komen in het naamwoordelijk gezegde. Het Fwe heeft een gesloten klasse van bijvoeglijk naamwoorden, die veel overeenkomsten vertonen met zelfstandig naamwoorden maar ook enkele verschillen. Het Fwe heeft vier paradigmata van aanwijzend voornaamwoorden, die onderscheiden worden door de relatieve afstand tussen het object waar ze naar verwijzen en de spreker en de luisteraar, hoewel ze ook voor niet-situationele (niet-fysieke) doeleinden gebruikt worden, bijvoorbeeld anaforsch. Het Fwe maakt ook gebruik van zogenaamde 'quantifiers', woorden die noties zoals 'veel', 'alle', en 'sommige' uitdrukken. Bezittelijke voornaamwoorden in het Fwe kunnen vrije woorden zijn of suffixen; in het eerste geval volgt het voornaamwoord op het naamwoord dat het beschrijft. Om twee zelfstandig naamwoorden met elkaar te verbinden gebruikt het Fwe een connectiefcliticum, dat onder andere relaties van bezit, associatie, of kwalificatie uitdrukt, of een comitatiefcliticum, dat globaal overeenkomt met de vertaling 'en', of 'met'. Nominale predicatie wordt uitgedrukt door middel van een copulatiefprefix, dat in twee vormen bestaat, die onderscheiden worden door de notie van bepaaldheid. Tot slot heeft het Fwe appositieven, die uitdrukken dat een zelfstandig naamwoord gelijk staat met een eerste of tweede persoon ('ik, jouw moeder').

Vanaf hoofdstuk 8 wordt het werkwoordssysteem van het Fwe besproken. Werkwoorden in het Fwe zijn morfologisch zeer complex, en de noties tijd, aspect, ontkenning, wijs, onderwerp, lijdend voorwerp, en plaats, worden door middel van werkwoordelijke affixen en clitica uitgedrukt. Hoofdstuk 8 bespreekt het gebruik van werkwoordelijke derivatie in het Fwe. Het Fwe heeft 15 derivationale strategieën, waarvan er 13 bestaan uit een suffix, en twee uit gedeeltelijke of volledige verdubbeling van de werkwoordsstam. Sommige derivationale strategieën kunnen nog altijd gebruikt worden om nieuwe werkwoorden af te leiden, andere zijn enkel in versteende vorm in bestaande werkwoorden te herkennen.

Hoofdstuk 9 bespreekt de markering van onderwerp, lijdend voorwerp, en locatiefbepaling op het werkwoord. Het markeren van onderwerp, door middel van een voorvoegsel, is verplicht. Het markeren van het lijdend voorwerp, ook door middel van een voorvoegsel, is enkel verplicht in afwezigheid van een zelfstandig naamwoord dat als lijdend voorwerp dient. Een locatief cliticum kan enkel gebruikt worden als een nominale plaatsbepaling niet in dezelfde zin gebruikt wordt. Dit cliticum heeft ook niet-locatieve functies, zoals het uitdrukken van een partitief, een beleefd verzoek, of het focussen van aspect in progressieve constructies.

Hoofdstuk 10 bespreekt de werkwoordstijden die in het Fwe voorkomen. De interpretatie hiervan wordt sterk beïnvloed door lexicaal aspect, de structuur van de gebeurtenis die door het werkwoord wordt uitgedrukt. Het Fwe heeft een tegenwoordige tijd, die ook toekomstige tijd, of een hypothetische gebeurtenis uit kan drukken. Het Fwe heeft vier verleden tijden, die onderscheiden worden door de relatieve afstand tussen de gebeurtenis en het heden, namelijk recent ('eerder vandaag') en langer geleden ('voor vandaag'), en door aspect, namelijk voltooid (de gebeurtenis wordt voorgesteld als een afgerond geheel) en onvoltooid (de interne structuur van de gebeurtenis wordt naar voren gebracht). Het Fwe heeft twee toekomstige tijden, die ook worden onderscheiden door een verschil in afstand, namelijk een nabije toekomst ('later vandaag') en een verre toekomst ('na vandaag').

Hoofdstuk 11 bespreekt de vervoeging van werkwoorden voor aspect, de manier waarop de structuur van de gebeurtenis wordt voorgesteld. Het Fwe heeft twee progressieve constructies ('aan het X-en'), namelijk met hulpwerkwoorden of met een constructie van werkwoordsverdubbeling, die naast progressiviteit ook focus uitdrukt. Het Fwe heeft ook twee affixen die een habitualis uitdrukken, een herhaalde, karakteristieke gebeurtenis. Het Fwe heeft een suffix dat een staat uitdrukt ('hij is getrouwd', 'ik ben ziek'), maar dat in gebruik en interpretatie sterk afhangt van het lexicale aspect van het werkwoord. Met een prefix drukt het Fwe een persistief uit ('nog aan het X-en'). Het Fwe heeft ook een inceptief prefix, dat verschillende gebruiken heeft, namelijk inceptief ('beginnen te X-en'), proximatief ('op het punt staan te X-en'), contrastief ('nu X-en, in tegenstelling tot eerder/elders'), en completief ('al ge-X't hebben').

De vervoeging van werkwoorden voor wijs komt aan bod in hoofdstuk 12, namelijk een gebiedende wijs, en een voltooid en onvoltooid aanvoegende wijs. Hoofdstuk 13 bespreekt de vervoeging van werkwoorden voor het uitdrukken van spatiale deixis, namelijk om aan te geven dat een gebeurtenis ergens anders plaats vindt dan de plaats van spreken, of dat een gebeurtenis plaats vindt op meerdere locaties. Hoofdstuk 14

bespreekt de ontkenning van werkwoorden, namelijk door middel van affixen en hulpwerkwoorden, afhankelijk van de werkwoordsvervoeging.

Hoofdstuk 15 beschrijft de strategieën die bestaan in het Fwe voor het vormen van bijwoorden. Hoofdstuk 16 gaat in op de syntaxis van het Fwe. De basiswoordvolgorde van het Fwe is onderwerp - werkwoord - lijdend voorwerp, maar woorden kunnen naar het begin van de zin verplaatst worden om als 'topic' te fungeren, of naar het einde van de zin om bepaaldheid uit te drukken. Een plaatsbepaling kan naar het begin van de zin worden gehaald om aan te geven dat de informatie die na het werkwoord komt nieuw is. Andere strategieën om informatie als nieuw te markeren zijn cleftconstructies, die bestaan uit een nominaal predicaat en een betrekkelijke bijzin. Betrekkelijke bijzinnen in het Fwe beginnen met een aanwijzend voornaamwoord dat de bijzin inleidt, gevolgd door het werkwoord, dat een afwijkend toonpatroon heeft. Andere soorten bijzinnen worden ook in dit hoofdstuk besproken.

Hoofdstuk 17 bespreekt de structuur van het Fwe vanuit het oogpunt van contact, met sprekers van verscheidene Khoisantalen. Deze talen worden gesproken door de oorspronkelijke bewoners van zuidelijk Afrika, en met hun zuidwaartse migratie kwamen Fwe sprekers met hen in contact, wat een aantal Khoisan invloeden in het Fwe heeft opgeleverd. Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft hoe dergelijke invloeden herkend kunnen worden, en bespreekt enkele kenmerken van het Fwe die mogelijk door taalcontact tot stand gekomen zijn.