A grammar of Fwe

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Abbreviations

ADV	adverb	NEUT	neuter
AUG	augment	NMLZ	nominalizer
APPL	applicative	NP	nominal prefix
CAUS	causative	NPST	near past
COM	comitative	OM	object marker
CON	connective	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PERS	personal pronoun
COP	copulative	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PL	pluractional
DIM	diminutive	POSS	possessive
DIST	distal	PP	pronominal prefix
EMPH	emphatic (demonstratives)	PROG	progressive
		PRS	persistive
EXT	extensive	PST	past
FV	final vowel	REC	reciprocal
HAB	habitual	REFL	reflexive
IMP	impositive	REL	relative
INC	inceptive	REM	remoteness
INF	infinitive	REM.FUT	remote future
INS	instrumental	SEP	separative
INTR	intransitive	SBJV	subjunctive
IPFV	imperfective	SM	subject marker
LOC	locative	STAT	stative
LOC.PL	locative pluractional	TENT	tentive
NEAR.FUT	near future	TR	transitive
NEG	negative		

1 Introduction

This book 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 (§1.1) and its sociolinguistic situation (§1.2), an estimate of the language's vitality (§1.3), and a brief overview of regional variation in Fwe (§1.4). §1.5 discusses the small body of earlier research that mentions Fwe, and §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 *si-* is the class 7 prefix in the regional lingua franca Lozi.

1.1 Classification

Fwe belongs to the Bantu language family, which is part of the Niger-Congo phylum, Africa's largest language family. Although Bantu languages clearly form a genealogical unit, its subclassification is notoriously difficult because of extensive horizontal contact between Bantu languages. An influential attempt at subgrouping Bantu languages, not as genealogical subgroups but mainly for referential purposes, was made by Guthrie (1948), though this work did not include Fwe. In the most recent referential classification of Bantu languages, by Hammarström (2019), Fwe is classified as K402, sharing the K40 group with Ikuhane (Subiya) and Zambian and Namibian Totela.

Genealogical 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

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[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.

(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 genealogical 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 is also the national border between Zambia and Angola. In Namibia, Fwe is spoken in the area formerly known as the Caprivi strip, which was officially renamed "Zambezi region" in 2013. Fwe is mainly spoken in the area surrounding the village of Kongola, stretching north to Singalamwe and into Zambia, east up to Sibbinda, and south to Lizauli. For a detailed overview of the areal distribution of the languages in the Zambezi region, see Seidel (2005). The maps in Figure 1.1[2] give an approximation of the area in which Fwe is spoken.

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, Fwe speakers are surrounded by Yeyi speakers in the south and Totela speakers in the east. To the west lies the sparsely inhabited Caprivi Game Park. 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 to 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 & 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 & Kula 2008). Lozi is a Bantu language that came into being when speakers of Kololo, a southern Sotho

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[2]I am grateful to Jan Gunnink from TNO Geomodelling for designing these maps.
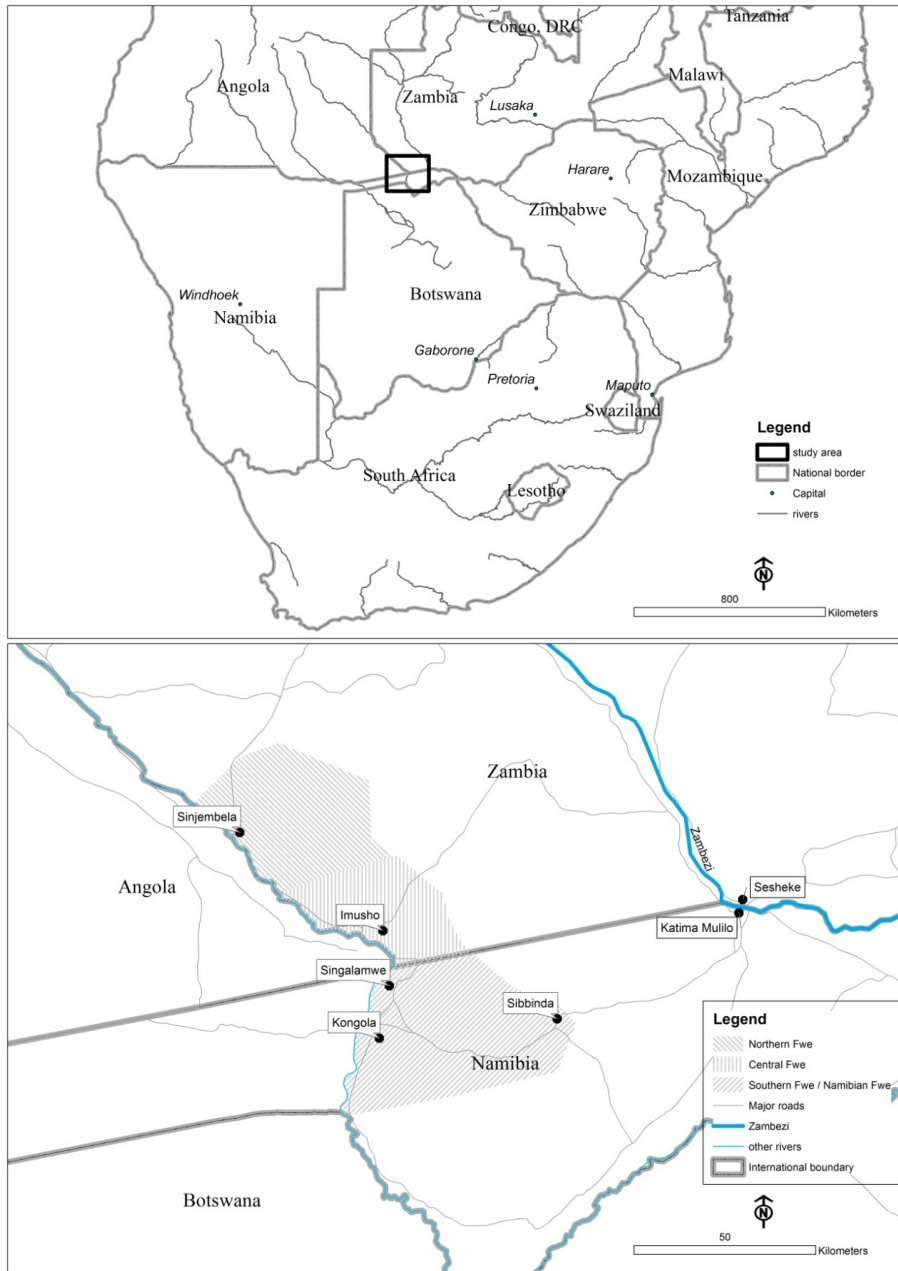
Figure 1.1: The distribution of Fwe

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, English is also 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 languages were "Caprivian languages". Ethnologue mentions 13,700 Fwe speakers in Namibia (Eberhard et al. 2021). 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 *màfwè*, 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 (Austin & Sallabank 2011). 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 approximately 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 vitality of Fwe is threatened, both in Zambia and Namibia. However, data on its actual usage contradict this. Children in Fwe-speaking areas typically 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 text messages. 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 be made. An obvious divide, both offered by speakers and seen in the data, is that between Zambian Fwe and Namibian Fwe. The main phonological differences between Zambian and Namibian Fwe 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 more salient than phonological or lexical differences. Table 1.2 presents an overview of grammatical morphemes that differ between Zambian and Namibian Fwe. The two main tendencies are 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.

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 geographical distribution.

1.5 Earlier research

Earlier research on the Fwe language is very limited, and mostly dates from after 2000. The earliest mention of Fwe in the scientific literature is in publications

Table 1.2: Morphological differences between Zambian and Namibian Fwe

	Zambian Fwe	Namibian Fwe
past	na-	a-
reflexive	kí-	rí-
remote past	na-	ni-
remote future	na-	(á)ra-
inceptive	sha-	shi-
connective	PP - *o*	PP - *a*
persistive	shí-	shí-/sí-
negative imperative	ásha-	ásha- / ása-
negative infinitive	shá-	shá-/sá-
negative subjunctive	sha-	sha-/sa-
near future	mbo-/mba-	mbo-

by Fortune (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 3, 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 (de Luna 2008, 2010, 2016), though, as it is focused on historical analysis, it contains very little linguistic data. Bostoen & Sands (2012) discuss the use of clicks in Fwe as well as three other Bantu languages of northern Namibia; as discussed in §2.2, 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 §9.3).

1.6 Data collection and transcription

The data on which this study is based were all collected by me over a total of seven 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, as well as about 2,200 lexemes.

In addition to elicitation, natural speech data were collected in the form of stories and conversational data. A total of seventeen stories were collected: eleven 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 (Chafe 1980), 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 me to transcribe it), and supplied 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 mainly 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 for this purpose thanks to the overlap between the phoneme inventories of the two 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 was developed in Zambia and for Zambian Fwe, and makes use of certain orthographical conventions that are common in Zambia but are not well-known in Namibia, such as <zh> for [ʒ]. It also makes use of certain orthographical conventions that are not commonly used in Bantu languages, such as <n~ > 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 equally well with either the official orthography or with the practical orthography used in this work. The practical orthography used in this work is therefore for the benefit of linguists, who lack prior knowledge of the language, and therefore need a more detailed and cross-linguistically common orthography, which is not necessary for Fwe speakers.

The 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 represents the phonetic realization of the entire sentence, phrase, or word, in which the surface realization of tones are marked. Phonetic and penultimate vowel lengthening are not marked, in order to distinguish them from phonemic vowel length, which is marked. No punctuation is used, as punctuation presumes an understanding of the syntactic structure, which 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. In order 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. Tone is discussed in Chapter 3, which also explains transcription conventions of tones used throughout this book. Earlier sketches of the phonology of Fwe can be found in Baumbach (1997) and Seidel (2005), who describe the Namibian variety of Fwe, and Bostoen (2009), who describes the Zambian variety. The analysis presented here largely confirms their findings, but also adds many details on previously undescribed patterns.

2.2 Consonants

Table 2.1 gives an overview of the contrastive consonants of Fwe, in the practical orthography that is used in this book. Wherever this deviates from the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet, the corresponding IPA symbol is given in brackets. The practical orthography is partly based on widespread Africanist or Bantuist conventions, such as the use of <y> for the palatal glide [j], and partly on orthographical conventions that are commonly used in Zambia, such as <bb> for the voiced bilabial stop [b].

2.2.1 Stops

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 minimal pair in (1).

(1) kùtô:rà   -   kùkô:rà
     ku-tó:r-a   ku-kó:r-a
     INF-pick_up-FV   INF-cough-FV
     'to pick up'   'to cough'

Table 2.1: Contrastive consonants

	bilabial		dental		alveolar		palatal		velar		glottal
stop	p	bb [b]			t	d			k	g	
affricate							c [tʃ]	j [dʒ]			
fricative		b [ß]	f	v	s	z	sh [ʃ]	zy [ʒ]			h
nasal		m				n	ny [ɲ]		ŋ		
tap					r [ɾ]						
glide							y [j]		w		
click			ǀ	ᶢǀ							
prenasalized stop	mp [ᵐp]	mb [ᵐb]			nt [ⁿt]	nd [ⁿd]			nk [ᵑk]	ng [ᵑg]	
prenasalized fricative			mf [ᵐf]	mv [ᵐv]	ns [ⁿs]	nz [ⁿz]	nsh [ᶮʃ]				
prenasalized affricate							nc [ᶮtʃ]	nj [ᶮdʒ]			
prenasalized click			nǀ̥	nǀ							

The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ as well as the voiced stops /b/ (written <bb>), /d/ and /g/ are less frequent. The (near-)minimal pairs in (2–4) show that they are contrastive phonemes.

(2) kùpàrà   -   kùgàrà
     ku-par-a   ku-gar-a
     ɪɴꜰ-fail-ꜰᴠ   ɪɴꜰ-search-ꜰᴠ
     'to fail, refuse'   'to search/dig around'

(3) kùdùnkà   -   kùgùnkà
     ku-dunk-a   ku-gunk-a
     INF-swim-FV   INF-bump-FV
     'to swim'   'to bump into; lean against'

(4) cìbbákù   -   cìbàkà
     ci-bbakú   ci-baka
     NP7-snake   NP7-place
     'snake sp.'   'place'

/p, bb, d, g/ 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 (Bostoen 2009), but mainly appear in loanwords[1], as in (5–12), or sound-symbolic words and ideophones, as in (13–16).

(5) cìpúrà 'chair' < Lozi sipula 'chair' (Burger 1960: 27)

(6) kùpàpàùrà 'divide a dead animal into pieces' < Mbukushu papaghura 'dismember (animal after skinning)' (Wynne 1980: 175)

(7) kúpàkà 'carry (a child) on one's back' < Yeyi paka 'carry in a cradle on the back as a baby' (Lukusa 2009: 140-141)

(8) kàpíkírì 'nail' < Afrikaans spyker 'nail'

(9) kàpêrù 'pail' < English pail

(10) kùdàbbàmà 'jump into water' < Mbukushu dabwama 'throw oneself, jump into water, dive' (Wynne 1980: 393)

(11) kùdùrà 'be expensive' < Afrikaans duur 'expensive'

(12) màgrázì 'glasses' < English glasses

(13) bbùndù bbúndù
     'ideophone expressing sudden appearance'

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[1]Some words with /g/ may be borrowings from Shanjo, because unlike Fwe, Shanjo has maintained proto-Bantu *g. However, the available documentation on Shanjo is too limited to trace Fwe borrowings to this language. Some Fwe speakers consider the Fwe verb *gùnkàmà* 'kneel' to be of Shanjo origin.

(14) cìsùbírà cò bbûkù
      ci-subir-á   co   bbúku
      SM7-be_red-FV DEM.III7 very_red
      'It is very red.' (NF_Elic17)

(15) kùbbôzà
      ku-bbóz-a
      INF-bark-FV
      'to bark'

(16) kùdòkòrà
      ku-dokor-a
      INF-belch-FV
      'to belch; to clear one's throat'

In Namibian Fwe, /p, bb, d, g/ also occur when prenasalized consonants lose the homorganic nasal as the result of a change in noun class; *ò-ndávù* 'lion', *kà-dávù* 'small lion'. This is explained in detail in §4.1.1 on nominal prefixes. There are also a number of lexemes, listed in (17–19), where /g/ appears as an apparently unconditioned allophone of /k/. This variation is limited to Namibian Fwe, Zambian Fwe only uses the variant with /g/.

(17) cìkùrùbè (NF) ~ cìgùrùbè (ZF/NF)
      ci-kurube
      NP7-pig
      'pig'

(18) cìkébéngà (NF) ~ cìgébéngà (ZF/NF)
      ci-kebengá
      NP7-criminal
      'criminal'

(19) mùkwàkwà (NF) ~ mùgwàgwà (ZF/NF)
      mu-kwakwa
      NP3-road
      'road'

The voiced velar plosive /g/ also appears as an unconditioned allophone of the voiced oral click /ᶢǀ/, as in (20).

(20) mù^g|ênè ~ mù-gênè
      mu-^g|éne
      NP₁-thin
      'thin person'

/g/ is also found in words that do not have an alternative pronunciation with a click, but whose etymology suggests that they originally contained a click, as in (21).

(21) mùgwégwèsì
      mu-gwégwesi
      NP₃-ankle_bone
      'ankle bone' (from Neitsas/Nurugas !Xung gwé: 'ankle' (Doke 1925), or Juǀ'hoan ǂhòèǂhòrè 'enkelknop [ankle bone]') (Snyman 1975: 107)[2]

One word with /^g|/ has an alternative pronunciation with either /g/ or /d/, as in (22); possibly, other words with /d/ used to have an alternative pronunciation with /^g|/ as well.

(22) ^g|úkùmù ~ gúkùmù ~ dúkùmù
      ∅-^g|úkumu
      NP₅-fruit
      'fruit sp.'

2.2.2 Affricates

Fwe has two postalveolar affricates, voiceless /tʃ/, written as <c>, and voiced /dʒ/, written as <j>. Minimal pairs contrasting /c/ with /ʃ/ (written as <sh>), and /k/ are given in (23–24), and (near-)minimal pairs contrasting /j/ with /ʒ/ (written as <zy>) and /g/ are given in (25–26).

(23) kùcírìrà   -   kùshírìrà
      ku-círir-a   ku-shírir-a
      INF-follow-FV   INF-desire-FV
      'to follow'   'to desire'

(24) kùcâ:nà   -   kùkâ:nà
      ku-cá:n-a   ku-ká:n-a
      INF-hunt-FV   INF-reject-FV
      'to hunt'   'to refuse, reject, divorce'

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[2]I am indebted to Bonny Sands for suggesting these possible etymologies.

(25) kùjánàmà   -   kùzyánàmà
     ku-jánam-a   ku-zyánam-a
     INF-gape-FV   INF-hang-FV
     'to gape'   'to hang to dry

(26) kùjùmbà   -   kùgùmbàmà
     ku-jumb-a   ku-gumbam-a
     INF-leave-FV   INF-stand_next_to-FV
     'to leave in protest'   'to stand next to each other'

The near-minimal pairs in (27–28) show the contrast between /c/ and /j/. However, /j/ also occurs as a free variant of /c/, as in (29–30). Like the voiced stops, the voiced affricate /j/ is less frequently attested than its voiceless counterpart /c/.

(27) kùcérùkà   -   kùjérùmùkà
     ku-céruk-a   ku-jérumuk-a
     INF-tear-FV   INF-be_sour-FV
     'to be torn'   'to be sour'

(28) kùcùkùnsà   -   kùjùkùtà
     ku-cukuns-a   ku-jukut-a
     INF-shake-FV   INF-rinse-FV
     'to shake'   'to rinse out clothes'

(29) kùjânà ~ kùcânà
     ku-ján-a
     INF-gape-FV
     'to gape'

(30) bù-cwàrà ~ bù-jwàrà
     bu-cwara
     NP$_{14}$-beer
     'beer'

2.2.3 Fricatives

As shown in Table 2.1, Fwe has eight fricative phonemes: /β/, written as <b>, /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, written as <sh>, /ʒ/, written as <zy>, and /h/. The labiodental, alveolar and post-alveolar fricatives occur as both voiceless and voiced; (near-)minimal pairs are given in (31) and (32).

(31) kùvùrùrà   -   kùfùrà
      ku-vur-ur-a   ku-fur-a
      INF-winnow-SEP.TR-FV   INF-pick-FV
      'to winnow'   'to pick (fruit)'

(32) a. kùfûmà
          ku-fúm-a
          INF-become_rich-FV
          'to become rich'

      b. kùsûmà
          ku-súm-a
          INF-sew-FV
          'to sew'

      c. kùshûmà
          ku-shúm-a
          INF-bite-FV
          'to bite'

      d. kùzûmà
          ku-zúm-a
          INF-hum-FV
          'to hum'

      e. kùzyûmà
          ku-zyúm-a
          INF-dry-FV
          'to dry'

The bilabial fricative /b/ has no voiceless counterpart. Its phonemic status is shown by the (near-)minimal pairs in (33) and (34).

(33) kùbûrà   -   kùfûrà
      ku-búr-a   ku-fúr-a
      INF-miss-FV   INF-sharpen-FV
      'to miss'   'to sharpen'

(34) cìràbò   -   ràmbò
      ci-rabo   Ø-rambo
      NP$_7$-paddle   NP$_5$-pit
      'paddle'   'pit'

Many speakers realize /v/ as a bilabial fricative /b/, as in (35–36). 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 §2.4.2). The change of /v/ to /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.

(35) kùvwângà ~ kùbwângà
      ku-vwáng-a
      INF-wrap-FV
      'to wrap'
      cf. *búang 'mix' (Bastin et al. 2002)

(36) cìvwângà ~ cìbwângà
      ci-vwánga
      NP$_7$-frog
      'frog'

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

/s/ and /sh/ are contrastive in lexical roots, as seen in the minimal pairs in (31), as well as the minimal pair in (37).

(37) kùsèkà   -   kùshèkà
      ku-sek-a   ku-shek-a
      INF-insert-FV   INF-laugh-FV
      'to insert'   'to laugh'

In grammatical prefixes in Namibian Fwe, /s/ and /sh/ are allophones in free variation, as illustrated in (38) with the inceptive *she-*, which can be realized as *se-* or *she-*.

(38) shèndìrère ~ sèndìrèrè
      she-ndi-re$_H$re
      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/, never with /sh/. As this suffix is derivational, it may be conceptualized as part of the lexical verb, and as such not be subject to [s ~ sh] variation, as this does not occur in lexemes[3]. A complete list of grammatical prefixes in which [s] and [sh] alternate is given in (39).

(39) ásha- ~ ása- negative imperative
      sha- ~ sa- negative subjunctive
      shá- ~ sá- negative infinitive
      shí- ~ sí- persistive
      shi- ~ si- inceptive
      shi- ~ si- conditional
      shí- ~ sí- associative
      shaké ~ saké conditional

In Zambian Fwe, only the realization with [sh] is used. In Namibian Fwe, the alternation between [s] and [sh] mostly concerns inter-speaker variation, with each speaker consistently using his or her preferred pronunciation. A possible explanation for this variation and its geographic distribution is 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, and not lexical stems.

The phonemic status of the glottal fricative /h/ is shown by the minimal pair in (40), which shows the contrast between /h/ and /t/, and in (41), which shows the contrast between /h/ and zero.

(40) mùhàrà   -   mùtàrà
      mu-hara   mu-tara
      NP$_3$-rope   NP$_3$-footprint
      'rope'   'footprint'

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[3]I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for this analysis.

(41)   kùhùrà   -   kùùrà
       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 can be freely interchanged with [w], [y] and zero (see §2.5.2). Phonemic /h/, on the other hand, cannot be interchanged with a glide nor can it be dropped. Furthermore, phonemic /h/ can be accompanied by slight nasalization of the following vowel. These differences between phonemic /h/ and epenthetic [h] are shown in (42–43).

(42)   Phonemic /h/

       a.   [rùhã́tì ~ rùhátì]
            *rùwáti ~ rùátì
            ru-hatí
            NP₁₁-rib
            'rib'

       b.   rûhò ~ rûhọ̀
            *rûwò ~ rûò
            ru-úho
            NP₁₁-wind
            'wind'

(43)   Epenthetic [h]

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

       b.   rùsíˈhízà ~ rùsíˈyízà ~ rùsíˈízà
            *rùsíˈhị̃zà
            ru-síizá
            NP₁₁-darkness
            'darkness before rain'

2.2.4 Prenasalization

Fwe also makes use of contrastive prenasalization on stops, fricatives and affricates. With stops, Fwe distinguishes bilabial, alveolar and velar prenasalized stops. The (near-)minimal pairs in (44–47) show the phonemic status of prenasalized stops.

(44) mántà   -   mátà
      ma-ntá   ma-tá
      NP$_6$-power   NP$_6$-bow
      'power'   'bows'

(45) kùdùnà   -   ìndúnà
      ku-dun-a   ∅-induná
      INF-stare-FV   NP$_{1a}$-induna
      'to stare'   'induna (political figure)'

(46) mùnê: -   mùnkê:
      mu-né: mu-nké:
      NP$_1$-four   NP$_1$-one
      'four'   'one'

(47) bû:ngî: -   è-gî:
      bú:-ngi: e-∅-gí:
      NP$_{14}$-many   AUG-NP$_5$-egg
      'many'   'egg'

Fwe contrasts voiceless and voiced prenasalized stops, as shown by the minimal pairs in (48–50).

(48) mpùndù   -   mbùndù
      N-pundu   N-bundu
      NP$_9$-bush   NP$_9$-dew
      'sandpaper raisin bush'   'dew'

(49) ndìtântà   -   ndìtândà
      ndi-ta$_H$nt-a   ndi-ta$_H$nd-a
      SM$_{1SG}$-overtake-FV   SM$_{1SG}$-chase-FV
      'I overtake.'   'I chase.'

(50) kùsìnkà   -   kùsìngà
     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 near-minimal pairs in (51) and (52) show that these two phonemes are contrastive, even though the voiceless and voiced affricate without prenasalization are not.

(51) bâncè   -   rùbánjè
     ba-ánce   ru-banjé
     NP$_2$-child   NP$_{11}$-cannabis
     'children'   'cannabis'

(52) ncèrè   -   njèwè
     Ø-ncere   Ø-njewe
     NP$_{1a}$-snake   NP$_{1a}$-poor
     'snake sp.'   'poor person'

It is more difficult to prove that prenasalization is also contrastive in affricates. 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. When prenasalization is involved in a morphophonological process, /nj/ commutes with /zy/ (see §2.5.1 on prenasalization as a result of 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: labiodental /mf/ and /mv/, alveolar /ns/ and /nz/ and postalveolar /nsh/. Prenasalized fricatives contrast with non-prenasalized fricatives, as shown for the alveolar fricatives in (53).

(53) bànsâ   -   bàsâ
     ba-nsá   ba-sá
     NP$_2$-duiker   NP$_2$-thief
     'duikers'   'thieves'

Prenasalized labiodental fricatives occur, though they are infrequent; only four examples of /mf/ and five examples of /mv/ are found in the data. Examples of both voiceless and voiced prenasalized labiodental fricatives are given in (54).

(54)   mfùmò
       Ø-mfumo
       NP$_{1a}$-rhinoceros
       'rhinoceros'

(55)   mvûrà
       Ø-mvúra
       NP$_{1a}$-rain
       'rain'

The contrast between prenasalized and non-prenasalized fricatives appears to be diminishing: /ns/, /nz/ and /nsh/ are occasionally pronounced without pre-nasalization, without apparent conditioning, as shown in (56–58).

(56)   mpásì ~ mpánsì
       N-pansí
       NP$_9$-grasshopper
       'grasshopper'

(57)   kùbîzwà ~ kùbînzwà
       ku-bínzw-a
       INF-ripen-FV
       'to ripen'

(58)   rùshònshò ~ rùshòshò
       ru-shonsho
       NP$_{11}$-tibia
       'tibia'

/sh/ is occasionally realized as prenasalized /nsh/ in words where comparative data and reconstruction suggest that the sound was never prenasalized, as in (59–60). The prenasalization may be related to the preceding /m/, though as seen in (56–58), variation between prenasalized and non-prenasalized fricatives also occurs outside this context.

2 Segmental phonology

(59) mùshêmpù ~ mùnshêmpù (< shémpèkà 'shoulder a load')
      mu-shémpu
      NP$_3$-load
      'load'

(60) mùshûː ~ mùnshûː (< shûbà 'urinate', *cʊ 'urine' (Bastin et al. 2002)
      mu-shúː
      NP$_3$-urine
      'urine'

2.2.5 Nasals

Fwe has four contrastive nasal consonants: bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, palatal /ɲ/ (written as <ny>) and velar /ŋ/. Their phonemic status is shown by the near-minimal pairs in (61–64).

(61) ŋàngà   -   nángà
      ∅-ŋanga   nangá
      NP$_{1a}$-doctor
      'doctor'   'even, even though'

(62) ŋórò   -   cìnyôrò
      ∅-ŋoró   ci-nyóro
      NP$_5$-letter   NP$_7$-plant_remains
      'letter'   'plant remains in the field'

(63) kùnyènsà   -   káˈnénsà
      ku-nyens-a   ká-nensá
      INF-defeat-FV   NP$_{12}$-pinkie
      'to defeat'   'pinkie, little toe'

(64) nyôtà   -   mótà
      N-nyóta   ∅-motá
      NP$_9$-thirst   NP$_5$-car
      'thirst'   'car'

2.2.6 Taps

The alveolar tap /r/ is phonemic, as seen from its contrast with /d/ in (65) and /t/ in (66).

24

(65) kùrùrà   -   kùdùrà
      ku-rur-a   ku-dur-a
      INF-be_bitter-FV   INF-be_expensive-FV
      'to be bitter'   'to be expensive'

(66) kùrâmbà   -   kùtâmbà
      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, as illustrated in (67) and (68).

(67) [mùlìrò]
      mu-riro
      NP$_3$-fire
      'fire'

(68) [kùkûrà]
      ku-kúr-a
      INF-grow-FV
      'to grow'

(69) [rùlímà]
      ru-rimá
      NP$_{11}$-bat
      'bat'

Before the palatal glide /y/, /r/ is always realized as [l], as in (70), because /y/ is often (but not always) an allophonic realization of /i/. Before the labial glide /w/, /r/ is always realized as [r], as in (71), because /w/ is often (but not always) an allophonic realization of /u/.

(70) [èzílyò]
      e-zi-ryó
      AUG-NP$_8$-food
      'food'

(71) [kùrwârà]
      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/. 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 [ɾ] are allophones of the same phoneme, although their distribution is reversed with respect to Fwe; /l/ is realized as [ɾ] before the high front vowel, and as [l] elsewhere (Gowlett 1989: 129).

2.2.7 Glides

Fwe has two glides, labial /w/ and palatal /y/. These occur as allophones of the vowels /u/ and /i/, or as epenthetic consonants (see §2.5.2), but also in environments where their occurrence cannot be explained allophonically, and therefore /w/ and /y/ must be considered phonemes.

[w] can be inserted when the first of two vowels is a back vowel /u/ or /o/ (see §2.5.2). When /w/ is preceded by a vowel other than /u/ or /o/, its occurrence is phonemic, as in (72–75).

(72) mbwâwà
      ∅-mbwáwa
      NP$_{1a}$-jackal
      'jackal'

(73) má'nshwáwánshàwà
      má-nshawánshawa
      NP$_6$-berry
      'berries of Grewia sp.'

(74) bùnjèwè
      bu-njewe
      NP$_{14}$-poor
      'poverty'

(75) cìwàkàkà
      ci-wakaka
      NP$_7$-horned_melon
      'horned melon (*Cucumis metuliferus*)'

[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 §2.5.2). /y/ also occurs in other contexts, as illustrated in (76–78), motivating its analysis as a phoneme.

(76) mòyà
      mu-oya
      NP₃-wind
      'wind'

(77) ngûyà
      ∅-ngúya
      NP₁ₐ-baboon
      'baboon'

(78) kùyòcà
      ku-bake-a
      INF-bake-FV
      'to bake'

The palatal glide may occur as an allophonic realization of /i/ before another vowel, but only when the preceding consonant is /r/ (in its allophonic realization [l], conditioned by the vowel /i/). There are also, however, sequences of /ri/ 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 the glide /y/ must be analyzed as a contrastive phoneme. An example is given in (79), 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 §2.5.2).

(79) rùrîyà
      ru-ríya
      NP₁₁-taro
      'taro'

Glides may be preceded by another consonant, in which case they are subject to certain co-occurence restrictions, as discussed in §2.4.2.

2.2.8 Clicks

As shown in Table 2.1, Fwe has four click phonemes. Their functional load is fairly low, with only 84 words (out of a 2200 word database) with a click attested. Clicks are used in the variety of Fwe spoken in Namibia, and the variety of Zambian Fwe that is spoken close to the Namibian border, which forms a transition zone between Zambian and Namibian Fwe. In the northernmost variety of Fwe spoken

in Zambia, clicks are not used. A more detailed discussion of clicks in Fwe can be found in Gunnink (2020).

Fwe uses different click types, the dental, lateral and post-alveolar, but click type is not contrastive; instead, the same word may be realized with a dental, lateral or palatal click without change in meaning, as in (80).

(80) kùǀàpùrà ~ kùǂàpùrà ~ kùǁàpùrà
ku-ǀapur-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 used only 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 /ǀ/, as in (81) a voiced oral click /^{g}ǀ/, as in (82), a prenasalized voiceless click /^{n}ǀ̥/, as in (83), and a voiced nasal click /^{n}ǀ/, as in (84).

(81) rùǀómà
ru-ǀomá
NP$_{11}$-papyrus
'papyrus'

(82) kù ^{g}ǀárùmùkà
ku- ^{g}ǀárumuk-a
INF-shout-FV
'to shout loudly'

(83) mù^{n}ǀ̥ápì
mu-^{n}ǀ̥apí
NP$_{3}$-frog
'small frog sp.'

(84) kù^{n}ǀàmbùrà
ku-^{n}ǀambur-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 with minimal pairs. Two minimal pairs proving the contrast between the voiceless and voiced oral click are given in (85) and (86).

(85) kù|àpùrà — kù^{g}|àpùrà
ku-|apur-a ku-^{g}|apur-a
INF-tear-FV INF-stand-FV
'to tear' 'to stand with legs apart'

(86) kù|òpòrà — kù^{g}|òpòrà
ku-|opor-a ku-^{g}|opor-a
INF-run-FV INF-remove_flesh-FV
'to run fast' 'to remove flesh, an eye'

Minimal pairs to prove 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 near-minimal pairs in (87–88) provide further support for the analysis of nasality as a contrastive feature in clicks.

(87) ^{g}|úmù — kù^{n}|ûmà
∅-^{g}|umú ku-^{n}|úm-a
NP$_5$-reed INF-suck-FV
'edible reed' 'to suck out blood (to treat disease, injury or curse)'

(88) kù|á'pwízà - kù^{ŋ}|âmpà
ku-|ámpwíz-a ku-^{ŋ}|ámp-a
INF-click-FV INF-be_flat-FV
'to click in anger or resentment' 'to be flat (of stomach)'

Although click type is not used contrastively, and click types can be interchanged by speakers, there do seem to be a few words where there is a preference for a click type, even for speakers who consistently use dental clicks elsewhere. 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-ǁose* 'it's true', which always takes a lateral click. A preference for the lateral click is also seen in *nǁá'mpwízà* '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 to the meaning of the word, which is to produce a lateral

click as a sign of anger or resentment. The same word occurs in Yeyi as *kùnǁàpìzá* 'disapprove by making a lateral click' (Seidel 2008: 43), which also has a lateral click, even though lateral clicks are otherwise marginal in the language.

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. The voiceless click may alternate with [k], as in (89).

(89) rù|ómà ~ rùkómà
      ru-|omá
      NP$_{11}$-papyrus
      'papyrus'

The voiced click may alternate with [g], as in (90). There is also one example, given in (91), of a voiced click alternating with either [g] or [d].

(90) è^{g}|ìmà ~ ègìmà
      e-∅-^{g}|ima
      AUG-NP$_{5}$-fish
      'small fish sp.'

(91) ^{g}|úkùmù ~ gúkùmù ~ dúkùmù
      ∅-^{g}|úkumu
      NP$_{5}$-fruit
      'fruit sp.'

The prenasalized voiceless click may alternate with [^{ŋ}k], as in (92).

(92) mù^{n}̥|ápì ~ mù^{ŋ}kápì
      mu-^{n}̥|apí
      NP$_{3}$-frog
      'frog sp.'

The voiced nasal click may alternate with [ŋ], as in (93).

(93) kù^{n}|úmèntà ~ kùŋúmèntà
      ku-^{n}|úment-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. Gunnink (2020) therefore analyzes this free variation as the result of contact between these two varieties.

2.3 Vowels

Fwe has five contrastive vowel phonemes, which are discussed in §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 (§2.3.2). Secondly, there are two environments in which Fwe automatically lengthens vowels: before and after certain consonants (§2.3.3), and in the penultimate mora of a phrase-final word (§2.3.4). Although vowel length and the two processes of automatic lengthening differ in their conditioning, they are very similar in their phonetic properties: phonemically long vowels, automatically lengthened vowels and vowels affected by penultimate lengthening 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 automatically lengthened vowels contain two tone-bearing units, rather than one. Penultimate lengthening, however, does not affect the number of moras.

2.3.1 Phonemic vowels

Fwe has five contrastive vowel phonemes, /i, ɛ, a, ɔ, u/, as attested by the minimal pairs in (94–97). Throughout this book, /ɛ/ will be written as <e> and /ɔ/ will be written as <o>.

(94) kùkûmbà   -   kùkômbà   -   kùkâmbà
      ku-kúmb-a   ku-kómb-a   ku-kámb-a
      INF-howl-FV   INF-lick-FV   INF-clap-FV
      'to howl'   'to lick'   'to clap'

(95) kùmìnà -   kùmènà
      ku-min-a   ku-men-a
      INF-swallow-FV   INF-sprout-FV
      'to swallow'   'to sprout (of wild plants)'

(96) kùsîkà   -   kùsûkà
     ku-sík-a   ku-súk-a
     INF-light-FV   INF-descend-FV
     'to light'   'to descend'

(97) kùrê:tà   -   kùrô:tà
     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 minimal pairs in (98) and (99). Phonemic vowel length is marked in the orthography used in this book with the symbol /:/.

(98) kùkûrà   -   kùkû:rà
     ku-kúr-a   ku-kú:r-a
     INF-grow-FV   INF-shift-FV
     'to grow'   'to shift, move house'

(99) kùkôrà   -   kùkô:rà
     ku-kór-a   ku-kó:r-a
     INF-irritate-FV   INF-cough-FV
     'to irritate'   'to cough'

All five vowel qualities occur as either short or long; examples of /o:/ and /u:/ are given in (98–99). Examples of /a:/, /e:/ and /i:/ are given in (100–102). Long vowels can occur in any position of the word, and word-final long vowels are not shortened, as seen in (102–103).

(100) kùrâ:rà
      ku-rá:r-a
      INF-sleep-FV
      'to sleep'

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

(102) ègî:
       e-∅-gí:
       AUG-NP5-egg
       'egg'

(103) yènkê:
       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 (104–106).

(104) kùrô:tà (from *dóot 'dream' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       ku-ró:t-a
       INF-dream-FV
       'to dream'

(105) kùkâ:nà (from *káan 'deny, refuse' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       ku-ká:n-a
       INF-reject-FV
       'to reject, divorce'

(106) bùrê: (from *dàì 'long' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       bu-ré:
       NP14-long
       'length'

Long vowels may also be the result of the historical merger of two vowels across a morpheme boundary. Example (107) shows that the verb root *co:r* historically consisted of a root *cò* and a separative suffix *-or*, because the transitive separative suffix *-or* can be replaced by an intransitive separative suffix *-ok*. (For more on the separative derivation, see §6.5.) The underived root *co* is not attested in Fwe.

(107) a. kùcò:rà
           ku-co:r-a
           INF-break-FV
           'to break'

b. kùcò:kà
ku-co-ok-a
INF-break-SEP.INTR-FV
'to break'

In other verb roots where the long vowel appears to result from a historical merger of two short vowels, the modern form of the verb can no longer take different suffixes. Nonetheless, formal similarities between the verb root and attested derivational suffixes in Fwe do show that the long vowels in these verbs 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 root *zi:k* 'hide', which appears to contain the transitive impositional suffix *-ik* (for more on the impositional, see §6.6), and the verb root *zú:r* 'undress', which appears to contain the transitive separative suffix *-ur* (see §6.5 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 §2.5.2.

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 are identical to the surface realizations of tones on monomoraic vowels. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 3 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 Automatic 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. In order to distinguish it from phonemic lengthening, automatic lengthening is not marked in the orthography used in this book, with the exception of the examples given in this section, where lengthening is marked with the symbol [:].

There are a number of different phonological environments that condition vowel lengthening. Firstly, vowels are lengthened when preceded by the a consonant cluster involving a glide /w/ or /y/. Lengthening can target vowels in word-medial position, as in (108), but also in word-final position, as in (109–110).

(108) kùtwâːrà
    ku-twár-a
    INF-bring-FV
    'to bring'

(109) kúryàː
    ku-rí-a
    INF-eat-FV
    'to eat'

(110) kàmwîː
    ka-mwí
    NP$_{12}$-heat
    'heat; afternoon'

Vowels are also lengthened if immediately followed by a prenasalized consonant, as illustrated in (111) and (112).

(111) kùrâːmbà
    ku-rámb-a
    INF-plaster-FV
    'to plaster'

(112) kùtùːmpà
    ku-tump-a
    INF-sprout-FV
    'to sprout (of wild plants)'

Vowel lengthening also occurs when the 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 (113–115). The post-alveolar fricatives /sh/ and /zy/, however, do not cause the following vowels to lengthen, as shown in (116–117).

(113) kùyáshìmìsà:
       ku-yáshimis-a
       INF-sneeze-FV
       'to sneeze'

(114) ò:nsâ:
       o-∅-nsá
       AUG-NP$_{1a}$-duiker
       'duiker (antelope sp.)'

(115) kùzà:nà
       ku-zan-a
       INF-play-FV
       'to play'

(116) kùshàkà
       ku-shak-a
       INF-want-FV
       'to want, like, love'

(117) kùzyàbàrà
       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 2003a). 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 in analogy with 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 lengthening.[4] Although this process is no longer productive

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[4]In Ganda, this process involved glide formation from /i/ to /y/ (Hyman 2003a). 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 allow (or no longer allows) combinations of /s/ and /y/ (see §2.4.2 on co-occurrence restrictions).

in Fwe, examples such as (118) and (119) show that the change of a final stem consonant to /s/ or /z/ was part of causative formation (see §6.2 for more examples).

(118) a. kùtùkùtà
           ku-tukut-a
           INF-become_warm-FV
           'to become warm'

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

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

(119) a. kùhârà
           ku-hár-a
           INF-live-FV
           'to live'

       b. kùhâzà:
           ku-ház-a
           INF-save.CAUS-FV
           'to save (lit. 'make someone live')'

       c. 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 where 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 (120–121), and even in nouns, as in (122–125).

(120) kùzà:nà
        ku-zan-a
        INF-dance-FV
        'to dance, play'

(121) kùzâ:rà
ku-zár-a
INF-give_birth-FV
'to give birth (of animals)'

(122) èsà:búrè
e-∅-saburé
AUG-NP$_5$-machete
'machete'

(123) ká$^!$né:nsà:
ká-nensá
NP$_{12}$-pinkie
'pinkie, little toe'

(124) ^{n}|ór$^!$ézà:
N-^{n}|órezá
NP$_9$-resin
'resin'

(125) nzâ:sì
N-zási
NP$_{10}$-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-sâ:* 'thief' from Khwe *tc'ą̀ą̀* 'to steal' (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 355)[5], *kù-sèbèz-à:* 'to work', from Lozi *ku sebeza* 'to work' (Burger 1960: 168).[6]

Although phonemically long vowels and automatically lengthened vowels differ in their conditioning, their behavior is otherwise parallel. Both long vowels

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[5]In this case, however, the source word also has a long vowel.

[6]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.

and lengthened vowels contain two tone-bearing units rather than one, an important distinction in the tonal system of Fwe (see Chapter 3). 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". Precise phonetic measurements of short and long vowels in Fwe should be done in order to understand the degree of vowel lengthening in Fwe.

2.3.4 Penultimate lengthening

Fwe also makes use of a second type of predictable vowel lengthening, which targets the penultimate mora of a phrase-final word. The automatic lengthening of phrase-final penultimate vowels is common in Bantu languages, and had already been noted for Fwe by Bostoen (2009: 111). As penultimate lengthening is predictable, it is not marked in the orthography used in this book, with the exception of the examples in this section, where lengthening is marked with [ː].

Lengthening targets the penultimate mora of an utterance-final word, as seen in (126–127).

(126) cìbàːkà
       ci-baka
       NP7-place
       'place

(127) kùbábàrèːrà
       ku-bábarer-a
       INF-guard-FV
       'to guard'

Penultimate lengthening targets the mora, and not the syllable; if the last syllable of a phrase-final word is bimoraic, such as the bimoraic last syllable *kwaː* in (128), lengthening does not target the penultimate syllable *ro*, but the penultimate mora of the last syllable. As such penultimate lengthening is realized on the last syllable rather than the penultimate syllable.

(128) kùkósòròkwà:
       *kùkósòrò:kwà
       ku-kósorokw-a
       INF-sleep-FV
       'to sleep until rested'

Penultimate lengthening can target automatically lengthened vowels, in which case both types of length are cumulative; an automatically lengthened vowel in the penultimate position is pronounced with more length than an automatically lengthened vowel in other positions.

Penultimate lengthening can also target phonemically long vowels. In this case too, both types of length are cumulative, and long vowels in the penultimate position are audibly longer than long vowels in other positions. This is illustrated in (129–130) 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 (129), it is pronounced with more length (indicated by a double ː symbol) than when the same vowel is used in a position other than the penultimate, as seen in (130).

(129) càcô::kì
       ci-a-có:k-i
       SM₇-PST-break-NPST.PFV
       'It broke.'

(130) cìcó:kêtè
       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 automatically lengthened vowels or vowels in the penultimate position; and vowels where penultimate lengthening combines with contrastive vowel length or automatic 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, penultimate lengthening.

Impressionistically, penultimate lengthening is quite subtle, with only a very small difference between vowels with and without penultimate 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, automatically lengthened vowels or penultimate lengthened vowels on the other hand being quite small.

Whereas automatically lengthened vowels are counted as bimoraic in the tonal system of Fwe (cf. §2.3.2), vowels targeted by penultimate lengthening are not counted as bimoraic, but as monomoraic. Penultimate lengthening does influence the tonal system, however, the realization of high tones as falling is only possible on vowels that are targeted by penultimate lengthening (see §3.1.5 of Chapter 3 on tone).

2.4 Syllable structure

Fwe has a strictly open syllable structure, which is discussed in §2.4.1. Certain consonants are subject to co-occurrence restrictions, as shown in §2.4.2.

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 (131).

(131) [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 §2.2.

V syllables may occur word-initially or word-medially. In the latter case, the resultant VV sequence is often broken up by an epenthetic consonant [h], [y] or [w] (see §2.5.2). Consonant epenthesis is not obligatory, however, and word-medial VV sequences are allowed, as shown in the following examples. VV sequences may contain two different vowels, as in (132), or two identical vowels, as in (133).

(132) V.V sequences of two different vowels

    a. mà.rì.â.njò
       ∅-mariánjo
       NP$_{1a}$-virgin
       'virgin'

    b. mbó.ꜜé.rà
       ∅-mbóerá
       NP$_{1a}$-wild_dog
       'wild dog'

    c. kù.fú.à.mà
       ku-fú-am-a
       INF-approach-IMP.INTR-FV
       'to approach'

(133) 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
       NP$_9$-message
       'message'

    c. kù.cù.ù.nà
       ku-cuun-a
       INF-limp-FV
       'to limp'

Vowel sequences are distinct from long vowels or lengthened vowels (see Sections 2.3.2-2.3.4). Vowel sequences are longer than long or lengthened vowels, and also have different possible tonal realizations, as shown in Table 2.2. Vowels in sequences 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.

The fact that both vowels can take a different tone shows that these vowels are sequences of two separate vowels of identical vowel quality, and that each vowel functions as its own tone-bearing unit. Furthermore, vowel sequences can

Table 2.2: Tonal patterns on vowel sequences and long vowels

	Vowel sequences		Lengthened vowels
LL	kù.nyè.è.zà 'to annoy'	L	kù.nè:.ngà 'to dance, play'
HH	mvú.ú 'hippopotamus'	H	kù.tú:.mbù.kà 'to burn'
HL	mvú.ù 'hippopotamus'	F	kù.bû:.mbà 'to create, mould'
LH	ndì.rà.á.nà 'I say goodbye.'		
FL	ntû.ù 'hyena'		

be broken up by an epenthetic consonant [h], [y] or [w], as shown with the vowel sequence /o.o/ in (134) (see also §2.5.2), but lengthened or long vowels can never be separated by an epenthetic consonant, as shown with the long vowel [o:] in (135).

(134) [kù.bò.ò.rà] ~ [kù.bò.hò.rà]
       /kù-bòòr-à/
       INF-return-FV
       'to return'

(135) [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). Examples of such vowel sequences and their etymology are given in (136–138).

(136) fwî.ì (from *kúpɪ 'short' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       'short'

(137) njú.ù (from *jʊgʊ 'groundnut' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       N-juú
       NP₁₀-pea
       'peas'

(138) njûò (from *jʊgò 'house' (Bastin et al. 2002))
N-júo
NP₉-house
'house'

Long vowels, on the other hand, derive from earlier long vowels or vowel sequences, as discussed in §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

There are a number of restrictions on which vowel can be preceded by which consonant. Labiodental and alveolar fricatives are mainly 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, followed by a merger of high vowels and near-high vowels. 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/, as well as their prenasalized counterparts, can only be followed by a high vowel /i/ or /u/, or a glide /w/. Examples are given for /s/ and /ns/ in (139), and for /z/ and /nz/ in (143).

(139) kùsîkà
ku-sík-a
INF-light-FV
'to light'

(140) mùsùmò
mu-sumo
NP₃-pole
'pole'

(141) múswà
mu-swá
NP₃-rope
'small rope'

(142) mùsûnsù
       mu-súnsu
       NP$_3$-lower_leg
       'front part of lower leg'

(143) zìbà
       ∅-ziba
       NP$_5$-lake
       'lake'

(144) cìzùmà
       ci-zuma
       NP$_7$-basket
       'basket'

(145) rùbênzwà
       ru-bénzwa
       NP$_{11}$-pancreas
       'pancreas'

A number of exceptions are found, which are mostly borrowings; some examples are given in (146–148).

(146) sákà (from Afrikaans sak 'bag')
       ∅-saká
       NP$_5$-bag
       'bag'

(147) kùsèpà (from Lozi ku sepa 'to trust' (Burger 1960))
       ku-sep-a
       INF-trust-FV
       'to trust, hope'

(148) mùsâ (from Khwe tc'áà̰ 'to steal' (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 355))
       mu-sá
       NP$_1$-thief
       'thief'

Another exception occurs when the alveolar fricative is part of a causative. The synchronically productive causative suffix *-is* can be followed by the vowels /a/, as in (149), or /e/, as in (150), functioning as inflectional suffixes, or the vowel /o/, as in (151), functioning as a nominalizing suffix.

(149) kùùrìsà
       ku-ur-is-a
       INF-buy-CAUS-FV
       'to sell'

(150) òndìtúsè
       o-ndi-tus-é̠
       SM2SG-OM1SG-help-PFV.SBJV
       'You should help me.'

(151) cìkùrìsò
       ci-kur-is-o
       NP7-sweep-CAUS-INS
       'broom'

   Some instances of /s/ or /z/ 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/, as in (152–155).

(152) kùbûsà
       ku-bús-a
       INF-wake-FV
       'to wake (someone) up'

(153) mbòndímùbúsè
       mbo-ndí̠-mu-bu_Hs-é̠
       NEAR.FUT-SM1SG-OM1-wake-PFV.SBJV
       'I will wake her/him up.'

(154) kùfwìnsà
       ku-fwins-a
       INF-seal-FV
       'to seal'

(155) cìfwìnsò
       ci-fwins-o
       NP7-seal-INS
       '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 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/, see (156–159).

(156) màfútà
　　　 ma-futá
　　　 NP$_6$-oil
　　　 'oil, lotion'

(157) kùfwèbà
　　　 ku-fweb-a
　　　 INF-smoke-FV
　　　 'to smoke'

(158) vùmò
　　　 ∅-vumo
　　　 NP$_5$-stomach
　　　 'stomach'

(159) 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, as in (160–161).

(160) fônì (borrowed from English phone)
　　　 ∅-fóni
　　　 NP$_5$-phone
　　　 'phone'

(161) cìfàtéhò (borrowed from Lozi sifateho 'face' (Burger 1960: 54))
　　　 ci-fatehó
　　　 NP$_7$-face
　　　 'face'

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-* (see §7.3), 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.

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 in (162)- (167); the two words in (165) and (166) may be borrowings from Yeyi, and the words listed in (167) appear to contain the same (ideophonic) root. With the exception of the Yeyi borrowing in (165), all cases of clicks followed by front vowels involve a voiced click.

(162) ^{g}ǁìmà
       ∅-^{g}ǁima
       NP$_5$-fish
       'small fish sp.'

(163) cì^{g}ǁìnjò
       ci-^{g}ǁinjo
       NP$_7$-tree
       'tree sp.'

(164) kù^{g}ǁìntùrà
       ku-^{g}ǁintur-a
       INF-lie-FV
       'to lie with bent knees'

(165) ^{n}ǀí^{n}ǀà (from Yeyi zĩ̀ĩ̀la 'fruits of the date palm tree' (Seidel 2008: 28))
       N-^{n}ǀi̥^{n}ǀá
       NP$_{10}$-date
       'dates'

(166) ^{g}ǁênè (from Yeyi nc'ene 'thin')
       'thin'

(167) ^{g}ǁí
       'sound of landing'

(168) kùᵍǀínkìtà

(168) kù^{g}ǀínkìtà
 ku-^{g}ǀínkit-a
 INF-pound-FV
 'to pound with short, sharp movements'

(169) kù^{g}ǀìntà
 ku-^{g}ǀint-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 Juǀ'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/, /^{g}ǀw/, /^{n}w/ and /^{n}ǀw/. The absence of these combinations is probably the result of the low frequency of /d/, /^{g}ǀ/, /^{n}/ and /^{n}ǀ̥/, 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 (170–173).

(170) sìbbwê
 ∅-sibbwé
 NP$_{1a}$-jackal
 'jackal'

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

(172) bùcwàrà
       bu-cwara
       NP₁₄-beer
       'beer'

(173) kù|wámpìzà (variant of -|ámpwìzà)
       ku-|wámpiz-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 in (174–176).

(174) èbwè (from *bʊè 'stone' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       e-∅-bwe
       AUG-NP₅-stone
       'stone'

(175) kùkwâtà (from *kʊat 'seize, grasp' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       ku-kwát-a
       INF-touch-FV
       'to touch'

(176) kútwà (from *tó 'stamp, pound, bite' (Bastin et al. 2002))
       ku-tw-á
       INF-pound-FV
       'to pound'

The vocalic origin of glides still has its effects on modern Fwe. As discussed in §2.3.2, vowels preceded by a consonant-glide combination are lengthened. 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 §2.2), because the palatal glide derives from an earlier vowel /i/. Examples of syllables with an onset /ry/ are given in (177–178).

(177) kùryénkwètà
       ku-ryénkwet-a
       INF-bribe-FV
       'to bribe'

(178) shíryà
       Ø-shiryá
       NP₅-other_side
       'other/opposite side'

2.5 Morphophonology

In this section, I discuss a number of morphophonological processes: prenasalization, which mainly plays a role as a noun class prefix of class 9/10; vowel hiatus resolution, which affects juxtaposed vowels across morpheme boundaries, but also occasionally across word boundaries or within morphemes; and vowel and nasal harmony, which affect certain verbal suffixes.

2.5.1 Prenasalization

As shown in §2.2, prenasalized consonants are part of the phoneme inventory of Fwe. In some cases, the homorganic nasal is a separate grammatical morpheme, which is discussed in this section.

A homorganic nasal functions as the nominal prefix of class 9/10 (see also §4.1.1 on nominal prefixes). A comparison between nouns in class 9/10 and the same root in a different construction, such as a verb, or a noun in another noun class, allows for the identification of the underlying consonant and therefore also of the phonological effect of prenasalization.

When the class 9/10 nominal prefix *N-* combines with a root where the initial consonant is a stop, the stop is prenasalized, as illustrated in (179–182). This is the case for the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/, and probably also 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.

(179) ntòrókò (cf. kù-tóròk-à 'to translate, explain')
       N-torokó
       NP₉-meaning
       'meaning'

(180) nká˺mbámò (cf. kù-kámbàm-à 'to ascend')
       N-kámbamó
       NP9-slope
       'upward slope'

(181) mpâkwà (cf. kú-pàk-à 'carry on one's back (of a child)' + -w passive)
       N-pákwa
       NP9-sling
       'sling'

(182) a. mbórà
           N-bborá
           NP9-ball
           'ball'

       b. cf. èbbórà
           e-∅-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 (183) and (184).

(183) nsúrùmùkò (cf. kù-súrùmùk-à 'to descend')
       N-súrumuko
       NP9-slope
       'downward slope'

(184) nzâsì (cf. class 11 rù-zâsì 'spark')
       N-zási
       NP10-spark
       'sparks'

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

(185) nshíkà (cf. class 11 rú-˺shíkà 'African mangosteen')
       N-shiká
       NP10-mangosteen
       'African mangosteens'

(186) njîmbò (cf. kù-zyîmb-à 'to sing')
      N-jímbo
      NP$_{10}$-song
      'songs'

The bilabial fricative /b/ and the glottal fricative /h/ change to stops before *N-*: the fricative /b/ becomes a prenasalized stop /mb/[7] , as in (187), and fricative /h/ becomes a prenasalized stop /mp/, as in (188).

(187) mbèzyò (cf. kù-bè:zy-à 'to carve')
      N-bezyo
      NP$_9$-axe
      'small axe (for carving)'

(188) mpátì (cf. class 11 rù-hátì 'rib')
      N-patí
      NP$_{10}$-rib
      'ribs'

The tap /r/ changes to a plosive /d/ before *N-*, as in (189).

(189) ndúngàtì (cf. kù-rûngà 'make noise')
      N-dúngati
      NP$_9$-noise
      'noise'

The combination of *N-* with a vowel-initial root results in a prenasalized velar stop /ng/, as in (190–191). This mostly concerns stems that had an initial consonant /g/ originally, which is regularly lost in Fwe (Bostoen 2009: 115). In one case, presented in (192), 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.

(190) a. ngômà (from *gòmà 'drum' (Bastin et al. 2002))
          N-góma
          NP$_9$-drum
          'drum'

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[7]As the bilabial fricative /b/ always changes to a stop before /m/, the prenasalized fricative is written as /mb/ in the practical orthography.

b. màômà
    ma-óma
    NP6-drum
    'drums'

(191) a. ngùrìsò (from *gòd 'buy' (Bastin et al. 2002))
           N-guriso
           NP9-profit
           'profit'

       b. kùùrìsà
           ku-uris-a
           INF-sell-FV
           'to sell'

(192) a. nyózì (from *-gòdí 'string' (Bastin et al. 2002))
           ny-ozí
           NP10-plant
           'plants (used for making ropes)'

       b. rózì
           ru-ozí
           NP11-plant
           'plant (used for making ropes)'

The rules in (193) summarize the changes to root-initial phonemes caused by the prefix *N-*.

(193) zy → nj / N___
       b → bb / N___
       h → p / N___
       r → d / N___
       ∅ → g / N___

Interestingly, while nouns that shift from class 9/10 to another class for derivational purposes lose their nasal prefix, the realization of the initial consonant remains plosive, and does not change back to a fricative or tap. This is shown in (194) with the noun *mpúzò* 'question', which shifts to class 12 to derive a diminutive: the homorganic nasal prefix of class 9 is lost, but the consonant /p/ does not change back to /h/.

(194) a. mpúzò
           N-puzó
           NP_9-question
           'question'

       b. kàpúzò
           ka-puzó
           NP_12-question
           'small question'

Although the modern form of the first person singular subject and object marker is a syllabic prefix *ndi-*, there are also traces of an earlier first person singular object *N-* prefix. The form with the homorganic nasal in (195) was offered by speakers as "archaic Fwe", in contrast to the modern form with *ndi-*. Another petrified trace of a first person singular object marker *N-* is seen in the personal name *Mùngúríkè* in (196).

(195) a. Archaic form
           ntámbìkè
           N-támbik-e
           OM_1SG-give-PFV.SBJV
           'Give me.'

       b. Modern form
           ndìtámbìkè
           ndi-támbik-e
           OM_1SG-give-PFV.SBJV
           'Give me.'

(196) 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'

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 §5.3 on copulas.

2.5.2 Vowel hiatus resolution

Sequences of two adjacent vowels are found within morphemes, across morpheme boundaries, and across word boundaries. Fwe often, but not always, applies vowel hiatus resolution strategies to resolve such sequences. 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.

2.5.2.1 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. Examples with different verbal prefixes are given in (197), using the vowel-initial verb root *ur* 'buy'.

(197)   Infinitive
        /ku-ur-a/ > kùùrà
        INF-buy-FV
        'to buy'

(198)   Subject marker
        /ndi-ur-á/ > ndìúrà
        SM₁SG-buy-FV
        'I buy.'

(199)   Object marker
        /ku-í-ur-a/ > kùyíùrà
        INF-OM₉-buy-FV
        'to buy it'

(200) TA marker
/ndi-na-ur-í/ > ndìnàúrì
SM₁SG-PST-buy-NPST.PFV
'I bought.'

(201) Distal marker
/ndi-a-ka-ur-í/ > ndàkàúrì
SM₁SG-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, as in (202–204). Changes to one of the two vowels is also common in this case however, as discussed in the following sections.

(202) /mu-ono/ > mùònò
NP₃-snoring
'snoring'

(203) /ka-inga/ > kàìngà
NP₁₂-bowl
'bowl made out of clay'

(204) /mi-ézi/ > mìêzì
NP₄-month
'months'

Maintenance of two juxtaposed vowels can also occur in other environments, such as a verb root ending in a vowel that is followed by a vowel-initial suffix, as in (205).

(205) /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, as in (206–208).

(206) /N-daano/ > ndàànò
NP₉-message
'message'

(207) /N-júo/ > njûò
       NP9-house
       'house'

(208) /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 (discussed below). Maintenance of both vowels without any changes is particularly common when the two juxtaposed vowels are identical, as in (209–212).

(209) /ma-amba/ > mààmbà
       NP6-scale
       'scales (of a fish)'

(210) /ku-zíiz-a/ > kùzíìzà
       INF-imitate-FV
       'to imitate'

(211) /ku-teen-a/ > kùtèènà
       INF-limp-FV
       'to limp'

(212) /ku-uru/ > kùùrù
       NP15-leg
       'leg'

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 §4.1.1). 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 (213–214).

(213) /ci-úngu/ > cûngù
       NP7-bird
       'bird sp. (with a red tail)'

(214)   /ma-ató/ > mátò
NP$_6$-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 compensatory lengthening of the remaining vowel.

Deletion of the first of the two vowels also ocurs when a subject prefix, which is always of (C)V shape (see §7.1 on subject agreement), is combined with a vowel-initial verbal prefix, such as the past prefix *a-* in (215) and (216), or the remote future prefix *ára-* in (217).

(215)   /ndi-a-có:r-i > ndàcô:rì
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-break-NPST.PFV
'I broke.'

(216)   /ní-ba-a-rá:r-a/ >níbàrá:rà
REM-SM$_2$-PST-sleep-FV
'They went to sleep.'

(217)   /ndi-ára-end-a/ > ndáràyèndà
SM$_{1SG}$-REM.FUT-go-FV
'I will go.'

2.5.2.2 Glide formation

Glide formation to [w] can take place when the first of two juxtaposed vowels is a back vowel /u/ or /o/, but never when the second vowel is also a back vowel; in this case, the first vowel is deleted, or both vowels are maintained. Glide formation to [y] occurs when the first of two juxtaposed vowels is a front vowel /i/ or /e/. Glide formation is always accompanied by lengthening of the following vowel (see §2.3.3 on phonetic vowel lengthening).

Glide formation to [w] occurs in subject markers with /u/ or /o/, as in (218).

(218)   Glide formation to [w] in subject markers

   a. ni-tú-a-rim-a > nìtwárìmà
       REM-SM$_{1PL}$-PST-farm-FV
       'We farmed.'

b. o-ásha-ndi-dam-í > wáshàndìdámì
   SM2SG-NEG.SBJV-OM1SG-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)

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

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

a. /i-a-có:k-i/ > yàcô: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/ > yáràdùrà
   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, as illustrated in (220).

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

a. /ndi-a-pwac-úr-i/ > ndàpwàcûrì
   SM1SG-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/ > zàndìbûsì
   SM8-PST-OM1SG-wake-NPST.PFV
   'They woke me up.'

The reason for this conditioning of y-formation is that only /ry/ and /y/ occur phonemically in Fwe, and sequences such as /ndy/, /cy/ and /zy/ (not to be

confused with <zy>, representing the voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ]), are not
found in the phonology.

Glide formation to [w] occurs when a nominal prefix with /u/ is combined with
a vowel-initial root, as in (221). Glide formation to [y] does not affect nominal
prefixes with /i/, even when combined with a vowel-initial root, as in (222).

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

    a. /mu-ánce/ > mwâncè
       NP$_1$-child
       'a child'

    b. /mu-iní/ > mwínì
       NP$_3$-handle
       'handle'

    c. /bu-eké/ > bwékè
       NP$_{14}$-grain
       'grains'

    d. /ru-áta/ > rwâtà
       NP$_{11}$-crack
       'crack'

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

    a. /mi-áka/ >mìâkà
       NP$_4$-year
       'years'

    b. /ci-ánda/ > cândà
       NP$_7$-pole
       'pole'

    c. /zi-ongo/ > zìòngò
       NP$_8$-storage
       'storage huts'

When a high-toned vowel is changed to a glide, the high tone is maintained
and realized on the adjacent vowel. This is shown with the high-toned subject
markers *ú-* in (223) and *í-* in (224); when these vowels are changed to glides, their
high tones are realized on the following vowels.

(223) ni-<u>ú</u>-a-rih-iw-a > nìwárìhìwà
       REM-SM$_3$-PST-pay-PASS-FV
       'It has been paid.' (NF_Elic15)

(224) ni-<u>í</u>-a-hond-iw-a > nìyáhòndìwà
       REM-SM$_9$-PST-cook-PASS-FV
       'It has been cooked.'

Glide formation also occurs across word boundaries, as in (225), where the final vowel /u/ of *ndùndávú* is changed to a glide under influence of the initial vowel of the following word.

(225) ndu-∅-ndavú   <u>á</u>-shámb-a   > [ndùndávw' áshâmbà]
       COP$_{1a}$-NP$_{1a}$-lion SM$_1$.REL-swim-FV
       'It's a lion who swims.'

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.

2.5.2.3 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-*, as in (226). 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/.

(226) kú-e-∅-ténde > [kwítêndè]
       NP$_{17}$-AUG-NP$_5$-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. In this context, /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 (227). Vowel coalescence is represented in the phonetic transcription with an apostrophe in place of the lost vowel, similar to the representation of vowel deletion.

(227) ndi-kwesí   o-∅-mbwá   > [ndìkwès' ûmbwà]
       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/.

(228) e-zi-ntú   e-zo   > [èzìntw' ízò]
       AUG-NP$_7$-things AUG-DEM.III$_8$
       'the things, that…'

Vowel coalescence is not observed in all cases of vowel juxtaposition across word boundaries. Compare (229), where there is no vowel coalescence between the final vowel of *kwesi* 'have' and the initial vowel of *oburotu* 'something good', with (227), where vowel coalescence between the final vowel of *kwesi* 'have' and the intial vowel of *ombwa* 'dog' does take place.

(229) ècìntù nècìntù cìkwèsì òbùrótù nòbúbbì
       e-ci-ntu   ne=ci-ntu   ci-kwesi o-bu-rótu
       AUG-NP$_7$-thing COM=NP$_7$-thing SM$_7$-have AUG-NP$_{14}$-good
       no=bu-bbí
       COM=AUG-NP$_{14}$-bad
       'Everything has an advantage and a disadvantage.' (ZF_Conv13)

2.5.2.4 Consonant epenthesis

Finally, vowel hiatus may be resolved by an epenthetic consonant, [h], [y] or [w]. This process only occurs word-internally. Consonant epenthesis is optional; in any context where epenthetic consonants may occur, they may also be left out, as in (230), which shows that epenthetic [h] is optional.

(230) 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 the front vowel /i/, as in (231), or /e/, as in (232). It is also occasionally used as an epenthetic consonant between /a/ and /a/, especially in Zambian Fwe, as seen in (233).

(231)　/mi-áni/ > mìyânì
　　　　NP4-mopane
　　　　'mopane trees'

(232)　/ku-bíraer-a/ > kùbíràyèrà
　　　　INF-complain-FV
　　　　'to complain'

(233)　/kú-ya-a/ > kúyàyà
　　　　INF-kill-FV
　　　　'to kill'

The labial glide [w] can be inserted when the first of the juxtaposed vowels is a back vowel /o/, as in (234), or /u/, as in (235).

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

(235)　/N-kúa/ > nkûwà
　　　　NP9-tick
　　　　'tick'

[h] can be used as an epenthetic consonant between any two vowels. As such it is often used as a substitute for either [w], as in (236), or [y], as in (237), and is also often inserted in contexts where [w] or [y] usually do not occur, such as between /a/ and /a/ in (238).

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

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

(238) /a-a_Hmb-a/ > àhâmbà
       SM₁-speak-FV
       'S/He[8] is speaking.'

Epenthetic [h] should not be confused with phonemic /h/ (see also §2.2), which can never be dropped nor realized as a glide [y] or [w]. Furthermore, phonemic /h/ can be pronounced with slight nasalization, which is never the case with epenthetic [h]. In (239), examples of epenthetic [h] are given, which are contrasted with examples of phonemic /h/ in (240).

(239) Epenthetic [h]

       a. /ci-uru/ > cìùrù ~ cìwùrù ~ cìhùrù
           NP₇-hill
           'hill'
           *cìhu̧rù

       b. /bu-fwíi/ > bùfwîì ~ bùfwîyì ~ bùfwîhì
           NP₁₄-short
           'shortness'
           *bùfwîhi̧

(240) Phonemic /h/

       a. /bu-háro/ > bùhârò ~ bùha̧rò
           NP₁₄-life
           'life'
           *bùwârò
           *bùârò

       b. /ku-hík-a/   > kùhîkà ~ kùhi̧kà
           INF-cook-FV
           'to cook'
           *kùîkà
           *kùyîkà

Consonant epenthesis occurs in a variety of contexts. It can occur morpheme-internally, for instance, in a lexical root as in (241). It can also occur across a

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[8]As agreement markers of class 1 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'. 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.

morpheme boundary, where vowel juxtaposition is the result of the addition of a prefix or suffix, as seen in (242–243).

(241)   /ma-roa/ > màròhà ~ màròwà
NP$_6$-blood
'blood'

(242)   /ma-ira/   > màyìrà ~ màhìrà
NP$_6$-sorghum
'sorghum'

(243)   /e-N-swí-ana/   > ènswíyànà
AUG-NP$_{10}$-fish-DIM
'small fish'

2.5.3 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*. Front vowel harmony lowers /i/ in verbal suffixes to /e/ when preceded by the mid vowel /e/ or /o/; in all other cases, the vowel remains /i/. This affects causative *-is*, as in (244), applicative *-ir*, as in (245), transitive impositive *-ik*, as in (246), epenthetic causative/applicative *-ik*, as in (247), and stative *-ite*, as in (248).

(244)   Vowel harmony affecting the causative *-is*
kù-fúm-ìs-à   'to make rich'
kù-bìr-ìs-à   'to bring to a boil'
kú-kàr-ìs-à   'to sit with someone'
kù-shèk-ès-à   'to make laugh'
kù-gòr-ès-à   'to make strong, insist'

(245)   Vowel harmony affecting the applicative *-ir*
kù-bútùk-ìr-à   'to run to'
kù-zyímb-ìr-à   'to sing for'
kù-kwát-ìr-à   'to hold for'
kù-tènd-èr-à   'to do for'
kù-shótòk-èr-à   'to jump into'

(246)   Vowel harmony affecting the transitive impositive *-ik*
kù-fúrùm-ìk-à   'to place upside down'

> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *kù-fwí-ìk-à* | 'to approach' |
> | *kù-cànk-ìk-à* | 'to put a pot on the fire' |
> | *kù-nyòng-èk-à* | 'to bend' |
> | *kù-kór-èk-à* | 'to carry on the shoulder' |

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

kù-bú:s-ìk-ìz-à	'to wake up for'
kù-zìm-ìs-ìk-ìz-à	'to extinguish for'
kù-kác-ìk-ìz-à	'to interrupt'
kù-cèn-ès-èk-èz-à	'to clean for'
kù-nyòns-èk-èz-à	'to nurse for'

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

ndì-fúm-îtè	'I am rich.'
ò-bízw-îtè	'It is ripe.'
ndì-kwáng-îtè	'I am tired.'
ndì-shésh-êtè	'I am married.'
cì-bór-êtè	'It is rotten.'

Vowel height harmony does not affect the passive suffix *-(i)w*, as seen in (249)m even though, like other derivational suffixes affected by vowel height harmony, it also contains a high front vowel /i/.

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

kù-shúm-ìw-à	'to be bitten'
kù-rìh-ìw-à	'to be paid'
kù-sànz-ìw-à	'to be washed'
kù-tém-ìw-à	'to be chopped'
kù-hònd-ìw-à	'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 a suffix with a low or high vowel intervenes, such as the transitive separative suffix *-uk* in (250).

(250) zìcèrúkìtè
zi-cer-<u>úk</u>-ite
SM₈-tear-SEP.INTR-STAT
'They are torn.'

Although vowel harmony is blocked by intervening low or high vowels, in a sequence of adjacent suffixes that are susceptible to vowel harmony, vowel harmony applies up to the last suffix, as shown by the combination of applicative and causative in (251).

(251)   kùcènèsèrà
        kù-cèn-ès-èr-à
        INF-clean-CAUS-APPL-FV
        'to clean for'

Fwe has borrowed verbs from Lozi, a neighboring Bantu language that lacks vowel harmony, and where the causative is invariably realized as *-is* and the applicative as *-el.* In some of these Lozi borrowings, such as those in (252) and (253), the rules of vowel harmony do not apply as they do to native Fwe verbs, suggesting these 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, and never without it.

(252)   kùràtèrèrà (borrowed from Lozi ku latelela 'to follow')
        ku-rat-er-er-a
        INF-follow-INT-FV
        'to follow'
        *kùràtà

(253)   kùsèpìsà (borrowed from Lozi ku sepisa 'to promise')
        ku-sep-is-a
        INF-trust-CAUS-FV
        '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 (254).

(254)   a. kùpângà (borrowed from Lozi ku panga 'construct (a wooden frame)')
            ku-páng-a
            INF-do-FV
            'to do, make'

b. kùpángìrà
   ku-páng-ir-a
   INF-do-APPL-FV
   'to do for (someone)'

c. *kùpángèrà

The form of suffixes displaying vowel harmony is slightly different in verbs with a monosyllabic root. As Table 2.3 shows, monosyllabic verb roots that consist of a consonant-glide combination always take the *i-* form of the suffix.

Table 2.3: Vowel height harmony in CG verb roots

kú-tw-à	'to pound'	*kù-tw-îr-à*	'to be pounded'
kù-gw-à	'to fall'	*kù-gw-ìs-à*	'to drop'
kú-nyw-à	'to drink'	*à-nyw-ìtè*	'S/he is drunk.'
kù-rw-à	'to fight'	*kù-rw-ìs-à*	'to fight someone'
kú-ry-à	'to eat'	*kù-r-îs-à*	'to feed'

There are two monosyllabic verb roots that consist of a consonant and a vowel, *tá* 'say' and *há* 'give'. Table 2.4 shows that 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 §2.5.2 on vowel hiatus resolution).

Table 2.4: Vowel height harmony in CV verb roots

/ku-tá-a/ > *kútà*	'to say'	/ku-tá-is-a/ > *kùtêsà*	'to accuse'
/ku-tá-ir-a/ > *kùtêrà*	'to tell on behalf of'		
/ku-tá-iw-a/ > *kùtêwà*	'to be said'		
/ku-há-a-/ > *kúhà*	'to give'	/ku-há-is-a/ > *kùhêsà*	'to give with'
/ku-há-ir-a/ > *kùhêrà*	'to give on behalf of'		
/ku-há-iw-a/ > *kùhêwà*	'to be given'		

The second type of vowel harmony, back 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/, as in (255).

(255) kù-ᵍ|òp-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'

2.5.4 Nasal harmony

In addition to vowel harmony, certain derivational suffixes in Fwe are also subject to nasal harmony. Nasal harmony affects all derivational suffixes with a consonant /r/: the applicative *-ir*, as in (256), the transitive separative *-ur*, as in (257), and the (highly lexicalized) extensive *-ar*, as in (258). 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).

(256) Nasal harmony in the applicative
       kù-rìm-ìn-à 'to farm for'
       kù-tòm-èn-à 'to charge dowry'
       kù-zyúm-ìn-ìn-à 'to become unconscious; to dry'

(257) Nasal harmony in the transitive separative
       kù-bbám-ùn-à 'to break'
       kù-fúrùm-ùn-à 'to put upright'
       kù-ⁿ|òngòm-òn-à 'to hollow out'

(258) Nasal harmony in the extensive
       kù-fúrùm-àn-à 'to become adult (of girls)'
       kù-rém-àn-à 'to become injured'
       kù-zyím-àn-à 'to stop, stand up'

Nasal harmony is not trigger by prenasalized consonants, as shown in (259).

(259) kù-rìnd-ìr-à 'to wait for'
       kù-kámb-ùr-à 'to remove (from on top of each other)'
       kù-súmb-àr-à 'to be pregnant'

Like vowel harmony, nasal harmony is only triggerd by the syllable immediately preceding the target. No nasal harmony takes place when nasal roots consonants are separated from the derivational suffix by a non-nasal consonant, as in (260), where the causative separating the root-final nasal /m/ from the applicative suffix *-ir* prevents the application of nasal harmony.

(260) kùzìmìsìrà
ku-zim-is-ir-a
INF-be_extinguished-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to extinguish for'

Nasal harmony is also triggered 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*, as in (261).

(261) kùrísùngàmìnà
ku-rí-sung-am-in-a
INF-REFL-bow-IMP.INTR-APPL-FV
'to bow one's head'

Similar to vowel harmony, nasal harmony fails to apply in a number of borrowed verbs, as in (262) and (263). Such verbs are likely to have been borrowed from or through Lozi, as Lozi does not regularly apply nasal harmony (Gowlett 1989: 141).

(262) kùfónèrà
ku-fón-er-a
INF-phone-APPL-FV
'to phone'

(263) kùkòpànèrà (< Lozi kopana 'meet')
ku-kopan-er-a
INF-meet-APPL-FV
'to meet at'

3 Tone

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

(1)　kùhârà　　　-　　　kùhàrà
　　　ku-hár-a　　　　　ku-har-a
　　　INF-live-FV　　　　INF-scrape-FV
　　　'to live'　　　　　 'to scrape'

(2)　évù　　　　　-　　　èvù
　　　e-∅-vú　　　　　　 e-∅-vu
　　　AUG-NP$_5$-sand　　　AUG-NP$_5$-wasp
　　　'sand, soil, land'　　'wasp'

(3)　màsírà　　　 -　　　màsìrà
　　　ma-sirá　　　　　　ma-sira
　　　NP$_6$-cloth　　　　　NP$_6$-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, as in (4), and a relative clause verb has a high-toned subject marker, as in (5); 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 §13.5.1).

(4)　báncè bàzânà
　　　ba-ánce　ba-zán-a
　　　NP$_2$-child sm$_2$-play-FV
　　　'The children play.'

(5) báncè bázânà
     ba-ánce   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 processes, tones may be realized as high (H), low (L), falling (F) and downstepped high (ꜜH). These tonal processes, discussed in §3.1, 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 & Marlo 2019). Toneless moras (symbolized as ∅) surface as low-toned, unless a melodic high tone is assigned, or the mora is targeted by a specific tonal process. Furthermore, the system of melodic tones, which are assigned by a specific tense/aspect/mood construction to a specific syllable or mora of the verb, only makes use of high tones (melodic tone is discussed in §3.3). Fwe has floating high tones (discussed in §3.2), 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, §3.1.2 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 automatically lengthened vowels consist of two moras, all short vowels, or vowels targeted by penultimate lengthening, consist of one mora (see §2.3 on vowels). These non-contrastive types of lengthening are not indicated in the orthography in this book, to distinguish them from phonemic vowel length. In this chapter, and 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/.

The following tonal transcriptions are used, both in this chapter and throughout this book. 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 ꜜ 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 §3.3 on melodic tones).

3.1 Tonal processes

This section discusses the tonal processes that play a role in Fwe. These 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 penultimate 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 §3.1.6), 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 at the end of a phrase.

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 §3.1.7. A schematic overview of tone rules is given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Tone rules

Rule	Schematization	Section
Meeussen's Rule	HH > /HØ/	3.1.1
Downstep	HH > [H$^{!}$H]	3.1.2
	HLH > [HL$^{!}$H]	
Bimoraic doubling	HØ. > HH.	3.1.3
	ØH. > HH.	
H retraction	ØH# > [HL]#	3.1.4
H > F	H# > [F]#	3.1.5
	H.Ø > [F.L]#	
H tone spread	ØH > [HH]	3.1.6
	ØØH > [HHH]	
	ØØØH > [HHHH]	
	etc.	

3.1.1 Meeussen's Rule

Fwe makes use of Meeussen's Rule, 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: /HH/ > [HL]

This tone rule is found in various Bantu languages (Kisseberth & Odden 2003), and has come to be known as Meeussen's Rule after Goldsmith (1984), who refers to the description of the rule in Tonga by Meeussen (1963). 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 & Odden 2003; Odden & Marlo 2019). The other tone rule that follows the OCP is downstep (see §3.1.2), 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 deletes high tones, whereas downstep lowers the pitch of high tones but keeps them recognizable as high. There are a number of differences in the ways Meeussen's Rule and downstep are conditioned. First, Meeussen's Rule 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, Meeussen's Rule does not occur across word boundaries, whereas downstep does. Third, Meeussen's Rule does not target high tones that are the result of H retraction, whereas downstep does. Meeussen's Rule is applied before downstep: in situations where both may apply, Meeussen's Rule is applied instead of downstep. The diachronic application of Meeussen's Rule in Fwe was already noted by Bostoen (2009: 122). This section shows that Meeussen's Rule is still active synchronically in Fwe.

The application of Meeussen's Rule is illustrated in (7): the high tone of the syllable *bbá* is deleted when immediately preceded by a high-toned object marker *zí*-.

(7)   a.   kùbbátùrà
           ku-bbát-ur-a
           INF-separate-SEP.TR-FV
           'to separate'

      b.   kùzíbbàtùrà
           ku-zí-bbát-ur-a > ku-zí-bbat-ur-a
           INF-OM$_8$-separate-SEP.TR-FV
           'to separate them'

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 and illustrated in (8).

(8) Repeated application of Meeussen's Rule

    a. /HHH/ > [HLL]

    b. cázyùrì
       ci-á-zyúr-í > ci-á-zyur-i
       SM$_7$-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, Meeussen's Rule does not apply, as schematized in (9), and illustrated in (10): the high tone in the bimoraic syllable /tée/ does not trigger the application of Meeussen's Rule to the high tone in the subsequent syllable /ndé/, because of the intervening toneless mora.

(9) No Meeussen's Rule on H∅.H sequences:
    /H∅.H/
    HH.H (bimoraic doubling: H is copied from the first to the second mora)
    [H:.H]
    *[H:.L]

(10) /ma.tée.ndé a.ngú/ > màté:'ndé 'á:ngù
    ma-téndé a-angú
    NP$_6$-foot   PP$_6$-POSS$_{1SG}$
    'my feet'

Meeusen's Rule only applies within the word, and adjacent high tones separated by a word boundary are not subject to Meeussen's Rule. In (11), 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.

(11) cìnjí 'ndímìtàhwî:rà?
    ∅-ci-njí   ndí-mi$_H$-ta$_H$hw-ír-a
    COP-NP$_7$-what sm$_{1SG}$.REL-OM$_{2PL}$-divide-APPL-FV
    'What can I give you?' (NF_Elic15)

Meeussen's Rule precedes all other tone rules, as seen from the fact that high tones which have been influenced by other, phonetic tone rules are not subject to Meeussen's Rule. This is the case for sequences of high tones that were created by H retraction (see §3.1.4). In (12), 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 Meeussen's Rule.

(12) rúꜜhátì
      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 because they are the result of other tone rules, are subject to downstep. The use of downstep is discussed in the following section.

3.1.2 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 phrase. Downstep affects adjacent high tones, as schematized in (13), but also high tones that are not in adjacent syllables, but are separated by one or more low-toned syllables, as schematized in (14).

(13) Downstep on adjacent high tones: HH > [HꜜH]

(14) Downstep on non-adjacent high tones: HLH > [HLꜜH]

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 phrase.

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 (15), where the high tone of the syllable /ká/ is directly followed by that of the syllable /bá/, causing the second to be downstepped.

(15) /bu-kábabú/ > bu-kábábu (H retraction) > [bù-ká'bábù]
      NP₁₄-problem
      'problem'

It is not possible to analyze examples such as (15) 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 also gives clear examples of downstep not triggered by intervening toneless (or low-toned) moras, as in (16).

(16) /ndi-y-á   kú-mu-nzi/   > [ndìyá 'kúmù:nzì]
      SM₁SG-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). See Odden (1986) for a theoretical account of downstep not introduced by low tones.

Throughout this book, 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 §3.1.6). 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 differences between the two processes are summed up in Table 3.2, and will subsequently be discussed and illustrated.

Meeussen's Rule only applies word-internally, but downstep applies both word-internally, as in (17), and across word boundaries, as in (18).

(17) /bu-kábabú/ > bukábábú > [bùká'bábù]
      NP₁₄-problem
      'problem'

Table 3.2: 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

(18) /N-shukí zi-ó=mu-kéntu/   > [nshùkí ꜛzómùkê:ntù]
      NP_{10}-hair PP_{10}-CON=NP_1-woman
      'the hair of the woman' (ZF_Elic14)

Word-internally, downstep and Meeussen's Rule are conditioned differently. Meeussen's Rule only applies to high tones on adjacent moras, whereas downstep applies to all high tones, including those separated by one or more toneless moras, as in (19–20).

(19) H-toned moras separated by one toneless mora: Downstep
      /ku-táand-á ba-ntu/   > [kùtá:ꜛndá bàntù]
      INF-chase-FV NP_2-person
      'to chase people'

(20) H-toned moras separated by more than one toneless mora: Downstep
      mbo-ndí-ci$_H$-to$_H$rok-é   > [mbò:ndícìtòꜛrókè]
      NEAR.FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_7$-explain-PFV.SBJV
      'I will explain it.'

Furthermore, Meeussen's Rule 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 Meeussen's Rule.

(21) /bu-kábabú/
      bu-kábábu high tone retraction
      bu-káꜛbábu downstep
      [bùkáꜛbábù]
      'problem'

Falling tones, occurring in the last or penultimate syllable of a phrase (see §3.1.5), may also be subject to downstep, in which they case the starting pitch of the falling contour tone is lower than in a non-downstepped falling tone.

Downstep is progressive: for each subsequent high tone, the pitch is lowered. Examples of successive downsteps are given in (22–23): in each case, the downstep indicates an additional pitch lowering.

(22) /N-mwa-Imushó ndí-ha$_H$r-á/   >[mwàìmúshó ˈndíˈhárà]
       COP-NP$_{18}$-Imusho SM$_{1SG}$.REL-live-FV
       'I live in Imusho.'

(23) /zi-ryó   zí-cenyá / > [zìryó ˈzíˈcényà]
       NP$_8$-food NP$_8$-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 processes 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.

3.1.3 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 automatically lengthened vowel, or one mora. The two moras of a bimoraic syllable behave independently 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 other mora of that syllable. This is illustrated in (24), where the high tone associated with the last syllable will retract to the second mora of the penultimate syllable in phrase-final context, and is subsequently copied to the first mora of the penultimate syllable in order to avoid a rising tone. For the sake of clarity, the two moras are transcribed with separate vowel sysmbols, rather than with the lengthening

symbol :, and a dot . marking syllable boundaries is added to indicate that the two moras together form a single syllable.

(24) /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 (25), where a high tone assigned to the second mora of the bimoraic syllable *yií* is copied to the first mora to create a level high tone.

(25) /N-ma-yií.   ndí-hi_Hb-á/   > [màyí: ˈndíˈhíbà]
      COP-NP₆-egg SM₁SG.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 phrase-final verb, and will be discussed in the following two sections.

3.1.4 H retraction

There are two tonal processes in Fwe that only apply at the end of a phrase: high tone retraction, which is an instance of what Odden & Marlo (2019: 9-10) call 'nonfinality', and 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 phrase-final word to move to the preceding mora, as schematized in (26).

(26) 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 (27). If the same noun is used phrase-finally, the high tone of the last syllable shifts to the preceding syllable, resulting in a [HL] surface pattern, as in (28).

(27) /N-shukí zi-angú/   > [nshùkí ꜝzá:ngù]
     NP$_{10}$-hair PP$_{10}$-POSS$_{1SG}$
     'my hair'

(28) N-shukí   > [nshúkì]
     NP$_{10}$-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 phrase. This is schematized and illustrated in
(29). Compare (30), where the same verb is used in a non-final context.

(29) H retraction in phrase-final /∅H/ syllables:

     a. /∅.∅H/# > ∅.H∅ # (H retraction)
        > ∅.HH # (bimoraic doubling)
        > [L.F] (H > F)
     b. /ndi-tw-.aá./ > [ndìtwâ:]
        SM$_{1SG}$-pound-FV
        'I pound.'

(30) No H retraction in medial /∅H/ syllables:
     /ndi-tw-aá   mu-ndaré/ > [ndìtwá: mùndárè]
     SM$_{1SG}$-pound-FV NP$_3$-maize
     'I pound maize.'

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 and illustrated in (31).

(31) H retraction in phrase-final /H∅/ syllables

     a. /∅.H∅/# > [H.LL]
     b. /mu-.twíi./ > [mútwì:]
        NP$_3$-head
        'a head'

Retracted high tones are never realized as falling (see §3.1.5); instead, they may be realized with a slight rising contour. Non-retracted high tones, however, are realized as falling. This is schematized and illustrated in (32–33).[1]

(32) /∅.H./# > [HL]# retracted high tones: realized as level high
      /ku-s-áa/ > [kúsà:]
      INF-dig-FV
      'to dig

(33) /H.∅./# > [FL]# non-retracted high tones: realized as falling
      /ku-sí-w-a/ > [kùsî: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 final or 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 final and penultimate syllable, which can be explained as the result of the penultimate lengthening of this syllable. Note that neither phonemic lengthening, nor automatic lengthening conditioned by the factors discussed in §2.3.3 (i.e. a following prenasalized consonant, a preceding glide, and several others), sanction the occurrence of contour tones.

3.1.5 H > F

Another phrase-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 to be realized as falling in a phrase-final word. Examples are given in (34–36), 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.

(34) /ku-kwáng-a/ > [kùkwâ:ngà]
      INF-become_tired-FV
      'to become tired'

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[1]Retracted high tones in the final, rather than the penultimate, syllable do become falling, see (29). 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.

(35) /ku-kwáng-is-a/ > [kùkwá:ngìsà]
INF-become_tired-CAUS-FV
'to make [someone] tired'

(36) /ku-gáb-a/ > [kùgâbà]
INF-block-FV
'to block'

(37) /ku-gáb-urur-a/ > [kùgábùrùrà]
INF-block-SEP.TR-FV
'to unblock'

High tones are rarely found in the final syllable of a phrase-final word, as such high tones are subject to H retraction (see §3.1.4). High tones may only occur in a phrase-final syllable if this syllable is bimoraic, in which case this high tone is realized as falling.

(38) N-mu-.saá. ndí-bwe_H ne >[mùsá: ˈndíbwè:nè]
COP-NP₁-thief SM₁ₛ_G-see.STAT
'I see a thief.'

(39) ndi-bwe_H né mu-.saá. > [ndìbwè:né mùsâ:]
SM₁ₛ_G-see.STAT NP₁-thief
'I see a thief.'

Retracted high tones are never realized as falling (see §3.1.4). 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 (40), the high-toned syllable *kwí* at the end of the phrase is realized as high, rather than falling, as a result of question intonation.

(40) bànyòkò kòkwí:
ba-nyo-ko   kokwí
NP₂-mother-POSS₂ₛ_G where
'Where is your mother?' (NF_Elic15)

So far, both H retraction and H > F are described as occurring phrase-finally. Copulative constructions display some ambiguity with respect to phrase-final

tonal processes. The noun *njúò* 'house' is treated as being at the end of a phrase in (41), where the high tone becomes falling, but not in (42), where the high tone remains high.

(41) èyí njûò njétù
      e-í   N-júo   N-i-etú
      AUG-DEM.I9 NP9-house COP-PP9-POSS1PL
      'This house is ours.'

(42) yìn' énjúò njìrôtù
      yiná   e-N-júo   nji-rótu
      DEM.IV9 AUG-NP9-house COP9-beautiful
      'That house is beautiful.' (ZF_Elic14)

Since H retraction and falling tones only occur at the end of a phrase, they can be used to detect syntactic boundaries. This is relevant for left dislocation, a topicalisation process which consists of moving a constituent to the sentence-initial position where it is phrased separately. This interaction between tone and syntax is discussed in §13.2 on left dislocation.

3.1.6 High tone spread

High tones in Fwe may spread to the left onto underlyingly toneless syllables. This is illustrated in (43), where the high tone of the final syllable *sá* spreads onto the two preceding, toneless syllables. This spread is optional: the realization without high tone spread is also heard.

(43) /ndi-ur-is-á   ma-.yií./ >[ndìúrísá: màyî ~ ndìùrìsá: màyî:]
      SM1SG-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) has the highest pitch, and the preceding high tone(s) are lower. In this way the high tone spread conforms to the obligatory contour principle, which is also served by the processes of Meeussen's Rule and downstep (see §3.1.1-3.1.2), as 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 (44), the high tone of the final syllable *ri*

3.1 Tonal processes

of the noun *mumusipirí* 'on a journey' spreads to the two preceding syllables. In (45), the high tone associated with the final vowel suffix *-á* spreads three syllables.

(44) N-mu-mu-sipirí   ba-iná   > [mùmùsípírí ˈbénà]
      COP-NP$_{18}$-NP$_3$-journey SM$_2$-be_at
      'She is on a journey.'

(45) ba-sep-ahar-<u>á</u>   cáha > [bàsépáhárá ˈcáhà]
      SM$_2$-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 (46), or the distal marker *ka-* in (47).

(46) ndàmùrémêkì
      ndi-a-mu-rem<u>ék</u>-i
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_1$-hurt-NPST.PFV
      'I've hurt her/him.'

(47) àkàpótérá Kàmwì:
      a-ka-pot-er-<u>á</u>   Kamwi
      SM$_1$-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. This is illustrated in (48), where the high tone of the final syllable /zí/ spreads to the two preceding root syllables, but not to the nominal prefix /mu-/.

(48) mùsébézí ˈwábò
      mu-sebezí u-abó
      NP$_3$-work PP$_3$-DEM.III$_2$
      'his job'

H spread may affect the first high tone in an utterance, but also a subsequent high tone, which by default is downstepped. This is illustrated in (49): 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 spreads 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.

(49) ndàcí⌐nyúngínyùngì
      [_ ¯ - - _ _]
      ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
      SM$_1$-PST-OM$_7$-PL2-shake-NPST.PFV
      'I have shaken it.' (NF_Elic15)

Leftward high tone spread in Fwe bears some resemblance to 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)[2]. As already observed by Bostoen (2009: 123), Fwe does not make use of HTA, as illustrated with the reflexes of the reconstructed root *kúpà 'bone' in (50). In Totela, Tonga and Lenje, the high tone of the first root syllable shifts to the preceding syllable, whereas in Fwe, this high tone does not shift.

(50) Totela èchí-fùwà 'bone' (Crane 2014: 65)
      Tonga ící-fùwà 'bone' (Carter 1962: 65)
      Lenje cí-fùwà 'bone' (Kagaya 1987: 49)
      Fwe è-cì-fûhà 'bone'

3.1.7 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

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[2]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 Shanjo, 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. The study of lexical tone in Shanjo by Bostoen (2009) indicates no trace of HTA in this language.

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.

3.2 Lexical tone

This section discusses the tonal patterns found on nominal and verbal stems. 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.

3.2.1 Tone on noun stems

Disyllabic noun stems can have five different surface tonal patterns in isolation: LL, HL, FL H-$^!$HL, 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 (51).

(51) Tonal patterns on nouns with disyllabic stems

a.	/∅∅/	[LL]	
	/vumo/	vùmò	'stomach'
	/ma-ira/	mà-hìrà	'sorghum'
	/mu-riro/	mù-rìrò	'fire'
b.	/H∅/	[FL]	
	/n-júo/	njûò	'house'
	/zyúba/	zyûbà	'sun, day'
	/ku-bóko/	kù-bôkò	'arm'
c.	/∅H/	[HL]	
	/mbufú/	mbúfù	'bream'
	/ndavú/	ndávù	'lion'
	/ci-shamú/	cì-shámù	'tree'

d. /H-∅H/	[H-ˈHL]	
/bú-cenyá/	bú-ˈcényà	'smallness'
/cí-monshó/	cí-ˈmó:nshò	'left'
/ká-nensá/	ká-ˈné:nsà	'pink, little toe'
e. /H-∅∅/	[H-LL]	
/mú-ngorwe/	mú-ngòrwè:	'tree sp. (used to cure a curse)'
/ká-nsikwe/	ká-nsìkwè:	'darkness'
/mí-ra:ra/	mí-rà:rà	'leftovers'

Given the productive use of Meeussen's Rule in Fwe (see §3.1.1), turning a /HH/ sequence into /H∅/, nouns surfacing with a [FL] pattern could have an underlying /H∅/ or /HH/ pattern. Historically, Fwe nouns with a [FL] surface pattern are reflexes of nouns reconstructed as either *HH or *HL, for example *mà-fûtà* 'oil', from *kútá 'oil, fat', and *n-sîngò* '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*, as in (52), they lose all but the first high tone, which is indicative of an underlying /HH/ pattern affected by repeated Meeussen's Rule.

(52)   /ka-zyúrú-ána/ > /ka-zyúru-ana/ > [kàzyúrùànà]
       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 reflexes of a historical *HL pattern and reflexes of a historical *HH pattern, as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Tonal patterns of disyllabic /HH/ nouns with the diminutive *-ána*

Underived noun	Noun with diminutive /-ána/	Reconstruction
n-jôkà 'snake'	*n-jókàànà* 'small snake'	*-jókà 'snake'
rù-rîmì 'tongue'	*kà-rímìànà* 'small tongue'	*-dímì 'tongue'
mù-zîò 'load'	*mù-zíòànà* 'small load'	*-dígò 'load'
mù-kûrù 'adult'	*mù-kúrùànà* 'young adult'	*-kʊdʊ 'adult'

Four different patterns are found in nouns with a monosyllabic stem in isolation; L-L, H-L, F-L and L-F, as in (53). 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.

(53)   Tonal patterns on nouns with monosyllabic stems

a.	/∅-∅/	L-L	
	/mu-ntu/	mù-ntù	'person'
	/e-wa/	è-wà	'field'
	/ci-zo/	cì-zò	'tradition'
b.	/∅-H/	H-L	
	/ku-twí/	kú-twì	'ear'
	/e-vú/	é-vù	'sand'
	/e-zwí/	é-zwì	'knee'
c.	/H:- ∅/	F-L	
	/rú:-ho/	rû:-hò	'wind'
	/bú:-ci/	bû:-cì	'honey'
d.	/∅-H:/	L-F	
	/mu-sá:/	mù-sâ:	'thief'
	/e-gí:/	è-gî:	'egg'

The [H-L] and [L-L] patterns are the most frequently occurring patterns. The tonal pattern [L-F] only occurs with nominal stems with a bimoraic vowel, which can be phonemically long, as in (54–55), or automatically lengthened, as in (56–57) (see §2.3.3 for the conditions of automatic lengthening).

(54)   bù|ô:
      bu-|ó:
      NP$_{14}$-tasteless
      'tastelessness'

(55)   bùrê:
      bu-ré:
      NP$_{14}$-long
      'length'

(56)   rùkwê:
      ru-kwé
      NP$_{11}$-grass
      'grass (*Schoenoplectus brachyceras*)'

(57) mùsâ:
mu-sá
NP$_1$-thief
'thief'

Monosyllabic nouns with a long vowel may also occur with a [H-L] pattern, reflecting underlying /∅-H/, as in in (58–59), or as [L-L], reflecting no underlying high tones, as in (60).

(58) /o-∅-mbwáa/ > [ómbwà:]
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog
'dog'

(59) /e-N-shwaá/ > [ènshwâ:]
AUG-NP$_{10}$-termite
'termites'

(60) /mu-nwee/ > [mùnwè:]
NP$_3$-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 *cî-rì* 'adder' derives from a disyllabic noun root *-pí dì 'puff adder' (Bastin et al. 2002); 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 (61–63).

(61) bû:cì
bú:-ci
NP$_{14}$-honey
'honey'

(62) rû:hò
rú:-ho
NP$_{11}$-wind
'wind'

(63) bû:sì
    bú:-si
    NP₁₄-smoke
    'smoke'

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, as laid out in (64), are [HLL], corresponding to an underlying /HØØ/ pattern, and [LLL], corresponding to an underlying tone pattern without high tones.

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

    a. /HØØ/   [HLL]
        o-nkúmbizi   ò-nkúmbìzì   'beggar'
        mu-kázana   mù-kázànà   'girl'
        mu-gwégwesi   mù-gwégwèsì   'joint'
        mpúbira   mpúbìrà   'papaya'

    b. /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 (*Cucumis metuliferus*)'

The tonal pattern [H˺HL], as in (65), is also fairly common in trisyllabic noun stems. It represents an underlying /HØH/ pattern where the second H is retracted and subsequently downstepped (see §3.1.2 on downstep and §3.1.3 on H retraction).

(65) Trisyllabic noun stems with a /HØH/ pattern
    /HØH/   [H˺HL]
    /bu-shómaní/   bù-shó˺mánì   'bad luck'
    /ru-vútamó/   rù-vú˺támò   'lower stomach'
    /bu-kábabú/   bù-ká˺bábù   'problem'
    /mu-túkutá/   mù-tú˺kútà   'heat'

Other tonal patterns found with trisyllabic noun stems, as presented in (66), have a more restricted distribution and mainly occur with borrowings: a /ØØH/ pattern, which may surface as [HHL] or [LHL] in isolation; a /ØHØ/ pattern, which may surface as [HFL] or [LFL] in isolation, and which occurs with borrowings and nouns derived with the deverbal suffix *-ntu* (see §4.2.1).

(66) Trisyllabic noun stems with a /∅∅H/ or /∅H∅/ pattern

    a. /∅∅H/   [LHL] ~ [HHL]   source

/ka-pikirí/	kà-píkírì	'nail'	Afrikaans spyker 'nail'
/mu-sebezí/	mù-sébézì	'work'	Lozi musebezi 'work'
/mu-sipirí/	mù-sípírì	'journey'	Lozi musipili 'journey'
/n-tauró/	n-táúrò	'headveil'	English towel
/ci-fatehó/	cì-fàtéhò	'face'	Lozi sifateho 'face'
/n-komokí/	n-kòmókì	'cup'	Lozi komoki 'cup'
/n-kereké/	n-kèrékè	'church'	Afrikaans kerk 'church'

    b. /∅H∅/   [LFL] ~ [HFL]

/ci-munántu/	cì-múnântù	'domesticated animal'	
-muna 'own' +-ntu			
/ci-tendántu/	cì-téndântù	'action'	cf. -tenda 'do' +-ntu
/ma-hondéro/	mà-hóndêrò	'kitchen'	cf. -honda 'cook'
/hemére/	hèmêrè	'bucket'	Afrikaans emmer 'bucket'
/mu-kotána/	mù-kòtânà	'bag'	Lozi mukotana '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 in (67). Longer nominal stems are usually regularly derived from verbs, or compounds.

(67) Tonal patterns of nominal stems with four syllables

    a. /H∅∅H/   [HLHL]

/ma-síkusikú/	mà-síkùsíkù	'morning'
/njóvenjové/	njóvènjóvè	'tree (*Abrus precatorius*)'

    b. /H∅H∅/   [HLFL]

/ka-ríkuríku/	kà-ríkùrîkù	'hiccup'
/mu-rárambínda/	mù-ráràmbîndà	'milky way'

    c. /∅H∅H/   [HH!HL] ~ [LH!HL]

/ka-cióció/	kà-cíyóꜜcíyò	'chick'
/maíwué/	màyíꜜwúyè	'duck sp.'

    d. /∅H∅∅/   [LHLL]

/ka-rurérure/	kà-rùrérùrè	'plant sp.'
/kacípembe/	kàcípèmbè	'mongongo beer'

    e. /∅∅∅H/   [LLHL

/bbimbiriró/	bbìmbìrírò	'rubbish heap'
/harantené/	hàrànténè	'cockroach'

f. /∅∅∅/   [LLLL]
   /ci-tukutuku/   cì-tùkùtùkù   'hiccup'
   /ci-tepwerere/   cì-tèpwèrèrè   'thin porridge'

Although nominal prefixes are underlyingly toneless, and as such are realized with a low tone with the majority of nouns (see §4.1.1 on nominal prefixes), there are 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, as in (68). (In monosyllabic nouns, a high-toned nominal prefix is the result of H retraction; see (53).)

(68) /H-∅H/   [H-ꞌHL]
   /mú-kwamé/   mú-ꞌkwá:mè   'man'
   /cí-nsozí/   cí-ꞌnsózì   'tear'
   /cí-ariso/   cí-àrìsò   'latch'
   /má-nshawánshawa/   má-ꞌnsháwánshàwà   'berries sp.'

These nouns have a floating high tone that precedes the nominal root, which is realized on the nominal prefix. When the nominal root is not preceded by a (syllabic) nominal prefix, the floating high tone is realized on the noun's augment prefix, as in (69–70). The augment prefix itself is realized with a low tone in all other cases (see §4.1.2).

(69) éꞌnkórì
     é-N-korí
     AUG-NP$_9$-walking_stick
     'walking stick'

(70) éꞌmpúndù
     é-N-pundú
     AUG-NP$_{10}$-berry
     'berries'

A number of nouns with a floating high tone are derived from verbs that also have a floating high tone (see §3.2.2), as illustrated in (71–72).

(71) cíàzò   cf. kúàrà
     cí-azo   kú-ar-a
     NP$_7$-door   INF-close-FV
     'door'   'to close'

(72) cíyàzì cf. kúyàà
    cí-yazi kú-ya-a
    NP7-traitor INF-kill-FV
    'traitor' 'to kill'

For other nouns, the origin of the floating tone is unclear. Out of about 1100 nominal stems, 33 nominal stems 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 (73).

(73) é-ˈtángányàmbè 'calabash'
    mú-ngòrwè 'tree sp. (used to cure a curse)'
    ká-nkàfwà 'bat'
    ká-nsìkwè 'darkness'
    ká-nshèrèrè 'small mushroom sp.'
    rú-ngàmàzyòbà 'plant sp.'
    mú-ⁿ|ùryà ~ mú-ˈⁿ|úryà 'lizard'
    bú-ˈcényà 'smallness'
    mú-ˈkwámè 'man'
    cí-ˈmónshò 'left-hand side'
    é-ˈmpúndù 'berries of the sandpaper raisin bush'
    rú-ˈⁿ|áⁿ|à 'sedge leaf'
    ká-ˈnénsà 'pink, little toe'
    é-n-ˈkórì 'walking stick'
    bú-ˈŋómbà 'plant (*Lannea edulis*)'
    ká-ˈnsínsì 'small blue bird sp.'
    cí-ˈnsózì 'tear'
    mú-ˈnzúrè 'shadow; malaria'
    rú-ˈshíkà 'African mangosteen (*Garcinia livingstonei*)'
    é-ˈsímà 'well'
    má-ˈsínzà 'snot'
    rú-ˈsúmà 'jackalberry'
    ká-ˈmpáfwà 'bat sp.'
    ~ ká-mpàfwà
    ká-ˈnyángwényàngwè 'shrub (*Mundulea sericea*)'
    má-ˈnsháwánshàwà 'shrub (*Grewia* sp.)'
    ~ má-ˈnsháwà

Nouns with a floating high tone before the nominal stem can have various tonal patterns on the nominal stem, e.g. an underlying /∅H/ pattern which is realized as [H!HL] in isolation, as in (74), or an underlying /H-H∅/ tonal pattern, which corresponds to a [H-LL] surface pattern, as in (75).

(74) /mú-kwamé/ > mú-kwámè (H retraction) > [mú-ꜜkwá:mè] (downstep)
      NP$_1$-man
      'man'

(75) cí-áriso > /cí-ariso/ > cí-àrìsò
      NP$_7$-latch
      'latch'

Floating high tones are also found with a number of verb stems (see §3.2.2), and with certain grammatical forms, such as the augment (see §4.1.2) and possessives (see chapter 4.3.5). 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.

3.2.2 Tone on verb stems

This section discusses the tonal patterns found on verb stems, as used in the infinitive form. An infinitive consists of an infinitive prefix *ku-*, followed by the verb stem (which may contain 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 infinitives (as well as a variety of verbal inflections), is taken as part of the verb stem; verbs may never appear without a final vowel suffix, and *-a* is the most common, morphologically and semantically unmarked final vowel suffix.

Verbs have a lexical tone contrast in their first stem syllable, which can have a high tone or no tone, and/or assign a floating high tone to the preceding sylable. 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 §3.3.

Disyllabic verb stems have three possible tone patterns in the infinitive in iso-lation, as in (76): FL, LL and the fairly marginal pattern H-LL, with a floating high tone that is realized on the infinitive prefix (see (81) for more examples of this floating high tone).

(76)   Tonal patterns on disyllabic verb stems

   a. /H∅/   FL
       ku-hár-a   kù-hâr-à   'to live'
       ku-zyímb-a   kù-zyî:mb-à   'to sing'
       ku-shésh-a   kù-shêsh-à   'to marry'
       ku-rá:r-a   kù-râ:r-à   'to sleep'

   b. /∅∅/   LL
       ku-har-a   kù-hàr-à   'to scrape'
       ku-end-a   kù-yè:nd-à   'to walk'
       ku-shek-a   kù-shèk-à   'to laugh'
       ku-co:k-a   kù-cò:k-à   'to break'

   c. /H-∅∅/   H-LL
       kú-pak-a   kú-pàk-à   'to carry on one's back (of a child)'
       kú-zyus-a   kú-zyùs-à   'to fill'
       kú-zyib-a   kú-zyìb-à   'to get to know'

Verb stems surfacing as LL have no underlying high tones. Verb stems surfacing as 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 phrase-finally and in isolation (see §3.1.5).

Monosyllabic verb stems consist of a root of either a single consonant, or 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, as in (77). The first tone of the pattern verbs is realized on the infinitive prefix *ku-*.

(77)   Tone patterns on monosyllabic verb stems

   a. /∅-H/   [H-L]
       ku-w-á   kú-w-à   'to give'
       ku-s-á   kú-s-à: 'to dig'
       ku-nyw-á   kú-nyw-à: 'to drink'

   b. /∅-∅/   [L-L]
       ku-gw-a   kù-gw-à: 'to fall'
       ku-rw-a   kù-rw-à: 'to fight'
       ku-zw-a   kù-zw-à: '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 §3.1.3). If a

monosyllabic verb with a [H-L] pattern in isolation is extended with a suffix, as in (78), the high tone is realized on the verb stem itself.

(78) kútwà:
      ku-tw-á
      INF-pound-FV
      'to pound'

(79) kùtwî:wà
      ku-tw-íw-a
      INF-pound-PASS-FV
      'to be pounded'

Verb stems with three or more syllables can also be divided into those with and without a high tone, as in (80). The high tone, if present, 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 6). Verb stems with more than four syllables follow the same patterns as verb stems with three or four syllables.

(80) Tone patterns on polysyllabic verb stems

    a. */∅∅∅/*   [LLL]
       ku-dokor-a   kù-dòkòr-à   'to belch'
       ku-hompwer-a   kù-hò:mpwè:r-à   'to hammer'
       ku-kabir-a   kù-kàbìr-à   'to enter'

    b. */H∅∅/*   [HLL]
       ku-cécent-a   kù-cécè:nt-à   'to winnow'
       ku-círuk-a   kù-círùk-à   'to jump'
       ku-kárih-a   kù-kárìh-à   'to shout'

    c. */∅∅∅∅/*   [LLLL]
       ku-barakat-a   kù-bàràkàt-à   'to flap (as a fish on dry land)'
       ku-fufurerw-a   kù-fùfùrèrw-à: 'to sweat'
       /H∅∅∅/   [HLLL]
       ku-káwuhany-a   kù-káwùhàny-à   'to separate'
       ku-súrumuk-a   kù-súrùmùk-à   'to descend'

A number of verb stems have a floating high tone that is realized on any sylla-ble that directly precedes the verb stem. In the infinitive form, the floating high tone is realized on the underlyingly toneless infinitive prefix *ku-*, as in (81).

(81) /H-∅∅/   [H-LL]
      /kú-ar-a/   kú-àr-à   'to close'
      /kú-kar-a/   kú-kàr-à   'to sit'
      /kú-kut-a/   kú-kùt-à   'to become full'
      /kú-min-a/   kú-mìn-à   'to set (of the sun)'
      /kú-pak-a/   kú-pàk-à   'to carry on one's back (of a child)'
      /kú-swaner-a/   kú-swànèr-à   'to be obliged to'
      /kú-tab-a/   kú-tàb-à   'to answer'
      /kú-ya-a/   kú-yà-à   'to kill'
      /kú-zyib-a/   kú-zyìb-à   'to get to know'
      /kú-zyur-a/   kú-zyùr-à   'to become full'

The floating high tone of these verb stems is realized on whatever syllable precedes the verb stem. In (82), the floating high tone of *taba* 'answer' is realized on the underlyingly toneless past prefix *a-*. In (83), the verb's floating high tone is realized on the underlyingly toneless object marker *mu-*.

(82) /ndi-á-tab-i/ > [ndátàbì]
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-answer-NPST.PFV
      'I answered.'

(83) /ku-mú-tab-a/ > [kùmútàbà]
      INF-OM$_1$-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-H∅/ or /H-∅∅/, because through Meeussen's Rule, both 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-H∅/ 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. This is illustrated with the near past perfective in (84–86). No differences between different lexical verbs were observed, showing that all verbs with a floating high tone have a /H-H∅/ pattern.

(84) ndi-á-táb-í > ndi-á-tab-i > [ndátàbì]
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-answer-NPST.PFV
      'I answered.'

(85) ndi-á-kút-í > ndi-á-kut-i > [ndákùtì]
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV
      'I am full.'

(86) ci-á-zyúr-í > ci-á-zyur-i > [cázyùrì]
      SM₇-PST-become_full-PST
      'It is full.' (NF_Elic15)

All verb stems with a floating high tone attested in Fwe are listed in (81). 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 semantic differences where observed. For one verb, there is a semantic difference between the two forms. All these verbs are listed in (87).

(87) /kú-cirir-a/ ~ /ku-círir-a/   kúcìrìrà ~ kùcírìrà   'to follow'
      /kú-hik-a/ ~ /ku-hík-a/   kúhìkà ~ kùhîkà   'to cook'
      /kú-min-a/   kúmìnà   'to set (of the sun)'
      /ku-min-a/   kùmìnà   '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, suggesting that floating high tones have a status that differs from both lexical and melodic tones. This is discussed in §3.3.4.

The 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 evidenced by the Totela cognates of Fwe verb stems with floating high tones, which have a high-toned vowel *í* as the first syllable of the verb stem, and by the corresponding Bantu reconstructions, which include an initial high-toned syllable. These comparisons are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: The origin of floating high tones in Fwe verbs

Fwe	Totela (Crane 2011)	Bantu reconstruction (BLR3)
kú-àr-ùr-à 'open'	*òkwíjàlùlà* 'open'	
kú-kàr-à 'sit, stay'	*òkwíkàlà* 'stay'	
kú-yà-à 'kill'	*òkwíjàyà* 'kill'	
kú-kùt-à 'become full'		**-jíkut-* 'be satiated'
kú-tàb-à 'answer'		**-jítab-* 'answer call'
kú-zyìb-à 'know'		**-jíjib-* 'know'
kú-zyùr-à 'become full'		**-jíjʊd-* '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/.

3.3 Melodic tone

The tone pattern of most inflected verbs is determined by the tense/aspect/mood (TAM) construction, which may assign high tones to a particular position in an inflected verb. This use of tone is seen in many Bantu languages, and is referred to as "melodic tone" (Odden & Bickmore 2014). Fwe has four melodic tone patterns: a high tone assigned to the last mora of the word (melodic tone 1), to the subject marker (melodic tone 2), and to the second stem syllable (melodic tone 3). Melodic tone pattern 4 refers to the process of deleting underlying tones, which occurs in specific TAM constructions. Table 3.5 gives an overview of melodic tones that are used in Fwe.

As Table 3.5 shows, 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 3.6. As no single function can be linked to melodic tones, they are not represented with a gloss in the third line.

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. The rone rules set out in §3.1 apply to melodic and underlying tones in the same way.

The following sections give a discussion and examples of the realization of melodic tone patterns in Fwe.

Table 3.5: 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 *náku-* subjunctive imperfective

Table 3.6: Melodic tone marking conventions

Underlying (lexical) tone	/cv́/, 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	/cv̲/, e.g. /ndi-ka$_H$m-á̲/ 'I am milking.'

3.3.1 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 in (88), the subjunctive in (89), and the near future perfective in (90): the vowel carrying the melodic tone is underlined in the phonological transcription.

(88) bàhùrá ꜜshûnù
    ba-hur-<u>á</u>   shúnu
    SM₂-arrive-FV today
    'They arrive today.'

(89) mbòbáhùré ꜜshûnù
    mbo-b<u>á</u>-hur-<u>é</u>   shúnu
    NEAR.FUT-SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
    'They will arrive today.' (NF_Elic15)

(90) òshòtòké òmùkwàkwà
    o-sho_Htok-<u>é</u>   o-mu-kwakwa
    SM₂ₛG-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, as illustrated with the clitic *=mo* in (91).

(91) …ndìhìkìrèmó bùjwà:rà
    ndi-hi_Hk-ir-e=m<u>ó</u>   bu-jwara
    SM₁ₛG-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, as in (92), the melodic tone is assigned to the second mora, which can be seen from the lack of high tone retraction in phrase-final contexts, as in (93).

(92) /ba-nyw-.a<u>á</u>. o-bu-jwara/   > bànywá: òbùjwàrà
    SM₂-drink-FV AUG-NP₁₄-beer
    'They drink beer.'

(93) /ba-nyw-.a**a̱**./ > bànywâ:
      SM₂-drink-FV
      'They drink.' (NF_Elic15)

MT 1 has two different realizations, based on the segmental shape of the verb stem. If the penultimate syllable has a long vowel, the H tone is not assigned to the last mora but to the penultimate syllable. This is illustrated in (94) with the verb stem *rìmà* 'farm', which has no long vowels and therefore MT 1 is assigned to the last mora of the word, compared to the verb stem *tòmbwèrà* 'weed' in (95), which has a lengthened penultimate vowel (on account of the preceding glide), and here MT 1 is assigned to the penultimate syllable.

(94) tùrìmá shûnù
      tu-rim-**á̱**   shúnu
      SM₁PL-farm-FV today
      'We farm today.'

(95) tùtòmbwérà shûnù
      tu-tombwér-a   shúnu
      SM1PL-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, as in (96).

(96) ndi-nyans-á > ndìnyà:nsâ:
      *ndi-nyáns-a > ndìnyâ:nsà:
      SM₁SG-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: 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 3.7 summarizes the realization of melodic tone 1 on different stem shapes.

Table 3.7: The realization of melodic tone 1

Last mora		Penultimate syllable	
CVCV	*shèká*	CV:CV	*zwá:tà*
CVCV:	*bùzá:*		
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 3.5). Melodic tone 4 is not an inherent characteristic of MT 1 alone, but is also used in combination with other melodic tones.

3.3.2 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 in (97).

(97) 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 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 §8.4.2). 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 §8.3.4), and possibly also the near

future based on the perfective subjunctive (see §8.4.1). 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.

3.3.3 Melodic Tone 3: H on 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 (98).

(98) kàyìò:résèkì
      ka-i-o:r-ések-i
      NEG-SM$_9$-can-NEUT-NEG
      'It is not possible.' (ZF_Conv13)

In some Bantu languages, object markers are counted as part of the verb stem for tone assignment (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 stem and disregarding object markers, as seen in (99–100).

(99) Melodic tone 3: without an object marker
      ndàrìndîrì
      ndi-a-rind-ír-i
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-wait-APPL-NPST.PFV
      'I've waited for.'

(100) Melodic tone 3: with an object marker
      ndàkùrìndîrì
      ndi-a-ku-rind-ír-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 in (101). As these lack a second stem syllable, MT3 is assigned to the verb's penultimate syllable, which may contain markers with various functions, including subject markers, object markers, tense markers, or the distal marker.

(101) Melodic tone 3 with monosyllabic verbs: H on the penultimate syllable

    a. tà:ndînywì:
       ta-ndí-nyw-i
       NEG-SM₁SG-drink-NEG
       'I don't drink.'

    b. ndìnânywì:
       ndi-ná-nyw-i
       SM₁SG-PST-drink-NPST.PFV
       'I drank.'

    c. ndìnàkûwì
       ndi-na-kú-w-i
       SM₁SG-PST-OM₂SG-give-NPST.PFV
       'I have given you.' (ZF_Elic14)

    d. kà:ndìkârì
       ka-ndi-ká-r-i
       NEG-SM₁SG-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 in (102), 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.

(102) ndìnàyêndì
    ndi-na-énd-i
    SM₁SG-PST-go-NPST.PFV
    'I went.' (ZF_Elic14)

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 9.3 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.

3.3.4 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. This is illustrated in (103) 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.

(103) ndìbùtúkà
       ndi-bu$_H$tuk-á
       SM$_{1SG}$-run-FV
       'I run.' (NF_Elic15)

MT 4 also deletes high tones that are associated with affixes, such as object markers, as in (104), where the underlyingly high-toned object marker of class 2 *bá-* is 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 in (105).

(104) ndìbàshákà
       ndi-ba$_H$-shak-á
       SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_2$-like-FV
       'I like them.' (ZF_Elic14)

(105) ndìshìhô: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 in (106).

(106) bàzyìbàhárà
       ba-zyi$_H$b-ahar-á
       SM$_2$-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 §3.2.2) 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. (107) shows the deletion of the floating high tone of the verb ´*tab* 'answer', used in the present construction.

(107)　ndìtábà
　　　　ndi-tab-<u>á</u>
　　　　SM₁SG-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 (108), the verb ´*tab* 'answer' 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-*.

(108)　ndìmúˈtábà
　　　　ndi-mú-tab-<u>á</u>
　　　　SM₁SG-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-* in (109), used with the verb ´*kar* 'sit'.

(109)　ndìkáˈkárà
　　　　ndi-ká-kar-<u>á</u>
　　　　SM₁SG-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-* in (110) and the high-toned persistent prefix *shí-* in (111).

(110)　ndìbàtábà
　　　　ndi-ba_H-tab-<u>á</u>
　　　　SM₁SG-OM₂-answer-FV
　　　　'I answer them.'

(111) ndìshìtábà
       ndi-shi_H-tab-á
       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, such as the present in (112).

(112) ndìtábà
       ndi-tab-á
       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.

3.3.5 No melodic high tones

As summarized in Table 3.5, there are three TAM constructions in Fwe that do not use melodic tones: 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. A more detailed account of the similarities between these constructions and the infinitive are given in §8.3.2 on the near past imperfective, §9.2.2 on the habitual, and §10.3 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.

4 Nominal morphology

A pervasive feature of Fwe nominal morphology is its use of noun classes, nominal genders which are marked through a prefix on the noun and agreement on modifiers. This noun class system, which is typical for Bantu languages, is discussed in §4.1. Nominal morphology is also used to create nouns from verbs or from other nouns, through affixation, compounding and reduplication, as discussed in §4.2. Nominal modifiers, which include adjectives, demonstratives, connectives, quantifiers and possessives, are discussed in §4.3.

4.1 Noun classes

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 agreement is marked on modifiers, as discussed in §4.3, and on verbs, as discussed in Chapter 7. Noun class membership is also marked on the noun itself by nominal prefixes. The nominal and pronominal prefixes for each noun class are presented in Table 4.1.

Nominal prefixes are glossed as NP with a subscript number indicating the noun class. They are used on nouns, as discussed in §4.1.1, and to mark agreement on adjectives, as discussed in §4.3.1. 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, possessives and quantifiers, and are also used to create demonstratives; these modifiers are discussed in §4.3.

The following sections discuss morphological marking of noun class on nouns. In addition to the obligatory nominal prefix, nouns can take an augment; its form and possible functions are discussed in §4.1.2. Noun class is used to express number, with certain classes used for singular nouns, and others for their corresponding plural. The pairing of singular and plural noun classes is discussed in §4.1.3. Noun class membership is partially governed by semantic criteria, and these can be exploited to shift nominal roots to another noun class to derive a different meaning. The semantic basis of noun classes and the derivational processes that

Table 4.1: Nominal agreement

Noun class	Nominal prefix (NP)	Pronominal prefix (PP)
1	*mu-*	*u-/zyu-*
1a	*∅-/mu-*	*u-/zyu-*
2	*ba-*	*ba-*
3	*mu-*	*u-*
4	*mi-*	*i-*
5	*∅-/ri-*	*ri-*
6	*ma-*	*a-*
7	*ci-*	*ci-*
8	*zi-*	*zi-*
9	*N-/∅-*	*i-*
10	*N-/∅-*	*zi-*
11	*ru-*	*ru-*
12	*ka-*	*ka-*
13	*tu-*	*tu-*
14	*bu-*	*bu-*
15	*ku-*	*ku-*
16	*ha-*	*ha-*
17	*ku-*	*ku-*
18	*mu-*	*mu-*

are motivated by it are discussed in §4.1.4. The locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18 have a different syntax than the other noun classes, and are therefore treated separately in §4.1.5. Finally, in §4.1.6 some observations will be noted about noun class assignment of borrowed nouns.

4.1.1 Nominal prefixes

Nouns are marked for noun class with a nominal prefix, which directly precedes the nominal stem. Most nominal prefixes have a 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. 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 prefix, which is discussed in §4.1.2.

Table 4.2 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 4.2: Nominal prefixes

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

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 §5.3 on copulas). The latter is an especially convincing argument to treat class 1a as a separate noun class, but it should be noted that with the exception of the copula, 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 different ways. Nouns in class 9 often take the class 5 copulative prefix *ndi-* rather than the class 9 copulative prefix *nji-*, and class 9 nouns often do not take their plural in the expected plural class 10, but in class 6, which is the canonical plural class for class 5 nouns. This is discussed in more detail in §4.1.3 on singular and plural pairings.

As seen in Table 4.2, 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, given 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 4.1), suggests an underlying vowel /i/ is likely.

(1) rínò   ménò
     ri-inó   ma-inó
     NP$_5$-tooth   NP$_6$-tooth
     'tooth'   'teeth'

(2) rîshò   mêshò
     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 §2.5.2, 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 (3).

(3) a. class 1 mw-âncè 'child'
 b. class 3 mw-îndì 'leg of a pot'
 c. class 11 rw-âtà 'crack'
 d. class 14 bw-ékè 'grain'
 e. class 15 kw-àhà 'armpit'

Nominal prefixes with /u/ have a second allomorph used with vowel-initial stems with a back vowel /o/ or /u/. This allomorph is created by deleting the vowel /u/ of the nominal prefix without glide formation. Examples of these allomorphs are given in (4).

(4) a. class 1 m-ôfù 'blind person'
 b. class 3 m-ûzyà 'character'
 c. class 11 r-ózì 'rope'
 d. class 14 b-ôzyà 'feathers'

The nominal prefixes that have a vowel /i/ or /a/ are usually not changed when combined with a vowel-initial root, as in (5).

(5) a. class 4 mì-âkà 'years'
 b. class 6 mà-ànjà 'hands'
 c. class 7 cì-òngò 'storage'
 d. class 8 zì-òngò 'storages'
 e. class 12 kà-ìngà 'spot on the skin'

There are a few exceptions to this rule, which are lexically determined. With the two vowel-initial noun stems listed in (6), the vowel /i/ of the nominal prefix is deleted.

(6) a. class 7/8 c-ândà/ z-ândà 'pole(s)'
 b. class 7/8 c-ûngù/ z-ûngù '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, as in (7), where the vowel /i/ of the root is maintained in the singular, but merges with the vowel /a/ of the nominal prefix in the plural form.

(7)   a.   class 1 mw-ìkà 'slave'
      b.   class 2 /ba-ika/ > bèkà '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, segmented in the phonological transcription as N-, that combines with the initial consonant of the nominal root. Morphophonological changes that accompany this prefix have been discussed in §2.5.1. That the homorganic nasal functions as a nominal prefix can be seen from the loss of the nasal when a nominal root shifts from class 9/10 to another noun class which does not have a homorganic nasal as its nominal prefix, as in (8).

(8)   a.   class 9 m-pòhò 'bull'
      b.   class 6 mà-pòhò 'bulls'

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, as in (9), showing that in these nouns, the homorganic nasal has been reanalyzed as part of the nominal root. 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.

(9)   a.   class 9 m-pòndà 'spear'
           classs 6 mà-mpòndà 'spears'
      b.   class 9 n-kúnjù 'mortar'
           class 6 mà-nkúnjù 'mortars'
      c.   class 9 m-bútò 'seed'
           class 6 mà-mbútò 'seeds'

Some borrowed stems that are assigned to class 9 take the *N-* prefix, as in (10a). and (10b)., others take a zero prefix, as in (10c). and (10d). Note that in all cases, these nouns function as class 9 nouns, that is, they trigger class 9 agreement on their dependents.

(10)   a.   class 9 n-díshì 'dish'
       b.   class 9 n-kèrékè 'church' (from Afrikaans kerk)
       c.   class 9 ∅-ràyîsì 'rice'
       d.   class 9 ∅-fúrâyì 'airplane'

A number of class 9 nouns can also occur in class 5, as seen from the nominal prefix and agreement pattern, as illustrated in (11). The choice of noun class differs from speaker to speaker, and there appears to be no difference in interpretation.

(11) èyí njôkà ~ èrí zyôkà
      e-í   N-jóka   ~ e-rí   ∅-zyóka
      AUG-DEM.I9 NP9-snake   AUG-DEM.I5 NP5-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 a noun shifts to class 1a, the homorganic nasal prefix is reanalyzed as part of the nominal stem, as in (12). This initial nasal suggests that the noun originally belonged to class 9, and its use in class 1a is a recent innovation.

(12) a. class 9 è-n-gwè 'leopard'
      b. class 1a ò-ngwè 'leopard'

Variation between class 9 and 1a, such as in (12), is uncommon, and most class 1a nouns do not retain any trace of class 9 membership; they take agreement markers of class 1a, and a plural in class 2 rather than class 10, as illustrated with the noun *ò-njòvù* 'elephant' in (13); 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 *ò-njòvù* functions as a class 1a noun only, as shown by its class 1 agreement pattern.

(13) ònjòvù àryâ
      o-∅-njovu   a-ry$_H$-á
      AUG-NP1a-elephant SM1-eat-FV
      'The elephant eats.'

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 nouns partly functions as a prefix: while a shift to class 2 to express a plural does not involve loss of the nasal, a shift to class 12 to express a diminutive causes the homorganic nasal to be dropped. This is illustrated with the class 1a noun *nshókò* 'monkey', which occurs in class 1a, as seen in (14), and takes its plural in class 2, as seen in (15). In Namibian Fwe, shift to class 12 involves the loss of the nasal, as seen

in (16), but in Zambian Fwe, even in this case the nasal is maintained, as seen in (17).

(14) òzyú ˈnshókò
      o-zyú   Ø-nshokó
      AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_{1a}$-monkey
      'this monkey'

(15) bàshókò
      ba-shokó
      NP$_2$-monkey
      'monkeys'

(16) kàshókóànà
      ka-shokó-ana
      NP$_{12}$-monkey-DIM
      'baby monkey' (Namibian Fwe)

(17) kànshókóànà
      ka-nshokó-ana
      NP$_{12}$-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 §2.5.1). 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 /ʒ/, 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.

4.1.2 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). In this book, 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 use 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, such as in Luganda (Hyman & 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, such as Kagulu (Petzell 2003), and Namibian Totela (Crane 2019). This 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: in most cases there seems to be free variation between absence and presence of the augment.

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 displays vowel harmony with the vowel of the nominal prefix: *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; *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; and *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.

Nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and infinitive verbs (which behave like nominals) can all be used with or without the augment vowel, as illustrated in (18–21).

(18) òmùndárè ~ mùndárè
      (o-)mu-ndaré
      AUG-NP$_3$-maize
      'maize'

(19) mùndárè òmùgênè ~ mùndárè mùgênè
      mu-ndaré (o-)mu-géne
      NP$_3$-maize (AUG-)NP$_3$-thin
      'small maize'

(20) òwìná mùndárè ~ wìná mùndárè
      (o-)winá   mu-ndaré
      (AUG-)DEM.IV$_3$ NP$_3$-maize
      'this maize'

(21) 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, as in (22), or with nouns that are marked with a secondary nominal prefix, such as that of class 2 to mark a honorific, as in (23), or those of class 16, 17 or 18 to mark a location, as in (24).

(22) (*ò)Mwèzì
      'Mwezi' (girl's name)

(23) (*à)bàmùkéntù wángù
      ba-mu-kéntu   u-angú
      NP$_2$-NP$_1$-woman PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$
      'my wife'

(24) (*ò)kùrùwà
      ku-ru-wa
      NP$_{17}$-NP$_{11}$-field
      'at the field'

With these exceptions, there appears to be no conditioning on 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 illustrated with the noun *njìngà* 'bicycle' in (25).

(25) a. nìndákàùrá njìngà
      ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á   N-jinga
      PST-SM₁SG-PST-DIST-buy-FV NP₉-bicycle
      'I bought a bicycle.'

   b. nìndákàùr' énjìngà
      ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á   e-N-jinga
      PST-SM₁SG-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; disyllabic demonstrative stems strongly disprefer the use of the augment (see §4.3.2 on demonstratives).

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, by deleting the vowel of the augment, as in (26); by deleting the final vowel of the preceding word, as in (27); or by merging the two vowels as in (28–29) (see also 2.5.2 on vowel hiatus resolution).

(26) ndìkwèsí bámbwà
      ndi-kwesí   a-ba-mbwá
      SM₁SG-have AUG-NP₂-dog
      'I have dogs.'

(27) ndìshák' ènyàmà
      ndi-shak-á   e-N-nyama
      SM₁SG-want-FV AUG-NP₉-meat
      'I want meat.' (NF_Elic15)

(28) kànt' úꜝndávù
      kantí o-n-davú
      then AUG-NP₁ₐ-lion
      'Well, the lion...' (NF_Narr15)

(29) vùmw' énênè
      ∅-vumó   e-∅-néne
      NP₅-stomach AUG-NP₅-big
      'a big stomach' (ZF_Elic14)

The augment 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 §3.2.1). In (30), the floating high tone of the augment is realized on the preceding syllable, the final vowel suffix *-a* of the infinitive verb, which is underlyingly toneless.

(30) kùkànká èŋòmbè (cf. kùkànkà 'to slaughter')
      ku-kank-á   e-N-ŋombe
      ɪɴꜰ-slaughter-ꜰᴠ ᴀᴜɢ-ɴᴘ₉-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 to the vowel of the augment, when the preceding vowel is deleted. This is illustrated in (31), where the floating high tone of the augment *e-* attaches to the preceding syllable *nka*, but when *-a* merges with the vowel of the augment, the floating high tone returns to the vowel of the augment.

(31) kùkànk' éŋòmbè
      ku-kank-á   e-N-ŋombe
      ɪɴꜰ-slaughter-ꜰᴠ ᴀᴜɢ-ɴᴘ₉-cow
      'to slaughter a cow'

The vowel and the floating high tone of the augment can occur independently of each other. In (32), the augment's high tone is used, but its vowel is not. In (33), 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 (34).

(32) kùshàyìká ꜝzíryò
      ku-sháik-á   zi-ryó
      ɪɴꜰ-cook-ꜰᴠ ɴᴘ₈-food
      'to cook food' (NF_Elic15)

(33) kùkùmbìrà èzwáyì
      ku-kumbir-a   e-∅-zwái
      ɪɴꜰ-request-ꜰᴠ ᴀᴜɢ-ɴᴘ₅-salt
      'to ask for salt' (ZF_Narr13)

(34) 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 or nouns with a secondary, honorific class 2 prefix. 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, as in (35–36).

(35) a. ndìzyì: nyàmbè
ndi-zyi:ₕ   nyambe
SM₁SG-know Nyambe
'I know Nyambe.'
b. *ndìzyí: nyàmbè

(36) a. ndìsháká kùhòndèrà bámà
ndi-shak-á   ku-hond-er-a   ba-∅-má
SM₁SG-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-APPL-FV NP₂-NP₁ₐ-mother
'I want to cook for my mother.'
b. *ndìsháká kùhòndèrá ꜝbámà (NF_Elic15)

Like its vowel, the use of the augment's high tone is also optional, as shown with the noun *mà-shérêŋì* 'money'. This noun assigns a high tone to the preceding syllable in (37a), which may also be absent, as in (37b). No difference in meaning was observed between the two different realizations.

(37) a. ndìsháká òkùkòròtá màshérêŋì
ndi-shak-á   o-ku-korot-á   ma-sheréŋi
SM₁SG-want-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₆-money
'I want to borrow some money.'
b. ndìsháká òkùkòròtà màshérêŋì
ndi-shak-á   o-ku-korot-a   ma-sheréŋi
SM₁SG-want-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₆-money
'I want to borrow some money.' (NF_Elic17)

A question that requires further investigation is whether the augment is completely optional, or whether 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 2019). This does not appear to be the case in Fwe: on non-referential nouns, the augment may be present, as in (38), where the augment's high tone is discernable on the final vowel of the preceding infinitive verb, or absent, as in (39), where the final vowel of the preceding verb does not bear a high tone.

(38)   ndìsháká kùhònd' énkôkò
        ndi-shak-<u>á</u>   ku-hond-á   e-N-kóko
        SM$_{1SG}$-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-FV AUG-NP$_9$-porridge
        'I want to cook some porridge.'

(39)   ndìsháká kùhònd' ènkôkò
        ndi-shak-<u>á</u>   ku-hond-a   e-N-kóko
        SM$_{1SG}$-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-FV AUG-NP$_9$-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 augment correlates with focus (as in, for instance, Luganda, Hyman & 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 §13.6 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, as in (40), which is the answer to the question: 'What did you buy?', so the noun *njìngà* 'bicycle' in the answer is in focus.

(40)   a.   nìndákàùr' énjìngà
             ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á   e-N-jinga
             PST-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-DIST-buy-FV AUG-NP$_9$-bicycle
             'I bought a bicycle.'
        b.   nìndákàùrá njìngà
             ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á   N-jinga
             PST-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-DIST-buy-FV NP$_9$-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 independently of 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.

4.1.3 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 (41).

(41) | 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, as in (42).

(42)   a.   class 1 mù-ntù 'person'
          class 2 bà-ntù 'people'

     b.   class 1 mù-àmbì 'speaker'
          class 2 bà-àmbì 'speakers'

Exceptions, where the plural form is in class 6 rather than class 2, are names for ethnic groups, as in (43), and borrowings from Lozi, as in (44).

(43)   class 1 mù-búrù 'Afrikaner'
         class 6 mà-búrù 'Afrikaners'

(44)   class 1 mù-rútì 'teacher'
         class 6 mà-rútì 'teachers'

As discussed in §4.1.1, class 1a nouns often follow the behavior of class 1 nouns. They also take the corresponding plural of class 1 nouns, which is class 2, as in (45–46).

(45)   class 1a ∅-nzìkè 'single person'
         class 2 bà-nzìkè 'single people'

(46)   class 1a ∅-nyâtì 'buffalo'
         class 2 bà-nyâtì 'buffaloes'

Nouns that have their singular in class 3 have their plural in class 4, as in (47–48).

(47)   class 3 mù-bìrì 'body'
         class 4 mì-bìrì 'bodies'

(48)   class 3 mw-îngà 'thorn'
         class 4 mì-îngà '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 (49–50).

(49)   class 3 mù-rèzù 'chin'
         class 4 mì-rèzù 'beard' (* 'chins')

(50)   class 3 mù-ròmò 'mouth'
         class 4 mì-ròmò 'lips' (* 'mouths')

Nouns that have their singular in class 5 have their plural in class 6, as in (51), and nouns that have their singular in class 7 have their plural in class 8, as in (52).

(51)   a. class 5 ∅-sèsì 'bullfrog'
           class 6 mà-sèsì 'bullfrogs'

       b. class 5 ∅-nôkà 'hip'
           class 6 mà-nôkà 'hips'

(52)   a. class 7 cì-bâtà 'scar'
           class 8 zì-bâtà 'scars'

       b. class 7 cì-fwìnsò 'stopper'
           class 8 zì-fwìnsò 'stoppers'

Nouns that have their singular in class 9 have their plural in class 10, as in (53–55), or in class 6, as in (56–58).

(53)   class 9 m-búfù 'bream'
       class 10 m-búfù 'breams'

(54)   class 9 m-pâmpà 'forked stick'
       class 10 m-pâmpà 'forked sticks'

(55)   class 9 n-cùpà 'whip'
       class 10 n-cùpà 'whips'

(56)   class 9 n-jûò 'house'
       class 6 mà-zyûò 'houses'

(57)   class 9 n-gômà 'drum'
       class 6 mà-ômà 'drums'

(58)   class 9 n-káˈmbámò 'slope'
       class 6 mà-nkáˈmbámò 'slopes'

Nouns that have their singular in class 11 have their corresponding plural in class 10, as in (59–60), or in class 6, as in (61–62). Class 11 is also used as a singulative; examples are given in §4.1.4.

(59)   class 11 rù-kânì 'jaw'
       class 10 n-kânì 'jaws'

(60)   class 11 rù-shôshò 'shinbone'
       class 10 n-shôshò 'shinbones'

(61)   class 11 rù-nâkà 'horn'
       class 6 mà-nâkà 'horns'

(62)   class 11 rù-tângò 'story, proverb'
       class 6 mà-tângò 'stories, proverbs'

Nouns that have their singular in class 12 have their plural in class 13, as in (63–64).

(63)   class 12 kà-cíyóˈcíyò 'chick'
       class 13 tù-cíyóˈcíyò 'chicks'

(64)   class 12 kà-nyàndì 'fishing net'
       class 13 tù-nyàndì '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, as in (65–66).

(65)   class 14 bú-tà 'bow'
       class 6 má-tà 'bows'

(66)   class 14 bù-kwízyù 'fig tree'
       class 6 mà-kwízyù 'fig trees'

Only four nouns are attested that have their singular in class 15, listed in (67). These have their plural in class 6. Other class 15 nouns are infinitives, which do not have a plural form.

(67)   class 15 kú-twì 'ear'   class 6 má-twì 'ears'
       class 15 kw-àhà 'armpit'   class 6 m-àhà 'armpits'
       class 15 kù-ùrù 'leg'   class 6 mà-ùrù 'legs'
       class 15 kù-bôkò 'arm'   class 6 mà-bôkò 'arms'

Some nouns occur only in a singular class, and have no corresponding plural. These are found in most singular classes, except class 1, which is restricted to human referents. Many refer to abstract concepts, uncountable objects or mass nouns, i.e. objects where counting is irrelevant or impossible, as in (68).

(68)   class 1a shómbò 'cassava leaves'
       class 1a mvûrà 'rain'
       class 3 mù-mè 'dew'
       class 3 mù-rízìngè 'ivy'
       class 5 dùdùsâ 'dust'

class 5 hûzyà 'breath'
class 7 cì-fwè 'Fwe (language)'
class 7 cì-nyùngèrà 'type of dish'
class 9 m-bùndù 'mist'
class 9 nyôtà 'thirst'
class 11 rû-hò 'wind'
class 11 rù-nèmbwè 'cannabis'
class 12 kà-mwî 'heat; mid-day'
class 12 ká-nsìkwè 'darkness'

Fwe has also a number of nouns that occur only in a plural noun class, without a corresponding singular form, as in (69). These are found in class 6, 8, and 10, and include mass nouns and certain abstract concepts.

(69)   class 6 m-ênjì 'water'
      class 6 mà-shêshwà 'marriage'
      class 6 mà-síkù 'night'
      class 8 zí-ryò 'food'
      class 8 zì-zyàmbìrò 'gathered foods'
      class 10 n-shúkì 'hair'
      class 10 n-kûnì 'firewood'
      class 10 n-têtè 'berries sp.'

4.1.4 The semantics of noun classes

Some noun classes have a clear semantic core, others 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 (70).

(70)   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   miscellaneous
      6   plural of class 5; mass nouns, liquids; deverbal nouns; miscellaneous
      7   miscellaneous
      8   plural of class 7
      9   miscellaneous
      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 shift from their inherent noun class to a different noun class, involving a change in semantics. These derivational functions will also be illustrated in this section.

Class 1 is exclusively used for nouns referring to humans, as in (71).

(71) mù-ntù 'person'
     mù-sâ 'thief'
     mù-râmù 'brother-in-law'
     mù-shêrè 'friend'
     mù-sûmbà '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. Examples are given in (72).

(72) a. Humans
        kàpàsò 'policeman'
        màrìânjò 'virgin'
        ŋàngà 'doctor'
        mfûzì 'blacksmith'

    b. Names
        nyàmbè 'Nyambe (boy's name)'
        nèzyûbà 'Nezyuba (girl's name)'

    c. Animals
        mvwì 'kudu'
        ŋárò 'chameleon'
        ngwènà 'crocodile'
        nkângà 'guinea fowl'

    d. Plants
        (kà)ngùrù 'sweet potato'
        mbwîtì 'horned melon'
        shómbò 'cassava leaves'
        ndôngò 'groundnuts'

    e. Inanimates
        mvûrà 'rain'
        (m)pótò 'pot'

Class 1a nouns referring to humans are mainly restricted to borrowings, e.g. the English or Afrikaans borrowing *dòkótà* 'doctor', and the Lozi borrowing *kàpà-sò* 'policeman'. Other human nouns in class 1a are kinship terms, e.g. *mâmà* 'grandmother', *mâyè* 'mother', *bbâbbà* 'grandfather'.

The majority of nouns in class 1a are words for animals, although animal names are also found in other classes. There seems to be no semantic coherence as to which animal names are found in class 1a.

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 §4.2.2.

Class 2 is used to form the plural of nouns in class 1 or 1a, but the class 2 nominal prefix can also be added to refer to a single person in a respectful way. In this case the class 2 nominal prefix is used a secondary prefix; it precedes, rather than replaces, the original nominal prefix. The resulting noun takes the class 2 agreement pattern, as in (73), where the noun *bàmùrútí*, derived with the class 2 prefix, triggers the use of a pronominal prefix of class 2.

(73)   bàmùrútí bóꜜngánà
      ba-mu-rutí   ba-ó=nganá
      NP$_2$-NP$_1$-teacher PP$_2$-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 noun's original prefix, but who keep the agreement pattern of the original noun class (see §4.1.5). Even more complicated agreement patterns are seen with the nouns *mùkêntù* 'wife' and *múꜜkwámè* '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, as in (74). All other modifiers, however, do take class 2 agreement, as is the case with the

demonstrative in (75), and the subject and object marker referring to *bàmùkéntù wángù* 'my wife', as in (76).

(74) bàmùkéntù wángù
ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS₁SG
'my wife'

(75) àbá bàmúꜜkwámè wénù
a-bá ba-mú-kwamé u-enú
AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-NP₁-husband PP₁-POSS₂PL
'this husband of yours' (NF_Narr15)

(76) háìbà bàmùkéntù wángù bàkwèsì nyàzì mbòndíbàkâ:nè
háiba ba-mu-kéntu u-angú ba-kwesi N-nyazi
when NP₂-NP₁-wife PP₁-POSS₁SG SM₂-have NP₉-lover
mbo-ndí-ba_H-ká:_Hn-e
NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-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 teachers, policemen, chiefs and other figures of authority. The honorific prefix can also be used with personal names, as in (77–78).

(77) bá-nyàmbè
'Mr. Nyambe'

(78) bà-klàwùdìà
'Mrs. Claudia'

When no noun is used, class 2 agreement can be used to refer to a single person in a respectful way, such as the use of the class 2 subject marker in (79), or the class 2 object marker in (80).

(79) bàzyíbéhèrè
ba-zyi_Hb-éhere
SM₂-know-NEUT.STAT
'S/he is well-known.'

(80) mùbàhé cìpùrà bàkáréhò
mu-ba$_H$-ha$_H$-<u>é</u>   ci-pura   ba-ka$_H$r-e=h<u>ó</u>
SM$_{2PL}$-OM$_2$-give-PFV.SBJV NP$_7$-chair SM$_2$-sit-PFV.SBJV=LOC$_{16}$
'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 7.1-7.2, and for personal pronouns in §5.1.

As seen in (81), 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 which do not occur in pairs; tools, used in cooking, hunting, medical procedures, or for general chores. Many other nouns in class 3 do not fall into either of these categories.

(81)   a.   Trees
            mù-swîtì 'magic guarri (*Euclea divinorum*)'
            mù-táfùnànjòvù 'acacia'
            mù-kûsì 'Zambezi teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*)'

       b.   Plants
            mù-nshàrè 'sugar cane'
            mù-shwátì 'sugar cane'
            mù-tébè 'reed (*Typha capensis*)'

       c.   Natural
            mw-êzì 'moon, month'
            phenomena mù-fwè 'stone'
            mù-nùnkò '(bad) smell'
            mú-ꜝnzúrè 'shadow; malaria'
            m-òyà 'wind'

       d.   Unpaired body parts
            mù-cîrà 'tail'
            m-òzyò 'heart'
            mù-rívù 'windpipe'
            mù-shânà 'back'

       e.   Tools
            mù-shûwì 'horn for sucking blood from a wound'
            mù-sókwânì 'stirring stick'
            mù-nséfà 'sieve'
            mw-ìnshì 'pestle'
            mù-wàyò 'arrow'

f. Miscellaneous
mù-zîò 'load'
mù-zwákêrà 'poison'
mù-sûngà 'belt
mù-sébézì '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 facilitated by the zero nominal prefix of this class. An overview is given in (82).

(82) a. Paired body parts
háfù 'lung'
nshwê 'breast'
rákàtà 'gill'
r-îshò 'eye'

b. Other paired items
nyàtérà 'sandal'
nyìnyánì 'earring'
sìkíò 'earring'
kàmbà 'river bank'

c. Mass nouns
shékèshêkè 'sand'
tàpà 'mud'
tú'kútà 'dirt'
é-twè 'ash'
sûtù 'chaff'

d. Loanwords
fônì 'phone'
jókwè 'yoke'
sákà 'bag'; from Afrikaans *sak* 'bag'
hèmêrè 'bucket'; from Afrikaans *emmer* 'bucket'
ᵍǀúmù 'edible reed'; from Ju *gǂkòʼm* 'milky sap' (Gunnink et al. 2015: 227)

As discussed in §4.1.3, 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. These semantic categories are illustrated in (83).

(83)   a.   Non-count nouns
          mà-hìrà 'sorghum'
          mà-shérêŋì 'money'
          mà-bérè 'millet'

       b.   Liquids
          mà-bísì 'sour milk'
          mà-ròhà 'blood'
          m-ênjì 'water'

       c.   Paired items
          mà-gìrázì '(eye-)glasses'
          mà-shángànjìrà 'crossroads'
          mà-zyòvù 'twins'

       d.   Abstract concepts
          mà-ntà 'power'
          mà-rwêzyà 'taboo'

       e.   Deverbal nouns
          mà-hóndêrò 'kitchen'; cf. hònd-à 'cook'
          mà-kwátìrò 'handle' cf. kwât-à 'grab'
          mà-rârò 'room' cf. râːr-à 'sleep'

Nouns in class 7 mostly refer to inanimate objects, including those derived from verbs, or to the names of languages, as in (84).

(84)   a.   Miscellaneous
          cì-zùmà 'basket with lid'
          inanimate cì-byà 'household item'
          cì-mátè 'wall'

       b.   Deverbal nouns
          cì-fwìnsò 'stopper, seal', cf. fwìns-à 'seal'
          cí-fò 'poison used in hunting', cf. fw-à 'die'
          cí-àzò 'door' cf. àr-à 'close'
          cì-bónàntù 'something visible', cf. bôn-à 'see'
          cì-téndântù 'action' cf. tènd-à 'do'

       c.   Language names
          cì-fwè 'Fwe'
          cì-búrù 'Afrikaans'
          cì-kúwà 'English'
          cì-rwîzyì 'Lozi'

Some nouns in class 7 have a derogatory meaning, or express something that is useless, bad, or broken. This derogatory meaning may be seen in underived nouns, as illustrated in (85); class 7 contains the names of diseases, of disfunctional 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.

(85)   Class 7 nouns with a derogatory meaning

    a.   Diseases
       cì-kâzì   'women's disease'
       cì-shá'mátwà   'kind of illness (involving nausea)'
       cì-sóngò   'kind of illness'
       cì-rwârù   'disease (generic)'

    b.   Disfunctional/ undesirable body parts
       cì-tùkùtùkù   'sweat'
       cì-bâtà   'scar'
       cì-^{n}|ûshù   'sore'
       cì-rábì   'wound'

    c.   Useless or harmful animals
       cì-mbòtwè   'frog'
       cì-sînzì   'termite'
       cì-shûmì   'biting insect'
       cî:-rì   'puff-adder'
       cì-bàtànà   'predator, wild animal'

    d.   Humans with physical disabilities or low social status
       cì-nkómbwà   'slave'
       cì-púrùpúrù   'deaf and dumb person'
       cì-dàkwà   'heavy drinker, alcoholic'
       cì-kébéngà   'criminal'
       cì-hórè   'disabled person'
       cí-yàzì   'traitor'

A derogatory meaning can also be derived by shifting a noun to class 7, such as *mbwà* 'dog', inherently in class 1a, which 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, as illustrated in (86–87), an excerpt from a story. The speaker relays how he cuts off his own eye that has been wounded. In (86), the word for 'eye', *rínshò*, is used in its inherent class 5, because it is still attached to his body; once cut off, he refers to the eye with agreement concords of class 7

in (87). This is in line with the tendency for class 7 to contain disfunctional body parts.

(86) àhà ndíkè:zyà kùtêyè èrí rînshò ndìzèràzérà ndìrìkóshórèkò búryò
a-ha ndí-ke:zy-a kutéye e-rí ri-ínsho
AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-come-FV that AUG-DEM.I$_5$ NP$_5$-eye
ndi-zera-zer-á ndi-ri$_H$-ko$_H$shór-e=ko bu-ryó
SM$_{1SG}$-PL2-dangle-FV SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_5$-cut-PFV.SBJV=LOC$_{17}$ NP$_{14}$-just
'Then, when I saw that the eye was dangling, let me just cut it.'

(87) àhà ndákùcíkòshòrà
a-ha ndí-aku-cí-koshor-a
AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-NPST.IPFV-OM$_7$-cut-FV
'When I had cut it...' (ZF_Narr14)

As seen in (88), 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.

(88) Semantics of class 9/10 nouns

a. Manufactured objects
ŋòmézò 'button'
zândò 'fishing trap (made out of reed)'
n-gômà 'drum (musical instrument)'
n-kwánà 'pot for beer or water'

b. Mental and physical sensations
fúfà 'jealousy'
nyôtà 'thirst'
m-péhò 'cold; malaria'
n-zózì[1] 'dreaming'
n-sépò 'hope'
ŋônzì 'sleep, drowsiness'

c. Abstract concepts
n-tùkèrò 'responsibility, right'
n-gàzyàrò 'plan'
n-kàwùhânò 'divorce'
n-gùrìsò 'profit'

d. Useful animals
    n-gù   'sheep'
    ŋòmbè   'cow'
    m-pênè   'goat'
    m-bòmà   'python'[2]
    n-swì   'fish'
    m-púkà   'bee'

Class 11 contains many nouns referring to elongated objects, including grass and reed species, as in (89).

(89)   Semantics of class 11 nouns

a. Reed species
    rù-tàkà   'reed'
    rú-ⁿǀáⁿǀà   'sedge-leaf (*Kylinga alba*)'
    rù-ǀómà   'papyrus'
    rù-kwê   'reed (*Schoenoplectus corymbosus*)'

b. Grass species
    rù-gwáràrà   'grass (*Juncus krausii*)'
    rù-sîwù   'grass (*Cyperus fulgens*)'
    rù-fíyêrò   'grass (*Stipagrostis uniplumis*)'

c. Other elongated objects
    rù-kwákwà   'fence'
    rw-îzyì   'river'
    rù-hátì   'rib'
    rù-shòshò   'tibia'
    rù-òngòrà   'backbone'

Class 11 is also used as to derive a singulative; a noun stem can be shifted to class 11 to express a singular entity of something that usually does not occur by itself, as in (90).

(90)   a. class 3 mù-tàkà 'reeds'
           class 11 rù-tàkà 'a single reed'

       b. class 1a ndôngò 'groundnuts'
           class 11 rù-ndôngò 'a single groundnut'

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[1]Fwe distinguishes *nzózì*, the process of dreaming, from *cì-rô:tò,* the content of the dream.

[2]As I was told by my informants, the python is the only snake that is eaten.

c. class 10 m-bàrè 'seeds, pips'
    class 11 rù-bàrè 'a single seed, pip'

d. class 14 bw-ékè 'grains'
    class 11 rw-ékè '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 or young animals, and also a number of utensils and tools used in food preparation. These are illustrated in (91).

(91)   Semantics of class 12 nouns

a. Small items
    kà-shòtò   'fish hook'
    ká-nshèrèrè   'small mushroom sp.'
    kà-nyùndwè   'pebble'
    kà-shùtò   'fishing hook'

b. Small animals
    kà-nàmánì   'calf'
    kà-cíyó'cíyò   'chick'
    kà-bérèbèrè   'centipede'
    kà-mbàryàmbàryà   'lizard sp.'

c. Small body parts
    kà-téntèrè   'xiphoid bone'
    ká-'nénsà   'pink, little toe'
    kà-sîyè   'forehead wrinkle'

d. Utensils
    kà-tûò   'spoon'
    kà-sûbà   'dish'
    kà-róngò   'pot'
    kà-nkúnè   'smoking shelf' (for smoking foods, such as fish)
    kà-fùrò   'knife'
    kà-ìngà   'bowl'

Class 12/13 is productively used to derive a diminutive from nouns that occur in other classes, as illustrated in (92).

(92)   a. class 1 mw-âncè 'child'
           class 12 k-âncè 'small child'

    b. class 5 hànjà 'hand'
        class 12 kà-hànjà 'small hand

    c. class 7 cì-púrà 'chair'
        class 12 kà-púrà 'stool'

    d. class 9 n-jûò 'house'
        class 12 kà-jûò 'small house'

Nouns in this class may also be combined with the diminutive suffix *-ána* (see §4.2.2).

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. Examples are given in (93).

(93)   Semantics of class 14 nouns

    a. Abstract concepts

bú-sò	'front'
bù-hârò	'life'
bù-zûnzù	'loneliness'
bù-sîrù	'stupidity'
bù-shèbè	'gossip'

    b. Mass nouns

bûː-cì	'honey'
bw-ékè	'grains'
bù-sùnsò	'relish'

    c. Trees

bù-kwízyù	'fig tree'
bù-hómà	'mongongo tree (*Schinziophyton rautanenii*)'
bù-zyíyì	'tree (*Berchemia discolor*)'

Class 14 is also used to derive abstract nouns from other nouns or from adjectives, as in (94).

(94) a. class 1 mù-ntù 'person'
        class 14 bù-ntù 'humanity'

    b. class 1 mù-ròzì 'witch'
        class 14 bù-ròzì 'witchcraft'

    c. class 1 mù-kúwà 'white person'
        class 14 bù-kúwà 'town; any area dominated by white people'

d. adjective kûrù 'old'
   class 14 bù-kûrù 'old age'

e. adjective rê: 'long'
   class 14 bù-rê: 'length'

Aside from infinitives, class 15 contains only four nouns, all referring to parts of the body (see (67)) in §4.1.3). Some of these are being reassigned to class 5, e.g. *kú-twì* 'ear' and *kù-bôkò* 'arm' 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 function as a subject, for instance, triggering class 15 subject agreement on the verb, as in (95).

(95) òkùhísà kwàndìkwángìsì
     o-ku-ís-a   ku-a-ndi-kwáng-is-i
     AUG-INF-burn-FV SM15-PST-OM1SG-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 derivationally; their semantics are discussed in §4.1.5.

4.1.5 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 the root *ntu* can take a locative prefix as its only nominal prefix, occuring as class 16 *ha-ntu*, class 17 *ku-ntu*, and class 18 *mu-ntu*. This same nominal root also occurs 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'. To express a locative meaning with other nouns, the locative prefix is added before the noun's own nominal prefix as a secondary prefix, as in (96–98).

(96) hàmùkwàkwà
     ha-mu-kwakwa
     NP16-NP3-road
     'on the road'

(97) kùrùwà
     ku-ru-wa
     NP17-NP11-field
     'at the field'

(98) mùmùnzì
      mu-mu-nzi
      NP$_{18}$-NP$_3$-village
      'in the village'

The nouns *ha-ntu / ku-ntu /mu-ntu* take the agreement pattern of the locative classes, as illustrated for the class 16 noun *hàntù* 'place', in (99). Nouns that are marked with a secondary locative prefix, however, keep the agreement pattern of their original noun class, as illustrated with derived class 16 noun *hàmùtwí* 'on the head' in (100), which triggers class 3 agreement on the following possessive pronoun.

(99) hàntù hònkê:
      ha-ntu   ha-o=nké:
      NP$_{16}$-place PP$_{16}$-CON=one
      'one place, the same place'

(100) hàmùtwí ꜜwángù
       ha-mu-twí   u-angú
       NP$_{16}$-NP$_3$-head PP$_3$-POSS$_{1SG}$
       'on my head'

When a noun has a prenominal modifier, the locative prefix is prefixed to this modifier, rather than to the noun itself, as illustrated in (101) with the possessive, which is pre-nominal when used contrastively (see §4.3.5 on possessives), and in (102) with the demonstrative, whose canonical position is before the noun it modifies (see §4.3.2 on demonstratives).

(101) mùwètú mùshòbò
       mu-u-etú   mu-shobo
       NP$_{18}$-PP$_3$-POSS$_{1PL}$ NP$_3$-language
       'in our language'

(102) mòwíná mùnzì
       mu-o-winá   mu-nzi
       NP$_{18}$-DEM.IV$_3$ NP$_3$-village
       'in that village'

Locative prefixes are usually attached to augmentless forms, with two exceptions. Firstly, demonstratives retain their augment when marked with a locative prefix, as in (103–104).

(103)   hèrìn' éshâshà

     ha-e-riná   e-∅-shásha

     NP16-AUG-DEM.IV5 AUG-NP5-mat

     'on that mat' (NF_Elic17)

(104)   rìyá kwábà bàkázànà básìshèshìwâ

     ri-y-á   kú-a-ba   ba-kázana bá-si$_H$-she$_H$sh-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)

Secondly, in Namibian Fwe, nouns that take an augment *e-*, and that lack a syllabic noun class prefix, e.g. those of class 5, 9 or 10, may retain the augment when combined with a locative prefix. The regular rules of vowel hiatus resolution apply (see §2.5.2), resulting in the forms *ha- e-* > *he-* for class 16, as in (105) *ku- e-* > *kwi-* for class 17, as in (106), and *mu- e-* > *mwi-* for class 18, as in (107).

(105)   ndìrá:rà héshâshà

     ndi-rá:$_H$r-a   há-e-∅-shásha

     SM1SG-sleep-FV NP16-AUG-NP5-mat

     'I sleep on a mat.' (NF_Elic15)

(106)   mbòndíshùmìn' ómùhàrà kwítêndè

     mbo-ndí-shu$_H$min-é   o-mu-hara   kú-e-∅-ténde

     NEAR.FUT-SM1SG-tie-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP3-rope NP17-AUG-NP5-foot

     'I will tie the rope to my foot.' (NF_Narr15)

(107)   kùshàmbà mwízìbà

     ku-shamb-a   mú-e-∅-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 §4.1.2), 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, as in (108), and *mwa-* for class 18, as in (109). The locative prefix of class 16 *ha-* remains unchanged when used with names, as in (110). Class 1a nouns other than names take the regular forms *ha-, ku-* and *mu-*, as shown for class 18 *mu-* in (111).

(108) hàmàkângà
       ha-makánga
       NP16-Makanga
       'at Makanga'

(109) kwàmòngù
       kwa-mongu
       NP17-Mongu
       'in Mongu'

(110) mwànàmìbìà
       mwa-namibia
       NP18-Namibia
       'in Namibia'

(111) mùpótò
       mu-∅-potó
       NP18-NP1a-pot
       'in the pot'

The three locative noun classes each have their own semantics. Class 16 is used to mark a location on something, as in (112–114), or a more general location at or near something, as in (115–116).

(112) kúkàrà hácìpúrà
       kú-kar-a   há-ci-purá
       INF-sit-FV NP16-NP7-chair
       'to sit on a chair'

(113) àrâːrà hámùmbétà
       a-rá̠ːHr-a   há-mu-mbetá
       SM1-sleep-FV NP16-NP3-bed
       'S/he sleeps on the bed.' (NF_Elic15)

(114) àkéːzyà kùzyímànà hékàmbà
       a-ké̠ːzy-a   ku-zyíman-a há-e-∅-kamba
       SM1-come-FV INF-stand-FV NP16-AUG-NP5-bank
       'He comes to stand on the river bank.' (NF_Narr15)

(115) tùzânà hámùkítì
       tu-zán-a   há-mu-kití
       SM1PL-dance-FV NP16-NP3-party
       'We dance at the party.'

(116) àzyíménè hácìzyì
       a-zyiHméne   há-ci-zyi
       SM1-stand.STAT NP16-NP7-door
       'S/he stands at the door.' (NF_Elic15)

When combined with the verb *zw* 'come out', the class 16 locative can be used to indicate a motion away from an original point, as in (117).

(117) 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 (118–119), or a direction, as in (120).

(118) àbâncè kùcìkóró kábàkénà shûnù
       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)

(119) ndàmùsíyì kù kùnjìrà
       ndi-a-mu-sí-i   ku   ku-N-jira
       SM1SG-PST-OM1-leave-NPST.PFV DEM.I17 NP17-NP9-path
       'I've left him there, on the path.' (ZF_Narr13)

(120) ndìyá ꜛkúmùnzì
       ndi-y-á   kú-mu-nzi
       SM1SG-go-FV NP17-NP3-village
       'I go home.' (NF_Elic15)

The class 18 locative is used to express a location inside something, as in (121–122). With verbs of motion, the class 18 locative expresses a movement into, or out of, a location inside an object, as in (123–124).

(121) ndìkèrè múnjûò
ndi-ke_Hre   mú-N-júo
SM1SG-sit.STAT NP18-NP9-house
'I'm sitting in the house.' (NF_Elic17)

(122) ècìkúnì càkùrí kùdánsì mùnjîrà
e-ci-kúni   ci-aku-rí   ku-dá̱ns-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.'

(123) àshòtòkérá mùmênjì
a-sho_Htok-er-á̱   mu-ma-ínji
SM1-jump-APPL-FV NP18-NP6-water
'S/he jumps into the water.'

(124) òzwé mùkàmwî
o-zw-é̱   mu-ka-mwí
SM2SG-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, as in (125–126). The temporal use of class 16 is also seen in the demonstrative of class 16 (see §4.3.2 on demonstratives).

(125) hàrùmwî
ha-ru-mwí
NP16-NP11-summer
'in summer'

(126) mùnàkò yómvûrà
mu-N-nako   i-ó=∅-mvúra
NP18-NP9-time PP9-CON=NP1a-rain
'in the rainy season'

The class 17 locative can be used to express a partitive, as in (127). It can also be used to mark a polite request, as in (128); 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 §7.4 on locative clitics).

(127) bàtòmá ꜝkwínyàmà
       ba-tom-á   kú-e-N-nyama
       SM₂-share-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-meat
       'S/he shares from the meat.'

(128) ndìó:r' òkùkárìmà kwífòní ꜝyénù
       ndi-ó:r-a   o-ku-kárim-a   kú-e-∅-foní   i-enú
       SM₁SG-can-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-phone PP₉-POSS₂PL
       '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. This is the case, for instance, for verbs with the passive derivation, as in (129), or nouns, as in (130). The class 17 prefix *ku-* may also be used to express less canonical agents, as in (131), or even peripheral arguments functioning as a reason or circumstance, rather than an agent, as in (132). The agentive use of the class 17 prefix is also seen in various other Bantu languages (Fleisch 2005).

(129) nàshúmìwà **kúmbwà**
       na-shúm-iw-a   kú-∅-mbwá
       SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP₁ₐ-dog
       'He was bitten **by a dog**.' (NF_Elic17)

(130) ndóꜝrúfù rùbànyámùzàmbàràrà **kúnjòvù**
       ndó-ru-fú   ru-ba-nyá-muzambarara
       COP.DEF₁₁-NP₁₁-death PP₁₁-NP₂-mother-Muzambarara
       kú-∅-njovu
       NP₁₇-NP₁ₐ-elephant
       'That is the death of Mrs. Muzambarara **by the elephant**.' (ZF_Narr15)

(131) ècìzyábáró ꜝcángù càbúrûkì **kúꜝrú:hò**
       e-ci-zyabaró ci-angú   ci-a-bur-úk-i
       AUG-NP₇-shirt PP₇-POSS₁SG SM₇-PST-blow-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
       kú-rú:-ho
       NP₁₇-NP₁₁-wind
       'My shirt was blown away **by the wind**.' (NF_Elic15)

(132) èzìzwátò zìnàbómbì **kúmvûrà**
       e-zi-zwáto   zi-na-bómb-i   kú-∅-mvúra
       AUG-NP₈-cloth SM₈-PST-become_wet-NPST.PFV NP₁₇-NP₁ₐ-rain
       'The clothes have become wet **because of the rain**.' (NF_Elic15)

4.1.6 Noun class assignment of loanwords

Because every noun in Fwe belongs to 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 to 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 has borrowed extensively from Lozi, and a small number of words can be identified as borrowings from Mbukushu and Yeyi. Loanwords from other Bantu languages, such as Totela, Subiya and Shanjo, are likely to exist but difficult to identify. This is due to the limited lexical documentation of these languages, but also their close genealogical relationship to Fwe, which makes such borrowings difficult to distinguish from native Fwe words.

As can be seen from Table 4.3, Lozi borrowings are usually incorporated into the same noun class in Fwe as in Lozi. For most classes, this may simply be the result of the similar forms of nominal prefixes, for instance, for class 1 and 3, where the prefix is *mu-* in both Fwe and Lozi, or class 7, where the prefix is *ci-* in Fwe and *si-* in Lozi. 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.

Fwe has also borrowed words from various Khoisan languages, notably the Khoe language (West-Caprivi) Khwe, and the Kx'a language Ju (Gunnink et al. 2015). 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 play a role in noun class assignment. Instead, many Khoisan borrowings in Fwe are 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-ⁿ/ùryà* 'type of lizard', which is 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

Table 4.3: Lozi loanwords in Fwe

	Fwe			Lozi		
1	*mù-rútì*	'teacher'	1	*mu-luti*	'teacher'
3	*mù-ràhò*	'law'	3	*mu-lao*	'law'
3	*mù-râkà*	'kraal'	3	*mu-laka*	'kraal'
5	*rápà*	'courtyard'	5	*li-lapa*	'courtyard'
5	*zúpà*	'wet clay'	5	*li-zupa*	'clay'
5	*kòndè*	'banana'	5	*li-konde*	'banana'
7	*cì-pátù*	'duck'	7	*si-pato*	'duck'
7	*cì-rìmò*	'season, year'	7	*si-limo*	'year'
9	*nyàzì*	'lover'	9	*nyazi*	'concubine'

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 discussed in Gunnink et al. (2015). Not all Khoisan borrowings are 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 4.4.

Fwe has also borrowed from English and Afrikaans, as listed in Table 4.5. These borrowings are usually assigned to class 5 or 9, both noun classes with minimal morphological marking.

The only example of a borrowed noun assigned to class 1a is the English borrowing *pótò* 'pot', which functions as a class 1a noun in Zambian Fwe, as in (133), but as a class 9 noun in Namibian Fwe, as in (134), as seen by their respective agreement patterns.

(133) òzyú ˈpótò
o-zyú   ∅-potó
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_{1a}$-pot
'this pot' (Zambian Fwe)

(134) èyí ˈmpótò
e-í   N-potó
AUG-DEM.I$_9$ NP$_9$-pot
'this pot' (Namibian Fwe)

Table 4.4: Possible Khwe and Ju (!Xung/!Xun/!Xuun/Ju|ʼhoan) loan-words in Fwe

noun class	Fwe word	translation	putative source word
3	*mù-gwégwèsì*	'ankle bone'	*gwé:* 'ankle' (Neitsas/Nurugas !Xung, Doke 1925)
			ǂʼhòèǂʼhòrè 'ankle bone' (Ju|ʼhoan, Snyman 1975: 107)
5	*shèngà*	'liver'	*cŋ́* 'liver' (Northwestern !Xun, König & Heine 2008: 18)
			tchín (ka) 'liver' (Ju|ʼhoan, Dickens 1994: 108)
			ʃŋ 'liver' (Central !Xuun, Doke 1925)
11	*rù-kânì*	'jaw'	*g‖àŋ* 'chin' (Northwestern !Xun, König & Heine 2008: 34)
			g!aihn 'chin' (Ju|ʼhoan, Dickens 1994: 54)
			gyànìí 'chin' (Khwe, Kilian-Hatz 2003: 51)

Table 4.5: English and Afrikaans loanwords in Fwe

noun class	Fwe word	translation	putative source word
5	*bòtêrà*	'bottle'	English *bottle*
5	*bùkà*	'book'	English *book*
5	*fônì*	'phone'	English *phone*
9	*n-kèrékè*	'church'	Afrikaans *kerk*
9	*bbórà*	'ball'	English *ball*
9	*n-díshì*	'dish'	English *dish*
9	*n-súndà*	'week'	Afrikaans *sondag* 'Sunday'

English or Afrikaans words are not necessarily direct borrowings in Fwe, but can also be borrowed via Lozi, as direct contact between Fwe and both English and Afrikaans is more limited than that between Fwe and 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.

4.2 Word formation

Fwe has a number of strategies to create new nouns from existing nominal or verbal stems. Verb-to-noun derivation makes use of various suffixes, as discussed in §4.2.1. Noun-to-noun derivation, discussed in §4.2.2, 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 §4.1.4 on the semantics of noun classes. Nominal compounding and reduplication are also used as strategies for word formation, though both processes are unproductive.

4.2.1 Verb-to-noun derivation

Nouns can be derived from verbs by the addition of the suffixes *-i, -o, -u, -e*, or *-a*, which are common Bantu suffixes (Schadeberg & Bostoen 2019), or *-ntu*, which is a Fwe innovation. These derivational suffixes differ in function and productivity, as summarized in Table 4.6, which gives an overview of the deverbal derivational suffixes, their functions and their productivity.

Table 4.6: Deverbal suffixes

Form	Function	Productivity
-i	agentive (human)	mostly productive
-o	instrumental, patientive, action, result, place, time	mostly productive
-ntu	general nominalizer	mostly productive
-u	instrumental, patientive, abstract	unproductive
-a	instrumental, patientive, agentive (non-human)	unproductive
-e	instrumental, agentive (non-human)	unproductive

Deverbal nouns typically retain the tonal profile of the corresponding verb, but there are also occasional tonal mismatches; these are especially common with the less productive deverbal suffixes. Table 4.7 illustrates both patterns.

Table 4.7: Tone in derived nouns

Maintenance of lexical tone			
bûmbà	'make pottery'	*mù-bûmbì*	'potter'
rô:tà	'dream'	*cì-rô:tò*	'dream'
kú-fwà	'die'	*rú-fù*	'death'
kákàtìrà	'stick'	*rù-kákàtìrà*	'burdock'
Changes in lexical tone			
tùsà	'help'	*n-túsò*	'help'
fûrà	'sharpen, weld'	*kà-fùrò*	'knife'
kòhà	'blink'	*n-kôhè* (cl 10)	'eyelids'
tùkà	'insult'	*mà-tûkà*	'insults'
tár-ùk-à	'take a step'	*mù-tàrà*	'footprint'

Deverbal nouns may also incorporate verbal derivational suffixes, such as the causative or applicative. In some cases, the corresponding verb is also attested with the same derivational suffix, whereas in others, the verbal derivational suffix is only attested in the derived noun. Examples are given in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Deverbal nouns incorporating a verbal derivational suffix

Base verb		Derived noun	
rê:tà	'give birth'	*mù-ré:t-ìs-ì*	'midwife'
ùr-ìs-à	'sell' (cf. *ùr-à* 'buy')	*mù-ùr-ìs-ì*	'seller'
yènd-ès-à	'guide' (cf. *yènd-à* 'walk')	*mù-yènd-ès-ì*	'supervisor'
tôngà	'become ill'	*mà-tòng-êr-à*	'illness'
shèngà	'sharpen'	*mù-shèng-èr-à*	'sharp tip'
tìmbà	'push'	*n-tìmb-ìr-à*	'dung beetle'
´àrà	'close'	*cí-àr-ìs-ò*	'door'
bbùkùrà	'blow on fire'	*cì-bbùkùr-ìs-ò*	'bellows'
fwìnkà	'plug with a stopper'	*cì-fwìnk-ìs-ò*	'stopper'

Occasionally, a verbal suffix that is obligatorily present in the verb is absent in the corresponding noun. This is especially the case with the less productive deverbal suffixes; examples are given in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Absence of verbal derivational suffixes in deverbal nouns

Base verb		Derived noun	
kùmb-ùr-à	'cut strips (as building material)'	*mà-kùmb-à*	'strips (for building)'
kúzy-ùr-à	'peel a mongongo nut'	*Ø-kùzy-à* (cl 5)	'outer peel of a mongongo nut'
shèb-èk-à	'gossip'	*bù-shèb-è*	'gossip'
shémp-èk-à	'shoulder a load'	*mù-shêmp-ù*	'load'
súmb-àr-à	'become pregnant'	*bù-sûmb-à*	'pregnancy'

The suffix *-i* derives an agent noun from a verb, indicating 'a person who does X', as shown in Table 4.10. On account of the noun referring to a human being, the noun is usually assigned to noun class 1. Derivation with the suffix *-i* is fairly productive: it can be used with most verbs, always deriving an agentive noun.

Table 4.10: Agent nouns derived with *-i*

Base verb		Derived noun	
bàrà	'read'	*mù-bàrì*	'reader'
fùmà	'become rich'	*mù-fùmì*	'rich person'
fûrà	'sharpen, weld'	*mù-fûrì*	'blacksmith'
rwà	'fight'	*mù-rwì*	'fighter'
zyâːkà	'build'	*mù-zyâːkì*	'builder'

There are five words where the agentive suffix *-i* causes the preceding consonant to change to /z/, listed in Table 4.11.

The change to /z/ in the agent noun 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 4.11, the agentive suffix *-i* does not cause spiranitzation of the final consonant of the verb root (see the examples in Table 4.10). 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

Table 4.11: Agent nouns with spirantization

Base verb		Derived noun	
fûrà	'forge'	*mù-fûzì ~ mù-fûrì*	'blacksmith'
fwèbà	'smoke'	*mù-fwèzì*	'smoker'
kúmbìrà	'beg, request'	*Ø-nkúmbìzì*	'beggar'
ròwà	'perform witchcraft'	*mù-ròzì*	'witch'
yàà	'kill'	*cí-yàzì*	'traitor'

(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. Interestingly, 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-ròzì* '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-sâ* 'thief'.

The suffix *-o* derives instrumental nouns from verbs, as shown in Table 4.12. Nouns derived with this suffix are assigned to various noun classes, though never to class 1/2; class 7/8 seems to be the most common choice.

Semantically, most nouns derived with *-o* refer either to the patient or the instrument of the verb. Less commonly, the derivational suffix *-o* derives a noun referring to a place, a time or a result of the action described by the verb, or the action itself. Table 4.13 gives an overview of the different meanings of nouns derived with *-o.*

In some cases, 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 *shàmbàn-à* 'play in water'. In the derived noun *rù-tângò* 'story, proverb', the separative transitive suffix *-ur* of the source verb *táng-ùr-à* 'tell a story' is lost in the derived noun.

The derivational suffixes *-u, -e* and *-a* are unproductive: some of the limited number of attested examples are presented in Table 4.14.

For 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 *bòrà* 'rot', and *mù-kózù* 'strength', from *gòrà* 'be strong'. Aside from spirantization, these examples are also deviant in their

Table 4.12: Nouns derived with *-o*

Base verb		Derived noun in class 3/4	
nùnkà	'smell'	*mù-nùnkò*	'(bad) smell'
		Derived noun in class 5/6	
shândà	'suffer'	*shândò*	'suffering'
		Derived noun in class 7/8	
tèndà	'do, make'	*cì-tèndò*	'action'
zànà	'play'	*cì-zànò*	'game'
zwâtà	'dress'	*cì-zwâtò*	'garment'
zyàbàrà	'dress'	*ci-zyàbàrò*	'bottom garment'
zyàrà	'spread a bed'	*cì-zyàrò*	'mat'
		Derived noun in class 9	
tùsà	'help'	*n-túsò*	'help'
súrùmùkà	'descend'	*n-súrùmùkò*	'downward slope'
		Derived noun in class 11	
zyîmbà	'sing'	*rù-zyîmbò*	'song'
		Derived noun in class 12	
fûrà	'sharpen, weld'	*kà-fùrò*	'knife'
		Derived noun in class 14	
hârà	'live'	*bù-hârò*	'life'
sùnsà	'dip porridge in relish'	*bù-sùnsò*	'relish'

Table 4.13: Semantics of nouns derived with -o

Patient nouns with *-o*			
zyîmbà	'sing'	*rù-zyîmbò*	'song'
ryà	'eat'	*zí-ryò*	'food, crops'
Instrumental nouns with *-o*			
bè:zyà	'carve (wood)'	*m-bèzyò*	'small axe for making surfaces smooth'
shùtà	'fish (with line)'	*kà-shùtò*	'fish hook'
Action			
èndà	'go, travel'	*rù-yèndò*	'journey'
tèndà	'do'	*cì-tèndò*	'action'
Result			
ùrà	'buy'	*n-gùr-ìs-ò*	'profit'
zyàmbìrà	'gather'	*zì-zyàmbìrò*	'gathered fruits'
Place			
hòndà	'cook'	*mà-hònd-èr-ò*	'kitchen'
rí-zìkà	'hide oneself'	*mà-rí-ˈzíkò*	'hiding place'
Time			
rìmà	'cultivate, farm'	*cì-rìmò*	'season, year'

Table 4.14: Nominal derivation with *-u*, *-e* and *-a*

Base verb		Derived noun	
bòmb-à	'become wet'	*mà-bòmb-à*	'blisters'
hùzy-à	'breathe'	*∅-hûzy-à* (cl 5)	'breath'
bòr-à	'rot'	*bù-bóz-ù*	'something rotten'
gòr-à	'be strong'	*mù-kóz-ù*	'strength'
àndà	'freeze'	*cì-ând-è*	'frost'

tonal pattern and in the realization of the velar stop as voiceless in the noun *mù-kózù* and as voiced in the verb *gòrà*. The irregular spirantization suggests that there may have been two deverbal suffixes in Fwe, a high vowel *-u causing spirantization, and a lowered high vowel *-ʊ not causing spirantization, possibly also with a tonal difference. As *u and *ʊ merged (cf. Bostoen 2009), the difference between the two suffixes was lost. Meeussen (1967: 95) also reconstructs two different deverbal suffixes, *-ú and *-ʊ, though both with the same tone.

Table 4.15 shows that the semantic functions of the suffixes *-u*, *-e* and *-a* are very varied, including instrumental and patient, both also found 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 4.15: Semantics of nouns derived with *-u*, *-e*, and *-a*

	Instrumental		
bùkùtà	'sharpen'	*mà-bùkùt-à*	'skin used for sharpening'
têmà	'chop'	*kà-têm-ù*	'axe'
kékèrà	'plough'	*cì-kékêr-è*	'disc plough'
	Patient		
shémp-èk-à	'shoulder a load'	*mù-shêmp-ù*	'load'
nyùngà	'shake'	*cì-nyùng-èr-à*	'food prepared by shaking'
	Non-human agent		
tìmbà	'push'	*n-tìmb-ìr-à*	'dung beetle'
rí-zìngà	'twist oneself'	*mù-rí-zìng-è*	'vine'
	Abstract concept		
fwà	'die'	*rú-fù*	'death'
rùrà	'be bitter'	*bù-rùr-ù*	'bitterness'

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 (135).

(135) ci-byár-á-ntu > [cìbyáràntù]
       NP7-plant-FV-NMLZ
       'something that is planted'
       cf. byârà '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, as in (136) (see also §3.1.6 on optional high tone spread).

(136) ci-rim-á-ntu > [cìrímântù]
       NP7-plough-FV-NMLZ
       'something that is ploughed'
       cf. rìmà '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 inflected verbs (see §3.3).

The use of *-ntu* to derive nouns from verbs is highly productive, and may be interchanged with other strategies for deriving nouns from verbs, such as the nominalizing suffix *-o*, as in (137).

(137)   a. cìtèndò
            ci-tend-o
            NP7-do-NMLZ
            'action'
        b. cìténdântù
            ci-tend-á-ntu
            NP7-do-FV-thing
            'action'
        c. cf. tènd-à 'do'

When used with a transitive verb, the suffix *-ntu* derives a noun that designates its object, as in (138). With an intransitive verb, the deverbal noun designates its subject, as in (139). 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.

(138) cìbyáràntù
       ci-byár-á-ntu
       NP7-plant-FV-NMLZ
       '(domesticated) plant'

(139) cìbúmbwàntù
       ci-búmb-w-á-ntu
       NP7-create-PASS-FV-NMLZ
       'creature'

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 §4.2.2), 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* 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 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 §4.2.2 for discussion).

4.2.2 Noun-to-noun derivation

Fwe has a number of strategies to create nouns based on existing nominal stems: a diminutive derivation with the suffix *-ána*; two derivational prefixes *shi-/si-* and *na-*, used to derive personal names, association or ownership; nominal compounding; and reduplication. Changes in noun class membership are also used as a derivational mechanism; these are described in §4.1.4.

4.2.2.1 Diminutive

As discussed in §4.1.4 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, as in (140), by a diminutive suffix, as in (141), or both, as in (142); no clear differences in semantics were observed.

(140)   kámbwà
        ka-mbwá
        NP$_{12}$-dog
        'small dog; puppy'

(141)   mbwáànà
        ∅-mbwá-ana
        NP$_{1a}$-dog-DIM
        'small dog; puppy'

(142)   kàmbwáànà
        ka-mbwá-ana
        NP$_{12}$-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, as in (143).

(143)   /ka-mbwá-ana/ > [kàmbwáànà] ~ [kàmbwânà]
        NP$_{12}$-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 (144).

(144)   mùkázànà
        mu-kázana
        NP$_{1}$-girl
        'girl'
        cf. kázì 'female' + -ánà 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, as in (145–146) (see also §3.1.1).

(145)   /ka-shokó-ána/ > kàshòkóànà
        NP$_{12}$-monkey-DIM
        'small monkey'

(146)   /ci-shamú-ána/ > cìshàmúànà
        NP$_7$-tree-DIM
        'small tree'

A similar diminutive suffix *-ána* (or cognate forms) also occurs in other Bantu languages, mainly of zones R and S (Gibson et al. 2017), but also in certain languages of the Kikongo Language Cluster (Goes & Bostoen 2021). Güldemann (1999) shows that these diminutive forms have grammaticalized from a head-final nominal compound involving reflexes of *jánà 'child'. 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. 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 §4.2.1, this suffix goes back to an earlier head-final verb-noun compound, uncommon for Bantu languages but possibly calqued from the Khoe language Khwe.

4.2.2.2 Associative

Fwe has two derivational prefixes *shi-* (alternatively realized as *si-*; see §2.2 on the interchangability of /s/ and /sh/ in prefixes) and *na-*, which can be prefixed to nouns to derive personal names, animal and plant names, and 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-* occur before the nominal prefix of the underived noun. Nouns derived with *shi-/si-* or *na-* are invariably assigned to noun class 1a/2. The use of the associative prefix *shi-* is illustrated in (147).

(147)   a.   màndwâ
             ma-ndwá
             NP$_6$-fight
             'fight'

        b.   shímàndwâ
             ∅-shí-ma-ndwá
             NP$_{1a}$-AS-NP$_6$-fight
             'fighter'

The prefixes *si-* and *na-* are productively used to derive personal names from nouns. *na-* is used to derive a woman's name, as in (148), and *si-* is used to derive a man's name, as in (149). In this context, *si-* is consistently realized as *si-*, never as *shi-*.

(148)   nàmàsíkù
        na-ma-sikú
        AS$_F$-NP$_6$-night
        'Namasiku (name given to a girl born at night)'

(149)   sìmàsíkù
        si-ma-sikú
        AS$_M$-NP$_6$-night
        'Simasiku (name given to a boy born at night)'

The prefix *shi-/si-* can be used to derive association with, or ownership of, a certain concept, as in (150–152). This function is not available with the prefix *na-*. In all attested cases, the derived noun refers to a human.

(150) bàshígêmù bàshí'záwà, àbò bábòná èzìpâù
ba-shí-gému   ba-shí-zawá   a-bo   bá-bo_Hn-á

(150) bàshígêmù bàshí'záwà, àbò bábòná èzìpâù
ba-shí-gému   ba-shí-zawá   a-bo   bá-bo_Hn-á
NP₂-AS-game NP₂-AS-Zawa AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-see-FV
e-zi-páu
AUG-NP₈-animal
'The game people, the ZAWA[3] people, those who guard the wild
animals...' (ZF_Narr15)

(151) nábò bàshíbwâtò 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)

(152) èswé tùbàsí'nkútà, mbòtúmìààtúrè
eswé   tu-ba-sí-N-kutá
PERS₁PL APP₁PL-NP₂-AS-NP₉-court
mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é
NEAR.FUT-SM₁PL-OM₂PL-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 *si-/shi-* and *na-*,
listed in Table 4.16. In these nouns, the derivational prefix is followed by an ap-
parent nominal prefix, such as *ka-* of class 12, *mu-* of class 1/3, *ru-/rw-* of class
11 or a homorganic nasal of class 9, although 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 pre-
sumed former nominal prefix is taken into account. *na-ru-nkaramba* 'praying
mantis' can be analyzed as a root *nkaramba* 'old person' and two prefixes, deriva-
tional *na-* and a former class 11 prefix *ru-*, and *shi-ru-bumbira* 'mud wasp' can be
analyzed as a root *bumbira* derived from the verb *bumba*, 'make pottery, create'.
    The prefix *shi-/si-* is etymologically related to the lexical root *sh(o)* 'father',
as found in constructions such as *bá-shw-'ábò* 'his father' and *bá-shw-'étù* 'our
father'. The prefix *na-* relates to the lexical root *ny* used in constructions such as
bà-ny-òkò 'your mother' and *bà-ny-ìnà* 'his mother'. The sex-specific semantics
of *shi-/si-* and *na-* are 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.

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[3]ZAWA refers to the Zambian Wildlife Authority, charged with managing and protecting Zam-
bia's wildlife.

Table 4.16: Lexicalized derivational prefix *shi-/si-* and *na-*

Derived noun	Translation	Putative source
shíká'nkózè	'falcon'	
shìkàrìmbírè	'kite'	
shímú'|ópwè ~ mú'|ópwè	'fish sp.'	cf. *|ôhà* 'be tasteless' (this fish species is considered edible but not tasty)
shínténgwè ~ sínténgwè	'red-winged starling'	
shírùbùmbìrà	'mud wasp'	cf *bùmbà* 'create, make pottery'
síbbwê	'jackal'	cf. *mbwâwà* 'jackal' ?
síkùcèrà	'mole'	
síyàbàrìrà	'black mamba'	
nàmúntàbùrà	'flower (*Commelina subulata*)'	
nàmùróbá'róbà	'wild hyacinth (*Scilla natalensis*)'	
nákàrà	'acacia'	
nàrùnkàrámbà	'praying mantis'	cf. *nkàrâmbà* 'old person'
nàrwézá'ézà	'chameleon'	

4.2.2.3 Nominal compounds

Nouns can be created by compounding a noun with a verb stem or with another noun, though neither strategy is productive in Fwe. 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 includes the final vowel suffix *-a*, and the following noun maintains its nominal prefix. Both elements of the compound retain their underlying tonal pattern, with the application of the usual tone rules that function in Fwe. Verb-noun compounds are rare, and the majority of the attested compounds are plant names, as in (153–155).

(153) mùtáfùnànjòvù
mu-táfunanjovu
NP$_3$-acacia
'acacia'
cf. táfùnà 'chew, graze', njòvù 'elephant'

(154) kàryábàcânì
ka-ryábacáni
NP$_{12}$-geranium
'geranium sp.'
cf. ryà 'eat', bàcânì 'hunters'

(155) mùbèzyàmpâmpà
mu-bezyampámpa
NP$_3$-tree
'tree sp.'
cf. bè:zyà 'carve (wood)', mpâmpà 'forked stick'

Compounds consisting of two nouns are often kinship terms, combining existing kinship terms such as *mwâncè* 'child' or *máyè* 'mother' into new terms, as in (156–158).

(156) bàmáyèmwàncè
ba-máyemwance
NP$_2$-maternal_aunt
'maternal aunt'
cf. maye 'mother', mw-áncè 'child'

(157) bàtàtánkâzì
ba-tatankázi
NP$_2$-paternal_aunt
'paternal aunt'
cf. tátà 'father', -kâzì 'female'

(158) mùkwérùmè
mu-kwérume
NP$_1$-father_in_law
'father-in-law'
cf. mú-kwè 'in-law', -rùmè 'male'

Only two noun-noun compounds that are not kinships are found, listed in (159–160).

(159) étángányámbè
       é-tanganyambé
       AUG-NP$_5$-calabash
       'calabash'
       cf. tàngà 'pumpkin', nyámbè 'god'

(160) òngwébùnà
       o-ngwébuna
       AUG-NP$_{1a}$-plant
       'plant sp.'
       cf. ngwè 'leopard', bùnà 'leaf'

4.2.2.4 Noun reduplication

Reduplication of nouns is not a productive derivational strategy (unlike verbal reduplication, which is a productive derivational process, see §6.7.2), but many noun stems exhibiting reduplication are attested; some examples are given in (161). An underived, non-reduplicated noun stem is not attested for any of these nouns, but some are apparently derived from or related to verbs, such as *mùrímbùrîmbù* 'ignorance', related to *rímbàùzà* 'not pay attention', or *cìtùkùtùkù* 'sweat', related to *tùkùtà* 'be warm'. Reduplication targets both segmental and tonal material (as opposed to verbal reduplication, which targets segmental material only).

(161) kàcìyóˈcíyò   'chick'
       kàhàráˈhárà   'African finger millet'
       cìsìkíˈsíkì   'tree stump'
       kàríkùrîkù   'hiccup'
       mùrímbùrîmbù   'ignorance'
       cìgòrògòrò   'seasonal stream'
       cìkùrùkùrù   'lock'
       kàmbàryàmbàryà   'lizard'
       mbìrìmbìrì   'pepper'
       mfùrèmfùrè   'small insect that goes backward'
       cìpàùpàù   'basket with lid; purse, briefcase'

4.3 Nominal modifiers

The following sections describe adjectives (§4.3.1), demonstratives (§4.3.2), connectives (§4.3.3), quantifiers (§4.3.4), and possessives (§4.3.5), which can all be used as nominal modifiers, or pronominally. Noun class agreement is marked on all modifiers, making use of nominal prefixes, in the case of adjectives, or pronominal prefixes, in all other cases.

4.3.1 Adjectives

As is typical for Bantu languages (Maho 1999: 105), Fwe has only a small class of adjectives. 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 4.1). 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 in (162). 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.

(162) ndàvú mùcècè
       ∅-ndavú mu-cece
       NP$_{1a}$-lion NP$_1$-small
       'a small lion' (ZF_Elic14)

The obligatory nominal prefix on adjectives may be preceded by an optional augment prefix, as in (163–164). The augment is also found on other words, such as nouns and demonstratives (see §4.1.2 for the form and function of the augment as it appears on nouns). The form of the augment on adjectives is identical to that on nouns though, like the use of the augment on nouns, its use is optional, and its function, if any, is not yet well understood.

(163) mùndárè mùgênè ~ mùndárè òmùgênè
       mu-ndaré (o-)mu-géne
       NP$_3$-maize (AUG-)NP$_3$-thin
       'small maize'

(164) bàntú bàrôtù ~ bàntú àbàrôtù
       ba-ntú   (a-)ba-rótu
       NP$_2$-person (AUG-)NP$_2$-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 vowel coalescence and/or glide formation, as in (165–166) (see also §2.5.2).

(165)   òmbw' ó˥múbbì
       o-∅-mbwá   o-mu-bbí
       AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog AUG-NP$_1$-ugly
       'an ugly dog' (NF_Elic15)

(166)   vùmw' énênè
       ∅-vumó   e-∅-néne
       NP$_5$-stomach AUG-NP$_5$-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, as in (167).

(167)   rùtàká òrùrê: ~ rùtàk' órùrê: (cf. rùtàkà 'reed')
       ru-taká   o-ru-ré:
       NP$_{11}$-reed AUG-NP$_{11}$-long
       'a long reed' (ZF_Elic14)

The floating high tone of the adjectival augment can also be used when the vocalic augment is absent, as in (168). This, too, is a property the adjectival augment shares with the nominal augment (see §4.1.2).

(168)   mùntú mùrê: (cf. mùntù 'person')
       mu-ntú   mu-ré:
       NP$_1$-person NP$_1$-tall
       'a tall person' (ZF_Elic14)

The adjective always follows the noun it modifies when used adnominally, as in (162–168). Adjectives can also be used predicatively, in which case the adjective is marked with a copulative prefix that agrees in noun class with the noun it describes, as in (169–170) (for more on the copula, see §5.3).

(169) èhámbà ndìnênè
     e-∅-ámba   N-ri-néne
     AUG-NP$_5$-hoe COP-NP$_5$-big
     'The hoe is big.' (NF_Elic15)

(170) yìn' énjúò njìrôtù
     iná   e-N-júo   nji-rótu
     DEM.IV$_9$ AUG-NP$_9$-house COP$_9$-beautiful
     'That house is beautiful.' (ZF_Elic14)

Adjectives can also be used nominally, in which case the adjective takes a prefix that agrees in noun class with the noun it describes. This is illustrated in (171), where the nominally used adjective *ómùrê* 'long' takes the prefix of class 3, as it refers to a class 3 noun *mù-hàrà* 'rope'.

(171) ndìshàk' ómùrê:
     ndi-shak-á   o-mu-ré:
     SM$_{1SG}$-want-FV AUG-NP$_3$-long
     'I want the long one.' (Answer to: 'Which rope do you want?')
     (ZF_Elic14)

The number of adjectival stems in Fwe is limited: an exhaustive list is given in (172).

(172) Adjective stems in Fwe
     bbí   'bad' (Namibian Fwe only)
     cé: 'few'
     cékù   'sharp'
     cényà   'small'
     dânà   'small'
     fwîyì   'short'
     ᵍǀênè   'thin'
     hùbà   'light'
     káꜜbábù   'difficult'[4]
     kâtà   'weak'[5]
     kûrù   'old'
     mângò   'bad' (Zambian Fwe only)
     nênè   'big'
     nînì   'small'
     rê: 'tall, long, far'

rémù	'heavy'[6]
rôtù	'good, beautiful'
tékè	'fresh'
tòrè	'soft, easy'
yá	'new'
ǀò:	'tasteless'

Three adjective stems appear to be derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-u*, also used to derive nouns from verbs (see §4.2.1): *kûrù* 'old', from *kûrà* 'grow', *rémù* 'heavy', from *rèmà* 'become heavy', *cékù* 'sharp', from *cékùrà* 'cut oneself'.

Adjectives may be reduplicated to give an intensifying or emphatic meaning, as in (173–174).

(173) ndákàkùrímìnà éwà ènénènênè
ndi-á-ka-ku-rím-in-a   e-∅-wá
SM₁SG-SBJV.IPFV-DIST-OM₂SG-farm-APPL-FV AUG-NP₅-field
e-∅-néne-néne
AUG-NP₅-big-big
'I could cultivate a very big farm for you.' (NF_Narr15)

(174) kàcírì cìrótùrôtù 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 one case, the reduplicated meaning differs in an unexpected manner from the unreduplicated meaning: the adjective *kûrù* 'old' is used to describe animates, and its reduplicated form *kúrùkûrù* describes inanimates.

That adjectives are marked with almost the same prefixes as nouns (with the exception of class 1a) may suggest that adjectives should be treated as nouns as well. Furthermore, 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 4.17.

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, through

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[4]Most speakers prefer to use the noun *bù-káˈbábù* 'problem, something difficult'.

[5]Most speakers prefer the use of the verb *kàtà* 'become weak'.

[6]Most speakers prefer the use of the verb *rèmà* 'be heavy'.

Table 4.17: Adjective stems that also occur as nouns

Adjective		Noun	
bbì	'bad'	*bú-bbì*	'evil'
dânà	'small'	*mù-dânà*	'child'
kûrù	'old' (of animates)	*mù-kûrù*	'elder, elder sibling/ cousin'
rê:	'tall, long, far'	*bù-rê:*	'length'
rémù	'heavy'	*bù-rémù*	'weight'
rôtù	'good, beautiful'	*bù-rôtù*	'goodness'

the use of a connective clitic, for instance, nouns cannot modify other nouns through mere juxtaposition. Adjectives, however, do modify nouns through juxtaposition, as long as a nominal prefix is used that agrees in noun class with the modified noun. This syntactic construction is limited to the adjectival stems listed in (172), 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 §4.1.4), 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.

Finally, adjectives differ from nouns because only adjectives can be combined with the suffix *-h* to derive a verb. Some verbs are attested where the deadjectival suffix is realized as *-mp* instead of *-h*. The derivation of verbs from adjectives is illustrated in Table 4.18.

The deadjectival suffix *-h* derives an intransitive change-of-state verb, where the state that is entered into is the state described by the underived adjective.

4.3.2 Demonstratives

Fwe has four paradigms of demonstratives (also called "series" in Bantu linguistics, see e.g. Nicolle (2012); van der Wal (2010)), which are distinguished by the relative distance between the referent and the speaker and hearer: general proximity (series I), proximity to the speaker (series II), proximity to the hearer (series III) and distance (series IV). Table 4.19 gives the form for each noun class for each

Table 4.18: Deadjectival verbs

Derived verb		Underived adjective	
rê:-h-à	'become tall'	*rê:*	'tall, long'
nénè-h-à	'become big'	*nênè*	'big'
tòrè-h-à	'become soft'	*tòrè*	'soft'
|ô:-h-à	'become tasteless'	*|ô:*	'tasteless'
bbî-h-à	'become bad'	*bbí*	'bad'
fwîì-mp-à	'become short'	*fwîì*	'short'
kúrù-mp-à	'become old'	*kûrù*	'old'

demonstrative series. Each demonstrative form has an optional augment prefix, formally identical to the augment used on nouns.

The series I demonstratives are formally identical to the paradigm of pronominal prefixes (see Table 4.1). For class 1 and 1a, which have 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 a suffix: *-no* (Zambian Fwe) or *-nu* (Namibian Fwe) for series II,[7] *-o* for series III, and *-ina* for series IV, the latter resulting in vowel hiatus resolution through vowel coalescence, vowel deletion, and glide formation (see §2.5.2).

The tonal realization of demonstratives depends on their syntactic position. Adnominal demonstratives have a high tone on the last mora of the stem, as in (175). Adverbial demonstratives have a high tone on the first stem mora, as in (176). Demonstratives used as relativizers are realized without any high tones, as in (177) (see also §13.5.1 on relative clauses). The tonal behavior of pronominal demonstratives requires further study: various patterns are attested, as in (178–179), and it is unclear what, if anything, conditions their use.

(175)   **èrí** hànjà
  e-rí   hanja
  AUG-DEM.I$_5$ hand
  'this hand' (ZF_Elic14)

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[7]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 §1.5, Baumbach's grammar sketch of Fwe is very limited and numerous differences between it and my data exist.

Table 4.19: Demonstratives

	series I	series II	series III	series IV
1	o-zyu	o-zyuno / o-zyunu	o-zyo	o-zywina
2	a-ba	a-bano / a-banu	a-bo	a-bena
1a	o-zyu	o-zyuno / o-zyunu	o-zyo	o-zywina
3	o-u	o-uno / o-unu	o-o	o-wina
4	e-i	e-ino / e-inu	e-yo	e-ina
5	e-ri	e-rino / e-rinu	e-ryo	e-rina
6	a-a	a-ano / a-anu	a-o	a-ena
7	e-ci	e-cino / e-cinu	e-co	e-cina
8	e-zi	e-zino / e-zinu	e-zo	e-zina
9	e-i	e-ino / e-inu	e-yo	e-ina
10	e-zi	e-zino / e-zinu	e-zo	e-zina
11	o-ru	o-runo / o-runu	o-o	o-rwina
12	a-ka	a-kano / a-kanu	a-ko	a-kena
13	o-tu	o-tuno / o-tunu	o-to	o-twina
14	o-bu	o-buno / o-bunu	o-bo	o-bwina
15	o-ku	o-kuno / o-kunu	o-ko	o-kwina
16	a-ha	a-hano / a-hanu	a-ho	a-hena
17	o-ku	o-kuno / o-kunu	o-ko	o-kwina
18	o-mu	o-muno / o-munu	o-mo	o-mwina ~ o-muna

(176)   ndìkárángà **kûnù**
        ndi-kar-áng-a   kúnu
        SM$_{1SG}$-sit-HAB-FV DEM.II$_{17}$
        'I normally stay here.' (NF_Elic17)

(177)   àmàshéréŋì **àò** nìtwáshàngàúrà
        a-ma-sheréŋi   a-o   ni-tú-a-sha$_H$ngaur-á
        AUG-NP$_6$-money AUG-DEM.III$_6$ REM-SM$_{1PL}$-PST-contribute-FV<REL>
        'the money that we contributed' (NF_Elic17)

(178)   ndìsháká kùùrà **cînà** ~ **cìnà**
        ndi-shak-á   ku-ur-a   cína   ~ cina
        SM$_{1SG}$-want-FV INF-buy-FV DEM.IV$_7$
        'I want to buy that one.'

(179) àké:zyà **zywînà** ~ **zywínà**
       a-ké:zy-a   zywína ~ zywiná
       SM₁-come-FV DEM.IV₁
       'S/he is coming, that one.' (NF_Elic17)

As seen in Table 4.19, demonstratives can take an augment prefix. Similar to the augment on nouns and adjectives,[8] it consists of a single vowel that displays vowel harmony with the demonstrative stem: *e-* is used with demonstrative stems with a front vowel *i*, *o-* is used with demonstrative stems with a back vowel *u*, and *a-* is used with demonstrative stems with the vowel *a*. Demonstratives may be used with an augment, as in (180), or without an augment, as in (181).

(180) àbèná bàkéntù bàámbà wàwà
       a-bená   ba-kéntu   ba-ámb-a   wawa
       AUG-DEM.IV₂ NP₂-woman SM₂-talk-FV very
       'Those women talk a lot.' (ZF_Elic14)

(181) bèná bàntù
       bená   ba-ntu
       DEM.IV₂ NP₂-person
       'those people'

The use of the augment on demonstratives is influenced by a number of factors. Firstly, 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. Secondly, demonstratives used to introduce a relative clause often occur without an augment vowel, even if they are monosyllabic (see §13.5.1 on relative clauses).

In addition to the demonstrative forms listed in Table 4.19, an emphatic demonstrative can be created by prefixing the basic demonstrative stem of series I to the demonstrative, e.g. *zyo* 'that one', *zyu-zyo* 'that very one'. This can be applied to demonstratives of all four series, as illustrated for series III in (182) and series I in (183); 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, translated as 'this/that very (same)'.

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[8]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.

(182) **ríryò** shènè óbwènè ndíwè
rí-ryo   ∅-shene   <u>ó</u>-bwe$_H$ne   ndi-wé
EMPH-DEM.III$_5$ NP$_5$-worm SM$_{2SG}$.REL-see.STAT COP-PERS$_{2SG}$
'**This very worm** that you see, it's you.' (NF_Song17)

(183) ákùbá'téyè shárì **zyùzyú** mwâncè nìndá'yéndà néyè nìnìndámàn'
ó'káfwà
á-ku-bá-téye   shári zyu-zyú   mu-ánce
CON$_1$-INF-OM$_2$-say_that if   EMPH-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-child
ni-nd<u>í</u>-a-<u>é</u>nd-a   ne=ye
REM-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-go-FV<REL> COM=PERS$_{3SG}$
ni-ni-nd<u>í</u>-a-man-<u>á</u>   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)

Demonstratives always show noun class agreement. Adnominal demonstratives agree with the noun they modify, as in (184–185). Pronominal demonstratives agree with the noun they replace or refer to, as in (186), taken from a narrative, where the class 1a demonstrative *òzwyínà* 'that one' refers back to an earlier mentioned elephant, *njòvù*, which is a class 1a noun.

(184) òzyú mùntù
o-zyú   mu-ntu
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-person
'this person'

(185) òkú 'kútwì
o-kú   ku-twí
AUG-DEM.I$_{15}$ NP$_{15}$-ear
'this ear' (ZF_Elic14)

(186) bókùndìsùndà òzwyínà
bá-o-ku-ndi-sund-a   o-zywiná
CON$_2$-INF-OM$_{1SG}$-show-FV AUG-DEM.IV$_1$
'They showed him to me.' (ZF_Narr13)

The unmarked position of adnominally used demonstratives is before the noun they modify, as in (184–185) above. Demonstratives do occur post-nominally when the noun is marked by a copulative prefix, as in (187–188). This is due to

right dislocation: constituents can move to the right edge of the clause when they function as definite (see §13.3 for discussion and examples). As demonstratives are frequently used anaphorically, referring to a referent that is identifiable to both speaker and hearer, they are frequently subject to right-dislocation.

(187) mùndár' ôwù
N-mu-ndaré   o-ú
COP-NP$_3$-maize AUG-DEM.I$_3$
'It's maize, this.'

(188) ndùngúy' òzyù
ndu-∅-nguyá   o-zyú
COP$_{1a}$-NP$_{1a}$-baboon AUG-DEM.I$_1$
'It's a baboon, this one.' (ZF_Elic14)

Demonstratives can also be used postnominally when the noun phrase is the object of an imperative or subjunctive verb, as in (189) and (190), although pre-nominal demonstratives are also allowed, as in (191). Postnominal demonstratives are only possible with subjunctive or imperative verbs expressing an order, not with other functions of the subjunctive.

(189) òzìmìsé mùrìrò ówù
o-zi$_H$m-is-é   mu-riro o-ú
SM$_{2SG}$-extinguish-CAUS-PFV.SBJV NP$_3$-fire AUG-DEM.I$_3$
'Extinguish this fire.' (NF_Elic15)

(190) òtùsé òmùntú zyò
o-tus-é   o-mu-ntú   zyo
SM$_{2SG}$-help-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP$_1$-person DEM.III$_1$
'Help that person.'

(191) òtùsé òzyó mùntù
o-tus-é   o-zyó   mu-ntu
SM$_{2SG}$-help-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-person
'Help that person.' (NF_Elic17)

All other adnominal demonstratives appear before the noun they modify. Other nominal modifiers in Fwe, however, 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 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, including some of Fwe's closest linguistic relatives such as the western Bantu Botatwe language Subiya (Jacottet 1896: 33), and the eastern Bantu Botatwe languages 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. More thorough documentation of Western Bantu Botatwe languages such as Shanjo and Totela is needed to understand the position of the demonstrative in these languages.

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. This distinction is known under different labels in the literature, such as exophoric/endophoric (Diessel 1999); following Himmelmann (1996), I will use the terms situational/non-situational.

The situational use of the series 1 demonstratives is to indicate that a referent is generally close to both the hearer and the speaker, as illustrated in (192), referring to shoes that are in the immediate vicinity of both the speaker and the hearer.

(192) **èzí** nshângù zìcénà

e-zí   N-shángu zi-cen-$\underline{\acute{a}}$

AUG-DEM.I$_{10}$ NP$_{10}$-shoe SM$_{10}$-be_clean-FV

'These shoes are clean.' (ZF_Elic14)

Series II demonstratives are used to indicate that a referent is close to the speaker, but not to the hearer, as illustrated in (193), from an elicitation context in which a bag of beans was lying on the table next to the speaker.

(193) èzìnó nyàngù

e-zinó   N-nyangu

AUG-DEM.II$_{10}$ NP$_{10}$-bean

'these beans' (ZF_Elic13)

Series III demonstratives are used to indicate a referent close the hearer, but not close to the speaker. In (194), the speaker warns the hearer of an approaching elephant, using a series III demonstrative as an indication of the elephant's location close to the hearer.

(194)   bbónàdì bbónàdì shá ònjòvú zyw' ákè:zy' **ókò**
        bbónadi bbónadi shá o-∅-njovú   zyú   á-ke:zy-á
        Bonard Bonard sir AUG-NP$_{1a}$-elephant DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$-come-FV
        o-kó
        AUG-DEM.III$_{17}$
        'Mr Bonard, Mr Bonard! There is an elephant coming to you!'
        (ZF_Narr13)

Series IV demonstratives are used to indicate a referent far from both the speaker and the hearer. In (195), taken from a narrative, the speaker uses a series IV demontrative *énà* to refer to teeth that are hidden at a place far away from the speaker and the hearer.

(195)   èmé ndìhíndè **énà** ménò
        emé   ndi-hínd-e   ená   ma-inó
        PERS$_{1SG}$ SM$_{1SG}$-take-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV$_6$ NP$_6$-tooth
        '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. to refer to the general information referent of a larger, broader chunk of discourse. In (196), the series III demonstrative *èryó* 'that' refers back to the topic of the preceding discourse in its entirety, which has described the attack on an old lady by elephants.

(196)   kónàkùrì **èryó** kàndè ryábànjòvù
        kónakuri e-ryó   ∅-kande ri-á=ba-njovu
        because AUG-DEM.III$_5$ NP$_5$-story PP$_5$-CON=NP$_2$-elephant
        'Because of this story of the elephants...' (ZF_Narr15)

Within discourse, demonstratives can be used anaphorically, to refer back to earlier mentioned entities and participants. In the anaphoric use of demonstratives, Fwe uses different demonstrative series in a different way, depending on the salience of the referent in the discourse. A series III demonstrative is used to refer back to a referent that is still highly salient. In (197), a new referent, a village, is introduced by means of the noun *mùnzì*, and when the aforementioned village is mentioned again, it is marked by the series III demonstrative *òwó* 'this'.

(197)   a.   kàkwín' ˈómùnzì òmù kàmwíˈná bàntù
             ka-kú-iná   o-mu-nzi   o-mu
             PST.IPFV-SM$_{17}$-be_at AUG-NP$_3$-village AUG-DEM.I$_{18}$
             ka-mú-iná   ba-ntu
             PST.IPFV-SM$_{18}$-be_at NP$_2$-person
             'There was a village, where people were living.'

        b.   **òwó** mùnzì kàwínà shíryà yórwîzyì
             o-ó mu-nzi ka-ú-ina ∅-shírya i-ó=ru-ízyi
             AUG-DEM.III$_3$ NP$_3$-village PST.IPFV-SM$_3$-be_at NP$_9$-other_side
             PP$_9$-CON=NP$_{11}$-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 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 (197), 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 (198), 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.

(198)   **òzyó** múˈkwámè ákùhìndá kàtêmù
        o-zyó   mú-kwamé á-ku-hind-á   ka-tému
        AUG-DEM.III$_1$ NP$_1$-man   PP$_1$-INF-take-FV NP$_{12}$-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. Example (199) is taken from the beginning of the narrative about the man, his wife and the wife's little sister. 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 kâncè* '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.

(199) kàntí kèná kâncè ká'yéndà nâkò
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 series I demonstrative can be used to introduce a new referent. This is illustrated in (200), where *òzyú* introduces a participant which had not yet been part of the story.

(200) néy' òzyú mú'kwámè àkêzyà
né=o-zyú mú-kwamé a-kɛ́:zy-a
COM=AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-man SM₁-come-FV
'And another man came.' (NF_Narr15)

Series II demonstratives can be used with expressions of time, to indicate the current time period, as in (201–202).

(201) èyìnó nsûndà
e-inó N-súnda
AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week
'this week' (ZF_Elic14)

(202) mwáìnò ènàkò shìtú'hárà
mwá-ino e-N-nako shi-tú-ha_Hr-á
CON₁₈-DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-time INC-SM₁PL.REL-live-FV
'This time that we are now living in...' (ZF_Conv13)

This temporal function of the series II demonstrative is also reflected in the use of the locative demonstrative of class 16, which can be used adverbially meaning '(right) now', as in (203–204).

(203) àbàntù **hánù** sìbàyèndàngàkó nèmótà
a-ba-ntu hanú si-ba-end-ang-a=kó 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 oxcarts) (NF_Narr17)

(204) òmwâncè kàrí kàákìshùwírè nênjà kònó **hànô** shààkìshùwírè nênjà
o-mu-ánce   ka-rí   ka-á̱-ki_H-shu_Hw-íre   nénja konó hanó
AUG-NP_1-child NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM_1-REFL-feel-STAT well   but   DEM.II_16
sha-a-ki_H-shu_Hw-íre   nénja
INC-SM_1-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, viz. 16, 17 and 18, can be used as locative adverbs. These demonstratives can describe general locations for class 16, as in (205), and 17, as in (206), and a contained location, e.g. 'in there/here', for class 18, as in (207).

(205) bàzyíménè hênà
ba-zyi_Hmén-e   héna
SM_2-stand-STAT DEM.IV_16
'S/he stands there.' (NF_Elic17)

(206) wáshàkê:zyì kûnò kùshàmbà ndíshâmbà
o-ásha-ké:zy-i   kúno   ku-shamb-a ndí̱-shá̱mb-a
SM_2SG-NEG.SBJV-come-NEG DEM.II_17 INF-bath-FV SM_1SG.REL-bath-FV
'You cannot come here, I am bathing.' (ZF_Elic14)

(207) bàrèrè mwínà
ba-re_Hre   mwiná
SM_2-sleep.STAT DEM.IV_18
'They are asleep in there.' (NF_Elic17)

4.3.3 Connectives

Connective constructions are used to link two nouns or pronouns through use of a connective clitic. (208) gives an example of a connective construction in Fwe.

(208) mìnwè yómwânce
mi-nwe   i-ó=   mu-ánce
head   connective dependent
NP_4-finger PP_4-CON= NP_1-child
'the fingers of the child' (ZF_Elic14)

Similar markers are found in many Bantu languages, and referred to as connective, associative, genitive or 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. In Fwe the connective functions as a clitic, as it is phonologically integrated into the host noun, but displays the syntactic behavior of a free word.

The connective clitic consists of a connective stem and a pronominal prefix (see Table 4.1), which agrees in noun class with the head of the connective construction. The connective stem consists of a single vowel, which 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 (209–211) with a connective clitic that has a pronominal prefix of class 3, which is realized as *w-o-*, *w-e-* or *w-a-*, depending on the augment of the following noun.

(209) mùcírà wóꜜndávù (< òndávù 'lion')
       mu-círa u-ó=∅-ndavú
       NP₃-tail PP₃-CON=NP₁ₐ-lion
       'the tail of a lion'

(210) mùbárá ꜛwènjûò (< ènjûò 'house')
       mu-bará u-é=N-júo
       NP₃-color PP₃-CON=NP₉-house
       'the color of the house'

(211) mùbárá ꜛwámàbûnà (< àmàbûnà 'leaves')
       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, as in (212–214).

(212) téꜛndé ꜛryóꜛndávù (< òndávù 'lion')
       ∅-téndé ri-ó=∅-ndavú
       NP₅-leg PP₅-CON=NP₁ₐ-lion
       'the leg of the lion'

(213) cìtúwá cònjûò (< ènjûò 'house')
       ci-tuwá   ci-ó=N-júo
       NP₇-roof PP₇-CON=NP₉-house
       'the roof of the house'

(214) té˥ndé ˥ryókàzyùnì (< àkàzyùnì 'bird')
       ∅-téndé ri-ó=ka-zyuni
       NP₅-leg PP₅-CON=NP₁₂-bird
       'the leg of the bird' (ZF_Elic14)

The form of the connective also changes depending on the nature of the dependent noun. When the dependent is a noun that cannot take an augment, the vowel of the connective stem is always /a/, in both Namibian and Zambian Fwe. This is the case with proper names, as in (215), and adverbs, as in (216). The vowel of the connective is also realized as *a* when used with a demonstrative pronoun, as in (217–218), 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 (228–229).

(215) hànjà **ryaRebecca**
       hanja ri-a=Rebecca
       hand PP₅-CON=Rebecca
       'Rebecca's hand' (ZF_Elic14)

(216) èzìàmbò **zàshûnù** nzícìkóró ˥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)

(217) bànyûmbù nèmìcírà **yábò**
       ba-nyúmbu   ne=mi-círa   i-á=bo
       NP₂-wildebeest COM=NP₄-tail PP₄-CON=DEM.III₂
       'The wildebeests and their tails.' (NF_Song17)

(218) 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)

Another group of nouns that 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, as in (219–220), and as *a*- with class 16, as in (221). 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.

(219)   bàntù **bòkúmùnzì**
        ba-ntu   ba-o=kú-mu-nzi
        NP$_2$-person PP$_2$-CON=NP$_{17}$-NP$_3$-village
        'the people of the village'

(220)   zíryó **ˈzómúrùwà**
        zi-ryó   zi-o=mú-ru-wa
        NP$_8$-food PP$_8$-CON=NP$_{18}$-NP$_{11}$-field
        'the crops of the field'

(221)   zíryó **zàhámùkítì**
        zi-ryó   zi-a=há-mu-kití
        NP$_8$-food PP$_8$-CON=NP$_{16}$-NP$_3$-party
        'the food at the party'

Nouns that take a secondary class 2 prefix (used to mark respect; see §4.1.1) also never take an augment. When such a noun takes a connective clitic, the connective stem is reduced to zero, as in (222).

(222)   ndóˈrúfù rùbànyámùzàmbàràrà kúnjòvù
        ndó-ru-fú   ru-∅=ba-nyámuzambarara
        COP.DEF$_{11}$-NP$_{11}$-death PP$_{11}$-CON=NP$_2$-Nyamuzambarara
        kú-∅-njovu
        NP$_{17}$-NP$_{1a}$-elephant
        'That is the death of Mrs. Nyamuzambarara by an elephant.' (ZF_Narr15)

Table 4.20 gives an overview of the different forms of the connective clitic found in Fwe.

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

Table 4.20: Connective clitics (including pronominal prefix)

	nouns with an augment /a/; certain augmentless nouns; demonstrative pronouns	in Zambian Fwe; nouns with an augment /o/	nouns with an augment /e/	honorifics
1	wa	o/w	we	u
1a	wa	o/w	we	u
2	ba	bo	be	ba
3	wa	o/wo	we	u
4	ya	yo	ye	i
5	rya	ryo	rye	ri
6	a	o	e	a
7	ca	co	ce	ci
8	za	zo	ze	zi
9	ya	yo	ye	i
10	za	zo	ze	zi
11	rwa	ro	rw	ru
12	ka	ko	ke	ka
13	twa	to	twe	tu
14	bwa	bo	bwe	bu
15	kwa	ko	kwe	ku

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 (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 1, 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 §4.1.2).

Both the connective stem and the pronominal prefix 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 (see §4.1.2 on the formal properties of the nominal augment). Examples of high-toned connective clitics are given in (223–224).

(223) mùcírà wóˈndávù
       mu-círa u-ó=∅-ndavú
       NP$_3$-tail PP$_3$-CON=NP$_{1a}$-lion
       'tail of a lion'

(224) ènshùkí ˈzómùkêntù
       e-N-shukí   zi-ó=mu-kéntu
       AUG-NP$_{10}$-hair PP$_{10}$-CON=NP$_1$-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, as illustrated with locative-marked nouns in (225–226).

(225) mìnwè yòkúmàànjà
       mi-nwe   i-o=kú-ma-anja
       NP$_4$-finger PP$_4$-CON=NP$_{17}$-NP$_6$-hand
       'fingers of the hands' (ZF_Elic14)

(226) bàntù bòmúnjûò
       ba-ntu   ba-o=mú-N-júo
       NP$_2$-person PP$_2$-CON=NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-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 clitic. The same applies to the connective in Fwe. 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, and from its tonal behavior: the connective clitic may be the target for high tone shift, as in (227), where the high tone of the syllable *mú* spreads onto the preceding connective *ryó*. High tone spread never crosses word boundaries (see §3.1.6), thus proving the phonological integration of the connective clitic into the noun.

(227) èzwáyí ˈryómúbùsùnsò
       e-∅-zwaí   ri-o=mú-bu-sunso
       AUG-NP$_5$-salt PP$_5$-CON=NP$_{18}$-NP$_{14}$-relish
       'the salt of the relish' (NF_Elic15)

Syntactically, the connective clitic behaves like a separate word. When combined with nouns that have a pre-nominal modifier, such as a demonstrative, as in (228–229), the connective clitic is marked on the demonstrative, not the noun itself. This shows that the connective behaves like a phrasal clitic, rather than a nominal affix.

(228) **òmùkìtí ꞌwábèná bàntù** mànì wáràtèndàhàrà
    o-mu-kití   u-á=bená   ba-ntu   mani
    AUG-NP$_3$-party PP$_3$-CON=DEM.IV$_2$ NP$_2$-person when
    o-ára-tend-ahar-a
    SM$_3$-REM.FUT-do-NEUT-FV
    'Those people's party, when will it take place?' (NF_Elic17)

(229) **èmísì yècí cìshámù** mùshámù
    e-mi-ísi   i-e=cí   ci-shamú N-mu-shamú
    AUG-NP$_4$-root PP$_4$-CON=DEM.I$_7$ NP$_7$-tree COP-NP$_3$-medicine
    'The roots of this tree are medicine.' (ZF_Elic14)

The head of the connective construction can 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 (230), a speaker asks where her *citenge* (piece of fabric worn as wrap-around skirt) is; the response uses headless connectives to ask for a description of the citenge, marked for agreement with the class 7 noun *citenge* with class 7 pronominal prefixes.

(230) a. nòndìbónènì ècìtèngé ꞌcángù
        no-ndi-bón-en-i   e-ci-tengé   ci-angú
        SM$_{2SG}$.PST-OM$_{1SG}$-see-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_7$-citenge PP$_7$-POSS$_{1SG}$
        'Have you seen my citenge?'

     b. cómùshòbònjí cókùsùbìrà cókùsìhà cókùtùbà
        ci-ó=mu-shobo-njí   ci-ó=ku-subir-a   ci-ó=ku-sih-a
        PP$_7$-CON=NP$_3$-type-what PP$_7$-CON=INF-be_red-FV
        ci-ó=ku-tub-a
        PP$_7$-CON=INF-be_black-FV PP$_7$-CON=INF-be_white-FV
        'What kind? A red one, a black one, a white one?' (NF_Elic15)

Semantically, the relationship between the two nouns in a connective construction can be interpreted in different ways. A connective can be used to indicate possession, where the dependent is the possessor and the head the possessee, as in (231–232).

(231) mùndáré òbàmùrútì
      mu-ndaré u-o=ba-mu-rutí
      NP₃-maize PP₃-CON=NP₂-NP₁-teacher
      'the maize of the teacher'

(232) njûò yámùyéꜜnzángù
      N-júo   i-á=mu-énz-angú
      NP₉-house PP₉-CON=NP₁-friend-POSS₁SG
      '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, as in (233–235).

(233) mwánà wècìsìzánì
      mu-ána   u-e=ci-sizaní
      NP₁-child PP₁-CON=NP₇-female
      'a female child'

(234) cíꜜkwáꜜmé cáꜜmárì
      cí-kwamé ci-á=marí
      NP₇-man   PP₇-CON=polygamy
      'a polygamous man' (NF_Elic15)

(235) ràpá ꜜryókùcènà
      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, as in (236–237).

(236) mìnwè yòkúmàànjà
      mi-nwe   i-o=kú-ma-anja
      NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=NP₁₇-NP₆-hand
      'fingers of the hands' (ZF_Elic14)

(237) bàntù bòmúmùnzì
      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, it may take on some properties of a separate clause. The infinitive may, for instance, have its own object, either marked through a separate noun, as in (238), or with an object marker on the verb, as in (239).

(238) ndààzyá màshérêŋì ókùkwèrès' éʼmótà
       ndi-aazyá   ma-sheréŋi a-ó=ku-kwer-es-á   e-N-motá
       SM$_{1SG}$-have_not NP$_6$-money PP$_6$-CON=INF-board-CAUS-FV AUG-NP$_9$-car
       'I don't have money for a taxi.' (NF_Elic15)

(239) mùròrà ókùtúsànzìsà
       mu-rora u-ó=ku-tú-sanz-is-a
       NP$_3$-soap PP$_3$-CON=INF-OM$_{13}$-wash-CAUS-FV
       'soap for washing them (dishes) with' (NF_Elic17)

4.3.4 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 §4.3.1.) Quantifiers display agreement with the noun through use of pronominal prefixes (see Table 4.1). For class 1 and 1a, 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 is typically used after the noun it modifies, as in (240), but may also be used before the noun, as in (241). The pronominal prefix used with this quantifier is realized as low-toned.

(240) **èŋòmbè zònshé**: nàzáùrìsìwà
       e-N-ŋombe   zi-onshé: na-zí-a-ur-is-iw-a
       AUG-NP$_{10}$-cow PP$_{10}$-all REM-SM$_{10}$-PST-buy-CAUS-PASS-FV
       'All the cattle have been sold.' (ZF_Elic14)

(241) **yònshé: èntúsó** èyò ndíʼóːrà òkùkùtùsà
       i-onshé: e-N-tusó   e-yo   ndí-óː r-a
       PP$_9$-all AUG-NP$_9$-help AUG-DEM.III$_9$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-can-FV
       o-ku-ku-tus-a
       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', as in (242–244).

(242) kùààzyá òzyò áshàká òkúfwà **twènshé:** tùsháká ꜜbúmì
       ku-aazyá   o-zyo   <u>á</u>-shak-<u>á</u>   o-ku-fw-á   tu-enshé:
       SM$_{17}$-be_not AUG-DEM.III$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-want-FV AUG-INF-die-FV PP$_{1PL}$-all
       tu-shak-<u>á</u>   bu-mí
       SM$_{1PL}$-want-FV NP$_{14}$-life
       'There is no one who wants to die, **we all** want to be alive.' (NF_Song17)

(243) tùyéndè **twènshê**:
       tu-<u>é</u>nd-e   tu-enshé
       SM$_{1PL}$-walk-PFV.SBJV PP$_{1PL}$-all
       'Shall we walk **together**?' (NF_Elic15)

(244) háìbà **mwènshé**: mùbèrékà
       háiba   mu-enshé: mu-berek-<u>á</u>
       if   PP$_{2PL}$-all   SM$_{2PL}$-work-FV
       'If **you all** are working...' (ZF_Conv13)

The quantifier *ngí:* 'many; other' is typically used after the noun it modifies, as in (245–246), though a prenominal position is also possible, as in (247).

(245) zìzyùnì zîngî:
       zi-zyuni zí-ngí:
       NP$_8$-bird PP$_8$-many
       'many birds' (ZF_Elic14)

(246) nàdàmwá ꜜ**kúbàntù bângî**:
       na-dam-w-<u>á</u>   kú-ba-ntu   bá-ngí:
       SM$_1$.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_2$-person PP$_2$-many
       'S/he was beaten by many people.' (NF_Elic17)

(247) **zíngì: èmbúkà** bábàrâ bò
       zí-ngi: e-N-búka   b<u>á</u>-bar-<u>á</u>   bo
       PP$_{10}$-many AUG-NP$_{10}$-book SM$_2$.REL-read-FV DEM.III$_2$
       'S/he reads many books.' (NF_Elic15)

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 the noun, as in (248), or after it, as in (249).

(248) **zyúmwì** mú'kwámè
zyú-mwi mú-kwamé
PP$_1$-other NP$_1$-man
'a certain man' (ZF_Elic14)

(249) kùààzyá kùmwí òkò nèmúkàwánè **òbùhárò búmùnyà**
ku-aazyá ku-mwí o-ko ne-mú-ka-w$\underline{\acute{a}}$n-e
SM$_{17}$-be_not PP$_{17}$-other AUG-DEM.III$_{17}$ REM-SM$_{2PL}$-DIST-find-PFV.SBJV
o-bu-háro bú-munya
AUG-NP$_{14}$-life PP$_{14}$-other
'There is nowhere where you can find another life.' (ZF_Conv13)

Used with a pronominal prefix of class 16, as in (250), this quantifier may have a temporal interpretation, e.g. 'sometimes'.

(250) **hámùnyà** kàzí'yángà kwàrìzáùrì **hámùnyà** kàtú'zwángà kwàmakanga
tùyá kwàrìnyântì
há-munya ka-z$\underline{í}$-y-$\underline{á}$ng-a kwa-rizáuli há-munya
PP$_{16}$-other PST.IPFV-SM$_{10}$-go-HAB-FV NP$_{17}$-Lizauli PP$_{16}$-other
ka-t$\underline{ú}$-zw-$\underline{á}$ng-a kwa-makanga tu-y-$\underline{á}$
PST.IPFV-SM$_{1PL}$-come_out-HAB-FV NP$_{17}$-Makanga SM$_{1PL}$-go-FV
kwa-rinyánti
NP$_{17}$-Linyanti
'**Sometimes** they would go to Lizauli. **Sometimes**, we would go from Makanga to Linyanti.' (NF_Narr17)

Like 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 in noun class with the noun it replaces or refers to, e.g. class 2 in (251) to indicate plural human referents, and class 1 in (252) to indicate a single human referent.

(251) **bònshé**: bàrwárà kàmpòrwè
ba-onshé: ba-rwá$_{H}$r-a ka-mporwe
PP$_2$-all SM$_2$-be_ill-FV NP$_{12}$-diarrhea
'**They all** suffer from diarrhea.' (NF_Elic17)

(252) bàkéntù bòbírè **zyúmwì** ákùzârà òmùntù **zyúmwì** ákùzârà èŋwárárà
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-∅-ŋwarará
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)

4.3.5 Possessives

Fwe has a small set of possessives stems, listed, with their underlying tone pat-
terns, in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21: Possessive stems

	singular	plural
1	*angú*	*etú*
2	*akó*	*enú*
3	*akwé*	(*abó*)

The possessive stem is marked for agreement with the head noun with a
pronominal prefix (see Table 4.1). An example is given in (253), where the pos-
sessive stem *etú* is marked with a pronominal prefix *u-* of class 3, agreeing with
the head noun *mùnzí* 'village'.

(253) mùnzí ꜜwétù
mu-nzí u-etú
NP3-village PP3-POSS1PL
'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 in
(254).

(254) òmùndáré ꜜwábò
o-mu-ndaré u-abó
AUG-NP3-maize PP3-DEM.III2
'their maize'

All possessives have a floating high tone which surfaces on the mora preceding the possessive, usually the last mora of the noun it modifies. In (255), the low-toned noun *vùmò* 'stomach', is realized as *vùmó* when followed by the possessive *ryángù* 'my'.

(255) vùmó Ꞌryángù
     ∅-vumó   ri-angú
     NP₅-stomach PP₅-POSS₁SG
     'my stomach' (ZF_Elic14

Possessives may be used adnominally, modifying a noun, or nominally, replacing a noun. When used adnominally, the possessive may follow the noun it modifies, as in (255), or may precede the noun it modifies, in which case focus lies on the possessive, as in (256). 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.

(256) rwàngú rùtângò ndùfwíhì nórò
     ru-angú   ru-tángo N-ru-fwíi   no=ró
     PP₁₁-POSS₁SG NP₁₁-story COP-NP₁₁-short COM=DEM.III₁₁
     'My story is also short.' (NF_Narr17)

When a possessive is used to replace a noun, the entity referred to can be inferred from context, and also provides the agreement prefix used on the possessive. In (257), two speakers discuss a cow; in the response, the possessive *yángù* is used to refer back to this cow, and agrees in noun class by taking the pronominal prefix of class 9.

(257)   a. ndàbónì èŋòmbè kúrwîzyì njákò
           ndi-a-bón-i   e-N-ŋombe kú-ru-ízyi
           SM₁SG-PST-see-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-cow NP₁₇-NP₁₁-river
           N-i-akó
           COP-PP₉-POSS₂SG
           'I saw a cow at the river. Is it yours?'
     b. íngà yángù kùmùnzì íkèrè
           ínga i-angú   ku-mu-nzi   í-ke_Hre
           no PP₉-POSS₁SG 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 expressing social or family relations, such as *yenz* 'friend', as in (258), *ana* 'child', as in (259), or *isho* 'father', as in (260).

(258) mùyéꞋnzángù
       mu-énz-angú
       NP₁-friend-POSS₁SG
       'my friend'

(259) àbáꞋnénù
       a-ba-án-enú
       AUG-NP₂-child-POSS₂PL
       'your (PL) children'

(260) béshwétù
       ba-ísho-etú
       NP₂-father-POSS₁PL
       'our father'

Suffixed possessives do not show agreement, but are otherwise very similar to the forms of the independently used possessive stems, except those of 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. Table 4.22 gives the forms of the suffixed possessive stems in Fwe.

Table 4.22: Suffixed possessive stems

	singular	plural
1	*-àngú*	*-ètú*
2	*-ó*	*-ènú*
3	*-é*	*-àbó*

Some nouns that take suffixed possessives cannot occur without a possessive. Other nouns take suffixed possessives for the second and third person singular, and suffixed possessives for other persons, such as the noun *mu-kúru* 'elder sibling' in (261).

(261) mùkúrwê
mu-kúrw-é
NP₁-elder_sibling-POSS3SG
'his/her (elder) sister'

(262) mùkúrù wángù
mu-kúru   u-angú
NP₁-elder_sibling PP₁-POSS1SG
'my (elder) sister' (ZF_Elic14)

5 Minor word categories

This chapter discusses a number of minor syntactic categories: personal pronouns in §5.1, comitative clitics in §5.2, copulative prefixes in §5.3, appositive prefixes in §5.4, and adverbs in §5.5.

5.1 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 5.1 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 §4.3.5). In Namibian Fwe, the initial vowel of the personal pronouns can be either *e-* or *i-*. Personal pronouns typically have a high tone on the last syllable, but this high tone may be intonational; personal pronouns are frequently used in contexts where they are directly followed by a pause, which seems to condition a rising intonation. Although intonation in Fwe has not been studied systematically, it is possible that the frequently attested final high tone on personal pronouns is intonational.

Table 5.1: Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
first person	*emé / imé* ('I')	*eswé / iswé* ('we')
second person	*ewé / iwé* ('you')	*enwé / inwé* ('you')
third person	*eyé / iyé* ('he/she')	(*abó*) ('they')

Personal pronouns are only used for human referents; to refer to non-human referents, demonstratives are used (see §4.3.2).

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, except when it is in focus or topicalized. To mark a first, second or third person as topic, a personal pronoun is used in the left-dislocated position (see also §13.2 on left dislocation), as in (1–2).

(1) cwárè **éyè** kàzyí: kùŋôrà
cwaré eyé ka-a-zyí: ku-ŋór-a
then PERS3SG NEG-SM1-know.STAT INF-write-FV
'But she, she doesn't know how to write.' (ZF_Conv13)

(2) **émè** kwààzy' ómò sàké ndìmùpángîrè
émè ku-aazyá o-mo saké ndi-mu-pang-ír-e
PERS1SG SM17-be_not AUG-DEM.III18 if SM1SG-OM1-do-APPL-PFV.SBJV
'Me, there is nothing I can do for her.' (NF_Narr17)

To express focus on the first, second or third person, a personal pronoun is used as the clefted element of a cleft construction (see also §13.6 on cleft constructions). A clefted pronoun marking exclusive focus ('only she, no one else') is shown in (3), and a clefted pronoun marking information focus is shown in (4).

(3) **ndéyè** bùryó ˈárè:tà èzìbyà mwíˈrápà
ndi-eyé bu-ryó á-re:Ht-a e-zi-bya
COP-PERS3SG NP14-only SM1.REL-bring-FV AUG-NP8-item
mú-e-∅-rapá
NP18-AUG-NP5-courtyard
'She is the only one who can bring items into the courtyard.' (ZF_Conv13)

(4) èyí ènjûò **ndìmé** nìbáyìzyà:kírà
e-í e-N-júo ndi-mé
AUG-DEM.I9 AUG-NP9-house COP-PERS1SG
ni-bá-a-iH-zya:Hk-ir-á
REM-SM2-PST-OM9-build-APPL-FV<REL>
'This house, it is me that it is was built for.' (NF_Elic15)

Personal pronouns are also required when the first, second or third person is used with a comitative or a copula, as in (5–6).

(5) mbùryó ˈndízànà **néwè**
mbu-ryó ndí-zan-a ne=wé
only SM1SG-play-FV COM=PERS2SG
'I'm just joking with you.' (NF_Elic15)

(6) **ndìmé** ˈSánètì Cábòrà
ndi-mé sáneti cábora
COP-PERS1SG Saneti Chabola
'I am Saneti Chabola.' (NF_Narr17)

Personal pronouns for the second person are frequently used as a term of address, as in (7–8).

(7) íwè cìnjí àhò kórâ:rì
     iwé   ∅-ci-njí   a-ho   ka-ó-rá:r-i
     PERS$_{2SG}$ COP-NP$_7$-what AUG-DEM.III$_{16}$ NEG-SM$_{2SG}$-sleep-NEG
     'You! Why are you not sleeping!' (NF_Narr15)

(8) íwè òtèèzé ꜛkúnù
     iwé   o-te$_H$ez-é   kunú
     PERS$_{2SG}$ SM$_{2SG}$-listen-PFV.SBJV DEM.II$_{17}$
     'You, listen here.' (NF_Narr17)

5.2 Comitatives

The comitative expresses a variety of meanings, some of which are captured by the English translation 'and'. It is expressed by a clitic with 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, as in (9–11).

(9) nòngwènà (< òngwènà 'crocodile')
     no=∅-ngwena
     COM=NP$_{1a}$-crocodile
     'and a crocodile'

(10) nénswì (< énswì 'fish')
     ne=N-swí
     COM=NP$_9$-fish
     'and a fish'

(11) nàkàfùrò (< àkàfùrò 'knife')
     na=ka-furo
     COM=NP$_{12}$-knife
     'and a knife'

The comitative *nV=* in Fwe is the 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 copy 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, as in (12), and as *ni=*, as in (13) or *ne=*, as in (14), in Namibian Fwe.

(12) kàndípàkíté mwâncè **nàndìkwèsì** ndìtòmbwêrà
ka-ndí-pak-íte   mw-ánce na=ndi-kwesi
RPP-SM₁SG-carry_on_back-STAT NP₁-child COM=SM₁SG-PROG
ndi-tombwér-a
SM₁SG-weed-FV
'I was carrying my child on my back while I was weeding.' (ZF_Elic14)

(13) ndàkùrí kùbútùkà **nìndìzìmbùrùká** ègrâùndì
ndi-aku-rí   ku-bútuk-a ni=ndi-ziₕmburuk-á
SM₁SG-NPST.IPFV-be INF-run-FV COM=SM₁SG-surround-FV
e-∅-gráundi
AUG-NP₉-sports_field
'I was running around the sports field.' [lit.: 'I was running while surrounding the sportsfield.'] (NF_Elic15)

(14) ndìzyìmáná **nèndìtóntwêrè**
ndi-zyiₕman-á ne=ndi-toₕntwére
SM₁SG-stand-FV COM=SM₁SG-be_cold.STAT
'I stand up quietly.' [lit. 'I stand up while I am quiet'] (NF_Elic15)

With nouns that never take an augment, the form of the comitative is *ni=*, *ne=* or *na=*. For instance, with nouns with a secondary prefix *ba-* (used to mark respect; see §4.1.4), the form of the comitative may be *na=* or *ne=* in Zambian Fwe, as in (15–16), and *ni=* in Namibian Fwe, as in (17).

(15) kàtúrèrè kúrùwà **nèbàmùkéntù** wángù
ka-tú-reₕre   kú-ru-wa   ne=ba-mu-kéntu
PST.IPFV-SM₁PL-sleep.STAT NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman
u-angú
PP₁-POSS₁SG
'My wife and I were sleeping at the field.' (ZF_Elic13)

(16) **nàbàmùkéntù** wángù
na=ba-mu-kéntu   u-angú
COM=NP2-NP1-woman PP1-POSS1SG
'And also my wife.' (ZF_Narr15)

(17) ndìhárá **nìbàmùkéntù** wángù nàbánàngù
ndi-ha_Hr-á   ni=ba-mu-kéntu   u-angú   na=ba-ána-angu
SM1SG-live-FV COM=NP2-NP1-woman PP1-POSS1SG COM=NP2-child-POSS1SG
'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, such as the noun phrase *mùkéntù wàkwé* 'his wife' in (18) and the noun *mwânè* 'her child' in (19).

(18) káhùpúrà ìyé témà **nèmùkéntù wàkwé** mómò àkàrá:rè
ka-á-hupur-á   iyé téma ne=mu-kéntu   u-akwé
PST.IPFV-SM1-think-FV that maybe COM=NP1-woman PP1-POSS1SG
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)

(19) òmùbèrékì kàswànéré kùkè:zyà kúnò **nèmwânè**
o-mu-beréki   ka-a-swaneré ku-ke:zy-a   kúno
AUG-NP1-worker NEG-SM1-must INF-come-FV DEM.II17
ne=mu-án-e
COM=NP1-child-POSS3SG
'A worker must not come here with her child.' (ZF_Conv13)

In Namibian Fwe, the use of the *ne=* form 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 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 (20); in Zambian Fwe, the comitative with these nouns is often realized as *ne=*, as in (21).

(20) ndìbyârà òmùndárè **nàmàbérè**
ndi-byár-a   o-mu-ndaré   na=ma-beré
SM1SG-plant-FV AUG-NP3-maize COM=NP6-millet
'I grow maize and millet.' (NF_Elic15)

(21) mùndáré **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 (22).

(22) òmbwá nàkásè ~ òmbwá nèkásè
      o-∅-mbwá   na/ne=ka-sé
      AUG-NP₁ₐ-dog COM=NP₁₂-cat
      'a dog and a cat'[1] (ZF_Elic14)

The comitative clitic is phonologically dependent on the word to which it is attached, as seen from its interaction with the augment, which determines the quality of the vowel. Morphosyntactically, the comitative clitic is relatively free. The comitative precedes all 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 (23), or the class 2 prefix used as secondary prefix, as seen in (24).

(23) ndìkwèsí njûò mwàìmûshò **nòkwásìnjèmbèrà**
      ndi-kwesí N-júo   mwa-imúsho no=kwá-sinjembera
      SM₁SG-have NP₉-house NP₁₈-Imusho COM=NP₁₇-Sinjembela
      'I have a house in Imusho and in Sinjembela.' (ZF_Elic14)

(24) **nàbàmùkéntù** wángù
      na=ba-mu-kéntu   u-angú
      COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS₁SG
      'And also my wife.' (ZF_Narr15)

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[1]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 *eminwe* 'fingers' used in counting; in this case the comitative is always realized as *no=*.*zòné: nòmìnwè yòbírè*

  (i) zi-o=né: no-mi-nwe   i-o=biré
       PP₁₀-CON=four COM-NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=two
       'six (lit. four and two fingers)'

Furthermore, the comitative clitic may attach to any word: nouns, pronouns, infinitives, and inflected verbs. There are some similarities between the comitative and the connective clitic (see §4.3.3), which is also phrase-initial and interacts with the augment. However, 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 (25).

(25) nàkíhùrìrì mùròrà wàkwê **nòwámùkéntù wàkwê**
      na-kí-ur-ir-i   mu-rora u-akwé
      SM₁-PST-REFL-buy-APPL-NPST.PFV NP₃-soap PP₃-POSS₃ₛ_G
      no=u-á=mu-kéntu   u-akwé
      COM=PP₃-CON=NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS₃ₛ_G
      '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.

One of the main functions of the comitative is to express conjunctive coordination, for instance, of two nouns, as in (26), or of two pronouns, as in (27).

(26) ndávú nònjòvù
      ∅-ndavú no=∅-njovu
      NP₁ₐ-lion COM=NP₁ₐ-elephant
      'a lion and an elephant'

(27) èmé nêwè
      emé   né=we
      PERS₁ₛ_G COM=PERS₂ₛ_G
      'you and me' (ZF_Elic14)

When the comitative is used with a conjunctive function, the comitative usually appears on the second conjunct only. The comitative may also be repeated on both conjuncts to express emphatic coordination, as in (28).

(28) **nò**mwáncè **nò**mùkêntù kwàázy' écò kàbàzyî:
      no=mu-ánce no=mu-kéntu   ku-aazyá   e-có
      COM=NP₁-child COM=NP₁-woman SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₇
      ka-ba-zyi-í
      PST.IPFV-SM₂-know.STAT-NEG
      'Both the child and the wife, they knew nothing.' (NF_Narr15)

The comitative is used with an infinitive to create a consecutive verb form, which expresses subsequent action, as illustrated in (29–30) (see §8.5 on the consecutive).

(29) àpàpàúrà nòkùhìnd' òmùzîo
    a-papaur-<u>á</u>   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)

(30) ndàtó:Ꞌrí cìshámù nòkùdàmá zyôkà
    ndi-a-tó:r-í   ci-shamú no=ku-dam-á   ∅-zyóka
    SM₁SG-PST-pick_up-NPST.PFV NP₇-stick 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 on a verb in the present tense construction; its temporal implications are then determined by the inflection of the preceding inflected verb: both events are interpreted as present if the preceding verb is in the present construction, as in (31), or past, if the preceding verb is inflected for past tense, as in (32).

(31) ndìshúwírè ònjòvù nàjwêngà
    ndi-shu<u>H</u>-íre   o-∅-njovu   na=a-jw<u>é</u>ng-a
    SM₁SG-hear-STAT AUG-NP₁ₐ-elephant COM=SM₁-shout-FV
    'I hear an elephant shouting.'

(32) ndàbónì bâncè nìbàbùtúkà
    ndi-a-bón-i   ba-ánce   ni=ba-bu<u>H</u>tuk-<u>á</u>
    SM₁SG-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', as in (33–35).

(33) kàbáyêndà nàbàmbwá Ꞌbábò
    ka-b<u>á</u>-<u>é</u>nd-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)

(34) nènyàzì yákw' Ꞌákèrè
    ne=N-nyazi   i-akwé   <u>á</u>-ke<u>H</u>re
    COM=NP₉-lover PP₉-POSS₃SG SM₁.REL-sit.STAT
    'She is with her lover.' (ZF_Conv13)

(35) ndìsháká èntí nòmùzírìrì
    ndi-shak-<u>á</u>   e-N-tí   no=mu-zíriri
    SM1SG-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 a comitative-marked nominal which refers to a participant that is already implied by a plural pronoun or subject marker. In (36), the subjects 'you and I' are both covered by the first person plural subject marker *tu-* 'we' on the verb. The second person singular is expressed again through a comitative-marked personal pronoun *ewe* 'you (SG)'.

(36) mbòtúyèndèrérè **néwè** kwɪ́táwúnì
    mbo-t<u>ú</u>-end-er-er-é   ne=wé   ku-é-∅-tawuní
    NEAR.FUT-SM1PL-go-INT-PFV.SBJV COM=PERS2SG NP17-AUG-NP9-town
    'I will walk with you to town.' (NF_Elic15)

Inclusory conjunction involving a full noun rather than a pronoun is illustrated in (37), which describes the speaker and his wife; although *bàmùkéntù 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.

(37) kàtúrèrè kúrùwà **nèbàmùkéntù wángù**
    ka-t<u>ú</u>-reHre   kú-ru-wa   ne=ba-mu-kéntu
    PST.IPFV-SM1PL-sleep.STAT NP17-NP11-field COM=NP2-NP1-woman
    u-angú
    PP1-POSS1SG
    'My wife and I were sleeping at the field.' (ZF_Narr13)

Inclusory conjunction is also possible when both the conjuncts are full noun phrases. In (38), the noun *bàntù* 'people' is in the plural, and is supplemented by an inclusory conjunct *nòmùshêrè* 'and [his] friend'.

(38) ònkómbwè nèŋwárárà kàbárí bàntù **nòmùshêrè**
    o-∅-nkombwe   ne=∅-ŋwarará ka-b<u>á</u>-rí   ba-ntu
    AUG-NP1a-tortoise COM=NP5-crow PST.IPFV-SM2-be NP2-person
    no=mu-shére
    COM=NP1-friend
    'Tortoise and crow, they were friends.' (lit.: 'They were people and [his] friend.') (NF_Narr17)

Inclusory conjunction is not obligatory. In (39), the subjects of the verb are the speaker and his dog, but the verb shows first person singular agreement, rather than first person plural.

(39) hàcìtûngù ndàyèndérèrì **nòmbwá ˈwángù**
    ha-ci-túngu ndi-a-end-ér-er-i   no=∅-mbwá u-angú
    NP16-NP7-hut SM1SG-PST-go-INT-NPST.PFV COM=NP1a-dog PP1-POSS1SG
    '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 in (36) and (37), the subjects expressed by a comitative are human (*ewe* 'you', (36), and *bàmùkéntù wángù* 'my wife', (37)), and therefore equally in control of the action as the speaker. In the examples without inclusory conjunction, such as (39), the speaker ('I'), as a human, is more in control of the action than the comitative subject *nòmbwá ˈwángù* 'my dog'.

The comitative can also be used to express an instrumental, as in (40–41).

(40) shìbànàkàsírì **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)

(41) kùkànkà ndíˈkánkà ècìkúnì **nàkàtêmù**
    ku-kank-a ndí-kánk-a e-ci-kuní   na=ka-tému
    INF-cut-FV SM1SG-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 §6.2 on the causative), which may combine to express focus on the instrument; see (65) in §6.2.

The comitative can also be used to express additive focus, translatable as 'also', 'too' or 'as well', as in (42–43).

(42) **nèmùkêntù** wángù nàshwénì wâwà
    ne=mu-kéntu   u-angú   na-shwén-i   wáwa
    COM=NP1-woman PP1-POSS1SG SM1.PST-be_tired-NPST.PFV very
    'My wife has also become very tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

(43) **nèshúnù** hánù ndìshíní mú ꞌcécì yá ꞌpéntékòsítì

ne=shunú hanú   ndi-shi$_H$-ní   mú-∅-céci   i-á-pentékosití

COM=today DEM.II$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$-PER-be NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-church PP$_9$-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, as in (44–45).

(44) **néyè** mùkéntù ákùbú:kà

ne=yé   mu-kéntu   á-o-ku-bú:k-a

COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ NP$_1$-woman CON$_1$-AUG-INF-wake-ITR-FV

'The wife also wakes up.' (NF_Narr15)

(45) òmú ꞌkwámè **nêyè** zàkwé zézìzì

o-mú-kwamé ne=yé   zi-akwé   zé-zi-zi

AUG-NP$_1$-man COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ PP$_{10}$-POSS$_{3SG}$ COP.DEF$_8$-EMPH-DEM.I$_8$

'The husband, too, his things are this and that.' (ZF_Conv13)

Another function of the comitative is as a marker of direct speech. It is attached to a personal pronoun indicating the speaker of the quotation, as in (46–48).

(46) òmú ꞌkwámé **nêyè** shìbànàrâ:rì

o-mú-kwamé ne=yé   shi-ba-na-rá:r-i

AUG-NP$_1$-man COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ INC-SM$_2$-PST-sleep-NPST.PFV

'The man said: they are asleep now.' (NF_Narr15)

(47) **némè** ndùngwè

ne=mé   ndu-∅-ngwe

COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ COP-NP$_{1a}$-leopard

'I said: it was a leopard.' (ZF_Narr14)

(48) mwáncè **néyè** máyè máyè màshènè

mu-ánce ne=yé   ∅-máye   ∅-máye   N-ma-shene

NP$_1$-child COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ NP$_{1a}$-mother NP$_{1a}$-mother COP-NP$_6$-worm

'The child said: mother, mother, there are worms.' (NF_Narr15)

The comitative can be used to coordinate two identical nouns, giving the interpretation 'every', as in (49–51).

(49) òmùntù nòmùntù
o-mu-ntu   no=mu-ntu
AUG-NP$_1$-person COM=NP$_1$-person
'everyone' (ZF_Elic13)

(50) **èzyúbà nèzyûbà** káyàngà kùrùwà
e-∅-zyúba   ne=∅-zyúba   ka-á̱-y-ang-a   ku-ru-wa
AUG-NP$_5$-day COM=NP$_5$-day PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-go-HAB-FV NP$_17$-NP$_11$-field
'Every day she would go to the field.' (NF_Narr15)

(51) **ècìntù nècìntù** cìkwèsì òbùrôtù nòbúbbì
e-ci-ntu   ne=ci-ntu   ci-kwesi o-bu-rótu   no=bu-bbí
AUG-NP$_7$-thing COM=NP$_7$-thing SM$_7$-have AUG-NP$_14$-good COM=NP$_14$-bad
'Everything has advantages and disadvantages.' (ZF_Conv13)

5.3 Copulatives

A copulative prefix is used in non-verbal sentences to link the subject to a predicate. The copulative prefix has a basic and a definite form. The basic form consists of a homorganic nasal prefix *N-*, which interacts with the noun's nominal prefix in ways that only partially follow established morphophonological rules in Fwe. The definite form consists of a separate form for each noun class. The full paradigm of copulative prefixes is shown in Table 5.2.

When the homorganic nasal of the basic copula is added to a nominal prefix that 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 in (52) with the class 1 noun *mu-ntu* 'person', which is ambiguous between 'a person' and '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, as shown in (54).

(52) mùntù
mu-ntu
NP$_1$-person
'a person'

Table 5.2: Copulative prefixes

	Nominal prefix	Basic copulative	Definite copulative
1/2/3 SG		ndi-	ndé-
1	mu-	N-	ndó-
2	ba-	N-	mbá-
1a	∅-	ndu-	ndó-
3	mu-	N-	ngó-
4	mi-	N-	njé-
5	∅-	ndi-	ndé-
6	ma-	N-	ngá-
7	ci	∅-	cé-
8	zi-	∅-	zé-
9	N-	nji-	njé-
10	N-	∅-	zé-
11	ru-	N-	ndó-
12	ka-	∅-	ká-
13	tu-	∅-	(n)tó-
14	bu-	N-	mbó-
15	ku-	∅-	kó-
16	ha-	N-	mpá-
17	ku-	∅-	kó-
18	mu-	N-	mó-

(53) mùntù
N-mu-ntu
COP-NP$_1$-person
'It is a person.'

(54) òmùntù
o-mu-ntu
AUG-NP$_1$-person
'a person' (* 'It's a person.')

When the nominal prefix begins with a voiceless stop, the basic copula is zero, i.e. no homorganic nasal is used. 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 2.5.1, homorganic nasals that mark noun classes 9/10 are maintained on voiceless stops, and as shown in Table 2.1, prenasalized voiceless stops are regular phonemes in Fwe. 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 *jɪ- 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-* of class 5 shows signs of being extended to other classes. In certain cases, it is used on nouns of class 1, as in (55), 1a, as in (56), or 9, as in (57). This is not an indication that class 9 nouns are reassigned to class 5; as the agreement on the adjective in (58) shows, the noun *nako* 'time' functions as a class 9 noun, even though it takes the copulative prefix *ndi-*.

(55) ênì ndìmwáncù wángú ꜛndírìndîrè
    éni ndi-mu-áncu   u-angú   ndí-rind-ír-e
    yes COP-NP$_1$-younger_sibling PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-wait-APPL-STAT
    'Yes, I am waiting for my younger brother.'

(56) zywìn' ómúꜛkwámè ndìbbâbbà
    zywiná o-mú-kwamé ndi-∅-bbábba
    DEM.IV$_1$ AUG-NP$_1$-man COP-NP$_{1a}$-grandfather
    'That man is my grandfather.' (ZF_Elic14)

(57) ndìnyàmà ~ njìnyàmà
      ndi-N-nyama   ~ nji-N-nyama
      COP5-NP9-meat ~ COP9-NP9-meat
      'It is meat.' (ZF_Elic14)

(58) ndìnàkw' éᶦncényà 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. This is illustrated with the class 11 noun *ru-tángo* 'story', with a basic copula *N-* in (59) and a definite copula in (60).

(59) ndùtângò
      N-ru-tángo
      COP-NP11-story
      'It's a story.'

(60) ndórùtângò
      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 historical 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 high tone of the (modern) augment (see §4.1.2).

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 §4.1.2), but unrelated to definiteness, as augmented nouns are frequently found both with definite and indefinite interpretations.

The copula is used to combine a nominal subject with a nominal predicate, by marking the latter with the copulative prefix. The subject can be a noun, such as *bàwáyìsì* 'the vice (leader)' in (61), followed by the predicate *mbàmùkéntù ˈwángù* 'is my wife'. The subject can also be an infinitive verb functioning as a noun, as in (62); or a pronoun, such as a demonstrative pronoun in (63), or a personal pronoun, as in (64).

(61) bàwáyìsì mbàmùkéntù ˈwángù
      ba-wáyisi N-ba-mu-kéntu   u-angú
      NP$_2$-vice   COP-NP$_2$-NP$_1$-woman PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$
      'The vice leader is my wife.' (ZF_Narr15)

(62) òkùhíbà nkúbbì
      o-ku-híb-a   N-ku-bbí
      AUG-NP$_{15}$-steal-FV COP-NP$_{15}$-bad
      'Stealing is bad.'

(63) àbá mbàrìmì
      a-bá   N-ba-rimi
      AUG-DEM.I$_2$ COP$_2$-farmer
      'They are farmers.' (NF_Elic15)

(64) èmé ˈndónjòvù
      emé   ndó-∅-njovu
      PERS$_{1SG}$ COP.DEF$_{1a}$-NP$_{1a}$-elephant
      'I am the elephant.' (NF_Narr15)

A copulative predicate can also be used without a subject. Compare (65), where the copulative predicate *njínswì* 'is a fish' is preceded by a subject *mbúfù* 'a bream', with (66), where the subject is absent.

(65) mbúfù njínswì
    N-bufú   nji-N-swí
    NP9-bream COP9-NP9-fish
    'A bream is a fish.'

(66) njínswì
    nji-N-swí
    COP9-NP9-fish
    'It's a fish.' (ZF_Elic14)

When a copulative construction lacks an overt, nominal subject, the intended subject is often inferable from the discourse, as in (67). The intended subject of *njìnênè* '(it) is big' is the speaker's house, a topic which has been brought into the discussion by the previous speaker.

(67) a. ènjúò yákò njìnénè kàpá ndí'ncényà
       e-N-júo   i-akó   nji-N-néne   kapá ndí-N-cenyá
       AUG-NP9-house PP9-POSS2SG COP9-NP9-big or   COP5-NP9-small
       'Is your house big or small?'

    b. njìnênè
       nji-N-néne
       COP9-NP9-big
       'It [=my house] is big.' (ZF_Elic13)

The predicate consists of the copulative prefix followed by a noun, as in (66), or an infinitive verb used as a noun, as in (68), or an adjective, in which case the copulative agrees in noun class with the subject, as in (69). Other nominal elements that may be marked by a copulative prefix are demonstratives, as in (70), possessives, as in (71), or personal pronouns, as in (72).

(68) òmùsèbèzí 'wángù nkùùrìsà
    o-mu-sebezí u-angú   N-ku-urisa
    AUG-NP3-work PP3-POSS1SG COP-NP15-sell
    'My job is selling.' (NF_Elic15)

(69) èyî nswî njì-nênè
    e-í   e-N-swí   nji-N-néne
    AUG-DEM.I9 AUG-NP9-fish COP9-NP9-big
    'This fish is big.' (ZF_Elic14)

(70) òbùká'bábù mbó'búbù mbó'búbù
 o-bu-kábabú   mbó-bu-bú   mbó-bu-bú
 AUG-NP$_{14}$-problem COP.DEF$_{14}$-EMPH-DEM.I$_{14}$ COP.DEF$_{14}$-EMPH-DEM.I$_{14}$
 'The problem is such and such.' (ZF_Conv13)

(71) àbá 'bámbwà mbángù
 a-bá   ba-mbwá N-ba-angú
 AUG-DEM.I$_2$ NP$_2$-dog COP-PP$_2$-POSS$_{1SG}$
 'These dogs are mine.' (ZF_Elic14)

(72) ndínwè éè ndímè
 ndi-nwé   ée ndi-mé
 COP-PERS$_{2PL}$ yes COP-PERS$_{1SG}$
 'Are you the one?' 'Yes, I'm the one!' (ZF_Narr13)

Phrase-final tonal processes affect both the subject and the predicate of the copulative construction. This is illustrated in (73), where the tonal process of high tone retraction, which only affects the last syllable of a phrase-final word, affects both the head *mbufu* 'bream', and the predicate *njinswi* 'is a fish'.

(73) mbúfù njínswì
 N-bufú   nji-N-swí
 NP$_9$-bream COP$_9$-NP$_9$-fish
 'A bream is a fish.' (ZF_Elic14)

To negate a copulative construction, the auxiliary verb *ri* 'be' is required in addition to the copulative prefix. This construction is discussed in Chapter 12 on negation.

5.4 Appositives

This section discusses apposition, a construction combining a first or second person referent with a co-referential, full noun through the use of an appositive prefix. Table 5.3 gives an overview of appositive prefixes.

Appositive prefixes are used on a noun, to mark the identity between the referent of the noun and the intended person, as in (74–77).

(74) èmé ndènyòkò
 emé   nde-∅-nyoko
 PERS$_{1PL}$ APP$_{1SG}$-NP$_{1a}$-your.mother
 'I, your mother...'

Table 5.3: Appositive prefixes

	Singular	Plural
First person	*nde-*	*tu-*
Second person	*we-*	*mu-*

(75) èwé wèmwá⸒nángù
ewé   we-mu-án-angú
PERS2SG APP2SG-NP1-child-POSS1SG
'You, my child…'

(76) èswé tùbàntù
eswé   tu-ba-ntu
PERS1PL APP1PL-NP2-person
'Us, people…'

(77) ènwé mùbá⸒nángù
enwé   mu-ba-án-angú
PERS2PL APP2PL-NP2-child-POSS1SG
'You, my children…' (NF_Elic17)

Appositive prefixes may be combined with a co-referential personal pronoun, as in (74–77), or without a personal pronoun, as in (78–79).

(78) **tùbakêntù** kàtùnákùtíyàngà cáhà
tu-ba-kéntu   ka-tu-náku-tí-ang-a cahá
APP1PL-NP2-woman NEG-SM1PL-HAB-FV   very
'**Us women**, we did not used to be afraid often.' (NF_Narr17)

(79) néwè òshùmékò **wènkômbwè**
né=we   o-shu_Hm-e=kó   we-∅-nkómbwe
COM=PERS2SG SM2SG-bite-PFV.SBJV=LOC17 APP2SG-NP1a-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 (19–21) in §7.3 on the reflexive.

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs in Fwe can be simplex or derived from other parts of speech with a derivational prefix *ka-*, *bú-* or *mbó-*. Adverbs can modify a verb, an adjective or another adverb, as illustrated with the adverb *wâwà* 'very' in (80–82).

(80) èzí zìshámù zìgórétè wâwà
     e-zí   zi-shamú zi-gor-*éte*   wáwa
     AUG-DEM.I$_8$ NP$_8$-tree SM$_8$-become_strong-STAT very
     'These trees are very strong.'

(81) èyí njûò njìndótù wâwà
     e-í   N-júo   nji-N-dótu   wáwa
     AUG-DEM.I$_9$ NP$_9$-house COP$_9$-NP$_9$-nice very
     'This house is very nice.' (ZF_Elic14)

(82) kàré: wâwà ndìnàmánì
     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 small, closed set of words that typically function as adverbs, listed in (83).

(83)
shùnù	'today'
zyônà	'yesterday/tomorrow'[2]
câhà (Namibian Fwe)	'very'
wâwà (Zambian Fwe)	'very'
cwárè	'then'
hápè	'again'
nênjà	'well'
nàngá	'even'
témà (Namibian Fwe)	'maybe'
mwèndí (Zambian Fwe)	'maybe'

The adverb *câhà* and its Zambian Fwe counterpart *wâwà* function as adverbs expressing general intensity, translatable as 'very', but can receive various more specific interpretations based on context, as in (84–88).

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[2]The interpretation of this adverb as either yesterday or tomorrow is dependent on the tense of the verb.

(84) àbùtùká **câhà**
a-bu_Htuk-á cáha
SM₁-run-FV very
'S/he runs **fast**.'

(85) àkó:rà **câhà**
a-kó:r-a cáha
SM₁-cough-FV very
'S/he coughs **loudly**.' (NF_Elic15)

(86) àbèná bàkéntù bàámbà **wâwà**
a-bená ba-kéntu ba-ámb-a wáwa
AUG-DEM.IV₂ NP₂-woman SM₂-talk-FV very
'Those women talk **a lot**.'

(87) kòkwí ꜛ**wáwà** nòmùbônì
kokwí wáwa no-mu-bón-i
where very SM_{2SG}.PST-OM₁-see-NPST.PFV
'Where **exactly** did you see it?'

(88) cìcíná cìrìmò ndìnàshînjì **wâwà**
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)

The prefix *ka-* derives an adverb from other words. Although this prefix resembles the class 12 nominal prefix *ka-* (see §4.1.1 on nominal prefixes), this homophony is likely accidental: whereas the class 12 nominal prefix *ka-* replaces the noun's original nominal prefix (see the examples in (92) in §4.1.4), the use of the adverb-deriving prefix *ka-* causes the noun's original nominal prefix and augment to be maintained, as in (89–90).

(89) njékàndé ꜛ**ryángù kóbùfwîhì**
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)

(90) **kómùtàrà** kwìná àbákwàmé sò mwànàmìbìà
ká-o-mu-tara ku-iná a-bá-kwamé so mwa-Namibia
ADV-AUG-NP₃-example SM₁₇-be_at AUG-NP₂-man thus 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 (89–90), or from adjectives (91), infinitive verbs (92), or numerals (93).

(91) ndìfwìrè **kànínì** ènjàrà
ndi-fw$_H$-ire ka-níni e-N-jara
SM$_{1SG}$-die-STAT ADV-small AUG-NP$_9$-hunger
'I'm **a bit** hungry.' (NF_Elic15)

(92) àkó:rà **kòkùóngòzà**
a-kó̱:r-a ka-o-ku-óngoz-a
SM$_1$-cough-FV ADV-AUG-INF-shout-FV
'S/he coughs **loudly**.' (NF_Elic15)

(93) náàkó:rà **kòbírè**
ná̱-a-a-kó:r-a ka-o=biré
REM-SM$_1$-PST-cough-FV ADV-CON=two
'He coughed **twice**.' (ZF_Elic14)

The adverbial prefix *ka-* can be used to derive adverbs of manner, as in (91–93), but also temporal adverbs, as in (94–95).

(94) zyônà nàndínàbú:kà **kàfôrù**
zyóna na-ndí̱-na-bú:k-a ka-fóru
tomorrow REM-SM$_{1SG}$-REM.FUT-wake-FV ADV-four
'Tomorrow I will wake up **at four**.' (ZF_Elic13)

(95) émè nándàré:tìwà **ká'náintínsíkìsìtì**
emé ná̱-ndi-a-ré:t-iw-a ká-náintinsíkisiti
PERS$_{1SG}$ REM-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-bear-PASS-FV ADV-1960
'Me, I was born **in 1960**.' (ZF_Narr15)

The prefix *bú-* derives 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 (96), and with verbs, as in (97).

(96) àsèbèzá 'búcènyà búcènyà
a-sebez-á̱ bú-cenya bú-cenya
SM$_1$-work-FV ADV-small ADV-small
'S/he works slowly.' (NF_Elic15)

(97)   náàrá:rà búˈtútúmà
náᷓ-a-a-rá:r-a   bú-tutum-á
REM-SM$_1$-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 (97)), and certain verbal affixes, such as the reflexive *rí-* and the stative suffix, as in (98). Adverbs derived from verbs can even take their own object, as in (99).

(98)   tùkèrè búrìgùmbênè
tu-ke$_H$re   bú-ri$_H$-gumbéne
SM$_{1PL}$-sit.STAT ADV-REFL-sit_close_to.STAT
'We sit next to each other.'

(99)   ndìkèrè búrìyàngítè màkárà
ndi-ke$_H$re   bú-ri$_H$-ang-íte   ma-kará
SM$_{1SG}$-sit.STAT ADV-REFL-cross-STAT NP$_6$-leg
'I sit cross-legged.' (NF_Elic15)

There are also three underived adverbs that have the nominal prefix of class 14 *bu-*: *bu-tí* 'how, so/like this', as in (100) *bu-ryó* 'only, just', as in (101), and *bu-ryahó* 'like that', as in (102).

(100)   mbòndítêndè bútì kántì
mbo-ndí-ténd-e   bu-tí   kantí
NEAR.FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-do-PFV.SBJV NP$_{14}$-like_this then
'I will do like this then.' (NF_Narr15)

(101)   ndìyéndè bùryó ˈkúmùnzì
ndi-énd-e   bu-ryó   kú-mu-nzi
SM$_{1SG}$-go-PFV.SBJV NP$_{14}$-just NP$_{17}$-NP$_3$-village
'Let me just go home.' (ZF_Narr14)

(102)   àhà bárèrè bùryáhò
a-ha   báᷓ-re$_H$re   bu-ryahó
AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_2$.REL-sleep.STAT NP$_{14}$-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 functions as a nominal prefix, as seen from the fact that it may take a copulative prefix, either the homorganic nasal, as in (103), or the definite copulative prefix *mbó-* of class 14, as in (104) (see also §5.3 on copulatives).

(103) mbùryó ꜜndíꜜzánà
      N-bu-ryó   ndí-zán-a
      COP-NP14-only SM1SG.REL-joke-FV
      'I am only joking.' (NF_Elic15)

(104) mbóbùryàhó ꜜtúꜜkéːzyà
      mbó-bu-ryahó   tú-kéːzy-a
      COP.DEF14-NP14-like_that SM1PL.REL-come-FV
      'It is like that that we are coming.' (NF_Elic17)

Adverbs can also be derived with the prefix *mbó-*, to express a comparison, translatable as 'like', as in (105–106).

(105) àrírà mbómùcècè
      a-rir-á   mbó-mu-cece
      SM1-cry-FV ADV-NP1-baby
      'She cries like a baby.' (NF_Elic15)

(106) èzí zìkúnì zìfwánà mbómùshòbò wònkéː
      e-zí   zi-kúni zi-fwán-a   mbó-mu-shobo u-o=nkéː
      AUG-DEM.I8 NP8-tree SM8-resemble-FV ADV-NP3-type PP3-CON=one
      'These trees look like the same type.' (ZF_Elic14)

6 Verbal derivation

Verbs in Fwe are morphologically highly complex, taking multiple derivational suffixes, discussed in this chapter, as well as complex inflectional morphology, discussed in chapters 7-12. Verbal derivation in Fwe mainly makes use of suffixes, in addition to full and partial stem reduplication. Verbal derivational suffixes appear directly after the verb stem, and before inflectional suffixes. The rich verbal derivational morphology of Fwe is typical of Bantu languages, and most derivational suffixes are clear reflexes of common Bantu morphemes.

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 (1), or applicative, as in (2).

(1) àzwìsìwâ
     a-zw-is-iw-á̲
     SM$_1$-leave-CAUS-PASS-FV
     'S/he was fired.' (Lit.: 'S/he was made to leave.') (NF_Elic15)

(2) ècí cìpùrà ndìmè nàcápàngìrwà
     e-cí   ci-pura   ndi-me
     AUG-DEM.I$_7$ NP$_7$-chair COP-PERS$_{1SG}$
     na-cí̲-a-pang-ir-w-a
     REM-SM$_7$-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 these 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, tentive, and partial reduplication strategies are completely unproductive: they only occur in a handful of lexicalized verbs, and their semantic function cannot always 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 /i/ and /u/, as discussed in §2.5.3, and nasal harmony affects suffixes with /r/, as discussed in §2.5.4.

Most derivational strategies influence the valency of the verb. 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 passive, or the intransitive separative or impositive, all function as 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 §8.1.

The following sections discuss the formal, syntactic and semantic properties of each verbal derivation: the passive in §6.1, the causative in §6.2, the applicative in §6.3, the neuter in §6.4, the separative in §6.5, the impositive in §6.6, the two pluractional strategies in §6.7, the intensive in §6.8, the reciprocal in §6.9, the extensive in §6.10, the tentive in §6.11, and partial redupcliation in §6.12.

6.1 Passive

The passive[1] is marked by a suffix -(*i*)*w*, which follows the verb stem and precedes the final vowel of the verb, as in (3–4).

(3) cìshámú cìnàtémìwà
     ci-shamú ci-na-tém-**iw**-a
     NP7-tree SM7-PST-chop-PASS-FV
     'The tree has been chopped.' (ZF_Elic14)

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[1]In Bantu languages, the passive is typically treated as a derivational strategy, and it also functions as such in Fwe: it makes use of the same type of formal marking, e.g. a toneless verbal suffix of the shape -V(C), and the same syntactic properties, influencing the valency of the verb.

(4) nzézò zíbònwâ
     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 with /i/, the passive suffix does not undergo vowel harmony: its vowel is always realized as /i/ and never as /e/ (see §2.5.3 on vowel harmony). The passive suffix can be realized as *-w* instead of *-iw* in certain cases. In Zambian Fwe, the passive is realized as *-w* when preceded by another derivational suffix, as in (5), where the passive *-w* is preceded by the separative suffix *-or*. When not preceded by another derivational suffix, the passive is always realized as *-iw*, as in (6).

(5) kùkòndòrwà
     ku-kond-or-w-a
     INF-brew_beer-SEP.TR-PASS-FV
     'to be brewed (beer)' (ZF)

(6) 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*, as in (7–9).

(7) kùré:tìwà ~ kùrê:twà
     ku-ré:t-w-a
     INF-give_birth-PASS-FV
     'to be born' (NF)

(8) cìhìkwâ ~ cìhìkìwâ
     ci-hi_Hk-w-á
     SM₇-cook-PASS-FV
     'It can be cooked.' (NF_Elic15)

(9) kùnànùnwà ~ kùnànùnìwà
     ku-nan-un-w-a
     INF-lift-SEP.TR-PASS-FV
     'to be lifted' (NF)

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/, as in (10–11).

(10) kùtêwà
      ku-tá-iw-a
      INF-tell-PASS-FV
      'to be told'

(11) kùhêwà
      ku-há-iw-a
      INF-give-PASS-FV
      'to be given'

When combined with the stative suffix *-ite*, the passive becomes *-itwe/-etwe* in Zambian Fwe, as in (12), or *-itwa/-etwa* in Namibian Fwe, as in (13). (See also §9.3 on the stative.)

(12) ndìshéshêtwè
      ndi-she_Hsh-étwe
      SM₁SG-marry-STAT.PASS
      'I am married (said by a woman).' (ZF_Elic14)

(13) ndìkòmókètwà
      ndi-komók-etwa
      SM₁SG-be_surprised-STAT.PASS
      'I am surprised.' (NF_Elic15)

The passive decreases the valency of the verb, by expressing the patient in the subject position and leaving the agent unexpressed. Compare the active sentence in (14), where the patient of *ndiùrìsá* 'I sell' is *njûò*, 'the house', with its passive version in (15), where *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.

(14) ndiùrìsá njûò
      ndi-ur-is-á   N-júo
      SM₁SG-buy-CAUS-FV NP₉-house
      'I sell the house.'

(15) ènjúò ìhùrìsìwâ
e-N-júo   i-ur-is-iw-á
AUG-NP$_9$-house SM$_9$-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 *kwâtà* 'grab' in (16), results in an intransitive verb, as in (17).

(16) ndàmùkwâtì
nd-a-mu-kwát-i
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_1$-grab-NPST.PFV
'I caught her/him.'

(17) òkwàtìwâ
o-kwa$_H$t-iw-á
SM$_{2SG}$-grab-PASS-FV
'You'd be caught.' (NF_Elic15)

When used with intransitive verbs, the passive decreases the valency of the verb to zero to create an impersonal passive. An impersonal passive takes a locative grammatical subject, which has the semantic function of location. The locative subject may be expressed (pro)nominally, as in (18–19), or only through subject marking on the verb, as in (20–21).

(18) hàmùkítí hàzànìwâ
ha-mu-kití   ha-zan-iw-á
NP$_{16}$-NP$_3$-party SM$_{16}$-dance-PASS-FV
'Dancing may take place at the party.'

(19) kwìná kùkwèsì kùtàkùmìwâ
kwiná   ku-kwesi ku-takum-iw-á$_H$
DEM.IV$_{17}$ SM$_{17}$-PROG SM$_{17}$-shout-PASS-FV
'Shouting is taking place there.' (NF_Elic17)

(20) kùkwèsì kùshìbìwâ
ku-kwesi ku-shi$_H$b-iw-á
SM$_{17}$-PROG SM$_{17}$-whistle-PASS-FV
'There is whistling there.'

(21) kàmùrídàmînwà
ka-mu-rí-dam-ín-w-a
NEG-SM$_{18}$-REFL-beat-APPL-FV
'Beating each other is not allowed in here.' (NF_Elic17)

The use of the passive removes the agent as a core argument, but the agent can still be expressed as a peripheral participant by use of the class 17 nominal prefix *ku-*, as in (22–23). If the agent marked with *ku-* is a first or second person, the possessive stem is used, as shown with the first person singular possessive *kwángù* in (24).

(22) nàdámwà **kúbàntù bângî:**
na-dam-w-á **kú-ba-ntu bá-ngí:**
SM$_1$.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_2$-person PP$_2$-many
'S/he was beaten **by many people**.' (NF_Elic17)

(23) mùnàkó ímwìnyà ònkômbwè nàtéwà **kùzìzyùnì zòbírè** kùtè
mu-N-nakó í-mwinya o-∅-nkómbwe na-tá-iw-a
NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-time PP$_9$-certain AUG-NP$_{1a}$-tortoise SM$_1$-PST-say-PST.PASS-FV
ku-zi-zyuni zi-o=bíre kute
NP$_{17}$-NP$_8$-bird PP$_8$-CON=two that
'Once upon a time, a tortoise was told **by two eagles** that...' (ZF_Narr13)

(24) sìmátá nàdámíwà **kwángù**
simatá na-dam-íw-a **kw-angú**
Simata SM$_1$.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP$_{17}$-POSS$_{1SG}$
'Simata was beaten **by me**.' (NF_Elic17)

The agent noun may also be used without the prefix *ku-*: both possibilities are illustrated in (25–26).

(25) Sìmátá nàshúmìwà **kúmbwà**
simatá na-shúm-iw-a **ku-∅-mbwá**
Simata SM$_1$.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_{1a}$-dog
'Simata was bitten by a dog.'

(26) Sìmátá nàshúmìwà **ómbwà**
simatá na-shúm-iw-a **o-∅-mbwá**
Simata SM$_1$.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 (27), or when the agent is in focus, as in (28).

(27) a. sìmátá nàdàmíwà **kùbányàmbè**
          simatá na-dam-íw-a   ku-bá-nyambe
          Simata SM$_1$.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_2$-Nyambe
          'Simata was beaten by Mr. Nyambe.'

      b. *sìmátá nàdàmíwà **bányàmbè**

(28) a. kùnjí nàshúmìwà sìmátà
          ku-njí   na-shúm-iw-a   simatá
          NP$_{17}$-what SM$_1$.PST-bite-PASS-FV Simata
          'Who was Simata bitten by?'

      b. nàshúmìwà **kúmbwà**
          na-shúm-iw-a   ku-∅-mbwá
          SM$_1$.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP$_{17}$-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 §4.1.5 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 (29), but a present stative reading when combined with the stative inflection, as in (30). (For more on the interpretation of the present inflection in relation to lexical aspect, see §8.2.)

(29) mwínì ùkwàtìwâ
      mu-íni   u-kwa$_H$t-iw-á
      NP$_3$-handle SM$_3$-grab-PASS-FV
      'The handle can be touched.' (*The handle is being touched.)

(30) évú rìvwìkítwà kúmàbùnà
      e-vú   ri-vwik-ítwa   kú-ma-buna
      AUG-ground SM$_5$-cover-STAT.PASS NP$_{17}$-NP$_6$-leaf
      'The ground is covered with leaves.' (NF_Elic15)

6.2 Causative

The causative in Fwe has a productive long form with a suffix *-is/-es*, and a less productive short form, which consists of a change of the last stem consonant to /s/ or /z/.

The productive causative suffix *-is/-es* undergoes vowel height harmony with the stem (see §2.5.3). Examples of verbs with a long causative are given in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Verbs taking the long causative

bìrà	'boil (intr.)'	*bìrìsà*	'boil (tr.), bring to a boil'
shèkà	'laugh'	*shèkèsà*	'make (someone) laugh'
tàbà	'become happy'	*tàbìsà*	'make happy'
bòmbà	'become wet'	*bòmbèsà*	'make wet'
zyûmà	'become dry'	*zyúmìsà*	'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 the 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. This is illustrated in (31) with the verb *donk* 'drip', which takes a short causative *dons* 'cause to drip'.

(31)   a.   Simple verb stem
            kùdònkà
            ku-donk-a
            INF-drip-FV
            'to drip (intr.)'

       b.   Historical derivation of short causative
            -donk - + *i > -dons-

       c.   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 specific set 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 6.2, 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 *bû:kà* 'wake up; consult spirits' (see the first line of Table 6.2).

Some of the underived verbs in Table 6.2 are historically bimorphemic. For instance, the verb *bú:k* 'wake up' appears to consist of the root *bú* with the separative suffix *-uk* (see §6.5), which also explains the occurrence of the long vowel /u:/; and *zwâtà* 'get dressed' appears to consist of the root *zú* and the tentive suffix *-at* (see §6.11).

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 6.3; some of these may either take the short or the long causative. All other separative verbs only take the long causative.

Short causatives are also used with other, unproductive derivational affixes, namely the neuter *-ahar*, as in (32), and the extensive suffix *-ar*, as in (33).

(32)   a. kùbónàhàrà
           ku-bón-ahar-a
           INF-see-NEUT-FV
           'to be visible'

       b. cf. kùbónàhàzà
           ku-bón-ahaz-a
           INF-see-NEUT.CAUS-FV
           'to make visible'

(33)   a. kùsúmbàzà
           ku-súmb-az-a
           INF-become_pregnant-EXT.CAUS-FV
           'to impregnate'

       b. cf. kùsúmbàrà
           ku-súmb-ar-a
           INF-become_pregnant-EXT-FV
           'to become pregnant'

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[2]This verb appears to contain a passive suffix *-w*, suggesting an original verb root *nyeer*, but such a root is currently not attested.

Table 6.2: Verbs that (may) take the short causative

Underived verb		Causative verb	
bû:kà	'wake up (intr.); consult spirits (as a witch doctor)'	*bû:sa*	'greet, wake up (tr.)'
		búkìsà	'ask a witch doctor to consult spirits'
dònkà	'drip (intr.)'	*dònsà ~ dònkèsà*	'cause to drip'
fwìnkà	'become sealed'	*fwìnsà ~ fwìnkìsà*	'seal'
ᵍ/ôntà	'drip'	*ᵍ/ônsà*	'cause to drip'
kwâtà	'hold, grab'	*kwâsà*	'help'
nùnkà	'smell (intr.)'	*nùnsà*	'make (someone) smell (something); imagine to smell (something)'
nyônkà	'breastfeed (intr.)'	*nyônsà ~ nyónkèsà*	'breastfeed (tr.)'
rûkà	'vomit'	*rûsà ~ rúkìsà*	'hold someone who is vomiting'
sûkà	'disembark'	*sûsà*	'put down (when carrying)'
tùkùtà	'be warm'	*tùkùsà ~ tùkùtìsà*	'warm (something) up'
zwâtà	'get dressed'	*zwâsà*	'dress (someone)'
bòòrà	'come back'	*bòòzà*	'bring back'
hùrà	'arrive'	*hùzà*	'cause to arrive'
hârà	'live'	*hâzà*	'save'
kàbìrà	'enter'	*kàbìzà ~ kàbìrìsà*	'bring into'
nyèèrwà[2]	'become annoyed'	*nyèèzà*	'annoy (someone)'

Table 6.3: Separative verbs that (may) take the short causative

Separative verb		Separative verb with causative	
fùndùkà	'leave'	*fùndùsà*	'escort (someone who is leaving)'
kàntùkà	'cross a river'	*kàntùsà ~ kàntùkìsà*	'help (someone) cross a river'
ŋàtùrà	'tear; come up (of the sun)'	*ŋàtùzà*	'stay up till sunrise'
ùrùkà	'fly away'	*ùrùsà*	'blow away'
túmbùkà	'burn (intr.)'	*túmbùsà*	'burn (tr.)'
zímbùkà	'go around'	*zímbùsà*	'bring around'
zímbùrùkà	'cross the border illegally, circumvent; spin (intr.)'	*zímbùrùsà*	'smuggle (tr.); spin (tr.)'

The intensive, which consists of the reduplicated applicative suffix (see §6.8), invariably takes the short causative, as in (34).

(34) a. kùtúmìnìzà
          ku-túm-iniz-a
          INF-send-INT.CAUS-FV
          'to send (someone) incessantly'

      b. cf. kùtúmìnìnà
          ku-túm-inin-a
          INF-send-INT-FV
          'to send incessantly'

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 §6.1). The conditioning of the long and short causative forms is summarized in (35).

(35) Short causative: lexical exceptions, separative, neuter, extensive
      Long causative: all remaining lexemes, impositive, reciprocal

The causative derivation is highly productive; this derivation may combine with any verb, and its semantics are highly predictable. There are also a few lexicalized causatives, verbs with a causative suffix where the corresponding underived verb is not attested. Lexicalized causatives are seen with the long causative, such as the verbs *mwénges* 'greet', and *cáis* 'collide, knock off', and also with the short causative, such as the verbs *nyens* 'defeat', and *suns* 'dip (porridge in relish)'. Lexicalized causatives are rare, though, and in most cases the causative derivation is used productively.

The causative increases the valency of the verb by adding an agent participant. For example, the intransitive verb *túmbuk* 'burn' takes a single argument *òmùrìrò* 'fire' expressed as a subject, as in (36). When derived with a causative in (37), the subject is demoted to object, and the newly added agent 'I' is expressed as a subject.

(36) òmùrìrò ùtùmbúkà
      o-mu-riro   u-tu$_H$mbuk-á
      AUG-NP$_3$-fire SM$_3$-burn-FV
      'The fire burns.'

(37) ndìtùmbùs' ómùrìrò
      ndi-tu$_H$mbus-á   o-mu-riro
      SM$_{1SG}$-burn.CAUS-FV AUG-NP$_3$-fire
      'I light the fire.' (NF_Elic15)

With an intransitive verb, the causative derives a transitive verb, as in (37). With a transitive verb, such as *rí* 'eat', the causative derives a ditransitive verb *rí-is* 'feed', as in (38), where *rí-is* 'feed' is used with two objects, a causer object, the child, and a causee object, the porridge.

(38) ndìrìs' ó⌐mwáncè nkôkò
      ndi-ri$_H$-is-á   o-mu-ánce   N-kóko
      SM$_{1SG}$-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP$_1$-child NP$_9$-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 in (39–40).

(39) ndàtésì òmúkwàmé òbùsâ
      ndi-a-tá-is-i   o-mú-kwamé o-bu-sá
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-say-CAUS-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_1$-man AUG-NP$_{14}$-thief
      'I accused the man of theft.'

(40) ndàtésì òbùsá mú'kwámè
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)

This is also the case when the causative introduces an instrumental object: as shown in (41–42), the instrument *àkàfùrò* 'knife' introduced by the causative can appear before or after the patient *ènyàmà* 'meat'.

(41) ndìfùndìsá 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.'

(42) ndìfùndìsá 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)

Both objects of the causative verb may be pronominalized, as shown with the causative verb *rí-is* 'feed': both objects can be expressed nominally, as in (43), or the causer can be pronominalized, as in (44), or the causee can be pronominalized, as in (45). It is also possible for both objects of a causative verb to be pronominalized, as in (46).

(43) ndìrìs' ó'mwáncè nkôkò
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.'

(44) ndìmùrìs' énkôkò
ndi-mu-ri_H-is-á   e-N-kóko
SM_{1SG}-OM₁-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-porridge
'I feed her/him porridge.'

(45) ndàyírìsì mwâncè
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)

(46) ndàbúmùtêsì
      ndi-a-bú-mu-tá-is-i
      SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{14}-OM_{1}-say-CAUS-NPST.PFV
      'I accused her/him of it.' (NF_Elic17)

Instrumental causatives also allow the pronominalization of either object, as in (48–49), but, as (50) shows, not both. This is not necessarily a property of the instrumental causative, however, but due to a wider generalization in Fwe that when multiple object markers are used, only one can have an inanimate referent (see §7.2).

(47) ndìsùmìs' éndòngà cìzyàbàrò
      ndi-su_{H}m-is-á   e-N-donga   ci-zyabaro
      SM_{1SG}-sew-CAUS-FV AUG-NP_{9}-needle NP_{7}-shirt
      'I sew the shirt with a needle.'

(48) ndàcísùmìsì ndòngà
      ndi-a-cí-sum-is-i   N-donga
      SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{7}-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP_{9}-needle
      'I've sewn it with a needle.'

(49) ndàyísùmìsì cìzyàbàrò
      ndi-a-í-sum-is-i   ci-zyabaro
      SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{9}-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP_{7}-shirt
      'I've sewn the shirt with it.' (NF_Elic17)

(50) *ndàyícìsùmìsì
      ndi-a-í-ci-sum-is-i
      SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{9}-OM_{7}-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV
      Intended: 'I sew it with it.' (NF_Elic17)

The causative in Fwe can be used to express different types of causation, which form part of a "causative continuum" (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001), ranging from direct causation to indirect causation through a number of different, intermediate causation types. Direct causation 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. This use of the causative in Fwe is shown in (51), which uses a causative verb *cènèsà* to express that the agent 'I', causes the patient (the house) to become clean by physically cleaning it.

(51) ndìcènèsá ènjûò
      ndi-cen-es-á   e-N-júo
      SM₁SG-become_clean-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-house
      'I clean the house.' (NF_Elic15)

Moving along the causative continuum, direct causation is bordered by so-ciative causation, where the causer agent does not cause the causee patient to perform the action, but rather assists the patient in performing the action, by performing the action with her, for instance (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001). Socia-tive 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 use of the causative for sociative causation in Fwe is illustrated in (52–54).

(52) kàntí ndìkùtòmbwérìsè
      kantí ndi-ku-tombwér-is-e
      then SM₁SG-OM₂SG-weed-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
      'Let me help you weeding (by weeding with you).' (NF_Narr15)

(53) àkwèsì àndìàmbìsâ
      a-kwesi a-ndi-amb-is-á
      SM₁-have SM₁-OM₁SG-talk-CAUS-FV
      'S/he is talking to/with me.' (NF_Elic15)

(54) bàkwèsì bàndìzyàmbìrìsâ
      ba-kwesi ba-ndi-zyambir-is-á
      SM₂-PROG SM₂-OM₁SG-gather-CAUS-FV
      'They are helping me gather.' (Explanation: we are all gathering, but the results will go to me.) (NF_Elic17)

The sociative use of the causative may also refer to keeping someone company, rather than actively helping them perform a certain action, as in (55–56).

(55) òyéndè òkàmúkàrìsè
      o-énd-e   o-ka-mú-kar-is-e
      SM₂SG-go-PFV.SBJV SM₂SG-DIST-OM₁-sit-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
      'Go and sit with him/keep her/him company.' (NF_Elic17)

(56) mùbàfúndúsè bàêndè
mu-ba_H-fund-<u>ús</u>-e ba-<u>é</u>nd-e
SM_2PL-OM_2-leave-SEP.CAUS-PFV.SBJV SM_2-go-PFV.SBJV
'Escort her/him as/so that s/he goes.' (NF_Elic15)

It is also possible 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 & Pardeshi 2001: 100), as in (57).

(57) kùrúkìsà ~ kùrûsa
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, indirect causation is mostly expressed through periphrastic constructions using lexical verbs such as *rê:tà* 'bring', as in (58–59), or *sîyà* 'leave', as in (60).

(58) ècò **nìcá'ré:tà** kùtéyè ndìkàbíré mùcêcì kùrwáràrwàrà há'zíkò ryángù
e-co ni-c<u>í</u>-a-r<u>é</u>:t-a kutéye ndi-kabir-<u>é</u>
AUG-DEM.III_7 PST-SM_7-PST-bring-FV<REL> that SM_1SG-enter-PFV.SBJV
mu-∅-céci ∅-ku-rwára-rwar-a há-zíko ri-angú
NP_18-NP_9-church COP-NP_15-PL2-be_sick-FV NP_16-hearth PP_5-POSS_1SG
'What made me go to church, was sickness in my family.' (ZF_Narr15)

(59) òzyú mùntù ndéyè **nàré:tì** bàndìzwîsè
o-zyú mu-ntu ndi-éye na-ré:t-i
AUG-DEM.I_1 NP_1-person COP-PERS_3SG SM_1.PST-bring-NPST.PFV
ba-ndi-zwís-e
SM_2-OM_1SG-fire-PFV.SBJV
'This person, s/he is the one who got me fired.' (NF_Elic17)

(60) **kàndìsîyì** ìyé ndìyàbùré zìfûhà
ka-a-ndi-sí-i iye ndi-yabur-<u>é</u> zi-fúha
NEG-SM_1-OM_1SG-leave-NEG that SM_1SG-pick-PFV.SBJV NP_8-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. In (61), 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.

(61) bámà bànàndìkúrîsì
      ba-má   ba-na-ndi-kur-ís-i
      NP2-mother SM2SG-PST-OM1SG-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 (62), 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 through verbal instruction, is not accepted.

(62) àndìkàbìrìsá ˈmwíˈrápà
      a-ndi-kabir-is-á   mú-e-∅-rapá
      SM1-OM1SG-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.

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). The instrumental use of the causative is also attested in other Bantu Botatwe languages, such as Tonga (Carter 2002: 47; Collins 1962: 58-59), Ila (Smith 1964: 123-127), Lenje (Madan 1908: 47), and Totela (Crane 2019: 669), suggesting that this innovation may have occurred on the level of Proto-Bantu Botatwe. The instrumental use of the causative in Fwe is illustrated in (63–64).

(63) ndìkùmbìrákò àkàfùrò **ndìkàfúndìsèkò** ènyàmá ꞌyángù
      ndi-ku_Hmbir-a=k<u>ó</u>   ka-furo   ndi-ka_H-f<u>ú</u>nd-is-e=ko
      SM_1SG-request-FV=LOC_17 NP_12-knife SM_1SG-OM_12-cut-CAUS-PFV.SBJV=LOC_17
      e-nyamá i-angú
      AUG-meat PP_9-POSS_1SG
      'I ask for a knife so that I can cut my meat with it.' (ZF_Elic13)

(64) kwìnꞌ èsábúrè èryò bánàkùshàkà **kùmífùndìsàngà**
      ku-iná   e-∅-sabúre   e-ryo   b<u>á</u>-naku-shak-a
      NP_17-be_at AUG-NP_5-machete AUG-DEM.III_5 SM_2.REL-HAB-want-FV
      ku-mí-fund-is-ang-a
      INF-OM_2PL-cut-CAUS-HAB-FV
      'There is a machete that he keeps wanting to cut you with.' (NF_Narr15)

Another strategy for marking instruments is the use of the comitative clitic *nV=* (see §5.2). This clitic may be used without the causative suffix on the verb, as in (65), or may combine with a verb with a causative, as in (66), which is interpreted as emphasizing the instrument.

(65) kùhòmpwèrà nènsàndò
      ku-hompwer-a ne=N-sando
      INF-hammer-FV COM=NP_9-hammer
      'to hit with a hammer'

(66) kùhòmpwèrèsà nènsàndò
      ku-hompw-er-es-a   ne=N-sando
      INF-hammer-CAUS-FV COM=NP_9-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 §4.2 on nominal derivation).

(67) cì-bbùkùrìsò   'bellows'   kù-bbùkùr-à 'to stoke a fire'
      cì-fwìnkìsò   'stopper, seal'   kù-fwìnk-à   'to seal'
      cì-kùrìsò   'broom'   kù-kùr-à   'to sweep'
      cí-àrìsò   'latch'   kú-àr-à   'to close'

The causative can also be used in combination with the reflexive prefix *rí-/kí-* to indicate an action that someone is pretending to perform, as in (68–69).

(68) ákùríònèsà búryò
a-óku-rí-on-es-a   bu-ryó
SM$_1$-NPST.IPFV-REFL-snore-CAUS-FV NP$_{14}$-just
'She was just pretending to snore.'

(69) kùrízyùmìnìzà (cf. kùzyúmìnìnà 'be unconscious')
ku-rí-zyúm-iniz-a
INF-REFL-be_hard-INT.CAUS-FV
'to pretend to be unconscious'

6.3 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 2.5.3-2.5.4). The four different forms are illustrated in (70).

(70) kùàmbà 'to speak'   > kùàmbìrà 'to tell (someone)'
     kùnyènsà 'to defend'   > kùnyènsèrà 'to defend for'
     kùkà:nà 'to refuse'   > kùká:nìnà 'to refuse to/for'
     kùtòmà 'to charge dowry'   > kùtòmènà to charge dowry to'

The applicative can be realized differently when preceded by a causative suffix. Three different realizations of the causative/applicative combination are possible (aside from allomorphs due to vowel harmony): *-is-ir, -is-iz, -is-ik-iz*. All three forms are illustrated in (71) with the verb *zw* 'come out'. Note that in all cases, the causative precedes the applicative, as is typical for many Bantu languages (Hyman 2003b).

(71) kùzwìsìrà ~ kùzwìsìzà ~ kùzwìsìkìzà
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*, as illustrated in (72) with the causative verb *bû:s* 'wake up (someone)'.

(72) kùbú:sìrà
ku-bú:-s-ir-a
INF-wake-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to wake up for/on behalf of'

(73) kùbú:sìzà
ku-bú:-s-iz-a
INF-wake-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to wake up for/on behalf of'

(74) 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 a analyzed as a combination of the causative *-(i)s*, the applicative *-ir*, and the short causative, which causes the consonant /r/ of the applicative to change 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 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 (75).

(75) àrìrà   'follow (in order of birth)'
     dékèshèrà   'move the shoulders in a dancing movement'
     fúzìrà   '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 unsystematic differences in meaning between the underived verb and the verb featuring the applicative, as in (76).

(76) kúmbìrà 'beg'   - kûmbà 'shout, howl'
      shúmìnà 'tie'   - shûmà 'bite'
      rá:rìrà 'eat dinner'   - râːrà 'sleep'
      shèndèkèrà 'mock'   - shèndèkà 'put in a leaning position'

A 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 §6.8. 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 has been reanalyzed as part of the root. For instance, the verb *zyambir* 'gather' contains an element *-ir* that functions as part of the verb stem, and therefore allows the addition of the applicative suffix, as in (77).

(77) bàkwèsì bàndìzyàmbìrírà
      ba-kwesi ba-ndi-zyambir-ir-á
      SM$_2$-PROG SM$_2$-OM$_{1SG}$-gather-APPL-FV
      'They are gathering for me.' (NF_Elic17)

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 *berek* 'work', it derives a transitive verb *bereker* 'work for', as in (78).

(78) ndìbérékèrè
      ndi-berék-er-e
      OM$_{1SG}$-work-APPL-PFV.SBJV
      'Work for me.' (NF_Elic15)

When used with a transitive verb, the applicative 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 (79), or the second object, as in (80).

(79) tùzyá:kír' ómwâncè njûò
      tu-zya:$_H$k-ir-<u>á</u>   o-mu-ánce   N-júo
      SM$_{1PL}$-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP$_1$-child NP$_9$-house
      '...so that we build a house for the child.' (NF_Narr15)

(80) náàùrìrá èzíryò àbânè
      n<u>á</u>-a-ur-ir-<u>á</u>   e-zi-río   a-ba-án-e
      PST.SM$_1$-buy-APPL-FV AUG-NP$_8$-food AUG-NP$_2$-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 (81), or the direct object, as in (82), or both, as in (83). When both objects are marked by object markers, the applied object is marked closest to the verb stem, and the reverse order is not possible, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (84). Example (85), which involves an animate applied object ('you') and an animate direct object ('him') shows that animacy does not play a role, as the applied object is still closest to the verb stem. Note that Fwe only allows multiple object markers if at least one has an animate referent (see §7.2).

(81) àbàsànzìrá òtùsûbà
      a-ba$_H$-sanz-ir-<u>á</u>   o-tu-súba
      SM$_1$-OM$_2$-wash-APPL-FV AUG-NP$_{13}$-dish
      'S/he washes the dishes for her.'

(82) àtùsànzìrá bànyìnà
      a-tu$_H$-sanz-ir-<u>á</u>   ba-nyina
      SM$_1$-OM$_{13}$-wash-APPL-FV NP$_2$-mother
      'S/he washes them for her/his mother.'

(83) àtùbàsànzírà
      a-tu$_H$-ba-sanz-ir-<u>á</u>
      SM$_1$-OM$_{13}$-OM$_2$-wash-APPL-FV
      'S/he washes them for her.'

(84) *àbàtùsànzírà
      a-ba$_H$-tu$_H$-sanz-ir-<u>á</u>
      SM$_1$-OM$_2$-OM$_{13}$-wash-APPL-FV
      Intended: 'S/he washes them for her.' (NF_Elic17)

(85) ndàmùkùdámînì
ndi-a-mu-ku-dam-ín-i
SM₁SG-PST-OM₁-OM₂SG-beat-APPL-NPST.PFV
'I've beaten him for you.'

When an applicative verb is passivized, either object of the applicative can become the subject. Compare the active clause in (86) with the passive version in (87), where the direct object has become the subject, and in (88), where the applied object has become the subject.

(86) àzyà:kìrá mwáncè kàjûò
a-zya:ₕk-ir-á   _   mu-ánce   ka-júo
SM₁-build-APPL-FV NP₁-child NP₁₂-room
'S/He builds a room for the child.'

(87) kàjúò kàzyá:kìrwà mwâncè
ka-júo   ka-zyá:k-ir-w-a   mw-ánce
NP₁₂-room SM₁₂-build-APPL-PASS-FV NP₁-child
'The room is built for the child.'

(88) mwáncè àzyà:kìrwá kàjûò
mu-ánce a-zya:ₕk-ir-w-á̱   ka-júo
NP₁-child SM₁-build-APPL-PASS-FV NP₁₂-room
'The child is built a room for.' (NF_Elic17)

The applicative can be used to express an action performed for the benefit of someone, as in (89), where the beneficiary is *òmùkéntù wàkwé* 'his wife', and in (90), where the beneficiary is *àbânè* 'her children'. The applicative can also be used with a malefactive meaning, i.e. an action performed to the detriment of the recipient, e.g. the first person singular in (91), or *bàntù* 'people' in (92).

(89) nàhúrírì **òmùkéntù wàkw'** ómùròrà
na-ur-í̱r-i   o-mu-kéntu   u-akwé   o-mu-rora
SM₁.PST-buy-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS₃SG AUG-NP₃-soap
'He bought soap **for his wife**.' (ZF_Elic14)

(90) èzìbyá èzò nàá̱'síyà náàzísìyìrà **àbânè**
e-zi-byá   e-zo   na-á̱-siₕ-á̱
AUG-NP₈-item AUG-DEM.III₈ REM-SM₁-leave-FV<REL>
ná̱-a-zí-si-ir-a   a-ba-án-e
REM-SM₁-OM₈-leave-APPL-FV AUG-NP₂-child-POSS₃SG
'The items that she left, she left them **for her children**.' (ZF_Conv13)

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(91) shòshák' ókù**ndì**zyónàwìrà màshéshwà ángù
sha-o-shak-<u>á</u>   o-ku-ndi-zyón-a-u-ir-a
INC-SM₂SG-want-FV AUG-INF-OM₁SG-destroy-PL1-SEP-APPL-FV
ma-shéshwa a-angú
NP₆-marriage PP₆-POSS₁SG
'You now want to destroy [**for me**] my marriage.' (NF_Narr15)

(92) kùhíbìrà **bàntù** màshéréŋì mbúbbì
ku-híb-ir-a   ba-ntu   ma-sheréŋi 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 (93–94).

(93) **ndì**hítwìrè bùk' éyì kwàòbèt
ndi-hítur-ir-e   ∅-buká e-í   kwa-obet
OM₁SG-carry-APPL-PFV.SBJV NP₉-book AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₁₇-Orbet
'Carry this book **for me** to Orbet.' (ZF_Elic14)

(94) ndà**mù**ká:nìnì
ndi-a-mu-ká:n-in-i
SM₁SG-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 (95–97).

(95) mbòndísànzìr' **ómùrá:rìrò** tùsûbà
mbo-ndí-sanz-ir-<u>é</u>   o-mu-rá:riro tu-súba
NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-wash-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₃-dinner NP₁₃-dish
'I will wash the dishes **for dinner**.'

(96) ndìzyà:kìr' **ómùndáré** ˈ**wángù** cìòngò
ndi-zya:ₕk-ir-<u>á</u>   o-mu-ndaré u-angú   ci-ongo
SM₁SG-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₃-maize PP₃-POSS₁SG NP₇-storage
'I am building a storage **for my maize**.' (NF_Elic17)

(97) kòó:rì òkù**yí**bèrèkèrà múmwêzì mbó**yì**bèrèkèré èmyézì yòbírè yòtâtwè
ka-o-**ó**:r-i   o-ku-**í**-berek-er-a   mú-mu-ézi
NEG-SM$_{2SG}$-can-NEG AUG-INF-OM$_9$-work-APPL-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_3$-month
mbo-**ó**-i$_H$-berek-er-**é**   e-mi-ézi   i-o=biré
NEAR.FUT-SM$_{2SG}$-OM$_9$-work-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP$_4$-month PP$_4$-CON=two
i-o-tátwe
PP$_4$-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)

The applicative can also be used to add a locative noun phrase, with two pos-
sible functions: either to express a direction or goal, or to express focus on the
locative (see Gunnink & Pacchiarotti forthcoming for a detailed discussion of
Fwe applicatives when used with locative phrases). While locative phrases can
also be added to underived verbs, the use of the applicative causes the locative
phrase to be interpreted as a direction or goal. This is illustrated with the verb
shotok 'jump', where a locative with the underived verb is interpreted as that
which is jumped on or over, as in (98–99), but used with an applicative, the loca-
tive expresses a direction, as in (100).

(98) nàshótòkì àkàyèzì
na-shótok-i   a-ka-yezi
SM$_1$.PST-jump-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_{12}$-stream
'S/he jumped over the stream.' (ZF_Elic14)

(99) ndókùríshòtòkà
ndi-ó=ku-rí-shotok-a
PP$_{1SG}$-CON=INF-OM$_5$-jump-FV
'Then I stepped on it.' (ZF_Narr13)

(100) àshòtòkèrá mùmênjì
a-sho$_H$tok-er-**á**   mu-ma-ínji
SM$_1$-jump-APPL-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_6$-water
'S/he jumps into the water.' (NF_Elic15)

Whether the applicative is required to express a direction or goal depends on
the lexical verb. For certain motion verbs, a location, such as a source or direction,
is part of their lexical semantics, and as such these verbs can be combined with

a locative phrase without the use of the applicative derivation. This is the case for, for instance, the verb *zw* 'leave', which includes the source (the place from which one leaves) in its lexical semantics, and therefore the use of a locative noun phrase referring to the source does not require an applicative, as in (101). Verbs that include direction as inherent part of their lexical semantics also do not require the applicative to combine with a locative noun phrase expressing direction, such as the verb *yend* 'go, walk' in (102), *y* 'go' in (103), and *ke:zy* 'come' in (104).

(101) àmàròhà àzwá hàcìrábì
a-ma-roha   a-zw-á   ha-ci-rabí
AUG-NP$_6$-blood SM$_6$-come_out-FV NP$_{16}$-NP$_7$-wound
'Blood comes from the wound.' (NF_Elic15)

(102) ndìyéndè bùryò kùmùnzì
ndi-*é*nd-e   bu-ryo   ku-mu-nzi
SM$_{1SG}$-go-PFV.SBJV NP$_{14}$-just NP$_{17}$-NP$_3$-village
'Let me just go home.' (ZF_Narr14)

(103) ndìyá kwàsèshèkè
ndi-y-á   kwa-sesheke
SM$_{1SG}$-go-FV NP$_{17}$-Sesheke
'I am going to Sesheke.' (ZF_Elic13)

(104) nàbàké:zyà kúmùnzí ꜛwábò
na-ba-a-k*é*:zy-a   kú-mu-nzí   u-abó
REM-SM$_2$-PST-come-FV NP$_{17}$NP$_3$-village PP$_3$-DEM.III$_2$
'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. This is illustrated with the verb *bútuk* 'run' in (105), *shótok* 'jump' in (106), and *hít* 'pass' in (107).

(105) kùnjúò yàkwé àbùtùkírà
N-ku-N-júo   i-akwé   a-bu$_H$tuk-ir-á
COP-NP$_{17}$-NP$_9$-house PP$_9$-POSS$_{3SG}$ SM$_1$-run-APPL-FV
'S/He is running to his house.'

(106) àshòtòkérá mùmênjì
a-sho$_H$tok-er-á   mu-ma-ínji
SM$_1$-jump-APPL-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_6$-water
'S/He jumps into the water.' (NF_Elic15)

(107) 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 (108), the use of the applicative to add a locative argument does not necessarily involve (physical) movement.

(108) ècí cìntù kàbábbòzérá àbá ꜛbámbwà cìntúnjí
e-cí   ci-ntu   ka-bá-bbo_Hz-er-á   a-bá   ba-mbwá
AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-thing PST.IPFV-SM₂-bark-APPL-FV AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-dog
∅-ci-ntu-njí
COP-NP₇-thing-what
'This thing that the dogs are barking at, what is it?' (ZF_Narr14)

The applicative can also be used to express focus on the locative, a function also seen in various other Bantu languages (see Pacchiarotti 2020: 145 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 §13.4). As seen in (109–111), 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.

(109) bàbbónádì kwàsìomà báberèkérà
ba-bbonádi ∅-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.'

(110) ècìbàka òkù ásèbèzèrà mùkéntù wángù kùré: ècìbàkà òkù ndísèbèzérà
e-ci-baka   o-ku   á-sebez-er-á   mu-kéntu
AUG-NP₇-place AUG-DEM.I₁₇ SM₁.REL-work-APPL-FV NP₁-woman
u-angú   ∅-ku-ré: e-ci-baka   o-ku
PP₁-POSS₁SG COP-NP₁₇-long AUG-NP₇-place AUG-DEM.I₁₇
ndí-sebez-er-á
SM₁SG-work-APPL-FV
'The place where my wife works is far from the place where I work.'
(ZF_Elic13)

(111) páhà rímànìná èkàndé ꜝryángù
     p-áha   rí-man-in-á   e-∅-kandé   ri-angú
     COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆ SM₅-end-APPL-FV AUG-NP₅-story PP₅-POSS₁SG
     '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, as in (112).

(112) 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)

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 *òmò* '(the way) how', used as relativizer, as in (113–115).

(113) ndìsháká òmò ázyìmbírà
     ndi-shak-á   o-mo   á-zyi_Hmb-ir-á
     SM₁SG-like-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-sing-APPL-FV
     'I like the way s/he sings.' (NF_Elic15)

(114) kàbásùmwìná òmò nìbákàhàrírà
     ka-bá-su_Hmwin-á   o-mo
     PST.IPFV-SM₂-report-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈
     ni-bá-a-ka-ha_Hr-ir-á
     REM-SM₂-PST-DIST-live-APPL-FV<REL>
     'They were reporting how they had been living.' (NF_Narr15)

(115) òmò nìbáfwîrà àbò bámùcémbérè
     o-mo   ni-bá-a-fw-ír-a   a-bo
     AUG-DEM.III₁₈ REM-SM₂-PST-die-APPL-FV<REL> AUG-DEM.III₂
     bá-mu-cémbere
     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, such as benefactive, may also be used in a relative clause headed by *òmò,* as

in (116). Only one applicative suffix is used, which carries both benefactive and manner functions simultaneously, as in (117); as the ungrammaticality of (118) shows, repeating the applicative suffix is not possible. This is in line with the general restriction on combining two applicative suffixes on the same verb.

(116) ndìsháká òmw' áhìkírà
      ndi-shak-á   o-mo   á-hi_Hk-ir-á
      SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III_{18} SM_1.REL-cook-APPL-FV
      'I like the way she cooks.'

(117) ndìsháká òmw' ábàhìkírà
      ndi-shak-á   o-mo   á-ba_H-hi_Hk-ir-á
      SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III_{18} SM_1.REL-OM_2-cook-APPL-FV
      'I like the way she cooks for them.'

(118) *ndìsháká òmw' ábàhìkìrírà

The applicative is combined with the reflexive prefix *rí-*/*kí-* and the adverb *buryo* 'just, only', to express a useless or purposeless action, as in (119–121).

(119) èrí ꞌsózù **rìrìtùmbùkírá** bùryò
      e-rí   Ø-sozú   ri-ri_H-tu_Hmbuk-ir-**á**   bu-ryo
      AUG-DEM.I_5 NP_5-grass SM_5-REFL-burn-APPL-FV NP_{14}-only
      'This grass **burns easily.**'

(120) èzí zìzwâtò zìcípîtè kònó **zìrìfwírà** búryò
      e-zí   zi-zwáto zi-cip-íte   konó
      AUG-DEM.I_8 NP_8-cloth SM_8-become_cheap-STAT but
      zi-ri_H-fw-ír-a   bu-ryó
      SM_8-REFL-die-APPL-FV NP_{14}-only
      'These clothes are cheap, but they won't last long (lit. 'they **will just break**').' (NF_Elic15)

(121) òmùntù **árìàmbìrààmbírà** bùryô
      o-mu-ntu   á-ri_H-ambira-amb-ir-á   bu-ryó
      AUG-NP_1-person SM_1.REL-PL2-talk-APPL-FV NP_{14}-just
      'A person who **just talks**…' (NF_Elic17)

6.4 Neuter

The neuter is expressed with a suffix *-ahar*. This suffix is unproductive: all the attested examples are listed in (122).

(122) bônà 'see'   bónàhàrà 'be visible'
       fòsà 'sin, make a mistake' fòsàhàrà 'be wrong, be a bad person'
       pàngà 'do, make'   pàngàhàrà 'happen, take place'
       sèpà 'trust, hope'   sèpàhàrà 'be honest, important'
       shàkà 'want, need'   shàkàhàrà 'be necessary'
       tèndà 'do, make'   tèndàhàrà 'happen, take place'
       wànà 'find'   wànàhàrà 'be found, occur'
       zyìbà 'get to know'   zyíbàhàrà '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. This is illustrated in (123) with the verb *bón* 'see'; underived, 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.

(123) òcìbwènè ênì cìbònàhárà
       o-ci$_H$-bwe$_H$ne   éni ci-bo$_H$n-ahar-$\underline{á}$
       SM$_{2SG}$-OM$_7$-see.STAT yes SM$_7$-see-NEUT-FV
       'Do you see it?' 'Yes, it's visible.' (NF_Elic15)

Unlike the passive, the neuter does not allow the reintroduction of the agent as a peripheral participant, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (124).

(124) *nìbáwànàhàrà kwángù
       ni-b$\underline{á}$-a-wan-ahar-a ku-angú
       REM-SM$_2$-PST-find-NEUT-FV NP$_{17}$-POSS$_{1SG}$
       Intended: 'S/he was found by me.' (NF_Elic17)

The neuter presents the event as having no agent. The neuter verb *bónahar* 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 neuter verb *wanahar* in (125), which focuses on the assumption that the profit will exist, rather than who, if anyone, will be present to find it.

(125) èngùrìsó yàkwé mbòyíwànàhárè

e-N-gurisó   i-akwé   mbo-í-wan-ahar-é

AUG-NP9-profit PP9-POSS3SG NEAR.FUT-SM9-find-NEUT-PFV.SBJV

'Her profit can/will be found.' (ZF_Conv13)

The neuter suffix *-ahar* in Fwe is 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. The suffix *-ahar* 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 *wanahar* 'be found, occur', which does not have a Lozi counterpart with the suffix *-ahal*. Other Bantu languages spoken in the same region have also acquired the neuter suffix *-ahar* (or variants thereof). Seidel (2008: 245) notes the use of *-ahar* as a neuter in Yeyi, also attributing it to influence from Lozi. The use of the 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.

Fwe also has another suffix that expresses neuter, viz. *-isik/-esek*, which can be analyzed as a combination of the productive causative suffix *-is*, and a suffix that may be the reflex of the suffix *-ɪk reconstructed with neuter meaning for Proto-Bantu[3] (Schadeberg & Bostoen 2019: 173). Neuter *-isik/-esek* is found with only two verbs, *wan* 'find', which may also take the neuter suffix *-ahar* without a change in meaning, as in (126), and *o:r* 'can', as in (127).

(126) kùwànìsìkà   ~ kùwànàhàrà

ku-wan-isik-a   ku-wan-ahar-a

INF-find-NEUT-FV   INF-find-NEUT-FV

'to be found'

(127) kùò:rèsèkà

ku-o:r-esek-a

INF-can-NEUT-FV

'to be possible'

---

[3]Traces of an earlier neuter(-like) suffix that may have been a reflex of *-ɪk 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.

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.

6.5 Separative

The separative derivation makes use of the suffixes *-ur* (transitive) and *-uk* (intransitive). Schadeberg & Bostoen (2019: 186) analyze the common core meaning of this derivation in Bantu to be "movement out of some original position", and hence propose the term separative. This semantic characterization fits the use of the separative in Fwe as well.

The transitive separative suffix has four allomorphs *-ur/-or/-un/-on*, conditioned by vowel harmony (see §2.5.3) and nasal harmony (see §2.5.4). The intransitive separative has two allomorphs *-uk/-ok* conditioned by vowel harmony. An example of the intransitive and transitive separative derivation of the verb ´ *ar* 'close' is given in (128–129).

(128) kúàrùrà
       kú-ar-ur-a
       INF-close-SEP.TR-FV
       'to open (tr.)'

(129) kúàrùkà
       kú-ar-uk-a
       INF-close-SEP.INTR-FV
       'to open (intr.)'

Verbs with the intransitive separative suffix *-uk* function as change-of-state verbs; they receive a modal interpretation in the present tense (130), and a present reading when used with the stative suffix *-ite* (131).

(130) èmpótó ìbbámúkà
       e-N-potó   i-bbam-uk-á
       AUG-NP9-pot SM9-break-SEP.INTR-FV
       'A pot can break.' (a warning to someone who is handling a pot carelessly)

(131) 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 may occur in a large number of verbs and its semantics is quite predictable, but there are also many verbs that may not take the separative, as well as verbs that take the separative that may not occur without it, and verbs where the semantic import of the separative is unclear. Most verbs that take the separative derivation may occur with either the transitive or the intransitive form, as in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Transitive and intransitive separative verbs

Transitive separative		Intransitive separative	
àrùmùnà	'roll (tr.)'	*àrùmùkà*	'roll (intr.)'
bbátùrà	'separate (tr.)'	*bbátùkà*	'separate (intr.), be separated'
kùmbùrà	'peel, strip'	*kùmbùkà*	'come off in strips, be peeled/stripped off'
kúzyùrà	'peel a *mongongo* nut'	*kúzyùkà*	'be peeled (of a *mongongo* nut)'
túrùrà	'pierce'	*túrùkà*	'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 6.5.

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 (132).

(132)   bbùkùrà 'stoke a fire'
        cùncùrà 'stumble'
        bárùkà 'taste a crop to test if it's ripe'
        bútùkà 'run'

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 *ᵍ/íntùrà* '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'.

Table 6.5: Separative verbs from underived verbs

Separative		Underived verb	
ròngòrà	'unload'	*ròngà*	'load'
rwárùkà	'become better'	*rwârà*	'become sick'
vwìkùrà	'uncover'	*vwìkà*	'cover'
zyàrùrà	'take blankets off the bed'	*zyàrà*	'make the bed'
Separative		Other derivational suffix	
cánkùrà	'remove from the fire'	*cánkìkà*	'put on the fire'
fúrùmùnà	'put upright'	*fúrùmìkà* *fúrùmànà*	'place upside down' 'be initiated (of girls)'
hángùrà	'remove from a high position'	*hánjìkà*	'put in a high position'
kámbùrà	'remove (from on top of each other)'	*kámbìkà* *kámbàmà*	'put on top of each other' 'be on top of each other'
zyàbùrà	'undress'	*zyàbàrà*	'dress'
ʔàpùrùrà	'take mud from a wall'	*ʔàpìkà*	'put mud on a wall'

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. Verbs with the reduplicated separative suffix and their underived counterpart, if attested, are given in Table 6.6.

When the separative suffix *-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

Table 6.6: The reduplicated separative suffix

Underived verb		Separative verb	
gâbà	'close a kraal'	gábùrùrà	'open a kraal'
hôshà	'plait hair'	hóshòròrà	'take out plaits'
kìyà	'lock'	kìyùrùrà	'unlock'
-	-	^{n}/ónzòròkà	'be thread-like, stretching (like okra)'
ràmbà	'plaster a wall'	ràmbùrùrà	'smoothen a plastered wall'
shúmìnà	'tie'	shúmùnùnà	'untie'
shwènà	'become tired'	shwènùnùkà	'become rested'

separative suffix has devocalized to a glide. This is illustrated with the separative verb *bbukur* 'blow on a fire' in (133).

(133)   òndìbbúkwír'   ómùrìrò
        o-ndi-bbuk-wir-é   o-mu-riro
        SM$_{2SG}$-OM$_{1SG}$-blow_on_fire-SEP.TR.APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP$_3$-fire
        'Blow on the fire for me.' (NF_Elic17

When the separative suffix combines with a more productive causative or passive suffix, the separative suffix is directly adjacent to the verb stem, as illustrated for the combination of the separative suffix and the passive suffix in (134). 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.

(134)   zàzyángùrìwà
        zi-a-zyáng-ur-iw-a
        SM$_8$-PST-harvest-SEP.TR-PASS-FV
        'Are they harvested?' (NF_Elic17)

The separative expresses a movement out of an original position. This is illustrated in (135–136), 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 (135) using the verb *zi:k* 'hide'. Afterwards, the other main character, a girl, goes to retrieve the teeth from their hiding place. This is described in (136) using the same verb with the separative suffix, *zi:kur* 'retrieve from its hiding place'.

(135) òndávú nàkàzí:kì àménò ákwê hàcítwè

o-∅-ndavú   na-ka-zí:k-i   a-ma-íno   a-akwé

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-lion SM$_1$.PST-DIST-hide-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_6$-tooth PP$_6$-POSS$_{3SG}$

ha-ci-twé

NP$_{16}$-NP$_7$-ash

'The lion has hidden his teeth under the ash.'

(136) ákàzì:kùrà áò mênò

á-o-ka-zi:k-ur-a   a-o   ma-íno

SM$_1$-AUG-DIST-hide-SEP.TR-FV AUG-DEM.III$_6$ NP$_6$-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, as listed in (137). These verbs usually lack an underived counterpart.

(137)
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'
ŋàtùrà	'tear'
ngwénjùrà	'slash grass (in order to clear a piece of land)'
^{n}|àmbùkà	'burst (of a mukusi pod)'
pwàcùrà	'break'
rùkùrùrà	'divorce'
tùmbùrà	'cut and gut a fish'
túrùrà	'pierce'
ǀàpùrà	'tear'
ǀàpùtùrà	'tear'

Verbs referring to various acts of removing also often take a separative suffix, as in (138). These, too, often lack an underived counterpart.

(138)
còkòrà	'remove skins of maize'
dùnkùrà	'thresh'
kúngùrà	'clean up after a meal'

nyùkùrà	'uproot'
ⁿ|òngòmònà	'hollow out'
ⁿ|òndòrà	'take out a fingerful of something'
shàrùrà	'pick out, e.g. rotten groundnuts'
tòmpòrà	'uproot'
tùmpùrà	'take a piece of meat from a boiling pot'
zùbùrà	'take a bit of food from a boiling pot'
zyángùrà	'harvest'
|òpòrà	'take out flesh, an eye'

6.6 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 §2.5.3 on vowel harmony). Examples of the use of the impositive derivation are given in (139).

(139)   cànkàmà 'stand on the fire (of a pot)'
         cànkìkà 'put (a pot) on the fire'

There are two verbs where the transitive impositive suffix *-ik* influences the verb's final root consonant: the verb *háng-am* / *hánj-ik* 'hang (tr./intr.)', where the root-final plosive /ng/ changes to an affricate /nj/, and the verb *dank-am* / *dans-ik* '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, as in (139).

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/, as in (140). 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 (141) 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*/.

(140)   a. kùhángàmà
             ku-háng-am-a
             INF-climb-IMP.INTR-FV
             'to climb'

b. kùhángùmùkà
ku-hang-am-uk-a
INF-climb-IMP.INTR-SEP.INTR-FV
'to fall down'

(141) a. kùkòtàmà
ku-kot-am-a
INF-bend-IMP.INTR-FV
'to bow the head'

b. kùkòtòmònà
ku-kot-am-un-a
INF-bend-IMP.INTR-SEP.INTR-FV
'to hold up someone's head'

As Table 6.7 shows, any verb that can occur with either the transitive or the intransitive impositive suffix may also occur with the other suffix.

Table 6.7: Transitive and intransitive impositive verbs

Transitive impositive *-ik/-ek*		Intransitive impositive *-am*	
dàbbìkà	'throw into water'	*dàbbàmà*	'jump into water'
hánjìkà	'hang, put in a high position'	*hángàmà*	'be put in a hanging/high position'
kúnìkà	'put on a smoking shelve'	*kúnàmà*	'be put on a smoking shelve'
nyòngèkà	'bend (sideways)'	*nyòngàmà*	'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 §6.10), or with the separative suffix (see also §6.5), as in Table 6.8.

The impositive suffix *-am/-ik* may be used to derive an impositive verb from an adjective or an ideophone, as in (142).

(142) fwîyì 'short; close (by)'
kù-fú-àm-à 'to approach'
kù-fwí-ìk-à 'to bring closer'

Table 6.8: Impositive verbs from extensive / separative verbs

Transitive impositive *-ik/-ek*		Extensive / separative	
rémèkà	'injure'	*rémànà*	'get injured'
súmbìkà	'impregnate'	*súmbàrà*	'become pregnant'
tándàbìkà	'stretch (someone's) legs'	*tándàbàrà*	'stretch (one's own) legs'
zỳabìkà	'dress (someone)'	*zyàbàrà*	'dress (oneself)'
zyímìkà	'put in a standing position'	*zyímànà*	'stand up'
cànkìkà	'put on the fire'	*cànkùrà*	'remove from the fire'
fùrùmìkà	'put upside down'	*fúrùmùnà*	'put upright'
hánjìkà	'hang, put in a high position'	*hángùrà*	'remove from a high/hanging position'
kámbìkà	'stack, put on top of each other'	*kámbùrà*	'remove from on top of each other'
shémpèkà	'shoulder a load'	*shémpùrà*	'go with a load on one's shoulders'

(143) túmpwì ideophone of falling in water
  kù-tùmpw-àm-à 'to fall in water'
  kù-tùmpw-ìk-à 'to throw into water'

The impositive suffix *-am/-ik* adds the meaning of putting or being put in a certain position. In (144), the verb *bomb* 'become wet' is used with the transitive impositive to describe putting something in water.

(144) ndàbòmbékì zìzyàbàrò
  ndi-a-bomb-ék-i   zi-zyabaro
  SM$_{1SG}$-PST-become_wet-IMP.TR-NPST.PFV NP$_8$-cloth
  'I've put the clothes in water.' (NF_Elic15)

In (145), the intransitive impositive verb *hángam* '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.

(145) òbùhárò shàbùhángámìtè
       o-bu-háro   sha-bu-ha_Hng-ám-ite
       AUG-NP₁₄-life INC-SM₁₄-become_high-IMP.INTR-STAT
       'Life has become too demanding (lit. 'high').' (ZF_Conv13)

The intransitive impositive suffix *-am* creates a change-of-state verb, e.g. to assume, or to be put, in a certain position. As is typical of change-of-state verbs, intransitive impositive verbs have a hypothetical interpretation in the present construction (146), and a present state interpretation when combined with a stative (147). The combination of the intransitive impositive suffix with the stative suffix results in a number of allomorphs, which are discussed in §9.3 on the stative suffix.

(146) mùkàmbámà
       mu-ka_Hmb-am-á
       SM₂ₚₗ-ascend-IMP.INTR-FV
       '[if you do like that] You'd ascend.' (NF_Elic15)

(147) 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 (148). The transitive impositive *-ik/-ek*, however, requires the expression of both the agent and the patient, as in (149).

(148) zìkúnì
       zi-ku_Hn-í
       SM₁₀-smoke-IMP.INTR.STAT
       'They [the fish] are on the smoking shelve.'

(149) níndàkún˥ík' énswì
       gll ní-ndi-a-kún-ik-á e-N-swí
       REM-SM₁SG-PST-smoke-IMP.TR-FV AUG-NP₁₀-fish
       'I've put the fish on a smoking shelve.' (NF_Elic15)

6.7 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.

6.7.1 Pluractional 1: completeness

The derivational suffix -*a* marks a pluractional with overtones of intensity or completeness. This pluractional is glossed as PL1. 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 §2.5.2). 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, as in (150).

(150) Pluractional verbs

    a. Pluractional -a with separative -ur/-uk

dàmàùrà	'beat up, beat to a pulp'
cènkàùkà	'look over both shoulders'
céràùrà	'keep on tearing'
ⁿ|ùmàùnà	'uproot'
pwàcàùkà	'break (intr.) (of multiple objects)'
túkàùra	'insult (multiple people)'

    b. Pluractional a with transitive impositive -ik

dánsàìkà	'scatter'
hánjàìkà	'hang up (multiple objects)'
sóndàìkà	'point (at multiple objects)'
ùràìkà	'name (multiple people)'

    c. Pluractional -a with applicative -ir/-in

shónjàìrà	'throw (multiple times)'
sòsàìrà	'keep on poking a fire'
shúmàìnà	'tie (multiple knots)'
shwátàìrà	'keep on whipping'

d. Pluractional -a with separative -ur and applicative -ir
ᶢǀánàwìnà   'divide (food) among'
shónjàwìrà   'throw (repeatedly) to'
hìndàwìrà   'keep taking for'
zyónàwìrà   '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, as in (151), but also with many verbs that have a lexicalized applicative suffix, as in (152–153).

(151)   kùzyá:kàìrà
        ku-zyá:k-a-ir-a
        INF-build-PL1-APPL-FV

        'to build for (multiple people)' cf. kùzyá:kìrà 'to build for', kùzyâ:kà 'to build'

(152)   kùshwátàìrà
        ku-shwát-a-ir-a
        INF-whip-PL1-APPL-FV

        'to keep on whipping' cf. kùshwátìrà 'to whip'; *kùshwâtà

(153)   kùshúmàìnà
        ku-shúm-a-in-a
        INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV

        'to tie' cf. kùshúmìnà 'to tie'; kùshûmà '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 6.9.

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 §6.5 on the separative). Pluractional separative verbs that have no separative form without a pluractional, do not fit this semantic characterization, as the examples in (154) show.

Table 6.9: The combination of the pluractional and separative suffixes

Pluractional	Separative	Underived
bbátàùrà 'divide (into more than two)'	*bbátùrà* 'divide (into two)'	-
ᵍ/àndàùkà 'disperse'	*ᵍ/àndùkà* 'disperse'	-
táràùkà 'go step by step'	*tárùkà* 'take a step'	-
shótàùkà 'jump up and down'	*shótòkà* 'jump'	-
dàmàùrà 'beat up'	-	*dàmà* 'beat'
ᵍ/óntàùrà 'drip continuously'	-	*ᵍ/ôntà* 'drip'
hàràùkà 'be scratched all over'	-	*hàrà* 'scratch'
yèndàùrà 'walk around'	-	*yèndà* 'walk, go'
kózyàùrà 'pick (fruit)'	-	-
shángàùrà 'contribute'	-	-
tángàùrà 'provoke'	-	-
zùkàùrà 'stir'	-	-

(154)   Pluractional/separative verbs that lack separative semantics

   a.   àmbàùrà 'discuss'

   b.   kwátàùrà 'touch all over'

   c.   yèndàùrà 'walk around'

   d.   zùkàùrà 'stir'

The transitive separative is subject to nasal harmony (see §6.5), and in some verbs that combine the pluractional with the separative, nasal harmony is maintained, e.g. *ⁿ/ùmàùnà* 'uproot', *ᵍ/ànàùnà* 'divide (food)', *càmàùnà* 'divide (food)'. In others, nasal harmony is not maintained and the separative is realized with /r/ instead, e.g. *dàmàùrà* 'beat up', *zyónàùrà* '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 §6.4 on the neuter).

Unlike most other 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. *yàkàùrà* 'writhe', *yèndàùrà* 'walk around'.

The core function of pluractional *-a* is to indicate that an action happens more than once, which can manifest itself in different ways: in a repetition of the action, or in an action involving multiple participants (either agents, patients, or recipients), as in (155).

(155) Without pluractional   With pluractional
       bbátùrà 'divide into two'   bbátàùrà 'divide into more than two'
       cènkùkà 'look over one's shoulder'   cènkàùkà 'look over both shoulders'
       jùntà 'hop'   jùntàùkà 'hop repeatedly'
       nyàkùrà 'kick, stretch a limb'   nyàkàùrà 'writhe'

When used to express multiple participants, intransitives express plurality of subjects, as in (156–157), transitives express plurality of patients, as in (158–159), and ditransitives express plurality of indirect objects, as in (160–161). This syntactic alginment is typical for pluractional verbs (see, e.g. Storch & Coly 2017 and other papers in the same volume).

(156) màténdè àcó:káùkìtè
       ma-ténde a-co:k-á-uk-ite
       NP6-leg   SM6-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-STAT
       'His legs are broken.'

(157) 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

(158) mùbòné bèná bàntù bàkwèsì bàdàbbàìká bàntù múmênjì
       mu-boₕn-é   bená   ba-ntu   ba-kwesi
       SM2PL-see-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV2 NP2-person SM2-PROG
       ba-dabb-a-ik-á   ba-ntu   mú-ma-ínji
       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)

(159) òshùmàìné màkôtò
       o-shu_Hm-a-in-é   ma-kóto
       SM2SG-tie-PL1-APPL-PFV.SBJV NP6-knot
       'Tie knots.' (NF_Elic15)

(160) àyàbúzyà:kàìrá 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.'

(161) àkwèsì àbàhàmbàìká èntàbà
       a-kwesi   a-ba_H-ha_Hmb-a-ik-á   e-N-taba
       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 in (162), and a repeated event reading with a singular subject in (163).

(162) 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.'

(163) èmpótó yàpwácáùkì
       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, as shown in (164) with the transitive pluractional *shúmàìnà* 'tie (multiple objects)', which requires a plural object, and is ungrammatical with a singular object.

(164) a. kùshúmàìnà màkôtò
           ku-shúm-a-in-a   ma-kóto
           INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV NP6-knot
           'to tie knots'

b. *kùshúmàinà kôtò
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, as in (165).

(165) a. màténdè àcó:káùkìtè
ma-ténde a-co:k-á-uk-ite
NP$_6$-leg   SM$_6$-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-STAT
'His legs are broken.'

b. *màténdè àcó:kêtè
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 §11.2) to indicate an event that is repeated in different locations, as in (166–167).

(166) ndìkàbúbàsùndàíkà
ndi-kabú-ba$_H$-sund-a-ik-á
SM$_{1SG}$-LOC.PL-OM$_2$-point-PL1-IMP.TR-FV
'I am going around pointing at them.'

(167) kùshúmàinà á'kábúshùmàinà màkôtò
ku-shúm-a-in-a   á-kabú-shum-a-in-a   ma-kóto
INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV SM$_1$.REL-LOC.PL-tie-PL1-APPL-FV NP$_6$-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, as illustrated in (168–169), 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 (168). This implicature can be canceled, however, as in (169), which uses the pluractional -*a* describing that two of the pot's legs are broken.

(168) míndì yéꜛmpótò yàcóːkáùkì
       mi-índi i-é=N-potó   i-a-cóːk-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.'

(169) míndì yòbírè yéꜛmpótò yàcóːkáùkì
       mi-índi i-o=biré   i-é=N-potó
       NP4-leg PP4-CON=two PP4-CON=NP9-pot
       i-a-cóːk-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, as in (170)- (171), which discuss a window that was destroyed by a stone. (170) 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 (171), the pluractional is allowed as it concerns a window consisting of multiple broken window panes.

(170) ryàpwácûkì
       ri-a-pwac-úk-i
       SM5-PST-break-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
       'It broke.'

(171) 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, as in (172–173). 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.

(172) nàkàyâ ìyé àkábúyèndàùràyèndàùrà òkábúbônà
       na=ka-y-á   iyé a-kabú-endaura-end-a-ur-a
       COM=INF.DIST-go-FV that SM1-LOC.PL-PL2-go-PL1-SEP.TR-FV
       o-kabú-bón-a
       AUG-LOC.PL-see-FV
       'And he went out to walk around, and look around.' (NF_Narr17)

(173) àbàzìmbàùkàzìmbàúkà
       a-ba_H-zi_Hmbauka-zimb-a-uk-á
       SM₁-OM₂-PL2-go_around-PL1-SEP.INTR-FV
       'She is avoiding them.' (NF_Narr15)

6.7.2 Pluractional 2: low intensity

The second pluractional strategy used in Fwe is reduplication of the verb stem, glossed as PL2. Examples are given in (174).

(174) àmbà 'talk'   àmbààmbà 'talk a lot'
       dàmà 'beat'   dàmàdàmà 'beat repeatedly'
       kwâtà 'touch'   kwátàkwàtà '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 6.10. In other cases, reduplicated verbs are also attested in their underived form, but the reduplicated meaning appears to be lexicalized.

Table 6.10: Lexicalized reduplicated verbs

Reduplicated verb		Underived base verb	
gábàgàbà	'talk nonsense'		-
rúngàrùngà	'disturb (with noise)'		-
shángàshàngà	'contribute (money)'		-
cábàcàbà	'fish by scooping with a bucket (lexicalized meaning); collect (productive meaning)'	*câbà*	'fetch, collect (firewood)'
shàkàshàkà	'look for'	*shàkà*	'want, need'

Reduplication targets the entire verb stem, including derivational suffixes, such as the applicative *-ir* in (175) and the causative *-es* in (176), and inflectional suffixes, such as the subjunctive suffix *-e* in (177) and the past suffix *-i* in (178). 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, as seen in (179).

(175) kùríhìndìràhìndìrà
ku-rí-hindira-hind-ir-a
INF-REFL-PL2-take-APPL-FV
'to keep taking from' (NF_Elic15)

(176) mùrìgórésègòrèsè bùryáhò
mu-ri_H-gorése-gor-es-e   bu-ryáho
SM_2PL-REFL-PL2-become_strong-CAUS-PFV.SBJV NP_14-like_that
'Just be strong.' (NF_Elic17)

(177) mbòndíshàkèshákè
mbo-ndí-shake-shak-é
NEAR.FUT-SM_1SG-PL2-search-PFV.SBJV
'I will search.'

(178) ndànyùngínyùngì
ndi-a-nyungí-nyung-i
SM_1SG-PST-PL2-shake-NPST.PFV
'I have shaken.'

(179) ndàcíˈnyúngínyùngì
ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
SM_1SG-PST-OM_7-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 (180), 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 (181). (See also chapter 12 on negation.)

(180) tàndìshàkíshàkì mwáˈnángù
ta-ndi-shakí-shak-i   mu-án-angú
NEG-SM_1SG-PL2-search-NEG NP_1-child-POSS_1SG
'I am not looking for my child.'

(181) ndààzyá kùshàkàshàkà mwáˈnángù
ndi-aazyá   ku-shaka-shak-a mu-án-angú
SM_1SG-be_not INF-PL2-search-FV NP_1-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 (182). A similar example is given for the past suffix in (183): 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.

(182) kùríhìndìràhìndìrà ~ kùríhìndàhìndìrà
       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)

(183) ndàyéndíyèndì ~ ndàyéndáyèndì
       ndi-a-endí-end-i   ~ ndi-a-endá-end-i
       SM₁SG-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; (184) gives two examples of the reduplication of verb stems with four syllables.

(184) shàkùǀàrùmùnàǀàrùmùnà shòkùsónsònìsàsònsònìsà
       sha-ku-ǀarumuna-ǀarumun-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))

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[4]. That lexical tones are not reduplicated can be seen in the infinitive form in (185): the lexical high tone of the underived verb *kwát* only surfaces on the root's initial syllable, both in the simple and in the reduplicated form.

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[4]More research is needed to study the effect of reduplication on verbs with a floating high tone.

(185)   kùkwâtà
      ku-kwát-a
      INF-touch-FV
      'to touch'

(186)   kùkwátàkwàtà
      ku-kwáta-kwat-a
      INF-PL2-touch-FV
      'to touch everywhere'

That melodic tones are not reduplicated can be seen in the near past perfective in (187), 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.

(187)   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. This may be an action repeated on a single occasion, as in (188–189), or on multiple occasions, as in (190–193).

(188)   ndàcíˈnyúngínyùngì
      ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_7$-PL2-shake-PST
      'I've shaken it.'

(189)   ndàkùrí kùyèndàyèndà há ndàkùàmbà héfònì
      ndi-aku-rí   ku-enda-end-a ha   ndí-aku-amb-a
      SM$_{1SG}$-NPST.IPFV-be INF-PL2-go-FV DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-NPST.IPFV-talk-FV
      ha-é-∅-foni
      NP$_{16}$-AUG-NP$_5$-phone
      'I was walking back and forth while I was on the phone.' (NF_Elic15)

(190)   òsháká ˈcáhà kùndìhùmpàhùmpà 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.)

(191) cìnjí ꜜáshèkàshékà
Ø-ci-njí á̠-sheka-shek-á̠
COP-NP7-what SM1.REL-PL2-laugh-FV
'Why is s/he laughing all the time?'

(192) ndàyèndáyèndì
ndi-a-endá̠-end-i
SM1SG-PST-PL2-go-NPST.PFV
'I've traveled to many places.'

(193) àrìrá:rírá ꜜrá:rírá bùryô
a-ri_H-ra:_Hrirá̠-ra:r-ir-á̠ 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-*, as in (194–195).

(194) kàbúrìhíndìràhìndìrà bùryô
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.'

(195) mbùryó ꜜndíkàbúzìshùwàshùwà kúbàntù
N-bu-ryó ndí̠-kabú-zi_H-shuwa-shuw-a kú-ba-ntu
COP-NP14-only SM1SG.REL-LOC.PL-OM8-PL2-hear-FV 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, as in (196), and multiple objects in the case of a transitive verb, as in (197). This same pattern is also observed with pluractional 1 (see §6.7.1).

(196) bònshé: nìbáyèrèkàyèrèkà
ba-onshé: ni-bá̠-a-ereka-erek-a
PP2-all REM-SM2-PL2-try-FV
'They have all tried.' (NF_Narr15)

(197) ènwé sèmùkàcònkòmònàcònkòmónà tùmùtwárè kúcìpàtêrà ámùnyà
màshérêŋì kúcìkórò
enwé   se-mu-ka-conkomona-conkomon-á tu-mu-twár-e
PERS2PL INC-SM2PL-DIST-PL2-press-FV   SM1PL-OM1-bring-PFV.SBJV
kú-ci-patéra   á-munya ma-sheréŋi 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 redu-
plication are semantically similar. Many verbs may take either pluractional strat-
egy, without a change in meaning, as illustrated in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Interchangability of pluractional 1 and 2

Pluractional *-a*	Stem reduplication	
ᵍ/óntàùrà	*ᵍ/óntàᵍ/òntà*	'drip continuously'
kwátàùrà	*kwátàkwàtà*	'touch everwhere'
shángàùrà	*shángàshàngà*	'contribute'
shótàùkà	*shótòkàshòtòkà*	'jump up and down'
yèndàùrà	*yèndàyèndà*	'walk around'

The difference between these two pluractional strategies is the connotation
of completeness or intensity. As discussed in §6.7.1, pluractional *-a* implies com-
pleteness. Stem reduplication, on the other hand, implies low intensity: it is used
to describe an action that is done only lightly, halfheartedly, or haphazardly. Ex-
amples of this use of the pluractional marked with reduplication are given in
(198), which describes the first stages of light sleep; in (199), which describes
walking a small distance; and in (200), which describes that the hoes were strewn
about in a disorderly fashion.

(198) shìbànàrá:rìrà:rì
shi-ba-na-rá:ri-ra:r-i
INC-SM2-PST-PL2-sleep-PST
'They started to sleep a little bit.'

(199) mùyéndéyéndè bùryò kànínì
       mu-ende-énd-e   bu-ryo   ka-niní
       SM2PL-PL2-walk-PFV.SBJV NP14-just ADV-little
       'Just walk a little bit/small distance.'

(200) màhámbà òkùtòmbwèrìsà mângì: àdànsídànsì
       ma-ámba a-o=ku-tombwer-is-a   má-ngi: a-dansí-dans-i
       NP6-hoe PP6-CON=INF-weed-CAUS-FV   PP6-many 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, as in (201–204), which is not seen with the pluractional suffix *-a*.

(201) mbùryó ꞌkágàbàgábà
       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)

(202) àkwèsì ààmbàâmbà
       a-kwesi   a-amba-ámb-a
       SM1-PROG SM1-PL2-talk-FV
       'S/he talks too much.'

(203) cìnjꞌ áhꞌ ꞌóshèkàshékà ꞌbúryò
       Ø-ci-njí   a-ha   ó-sheka-shek-á   bu-ryó
       COP-NP7-what AUG-DEM.I16 SM2SG.REL-PL2-laugh-FV NP14-only
       'Why are you always just laughing (stupidly/annoyingly)?' (NF_Elic15)

(204) kwàshíààzyà zòkùtêyè ndìkàbúzèbùzè
       kwa-shí-aayza zi-o=kutéye   ndi-ka-búze-buz-e
       SM17-PER-be_not PP10-CON=that SM1SG-DIST-PL2-ask-PFV.SBJV
       'Now there is no longer anything that I have to keep asking.' (The speaker 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 intensive derivation, which may also express a repeated action. As discussed in §6.8, 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 intensive derivation.

6.8 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 §2.5.3-2.5.4). It does not, however, have the typical function of applicative, namely adding a participant, as seen when comparing the underived verb in (205) with the intensive verb in (206).

(205) cìzyúmîtè
   ci-zyu$_H$m-íte
   SM$_7$-become_dry-STAT
   'It is dry.'

(206) cìzyúmínìnè
   ci-zyu$_H$m-ínine
   SM$_7$-become_dry-INT.STAT
   'It is very dry/hard.' (NF_Elic15)

The core meaning of the this suffix is intensity, as shown in(207–208), but it may also express a range of related meanings: completeness, as in (209–210); high frequency or habitual, as in (211–212); long duration, as in (213); or repetition, as in (214–215).

(207) kùtóndèrèrà
   ku-tónd-erer-a
   INF-watch-INT-FV
   'to stare at'

(208) kúmìnìnìzà
   kú-min-iniz-a
   INF-tuck_in-INT.CAUS-FV
   'to tuck in properly'

(209) kùáázy' ézwâyì kwìná àbó bànàké:zyì **kùríùrìrìrà** ryònshê:
   ku-aazyá   e-∅-zwáyi   ku-iná   a-bó
   SM$_{17}$-be_not AUG-NP$_5$-salt SM$_{17}$-be_at AUG-DEM.III$_2$
   ba-na-ké:zy-i   ku-rí-ur-irir-a   ry-onshé:
   SM$_2$-PST-come-NPST.PFV INF-OM$_5$-buy-INT-FV PP$_5$-all
   'There is no salt, someone has come and **bought it all**.' (NF_Elic15)

(210) **àhíndírír'** émìsèbézì yònshê: àfíyérà àsánz' ótùsûbà àténdà zònshé:
ꜜzómùnjûò

a-hind-irir-<u>á</u>   e-mi-sebézi   i-onshé: a-fi$_H$er-<u>á</u>   a-sanz-<u>á</u>

SM$_1$-take-INT-FV AUG-NP$_4$-job PP$_4$-all SM$_1$-sweep-FV SM$_1$-wash-FV

o-tu-súba   a-t<u>é</u>nd-a zi-onshé: zi-ó=mu-N-júo

AUG-NP$_{13}$-dish SM$_1$-do-FV PP$_{10}$-all PP$_{10}$-CON=NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house

'She **takes all the jobs**. She sweeps, she washes dishes, she does all the things in the house.' (NF_Elic15

(211) bâncè **bàtèkèrèrá** mênjì

ba-ánce ba-te$_H$k-erer-<u>á</u>   ma-ínji

NP$_2$-child SM$_2$-fetch-INT-FV NP$_6$-water

'Children [normally] fetch water.' (explaining which tasks are usually performed by whom) (ZF_Elic14)

(212) ndìshàmbírìrè

ndi-shamb-<u>í</u>rire

SM$_{1SG}$-swim-INT-STAT

'I always swim.' (NF_Elic17)

(213) àbèngérèrè

a-be$_H$ng-<u>é</u>rere

SM$_1$-become_angry-INT.STAT

'S/he is always angry.'

(214) kùfúzìrìrìrà

ku-fúzir-irir-a

INF-fan-INT-FV

'to keep on fanning [a fire]'

(215) kùkámbìrìrà

ku-kámb-irir-a

INF-clap-INT-FV

'to applaud, clap repeatedly

As seen in (214–215), repeated action can be part of the interpretation of the intensive derivation. This is not its core meaning, but merely an extension of its intensity meaning, can be seen by comparing the intensive with the two pluractional constructions, the pluractional suffix *-a* and stem reduplication, which

both have repetition as their core meaning (see §6.7). This difference is illustrated
with the verb *kwát* 'touch, grab': used with the intensive in (216), it may refer to
a single event of touching which has either a long duration or a high intensity;
with stem reduplication in (217) or the pluractional *-a* in (218), it is interpreted as
multiple instances of touching.

(216) ndìkwàtírìrè
       ndi-kwa$_H$t-írire
       SM$_{1SG}$-touch-INT.STAT
       'I hold (for a long time/firmly).'

(217) kàndìshàkí mùntù ándìkwàtàkwátà bùryáhò
       ka-ndi-shak-í   mu-ntu   á-ndi-kwata-kwát-a
       NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-like-NEG NP$_1$-person SM$_1$.REL-OM$_{1SG}$-PL2-touch-FV
       bu-ryahó
       NP$_{14}$-like_that
       'I don't like it when someone touches me all over like that.'

(218) mùzwé kùkwátàùrà múzìpàùpàù zángù
       mu-zw-é   ku-kwát-a-ur-a   mú-zi-paupua
       SM$_{2PL}$-leave-PFV.SBJV INF-touch-PL1-SEP.TR-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_8$-basket
       zi-angú
       PP$_8$-POSS$_{1SG}$
       'Stop touching in my baskets/bags/purses.' (NF_Elic17

Another difference between the intensive 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 differ-
ence is illustrated with the verb *sanz* 'wash': with the intensive in (219), it refers
to washing something thoroughly and properly, but with stem reduplication in
(220), it refers to washing something slightly, not thoroughly.

(219) ndìshàká **kùyísànzìrìrà** bùryô ìcénè
       ndi-shak-á   ku-í-sanz-irir-a   bu-ryó
       SM$_{1SG}$-want-FV INF-OM$_4$-wash-INT-FV NP$_{14}$-just
       i-cen-é
       SM$_4$-become_clean-PFV.SBJV
       'I just want to wash them thoroughly, so that they become clean.'

(220) mbùryó ˈ**ndíyìsànzàsànzá** bùryô yáràshàmbà nênjà

N-bu-ryó   ndí̱-i_H-sanza-sanz-á̱   bu-ryó

COP-NP14-only SM1SG.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)

6.9 Reciprocal

Many Bantu languages use a reflex of the reconstructed reciprocal suffix *-an to express a reciprocal. In Fwe, reciprocal semantics is productively expressed by the prefix *kí-/rí-* which also expresses a reflexive (see §7.3). 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.

Three lexicalized verbs with a reciprocal suffix *-an* exist. The verb *shúwànà* is derived from the verb *shûwà* 'hear, understand'. The verb *gumban* 'stand next to each other' has an alternative form *gumbam*, where the reciprocal suffix *-an* is replaced by the intransitive impositive suffix *-am* (see §6.6). The meaning of the verb seems 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 *kánan* is also not an unambiguously reciprocal verb: it can be used as a reciprocal, as in (221), which describes a group of people arguing with each other, but also without any reciprocal meaning, as in (222). Although *múkànàná* takes a secon-person plural subject marker, a single person is referred to in this excerpt from a narrative, which describes a conversation between the speaker and her sister.

(221) zìnjí ˈmúkànàná

∅-zi-njí   mú̱-ka_Hn-an-á̱

COP-NP8-what SM2PL.REL-argue-REC-FV

'What are you (PL) arguing about?

(222) háìbà mùkánánà

háiba mu-ka_Hn-an-á̱

if   SM2PL-refuse-REC-FV

'If you (SG) disagree…'

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, as in (223–224).

(223)   a.   kùkòpànà
             ku-kop-an-a
             INF-meet-REC-FV
             'to meet'

        b.   *kù-kòp-à

        c.   borrowed from Lozi ku kopana 'to meet, assemble' (Burger 1960: 94)

(224)   a.   kùkáwùhànà
             ku-káwuh-an-a
             INF-separate-REC-FV
             'to be separated'

        b.   *kù-káwùh-à

        c.   borrowed from Lozi ku kauhana 'to turn apart' (Burger 1960: 133)

Surprisingly, verbs with reciprocal *-an* can readily be elicited from speakers, as in in (225–228). Speakers consistently produce forms with reflexive *rí-* / *kí-* when asked to translate or describe reciprocal situations, but accepted forms with *-an* when prompted.

(225)   kùbúzànà
        ku-búz-an-a
        INF-ask-REC-FV
        'to ask each other'

(226)   kùbbózànà
        ku-bbóz-an-a
        INF-bark-REC-FV
        'to bark at each other'

(227)   kùtùkànà
        ku-tuk-an-a
        INF-insult-REC-FV
        'to insult each other' (NF_Elic17)

(228)   kùshótòkànà
        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 recip-rocal *-an* were never encountered in spontaneous discourse. Even when asked to describe a situation that could be interpreted as either reflexive or reciprocal, speakers would use periphrastic strategies to disambiguate reflexive and recip-rocal meanings, rather than the distinction between *rí-/kí-* and *-an*. Possibly, 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. All speakers interviewed in this study (and presumably, the vast majority of Fwe-speaking adults) were also fluent in Lozi.

6.10 Extensive

The extensive derivation *-ar/-an* (subject to nasal harmony, see §2.5.4) is unpro-ductive. The only attested examples are listed in Table 6.12. None of the verbs using the extensive suffix are attested without this suffix, but in some of these verbs the extensive can be replaced by the transitive impositive suffix *-ik/-ek* (see also §6.6), or the transitive separative *-ur/-un* (see also §6.5).

Given the limited number of examples and the suffix's lack of productivity, lit-tle can be said about its syntactic and semantic functions. Considering the verbs in Table 6.12, it is clear that verbs with the extensive suffix tend to be intransitive, and many are posture verbs, hence the tendency to derive impositive verbs. The label "extensive" is chosen for this derivational suffix on the basis of comparative data. Schadeberg & Bostoen (2019: 184) describe 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, such as *sharangar* 'scatter', *tándabar* 'stretch one's legs', and *zyíman* 'stand up'.

6.11 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 & Bostoen 2019: 184-185), and is completely unpro-ductive in Fwe. All attested examples are listed in (229).

(229) bbábbàtà   'touch (with flat hands)'
       bàràkàtà   'flap (as a fish on dry land)'

kámàtà	'scoop'
kwâtà (cf. kú-at-a)	'catch, grab'
kúmbàtà	'hug'
ràndàtà	'track'
ryà:tà (cf. ri-at-a)	'step on'
vúrùmàtà	'close one's eyes'

There is one example, given in (230), where the tentive suffix can be replaced with a different derivational suffix.

(230) kùzwâtà
       ku-zú-at-a
       INF-dress-TENT-FV
       'to dress'

Table 6.12: The extensive suffix *-ar/-an*

àzyàrà	'think, plan'
fúrùmànà	'be initiated (of girls)'
cf. *fúrùmìkà*	'place upside down'
cf. *fúrùmùnà*	'place rightside up'
òmbàrà	'be quiet, calm'
rémànà	'become injured'
cf. *rémèkà*	'injure'
shàràngàrà	'scatter'
súmbàrà	'become pregnant'
cf. *súmbìkà*	'impregnate'
tándàbàrà	'stretch one's legs'
cf. *tándàbìkà*	'cause to stretch (another person's) legs'
tàngàràrà	'rejoice'
zìbàrà	'forget'
zyàbàrà	'dress (oneself)'
cf. *zyàbìkà*	'dress (someone else)'
cf. *zyàbùrà*	'undress'
zyímànà	'stand up, stop'
cf. *zyímìkà*	'put in a standing position'

(231) kùzûrà
ku-zú-ur-a
INF-dress-SEP.TR-FV
'to undress'

The semantics of the tentive derivation in Bantu is described as 'actively making firm contact' (Schadeberg & Bostoen 2019: 184-185). Although the number of attested examples in Fwe is limited, many of these seem to fit this semantic characterization.

6.12 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 that exhibit partial reduplication is given in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13: Partial reduplication

bbábbàtà	'touch with flat hands'
càncàùsà	'be fast'
cécèntà	'winnow'
cúncùnà	'kiss'
cùncùrà	'stumble'
fùfùrèrwà	'sweat'
fwáfwàtìrà	'get crushed, crumpled'
kákàtìrà	'stick (as a burdock)'
mwémwètà	'smile'
ngóngòtà	'knock'
nyényèntèzà	'warn'
ⁿóⁿòwèzà	'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.

Many verbs with partial reduplication use /t/ (or /nt/) directly after the reduplicand. This could be a trace of the unproductive tentive suffix *-at* (see §6.11), 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 §2.5.2 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, *cécent* 'winnow', *tutum* 'shiver', and *cuncur* 'stumble'. Sound symbolism also plays a role, in forms such as *shoshot* 'whisper', *cúncun* 'kiss', and *ngóngot* 'knock'.

7 Subject, object, and locative marking

Subjects and objects are marked on the verb with a prefix, and locatives with a clitic. Subject marking is obligatory, independent of whether a subject noun is used in the 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 discourse or physical environment.

7.1 Subject marking

Subjects are marked on the verb by a prefix. Table 7.1 gives an overview of the subject markers for each speech act participant and noun class, 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 a melodic tone is assigned, which is the case in certain TAM constructions and most relative clauses (see §3.3 on melodic tone).

The subject marker is obligatory, whether the subject noun is used in the same clause as the verb, as in (1), or is absent from the clause, as in (2).

(1) ècí cìpùrà càcô:kì
    e-cí   ci-pura   ci-a-có:k-i
    AUG-DEM.I7 NP7-chair SM7-PST-break-NPST.PFV
    'This chair is broken.'

(2) càcô:kì
    ci-a-có:k-i
    SM7-PST-break-NPST.PFV
    'It is broken.' (ZF_Elic14)

When the subject noun is not used in the same clause, the subject marker still agrees in noun class with the intended subject noun. In (3), the class 7 subject marker *ci-* in the verb *cìbònàhàrá* 'it looked' refers back to the noun phrase *cìmbòtwé cìnênè* 'a big frog', that was introduced in the previous sentence. In (4), the people that the speaker describes are standing close by and can therefore be inferred from the physical surroundings.

Table 7.1: Subject markers

Noun class/first or second person (singular)	Subject marker	Noun class/first or second person (plural)	Subject marker
1SG	*ndi-*	1PL	*tu-*
2SG	*u-*	2PL	*mu-*
1/1a	*a-*	2	*ba-*
3	*u-*	4	*i-*
5	*ri-*	6	*a-*
7	*ci-*	8	*zi-*
9	*i-*	10	*zi-*
11	*ru-*		
12	*ka-*	13	*tu-*
14	*bu-*		
15	*ku-*		
16	*ha-*		
17	*ku-*		
18	*mu-*		

(3) àkàbônà ècìbwângà **cìmbòtwé cìnênè cì**bònàhàrá òbùnénènênè
  a-ka-bón-a   e-ci-bwánga ci-mbotwé ci-néne ci-bo$_H$n-ahar-$\underline{á}$
  SM$_1$-DIST-see-FV AUG-NP$_7$-frog NP$_7$-frog   NP$_7$-big SM$_7$-see-NEUT-FV
  o-bu-néne-néne
  AUG-NP$_{14}$-big-big
  'He saw a frog there, **a big frog**. **It** looked very, very big.' (NF_Narr15)

(4) bàkwèsì bàkòndòr' óbùjwàrà
  ba-kwesi ba-kondor-$\underline{á}$ o-bu-jwara
  SM$_2$-have SM$_2$-brew-FV AUG-NP$_{14}$-beer
  'They're brewing beer.' (NF_Elic15)

Subject agreement becomes more complex when the subject consists of coordinated nouns of different noun classes. Different languages employ different gender resolution rules, i.e. the strategies which determine agreement with coordinated noun phrases, which may be based on (a combination of) syntactic and semantic criteria (Corbett 1991). In Fwe, class 8 agreement is used, at least if both

nouns are non-human, as in (5) and (6). No distinction is made between animate and inanimate non-human nouns. Data on the agreement patterns of coordinated nouns referring to humans are limited. Although this requires further research, it may suggest that Fwe tends to avoid such constructions.

(5) zìzyùnì nàbànkûkù zìzárà màyî:
zi-zyuni na=ba-nkúku zi-z$\underline{\text{á}}$r-a ma-yí:
NP$_8$-bird COM=NP$_2$-chicken SM$_8$-give.birth-FV NP$_6$-egg
'Birds and chickens lay eggs.'

(6) mwêzì nèzyûbà mùwírú ˈzínà
mu-ézi ne=∅-zyúba mu-∅-wirú zi-iná
NP$_3$-moon COM=NP$_5$-sun NP$_{18}$-NP$_5$-sky SM$_8$-be_at
'The moon and the sun are in the sky.' (NF_Elic15)

7.2 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 7.2 gives an overview of the object markers per noun class and speech act participant. Fwe lacks object markers for the locative classes 16, 17 and 18. All object markers are high-toned, except those 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 high tone (see §3.3 on melodic tone).

Object markers can only be used when no object noun is used in the same clause. The noun class of the object marker corresponds to that of the intended noun. (7) is the answer to a question about *ngùbò* 'blankets'; as this is a noun of class 10, the class 10 object marker is used.

(7) ndàzíhîndì ndìkàzìsânzà
ndi-a-zí-hind-i ndi-ka-zi$_H$-s$\underline{\text{á}}$nz-a
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_{10}$-take-NPST.PFV SM$_{1SG}$-DIST-OM$_{10}$-wash-FV
'I took them to wash them.' (NF_Elic15)

An object marker is obligatory when the intended noun is not in the same clause as the verb. This is the case, for instance, with dislocated objects, as in (8), where a constituent is moved to the left periphery of a sentence to function as a topic.

Table 7.2: Object markers

Noun class/person	Object marker	Noun class/person	Object marker
1SG	*ndi-*[a]	1PL	*tú-*
2SG	*ku-*	2PL	*mí-*
1/1a	*mu-*	2	*bá-*
3	*ú-*	4	*yí-*
5	*rí-*	6	*á-*
7	*cí-*	8	*zí-*
9	*yí-*	10	*zí-*
11	*rú-*		
12	*ká-*	13	*tú-*
14	*bú-*		
15	*kú-*		

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[a]Traces of an older first person singular object prefix *N-*, rather than the prefix *ndi-*, are seen in proper names and in what speakers consider 'archaic Fwe'; see §2.5.1 for examples.

(8) òrú rùzyîmbò kàndìrú'shákì
     o-rú   ru-zyímbo ka-ndi-rú-shak-í
     AUG-DEM.I$_{11}$ NP$_{11}$-song NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_{11}$-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. When right dislocation targets object constituents, they retain their canonical post-verbal position, but require the use of an object marker of the verb, as in (9–10).

(9) ndìzìsháká 'zí nswì
     ndi-zi$_{H}$-shak-á̱   zí   N-swi
     SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_{10}$-like-FV DEM.I$_{10}$ NP$_{10}$-fish
     'I like these fish.'

(10) ndàyíbàrì èyí mbùkà
     ndi-a-í-bar-i   e-í   N-buka
     SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_9$-read-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.I$_9$ NP$_9$-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 13.

A 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 (11), 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).

(11)   a.   àtùbàsànzírà
            a-tu$_H$-ba$_H$-sanz-ir-á
            SM$_1$-OM$_{13}$-OM$_2$-wash-APPL-FV
            'I wash them for her.'
       b.   *àbàtùsànzírà

Verbs can take up to three object markers, as in (12). I was unable to come up with a suitable context in which four or more object markers might be warranted; possibly, given the right context, such constructions might be acceptable.

(12)   cìmùndìsúndîrè
       ci$_H$-mu-ndi-su$_H$nd-ír-e
       OM$_7$-OM$_1$-OM$_{1SG}$-show-APPL-PFV.SBJV
       'Show it to her/him for me.' (NF_Elic17)

Multiple object markers are not allowed when two or more object markers refer to an inanimate object. This is illustrated with the sentence in (13), containing two inanimate objects. It is possible to express either of these objects with an object marker, as in (14) and (15), but not both, as the ungrammaticality of (16) shows.

(13)   ndìzyà:kìr' ómùndáré ꞌwángù cìòngò
       ndi-zya:$_H$k-ir-á   o-mu-ndaré   u-angú   ci-ongo
       SM$_{1SG}$-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP$_3$-maize PP$_3$-POSS$_{1SG}$ NP$_7$-storage
       'I am building a storage for my maize.'

(14)   ndìcìzyà:kìr' ómùndárè
       ndi-ci$_H$-zya:$_H$k-ir-á   o-mu-ndaré
       SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_7$-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP$_3$-maize
       'I am building it for the maize.'

(15) ndìùzyà:kìr' écìòngò
ndi-u_H-zya:_Hk-ir-<u>á</u>   e-ci-ongo
SM_{1SG}-OM₃-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₇-storage
'I am building a storage for it.'

(16) *ndìùcìzyà:kírà
ndi-u_H-ci_H-zya:_Hk-ir-<u>á</u>
SM_{1SG}-OM₃-OM₇-build-APPL-FV
Intended: 'I am building it for it.' (NF_Elic17)

7.3 Reflexive

In addition to object markers for noun classes and first and second person, Fwe has a reflexive prefix *kí-* (Zambian Fwe) / *rí-* (Namibian Fwe) which is used in the same position as the object marker. Examples of the use of the reflexive are given in (17–18).

(17) ndàkírèmèkì
ndi-a-kí-remek-i
SM_{1SG}-PST-REFL-hurt-NPST.PFV
'I've hurt myself.' (ZF_Elic13)

(18) àtàtìk' ókùrínyàyà kùrínyàyà
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 *íni*, with the lexical meaning 'owner', and an agreement prefix. *íni* is inflected for number, e.g. class 1 *mw-înì* for singular and class 2 *b-ênì* for plural. In addition, an appositive prefix is used that is co-referential with the verb's subject (see §5.4 on appositives). Examples of emphatic reflexives are given in (19–21).

(19) ndìrìbwènè ndémwìnì
ndi-ri_H-bwe_Hne   nde-mw-ini
SM_{1SG}-REFL-see.STAT APP_{1SG}-NP₁-owner
'I see myself.' (NF_Elic15)

(20) nòkíbònì wèmwînì
  no-kí-bon-i   we-mu-íni
  SM2SG.PST-REFL-see-NPST.PFV APP2SG-NP1-owner
  'You see yourself.'

(21) twàkíbònì tùbênì
  tu-a-kí-bon-i   tu-ba-íni
  SM1PL-PST-REFL-see-NPST.PFV APP1PL-NP2-self
  'We see ourselves.' (ZF_Elic13)

When the subject is not a first or second person, the nominal root *íni* is marked for noun class agreement with the subject, and an anaphoric demonstrative is used, as in (22–24).

(22) sìbàrìkùnkùmúnà kùrícènès' ábò bênì
  si-ba-ri_H-kunkumun-á ku-rí-cen-es-a   a-bó
  INC-SM2-REFL-brush-FV INF-REFL-be_clean-CAUS-FV AUG-DEM.III2
  ba-íni
  NP2-self
  'He now starts brushing himself off to clean himself.'

(23) ímùnyà ìkwèsì ìwá èyó yînì
  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)

(24) màkwátìrò ànàcô:kì kònó nkòmòkí èyó ˈyínì kàyâfwì
  ma-kwátiro a-na-có:k-i   konó N-komokí e-yó
  NP6-handle SM6-PST-break-NPST.PFV but NP9-cup AUG-DEM.III9
  i-íni ka-i-á-fw-i
  PP9-self NEG-SM9-PST-break-NPST.PFV
  'The handle broke, but the cup itself did not break.' (NF_Elic17)

The prefix *kí-/rí-* is also used with a reciprocal meaning, as in (25–27).

(25) tùrìshákà
  tu-ri_H-shak-á
  SM1PL-REFL-love-FV
  'We love each other.' (NF_Elic15)

(26) tùkìshúwîrè
      tu-ki$_H$-shu$_H$-íre
      SM$_{1PL}$-REFL-hear-STAT
      'We hear each other.' (ZF_Elic14)

(27) màmésàjì bákìŋòrérà
      N-ma-mésaji   bá-ki$_H$-ŋo$_H$r-er-á
      COP-NP$_6$-message SM$_2$.REL-REFL-write-APPL-FV
      'It's messages that they write to each other.' (ZF_Conv13)

Reflexive/reciprocal polysemy 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 & Bostoen 2019: 183). 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 §6.8). When necessary, speakers can differentiate the reciprocal and reflexive meanings of the prefix *rí-/kí-* by adding the emphatic reflexive *íni* (see (22–24)).

The reflexive prefix *kí-/rí-* is similar to object markers in a number of ways. The reflexive and object markers make use of the same slot in the verb, directly before the verb root. Like most object markers, the reflexive prefix has a high tone, which is deleted in the same TAM constructions (see §3.3 on melodic tone). This is illustrated in (28–31), 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 underlying high tones.

(28) kùbáshàkà
      ku-bá-shak-a
      INF-OM$_2$-love-FV
      'to love them'

(29) ndìbàshákà
      ndi-ba$_H$-shak-á
      SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_2$-love-FV
      'I love them.'

(30) kùríshàkà
      ku-rí-shak-a
      INF-REFL-love-FV
      'to love each other'

(31) tùrìshákà
      tu-ri_H-shak-á
      SM_{1PL}-REFL-love-FV
      'We love each other.'

Like object markers, the reflexive can co-occur with another object marker in ditransitive verbs, as in (32).

(32) bàcìrìshúmínìnìtè mwívùmò
      ba-ci_H-ri_H-shumín-in-ite   mú-e-∅-vumo
      SM_2-OM_7-REFL-tie-APPL-STAT NP_{18}-AUG-NP_5-stomach
      'He has tied it around his waist.' (NF_Narr17)

7.4 Locative marking

Reference to a location can be marked on the verb through locative clitics, which correspond to the three locative noun classes: =*ho* for class 16, =*ko* for class 17, and =*mo* for class 18. All three locative clitics are underlyingly toneless; they surface as low-toned, unless a high melodic tone is assigned by the TAM construction. A detailed study of locative clitics in Fwe is presented in Gunnink (2017).

The locative clitic is the last morpheme in the verb: it appears after derivational suffixes, such as the applicative suffix -*ir* in (33), and after inflectional suffixes, such as the habitual -*ang* and the final vowel suffix -*a* in (34).

(33) ndìfùtàtìrákò
      ndi-fu_Htat-ir-a=kó
      SM_{1SG}-turn_back-APPL-FV=LOC_{17}
      'I turn my back towards it.'

(34) kàtùnákùzíbìkàngàkò
      ka-tu-náku-zí-bik-ang-a=ko
      PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-HAB-OM_{1PL}put-HAB-FV=LOC_{17}
      'We usually put them there.' (NF_Elic15)

When used with a reduplicated verb stem, as in (35), the locative clitic is not reduplicated, even though the verb stem is reduplicated together with its inflectional suffixes, providing further evidence for its clitic status.

(35) ndàyèndíyèndìkò
ndi-a-endí-end-i=ko
SM1SG-PST-PL2-go-PST=LOC17
'I kept going there.' (NF_Elic15)

Phonologically, the locative clitic is fully integrated into the verb to which it at-taches. Locative clitics influence the placement of melodic tone and penultimate lengthening. In the present construction, for instance, a melodic tone is assigned to the final mora of the verb, which retracts to the preceding mora in phrase-final position. The examples in (36) and (37) show that in determining the penultimate syllable, the locative clitic is also counted.

(36) ndìngòngótà
ndi-ngoHngot-á
SM1SG-knock-FV
'I knock.'

(37) ndìngòngòtáhò
ndi-ngoHngot-a=hó
SM1SG-knock-FV=LOC16
'I knock on it.' (NF_Elic15)

Locative clitics are never used for referring to a locative noun phrase in the same clause, but only to locations that are introduced in the earlier discourse. An example is given in (38), 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 clitic =*ho* to refer back to it.

(38) mùbàhé cìpùrà bàkáréhò
mu-baH-ha-é   ci-pura   ba-kar-e=hó
SM2PL-OM2-give-PFV.SBJV NP7-chair SM2-sit-PFV.SBJV=LOC16
'Give her a chair, so she may sit on it.' (NF_Elic15)

The three locative clitics each have their own semantics. The class 16 locative clitic =*ho* is used to refer to movement away from, as in (39), a location on, as in (40), or a more general location, as in (41).

(39) ènzâsì zàkùrí kùlásàùkàhò
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.'

(40) ndàngóngòtìhò
ndi-a-ngóngot-i=ho
SM1SG-PST-knock-PST=LOC16
'I knocked on it.'

(41) tàbènáhò
ta-ba-ina=h<u>ó</u>
NEG-SM2-be_at=LOC16
'She is not here.' (NF_Elic15)

The class 17 locative clitic *=ko*, is used to refer to a direction, as in (42), or to a general location, as in (43).

(42) kàtóndìkò
ka-a-tónd-i=ko
NEG-SM1-look-NEG=LOC17
'She doesn't look that way.' (NF_Narr15)

(43) kàndíhàràngákò
ka-nd<u>í</u>-ha_Hr-ang-a=k<u>ó</u>
PST.IPFV-SM1SG-live-HAB-FV=LOC17
'I used to live there.' (NF_Elic15)

The class 18 locative clitic *=mo*, is used to refer to a location inside, as in (44), or to a movement away from inside, as in (45).

(44) yènké: náàkàrá:ràmò
ye-nké: n<u>á</u>-a-a-ka-rá:r-a=mo
NP1-one PST-SM1-DIST-sleep-FV=LOC18
'He slept alone in there.'

(45) 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 clitics can also be used with a partitive function. This has also been noted for a number of other Bantu languages, including Bemba (Marten & Kula 2014), Kanincin (Devos et al. 2010), and others (Persohn & Devos 2017). In Fwe, all three locative clitics can have a partitive interpretation. The partitive use of the class 16 clitic *=ho* is illustrated in

(46), indicating that the speaker did not sell all the cattle, but only some of them. In (47), the class 17 clitic *=ko* is used to indicate that only a part of the intended salary is given, not the whole amount. In (48), the class 18 clitic *=mo* is used to stress that the addressee should take some, not everything.

(46) zòbírè bùryó nìndáùrìsáhò
      ∅-zi-o=bíre   bu-ryó   ni-ndí-a-ur-is-a=hó
      COP-PP₁₀-CON=two NP₁₄-only REM-SM₁SG-PST-buy-CAUS-FV=LOC₁₆
      'It is only two of them that I sold.' (Answer to: 'Did you sell all the cattle?') (NF_Elic15)

(47) bàshìkùhàkó àkàháfù
      ba-shiₕ-ku-haₕ-a=kó   a-ka-hafú
      SM₂-PER-OM₂SG-give-FV=LOC₁₇ AUG-NP₁₂-half
      'They still only give you half of it.' (ZF_Conv13)

(48) hìndèmó   kànînì   òsìyìrèmó
      hind-e=mó   ka-níni   o-siₕ-ir-e=mó
      take-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈ ADV-little SM₂SG-leave-APPL-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈
      bámwì
      ba-mwí
      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 (49). This function is also seen with the class 17 nominal prefix (see §4.1.5 for examples).

(49) ndìshàká kùkàrìmàkò ècìŋórìsó ˈcákò
      ndi-shak-á   ku-karim-a=ko   e-ci-ŋórisó ci-akó
      SM₁SG-want-FV INF-borrow-FV=LOC₁₇ AUG-NP₇-pen PP₇-POSS₂SG
      'I want to borrow your pen, please.' (NF_Elic15)

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 §9.1.1 on the progressive.

8 Tense

The following chapters describe the expression of the inter-related categories of tense, aspect, mood, space, and negation, which mostly make use of verbal affixes and auxiliaries. The interpretation of tense, aspect and mood (TAM) constructions also depends on lexical aspect, the inherent or contextually constructed phase structure of a verb. §8.1 discusses some basic theoretical concepts that are required for understanding the Fwe TAM system, as well as a basic introduction to the lexical aspectual categories that are relevant in Fwe. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to discussing the various tense constructions used in Fwe.

8.1 TAM constructions in Fwe

Tense situates an event 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, in subordinate clauses, for instance, which may require the use of a more flexible reference point, which Cover & Tonhauser (2015) call "evaluation time". The interpretation of TAM constructions that are not evaluated with respect to the utterance time, but with respect to some other "evaluation time", will be left for future research.

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 as a single, completed whole, and do not allow reference to its internal structure; the event is viewed "from the outside". As such the past perfective constructions can give a present (result) state or a past interpretation, depending

on the lexical aspect of the verb, as discussed below. The near and remote past imperfective constructions, on the other hand, focus on the internal structure of the event, viewing it "from the inside". As such the past imperfective constructions can give readings such as past progressive or habitual, as discussed in more detail below.

The 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, which are subtypes of imperfective aspect (e.g. Comrie 1976, among others), 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 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 fact that the past and future constructions are all have a perfective and an imperfective form 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 those 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 §9.3). 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.

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 8.1.

Different models exist for the analysis of lexical aspect, and languages differ with respect to the number and kinds of subdivisions that they make, and the way lexical verbs are distributed across them. 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. For

Table 8.1: Lexical aspect

Dynamic	long nucleus	*bútùkà* 'run'
Change-of-state	short nucleus	without an onset: *ŋàtùkà* 'break'
		with an onset: *nùnà* 'become fat'
True stative	unbounded nucleus	*shàkà* 'want'

instance, the Fwe verb *nun* 'become fat' includes an onset phase of becoming fat, a pivotal nucleus in which the processes of becoming fat is completed and the state of being fat commences, and an ensuing coda phase of being fat. 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 short (almost instantaneous), 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 *zyá:k* 'build' or *bútuk* 'run'.

The distinction between change-of-state verbs and dynamic verbs is central in many Bantu languages (Crane & Persohn 2019), including Fwe: 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 verbs in Fwe are *shak* 'want, like', *tíiz* 'be fearsome/dangerous', though in general true stative verbs in Fwe are rare. Certain verbs can be used in different lexical aspectual classes, which may involve a change in interpretation: the verb *shak* can have a true stative use with the interpretation 'want, like, love', but also a dynamic use with the interpretation 'look for'.

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 may also have a coda phase, though this is heavily dependent on 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 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, *ŋatuk* '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 §9.1.1 and 9.5.

Lexical aspect can be influenced by derivational suffixes. The passive, for instance, derives 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 *bàrà mbúkà* '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.[1]

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 other tests have been conducted, such as acceptability and interpretation with certain time adverbials. However, the lexical aspectual classes that are proposed here do account for the interpretation of verbs in a wide variety of constructions.

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. Considering their formal properties, most TAM constructions make use of one or more affixes with or without one or more melodic tone patterns (see §3.3 on melodic tone). 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

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[1]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 stative *-ite* to express 'being drunk'. In this case, the (non-linguistic) context is used to construct a state associated with this verb.

constructions; the glossing conventions chosen will be justified in the relevant subsections. TAM constructions will be presented in a template form (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 TAM constructions is given in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: TAM constructions

Construction	Segmental form	Melodic tone
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*	-
Near future	pre-initial *mbo-/mba-* + subjunctive	-
Progressive	auxiliary *kwesi/iná*	-
Stative	final vowel *-ite*	MT 3
Habitual 1	suffix *-ang*	-
Habitual 2	SM-*náku*-B-a	-
Persistive	post-initial *shí-*	-
Inceptive	pre-initial *shi-/she-/sha-*	-

The following sections discuss the different tense constructions used in Fwe. 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. Past contsructions are divided into near and remote pasts, which each have a perfective

and imperfective form. The remote and near past perfective, too, target the nucleus of the event, situating the event's nucleus completely before utterance time. 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 8.3 gives an overview of tense constructions, their segmental and suprasegmental realization, their basic meaning, and their main uses.

8.2 Present

The present tense construction has the form SM-B-a, that is the verb base is used with the default final vowel -*a*. The present takes 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 (1).

(1) bàbùtúkà
     ba-bu$_H$tuk-$\underline{á}$
     SM$_2$-run-FV
     'They are running.' (NF_Elic15)

One of the characteristics of melodic tone 1 (see §3.3.1) 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 illustrated in (2), where the melodic high tone is assigned to the penultimate syllable /zyi/, because its vowel is lengthened by the following nasal-consonant cluster, and in (3), where the high tone is assigned to the penultimate syllable /mbwe/, because the vowel is lengthened due to the preceding glide (see also §2.3.3; note that automatic vowel lengthening is not marked in the practical orthography used here).

(2) àzyímbà nênjà
     a-zyí̱mb-a   nénja
     SM$_{1SG}$-sing-FV well
     'She sings well.'

Table 8.3: Tense constructions

Label	Basic meaning	Main uses
Present	nucleus (partially/ completely) in the future	gnomic; generic; futurate; modal; present
Near Past Perfective (NPP)	nucleus in the recent past; external viewpoint	recent past; present state
Remote Past Perfective (RPP)	nucleus in the remote past; external viewpoint	remote past; present state
Past imperfective (PI)	nucleus in the (remote) past; internal viewpoint	past imperfective
Near Past Imperfective (NPI)	nucleus in the near past; internal viewpoint	past progressive
Near Future Perfective	nucleus in the near future; external viewpoint	near future
Near Future Imperfective	nucleus in the near future; internal viewpoint	near future habitual, progressive
Remote Future	nucleus in the remote future	remote future

(3) tùtòmbwérà shûnù
     tu-tombwér-a   shúnu
     SM₁PL-weed-FV today
     'We are weeding today.' (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 constructions

(see Table 3.5). Comparison with other tense constructions might suggest a zero post-initial morpheme marking present tense; as seen in Table 8.3, 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), so there is no one-to-one correspondence between a post-initial zero marking and a present interpretation.[2] 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. This is discussed in §9.1.1.

Semantically, the present construction has a wide variety of different interpretations, depending on 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; 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, partially dependant on lexical aspect. (4) illustrates the interpretations of the present with dynamic verbs, using the verb *bútuk* 'run'. It is possible for the entire nucleus of the verb to be situated after UT; this results in a futurate, modal or hypothetical interpretation 'I will/would/can run'. It is also possible for the nucleus to overlap with UT, as long as it extends beyond UT, giving 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 (usually) run'. It is not possible, however, for the nucleus to end at UT, because this does not satisfy the present construction's basic criterion of extending beyond UT.

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[2]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 §8.3.4. Furthermore, the near future is synchronically based on a subjunctive construction (see §8.4.1).

(4) ndìbùtúkà
     ndi-bu$_H$tuk-á
     SM$_{1SG}$-run-FV
     Future/modal/hypothetical: 'I will/would/can run.'
     Progressive: 'I am running.'
     Habitual/generic/gnomic: 'I (usually) run.'

(5) illustrates the interpretation of the present with change of state verbs, using 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, it is not possible for the nucleus of the event to extend beyond UT as well as overlap with UT. A progressive interpretation is therefore excluded: the only way in which events with a short 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 short nucleus is futurate/modal/hypothetical, i.e. essentially non-present.

(5) ndìbêngà
     ndi-béng-a
     SM$_{1SG}$-become_angry-FV
     Future/modal/hypothetical: 'I will/would/can 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 is preferred. Fwe has two future constructions (see §8.4), 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 (6–7): the present construction in (6) can either be interpreted as indicating that the speaker already started working, or that he will start working. The near future construction in (7), however, can only indicate that the speaker has not yet started working, but will start working later the same day.

(6) shùnù **ndìsèbèzâ**
     shunu ndi-sebez-á
     today SM$_{1SG}$-work-FV
     'Today, I am working. / Today, I will work.'

(7) shùnù **mbòndísèbèzê**
     shunu mbo-ndí-sebez-é
     today NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-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 overlap with UT, although optional, does appear to be implied. In contexts where different interpretations are possible, speakers usually interpret the use of dynamic verbs in the present construction as present, rather than future. A third argument for the analysis of the present construction as present is economy; if this construction were analyzed as future, Fwe would have three futures, and no present.

Table 8.4 gives an overview of the different interpretations of the present construction, and the lexical aspectual classes with which they are available.

Table 8.4: Interpretations of the present construction with different lexical aspects

Interpretation	Lexical aspect	Example
present progressive	dynamic, stative	*tùryâ* 'we are eating'
futurate	all lexical aspects	*ndìsèbèzâ* 'I will work'
modal	dynamic, change-of-state	*ndìtwâ* 'I can pound' ndìbêngà 'I would become angry'
conditional	change-of-state	*ònúnà* '(If X), you'd become fat'
generic	all lexical aspects	*zìtììzâ* 'they are dangerous'

I will now discuss and illustrate the different interpretations of the present construction in more detail. The present progressive interpretation, where the event nucleus overlaps with an extends beyond utterance time, is illustrated with the dynamic verbs *rí* 'eat' in (8), and *kánan* 'argue' in (9).

(8) **tùry**' ónkûkù òzyò ndá'yáyì
     tu-ri-á   o-∅-nkúku   o-zyo   ndí-a-ya-í
     SM₁PL-eat-FV AUG-NP₁ₐ-chicken AUG-DEM.III₁ SM₁SG-PST-kill-NPST.PFV
     'We are eating the chicken that I killed.' (ZF_Elic14)

(9) zìnjí ꜜ**múkànàná**
$\emptyset$-zì-njí mú-ka$_H$nan-á
COP-NP$_8$-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)

The futurate interpretation of dynamic verbs in the present is illustrated in
(10–11).

(10) **ndìùtwá** shùnù
ndi-u$_H$-tw-á shunu
SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_3$-pound-FV today
'I'll pound it today.' (speaking about maize, the speaker is asked if she
plans to pound it today) (NF_Elic15)

(11) èmwíkí ꜜíkê:zyà **ndìsèbèzâ**
e-N-mwikí í-ké:zy-a ndi-sebez-á
AUG-NP$_9$-week SM$_9$.REL-come-FV SM$_{1SG}$-work-FV
'Next week, I'll work.' (NF_Elic15)

The present construction can be used interchangeably with the remote future
construction, as in (12–13): the present form and the remote future form were
considered equivalent to express future reference (see §8.4.2). This interchange-
ability is not reversible, however: whereas present constructions can have remote
future reference, remote future constructions were not accepted with present ref-
erence.

(12) tùkàbòòrá zyônà
tu-ka-boor-á zyóna
SM$_{1PL}$-DIST-return-FV tomorrow
'We will return tomorrow.'

(13) twáràkàbòòrà zyônà
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, as in (14), which 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
zyônà 'tomorrow'.

(14) ndìyá kùrùwà
    ndi-y-á   ku-ru-wa
    SM1SG-go-FV NP17-NP11-field
    '[Because] I will go to the field.' (NF_Elic15)

Interestingly, interchangability between the present and near future was not observed. In elicitation contexts, present constructions were frequently offered as alternatives to remote future constructions, but never as alternatives to near future constructions. When asked, most speakers considered them acceptable, though they preferred near future constructions. Present constructions with near future reference were only encountered in natural texts, and even there near future reference 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 seem 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, Zambian Totela and Tonga, a prefix *la-* is used as a marker of present tense (Carter 2002: 45; Crane 2011: 173-176). The present tense can also be marked with a zero prefix: *la-* marks a disjunct, which is used for predicate focus, and zero marks a conjunct, which is used for argument focus (see van der Wal & Hyman (2017), and other chapters in the same volume on the conjoint/disjoint 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 (Güldemann 2003: 344; Meeussen 1967: 109) - 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.

Similar to their future interpretation, dynamic verbs in the present construction may also receive a modal interpretation, as in (15–18).

(15) èzí zìzwâtò zìcípîtè kònó **zìrìfwírà** búryò
    e-zí   zi-zwáto zi-cip-íte   konó zi-riH-fw-ír-a
    AUG-DEM.I8 NP8-cloth SM8-be_cheap-STAT but   SM8-REFL-die-APPL-FV
    bu-ryó
    NP14-only
    'These clothes are cheap, but they won't last long (lit. 'they will just die').'

(16) kùfwèbà **kùrè:tèrá** màrwá'rírà
ku-fweba ku-re$_H$:t-er-á ma-rwárirá
NP$_{15}$-smoke SM$_{15}$-carry-APPL-FV NP$_6$-disease
'Smoking can cause disease.'

(17) mùndárè **ndiùtwâ**
mu-ndaré ndi-u$_H$-tw-á
NP$_3$-maize SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_3$-pound-FV
'Maize, I can pound it.'

(18) **ndìmùná** èŋòmbè zíngî:
ndi-mun-á e-N-ŋombe zí-ngí:
SM$_{1SG}$-own-FV AUG-NP$_{10}$-cow PP$_{10}$-many
'I want to own many cattle.' (NF_Elic15)

I now turn to the interpretation of change-of-state verbs in the present construction. As shown in (5), 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. More examples of this use of the present are given in (19–22).

(19) ndìbêngà
ndi-bÉ́ng-a
SM$_{1SG}$-become_angry-FV
'I would/will become angry.' *'I am becoming angry.'

(20) ndìrèmánà
ndi-reman-á
SM$_{1SG}$-become_injured-FV
'I would/will become injured.'

(21) mwínì **ùkwàtìwâ**
mw-íni u-kwa$_H$t-iw-á
NP$_3$-handle SM$_3$-grab-PASS-FV
'A handle can be grabbed.'

(22) èmpótó **ìbbámúkà**
e-N-potó i-bbam-uk-á
AUG-NP$_9$-pot SM$_9$-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, as in (23–25).

(23) òshìryá câhà **ònúnà**
o-shi$_H$-ri-<u>á</u>   cáha o-nun-<u>á</u>
SM$_{2SG}$-COND-eat-FV very SM$_{2SG}$-become_fat-FV
'When you eat too much, you become fat.'

(24) òwú mùndárè kùté tùùhíkè **ùbìzwâ**
o-ú   mu-ndaré kuté tu-u$_H$-hi$_H$k-<u>é</u>   u-bizw-<u>á</u>
AUG-DEM.I$_3$ NP$_3$-maize if   SM$_{1PL}$-OM$_3$-cook-PFV.SBJV SM$_3$-ripen-FV
'This maize, if we cook it, will it be done?' (NF_Elic15)

(25) òshìpángá bùtì **tùzwírà** hábùsò
o-shi$_H$-pang-<u>á</u>   bu-ti   tu-zw-<u>í</u>r-a
SM$_{2SG}$-COND-do-FV NP$_{14}$-like_this SM$_{1PL}$-come_out-APPL-FV
há-bu-so
NP$_{16}$-NP$_{14}$-front
'If you do it like this, we will make a profit.' (ZF_Conv13)

Change-of-state verbs can be divided into those with and without an onset phase. This distinction is relevant in, for instance, the interpretation of the progressive (see §9.1.1), the inceptive (see §9.5), and the locative pluractional (see §11.2). In the present construction, however, the future, modal or hypothetical interpretation is the only possible reading for change-of-state verbs, both with an onset phase, such as *bomb* 'become wet' in (26), and without an onset phase, such as *aruk* 'open' in (27). This shows that the present construction specifically targets the nucleus, and not the onset phase.

(26) òmvúrà àshìshókà èvú rìbômbà
o-∅-mvúra a-shi$_H$-sho$_H$k-<u>á</u> e-∅-vú   ri-b<u>ó</u>mb-a
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-rain SM$_1$-COND-fall-FV AUG-NP$_5$-ground SM$_5$-become.wet-FV
'If it rains, the ground becomes wet.'

(27) cíàzò cìàrúkà
cí-azo   ci-ar-uk-<u>á</u>
NP$_7$-door SM$_7$-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, not a present ongoing interpretation, as in (28–29); a present interpretion can only be achieved with the stative (see §9.3).

(28) ndìbónà
      ndi-bo$_H$n-$\underline{á}$
      SM$_{1SG}$-see-FV
      'I can see.' *I see.

(29) ndìshùwâ
      ndi-shu$_H$-$\underline{á}$
      SM$_{1SG}$-hear-FV
      'I can hear.' *I hear. (NF_Elic17)

Stative verbs, which refer to a single, unbounded and lasting state, are used in the present construction to express a state that holds at the time of speaking, as in (30–31). Because the state referred to by a stative verb is unbounded, it automatically precedes, follows and overlaps with UT.

(30) kùshàkàhárà
      ku-shak-ahar-$\underline{á}$
      SM$_{15}$-need-NEUT-FV
      'It is necessary.' (NF_Elic15)

(31) zìtìyìzâ
      zi-ti$_H$iz-$\underline{á}$
      SM$_8$-be_dangerous-FV
      'They are dangerous.' (NF_Elic15)

The present construction can also be used with a generic/gnomic interpretation, e.g. 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, as illustrated for change-of-state verbs in (32), for stative verbs in (33), and for dynamic verbs in (34–35).

(32) bàkêntù bàzwátà zìkócì
      ba-kéntu   ba-zw$\underline{á}$t-a   zi-kocí
      NP$_2$-woman SM$_2$-wear-FV NP$_8$-skirt
      'Women wear skirts.'

(33) òngwè cìbàtànà cítììzâ
o-∅-ngwe   ∅-ci-batana   ci-ti$_H$iz-á
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-leopard COP-NP$_7$-predator SM$_7$.REL-be_fearsome-FV
'A leopard is a fearsome predator.' (ZF_Elic_13)

(34) cìzyùnì cìntù cíùrúkà
ci-zyuni ∅-ci-ntu   cí-uruk-á
NP$_7$-bird COP-NP$_7$-thing SM$_7$.REL-fly-FV
'A bird is something that flies.' (NF_Elic15)

(35) ècíkwˈámè cámˈárì cìyéndà mbómwêzì
e-cí-kwáme ci-á=mári   ci-énd-a mbó-mu-ézi
AUG-NP$_7$-man PP$_7$-CON=polygamy SM$_7$-go-FV ADV-NP$_3$-moon
'A polygamous man walks like the moon.' (saying)[3] (NF_Elic15)

The wide variety of possible interpretations of the present construction can be narrowed by combining it with overt aspectual markers, such as those marking progressive aspect (see §9.1). Present progressive constructions can only be interpreted as an action currently in progress; the modal or futurate interpretation is not seen with the present progressive. Compare the aspectually unmarked present in (36) with the present progressive in (37–38). The bare present 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 present progressive forms in (37–38) leave no such uncertainty; the only interpretation is that they are currently busy milking.

(36) bàkámà
ba-ka$_H$m-á
SM$_2$-milk-FV
'They are milking. / They will milk.'

(37) kùkámà ˈbákámà
ku-kám-a   bá-ka$_H$m-á
INF-milk-FV SM$_2$.REL-milk-FV
'They are milking.'

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[3]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.

(38) bàkwèsì bàkámà
ba-kwesi ba-ka$_H$m-$\underline{\text{á}}$
SM$_2$-PROG SM$_2$-milk-FV
'They are milking.' (NF_Elic15)

Present progressives are interpreted as having a certain duration, whereas bare present verbs have no implications about duration. This difference is illustrated in (39–40): unlike the bare present in (39), the present progressive in (40) suggests that s/he has been knocking for a long time.

(39) **àngòngòtá** hàcíàzò mbítà mùntù shàkàmú'tábè
a-ngo$_H$ngot-$\underline{\text{á}}$ ha-cí-azo   mbíta mu-ntu   shaká
SM$_1$-knock-FV NP$_{16}$-NP$_7$-door until   NP$_1$-person if
a-mú-tab-$\underline{\text{é}}$
SM$_1$-OM$_1$-answer-PFV.SBJV
'S/he is knocking on the door until someone answers.'

(40) **àkwèsì àngòngòtá** hàcíàzò mbítà mùntù shàk' ámú'tábè
a-kwesi a-ngo$_H$ngot-$\underline{\text{á}}$ ha-cí-azo   mbíta mu-ntu   shaká
SM$_1$-PROG SM$_1$-knock-FV NP$_{16}$-NP$_7$-door until   NP$_1$-person if
a-mú-tab-$\underline{\text{é}}$
SM$_1$-OM$_1$-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 present progressive and aspectually unmarked present also relates to modality. With the present progressive, the speaker expresses 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 (42–41), which both answer the question: 'Where is that person?'. In (41), the aspectually unmarked present is used to imply that the person is supposed to wash dishes, but may at this very moment be busy with something else. In (42), the use of a present progressive implies that the person referred to is currently, without a doubt, busy washing dishes.

(41) mùnjúù wèná **àsànz'** ótùsûbà
mu-N-júo   a-in-á   a-sanz-$\underline{\text{á}}$ o-tu-súba
NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house SM$_1$-be_at-FV SM$_1$-wash-FV AUG-NP$_{13}$-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)

(42) mùnjúù wèná **àkwès' àsànz'** ótùsûbà
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.' (NF_Elic15)

Another aspectual marker that may combine with the present is the post-initial persistive prefix *shí-* (see §9.4). 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. In (43), the present is used with a persistive prefix *shí-* to indicate that the task of pounding is currently interrupted, to be returned to later.

(43) ndìshìtwâ
ndi-shi_H-tw-á
SM₁SG-PER-pound-FV
'I'm still pounding.' (the speaker is currently taking a break, but intends to resume the task shortly) (NF_Elic15)

A present persistive can also indicate an action that has not yet started before utterance time, but will start after UT. (44) 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.

(44) ndìshìcìárà
ndi-shi_H-ci_H-ar-á
SM₁SG-PER-OM₇-close-FV
'I still need to close it.' (NF_Elic17)

8.3 Past

Fwe has four past constructions, distinguished by degree of remoteness (near/remote) and aspect (perfective/imperfective), as schematized in Table 8.5.

All four past constructions situate the event's nucleus in the past, i.e. before the utterance time. 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

Table 8.5: Past constructions

	Perfective	Imperfective
near	sm-a/na-B-i	sm-aku-B-a
	ndàbérêkì ndi-a-berék-i sm_{1SG}-PST-work-NPST.PFV 'I worked (earlier today).'	ndàkùbèrèkà ndi-aku-berek-a sm_{1SG}-PST.IPFV-work-FV 'I was working (earlier today).'
remote	na/ni-sm-a-B-a	ka-sm-B-a
	nàndábèrèkà na-ndí-a-berek-a REM-sm_{1SG}-PST-work-FV 'I worked (before today).'	kàndíbèrékà ka-ndí-berek-á PST.IPFV-sm_{1SG}-work-FV 'I was working/used to work (before today).'

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 persistive.

A third variable 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. The remote past perfective, in contrast, has no such implicature, and the coda state may persist or not, depending on context. 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.

8.3.1 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*, as illustrated in (45)

(45)   ndìnàyêndì
       ndi-na-én̠d-i
       sm₁ₛɢ-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, as in (46). In central Fwe, *a-* and *na-* are used interchangeably, as in (47). 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, as in (48). In all other cases, the form *a-* is used, as in (49), and vowel hiatus resolution affects the vowel of the subject marker (see §2.5.2 on vowel hiatus resolution).

(46)   Northern Zambian Fwe
       ndìnàyêndì
       ndi-na-én̠d-i
       sm₁ₛɢ-pst-walk-npst.pfv
       'I walked.' (ZF_Elic14)

(47)   Central Zambian Fwe
       ndìnàyêndì ~ ndàyêndì
       ndi-(n)a-én̠d-i
       sm₁ₛɢ-pst-walk-npst.pfv
       'I walked.' (ZF_Elic13)

(48)   a.   Namibian Fwe: na- after /a/
            bànàhúrì
            ba-na-hur-í
            sm₂-pst-arrive-npst.pfv
            'They arrived.'

       b.   ànàcô:kì
            a-na-có:k-i
            sm₆-pst-break-npst.pfv
            'They broke.'

(49)   a.   Namibian Fwe: a- elsewhere
             ndàhúrì
             ndi-a-hur-í̩
             SM_{1SG}-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
             'I arrived.'

       b.   mwàhúrì
             mu-a-hur-í
             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-*, as in (50), and the class 1/1a subject marker 1/1a *a-*, which merges with the past prefix to become *na-*, as in (51). This applies to all varieties of Fwe.

(50)   nòhúrì
       no-hur-í
       SM_{2SG}.PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
       'You arrived.'

(51)   nàhúrì
       na-hur-í
       SM₁.PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
       'S/he arrived.' (NF_Elic15)

The post-initial prefix *a-* is a past marker, also used in the remote past perfective (see §8.3.2) and the near past imperfective (see §8.3.3). The variation between *a-* and *na-* is specific to its use 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 NPP, not in any other past constructions (its occurrence in the negative present is likely due to accidental homophony), and is therefore glossed as such, using the abbreviation NPST.PFV.

The near past perfective suffix cannot be used after a passive suffix *-(i)w* (see §6.1 on the passive); instead, the final vowel suffix *-a* is used, as in (52–53).

(52)   cìshámú cìnàtémìwà
       ci-shamú ci-na-tém-iw-a
       NP₇-tree   SM₇-PST-chop-PASS-FV
       'The tree was chopped.'

(53) zònshé: 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 §4.2.1), and the stative suffix *-ite*, where spirantization occurs with a number of allomorphs of the suffix (see §9.3).

Verbs in the NPP take melodic tone 3, a high tone on the second stem syllable, and retain their lexical tones, as illustrated with the toneless verb *yendaur* 'walk around' in (54).

(54) ndàyèndáùrì
ndi-a-end-á-ur-i
SM₁SG-PST-walk-PL1-SEP.TR-NPST.PFV
'I walked around.' (NF_Elic15)

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 in (55–56).

(55) shùnù ndàhúrùrì màpùrù
shunu ndi-a-húrur-i   ma-puru
today SM₁SG-PST-take_off_yoke-NPST.PFV NP₆-ox
'Today I took the yoke off the oxen.'

(56) àmênjì àyìsâ kàkúrì **ndàábìrìsì**
a-ma-ínji   a-i_Hs-á   kakúri ndi-a-á-bir-is-i
AUG-NP₆-water SM₆-burn-FV because SM₁SG-PST-OM₆-boil-CAUS-NPST.PFV
'The water is hot, because I (just) boiled it.' (ZF_Elic14)

Nurse (2008: 93) notes that Bantu languages may differ with respect to the interpretation of time reference as fixed or flexible. In Fwe, flexible interpretations seem possible; events that are perceived to be in the same time cycle can be conceived as hodiernal, and events that are perceived to be in a previous time cycle can be conceived as prehodiernal. The "same time cycle" can be construed as larger than the day of speaking, for instance, as the year (which includes the day of speaking), as in (57), where the NPP is used for an event that took place earlier the same year, although it took place before the day of speaking.

(57) cìnó cìrìmò ndìnàshínjì wâwà
cinó   ci-rimo ndi-na-shínj-i   wáwa
DEM.II7 NP7-year SM1SG-PST-harvest-NPST.PFV very
'This year, I had a good harvest.' (ZF_Elic14)

The NPP can also be used to express surprise. The use of the NPP in (58) 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.

(58) nàfúmì
na-fum-i̠
SM1.PST-become_rich-NPST.PFV
'S/he has become rich (suddenly/unexpectedly).' (NF_Elic17)

Similarly, the use of the NPP in (59) 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.

(59) nàshêshì
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.

Aspectually, the NPP presents 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. §8.5), as in (60), where the NPP verb *nàréngì* '[lightning] struck' is followed by a consecutive verb *cóˈkúyà* '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.

(60) òmvúrà nàréngì cìkúnì có꞉kúyà
o-∅-mvúra   na-réng-i   ci-kuní ci-ó=ku-y-á
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-rain SM$_1$.PST-strike-NPST.PFV NP$_7$-tree PP$_7$-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, habituals, and the persistive, nor with the locative pluractional marker, which indicates an event taking place in different locations (see §11.2); 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, as illustrated in (61).

(61) *ndàkàbúyêndì
ndi-a-kabú-<u>é</u>nd-i
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-LOC.PL-walk-NPST.PFV
Intended: 'I walked around/ in different places.' (NF_Elic17)

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 in (62–64) show that, when used without further clarifying context, the default interpretation of the NPP is that the coda phase is still ongoing at UT.

(62) ndànjômbì
nd-a-nj<u>ó</u>mb-i
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-get_stuck-NPST.PFV
'I got stuck (and am still stuck).' (NF_Elic17)

(63) ècí cìpúrà càcô꞉kì
e-cí   ci-purá ci-a-c<u>ó</u>꞉k-i
AUG-DEM.I$_7$ NP$_7$-chair SM$_7$-PST-break-NPST.PFV
'This chair broke (and is still broken).' (ZF_Elic13)

(64) ndàzísânzì
ndi-a-zí-s<u>á</u>nz-i
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_8$-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, as in (65–67).

(65) ndàshwênì
      ndi-a-shwén-i
      SM1SG-PST-become_tired-NPST.PFV
      'I am tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

(66) ndàⅼôsì
      ndi-a-ⅼós-i
      SM1SG-PST-become_bored-NPST.PFV
      'I am bored.' (NF_Elic15)

(67) cànyóngâmì
      ci-a-nyong-ám-i
      SM7-PST-bend-IMP.INTR-NPST.PFV
      'It is bent.' (NF_Elic15)

Even though the NPP implies a lasting coda phase, the nuclear phase is also part of the conceptualization: in (68), 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?

(68) a. mwínì wéhàmbà wàcô:kì
          mu-íni   u-é=amba   u-a-có:k-i
          NP3-handle PP3-CON=hoe SM3-PST-break-NPST.PFV
          'The handle of the hoe is broken.'
      b. ndíní nàúcô:rì
          ndi-ní   na-ú-có: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 how the earlier change of state came about. In (69), the change-of-state verb *bomb* 'become wet' is used in the NPP, 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 *kúmvûrà* 'by the rain' refers to this nuclear phase.

(69) èzìzwátò zìnàbómbì kúmvûrà
      e-zi-zwáto   zi-na-bómb-i   kú-∅-mvúra
      AUG-NP8-cloth SM8-PST-become_wet-NPST.PFV NP17-NP1a-rain
      'The clothes have become wet because of the rain.' (ZF_Elic14)

The remote past perfective may also be used to imply a coda state that still holds at UT, but situates the nuclear phase in the remote past, rather than the recent past. Both (70) and (71) indicate that the speaker is still sick at the time of speaking, but the remote past perfective in (70) indicates that the speaker became sick in the remote past, whereas the near past perfective in (71) indicates that the speaker became sick in the recent past.

(70) níndàrwárà zyônà nèshúnù ndìshìrwárîtè
    ní-ndi-a-rwár-a   zyóna   ne=shúnu ndi-shi$_H$-rwa$_H$r-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)

(71) ndàrwârì mwívùmò
    ndi-a-rwár-i   mú-e-$\varnothing$-vumo
    SM$_{1SG}$-PST-be_sick-NPST.PFV NP$_{18}$-AUG-NP$_5$-stomach
    'I got sick to my stomach [this evening].' (NF_Narr17)

The NPP also shows some similarities to the stative construction. The stative construction expresses a state that holds at utterance time, but makes no reference to if or when the state has come about (see §9.3). This contrasts with the NPP, where the entering of the state is conceptualized. As such, the NPP, may be used with temporal adverbs referring to the change in state, as in (72), but not the stative, as in (73).

(72) Near past perfective
    èténdè   ryángù   ryàcó:kì   shûnù
    e-$\varnothing$-ténde ri-angú   ri-a-có:k-i   shúnu
    AUG-NP$_5$-foot PP$_5$-POSS$_{1SG}$ SM$_5$-PST-break-NPST.PFV today
    'My leg broke today.'

(73) Stative
    *èténdè ryángù rìcókêtè shûnù
    Intended: 'My leg broke today.'[4]

Although the default interpretation of the NPP is that any resulting coda phase still holds at UT, this implication can be canceled. In (74), the NPP verb *ndàrwárì* 'I got sick' has an implied coda state of being sick, but in this context, the coda state is canceled. Similarly in (75), the implied coda state of *ndàzísànzì* 'I washed them', namely that the clothes are clean, does not hold at UT.

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[4]An interpretation where the adverb modifies the current state, e.g. 'my leg is broken today', was also not accepted.

(74) ndàrwárì màsíkùsîkù hànú màntêngù shèndìrìshúwírè nênjà
      ndi-a-rwár-i   ma-síkusíku hanú   ma-nténgu
      SM₁SG-PST-be_sick-NPST.PFV NP₆-morning DEM.II₆ NP₆-evening
      she-ndi-ri_H-shu_H-íre   nénja
      INC-SM₁SG-REFL-feel-STAT   well
      'I got sick this morning, but now in the evening I feel well.'

(75) ndàzísànzì èzí zìzwátò shûnù hàpé hánù shìzázyùrì tú'kútà
      ndi-a-zí-sanz-i   e-zí   zi-zwáto shúnu hapé
      SM₁SG-PST-OM₈-wash-NPST.PFV   AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth today again
      hánu   shi-zi-á-zyur-i   ∅-túkutá
      DEM.II₁₆ INC-SM₈-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV   NP₅-dirt
      'I washed these clothes today, but now they are dirty again.' (NF_Elic17)

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' in (76) implies the continued relevance of the event's nucleus, namely 'being in a certain place'.[5]

(76) òmfûmù kwênà nàhúrì
      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 (77), where the consequences of buying salt, namely having salt, are no longer valid at UT, e.g. the salt is already finished.

(77) ndàùrí zwâyì kònó shìryàmánì
      ndi-a-ur-í   ∅-zwái   konó shi-ri-a-man-í
      SM₁SG-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)

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

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[5]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.

inceptive prefix: in this case, the verb's coda phase or relevance are always interpreted as valid at UT. This is illustrated in (78), which shows that the NPP with the inceptive implies that the rain is still falling. (79) shows that this implication cannot be canceled, and (80) shows that it can be canceled when the NPP is used without the inceptive.

(78) sìnàtángì òkùshôkà
 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)

(79) *sìnàtángì òkùshôkà cwàré sànàkàbûkì
 si-na-táng-i   o-ku-shók-a   cwaré
 INC-SM₁.PST-start-NPST.PFV AUG-INF-rain-FV then
 sa-na-kab<u>ú</u>k-i
 INC-SM₁.PST-stop_rain-NPST.PFV
 Intended: 'It started to rain [earlier today], but now it stopped.'

(80) nàtángì òkùshôkà cwàré sànàkàbûkì
 na-táng-i   o-ku-shók-a   cwaré
 SM₁.PST-start-NPST.PFV AUG-INF-rain-FV then
 sa-na-kab<u>ú</u>k-i
 INC-SM₁.PST-stop_rain-NPST.PFV
 'It started to rain [earlier today], but now it stopped.' (NF_Elic17)

8.3.2 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*. An example of a remote past perfective construction is given in (81).

(81) nàndáshâmbà
 na-nd<u>í</u>-a-shámb-a
 REM-SM₁SG-PST-swim-FV
 'I swam.' (ZF_Elic14)

The pre-initial prefix exhibits a certain degree of geographical variation. It is realized as *ni-* in Namibian Fwe, as in (82). In Zambian Fwe, it is mostly realized as *na-*, as in (83), but can also be realized as *ne-*, especially in subordinate clauses, as in (84).

(82) níndàtêmà
      ní-ndi-a-tém-a
      REM-SM₁ₛ₉-PST-chop-FV
      'I chopped.' (NF_Elic15)

(83) nándàtêkà
      ná-ndi-a-ték-a
      REM-SM₁ₛ₉-PST-fetch-FV
      'I fetched.' (ZF_Elic14)

(84) kàrí ndìmé nèndáˈyáyà
      ka-rí   ndi-mé   ne-ndí-a-ya-á
      NEG-be COP-PERS₁ₛ₉ REM-SM₁ₛ₉-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 §8.4.2): 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 10), and with any verb in the apodosis of a counterfactual (see §13.5.2).

The remoteness prefix is left out when the RPP has an experiential reading, expressing an event that has occurred at least once in the indeterminate past, as in (85–87). This construction differs from the RPP only in the absence of remoteness prefix; it takes the same segmental morphemes and melodic tones as the RPP, suggesting that it functions as a subtype of the RPP.

(85) ênì ècó ˈcíryò ndácìryà
      éni e-có   ci-ryó ndí-a-ci-ry-a
      yes AUG-DEM.III₇ NP₇-food SM₁ₛ₉-PST-OM₇-eat-FV
      'Yes, this food, I have eaten it.' (Answer to: 'Have you ever eaten this food?') (NF_Elic17)

(86) nóshàngànà mùkúrù wángù
      nó-shangan-a   mu-kúru u-angú
      SM₂ₛ₉.PST-meet-FV NP₁-brother PP₁-POSS₁ₛ₉
      'Have you ever met my brother?' (ZF_Elic13)

(87) kàrí ndáyà mòwín' ómùnzì
ka-ri   ndí-a-y-a   mo-winá   o-mu-nzi
NEG-be SM1SG-PST-go-FV NP18-DEM.IV3 AUG-NP3-village
'I've never been to that village.' (NF_Elic15)

The post-initial prefix *a-* used in the RPP is a past marker; it is also seen in the near past imperfective, as part of the post-initial prefix *aku-* (see §8.3.2), and in the near past perfective, where it combines with a suffix *-i* (see §8.3.1). 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 RPP retain their underlying tones, combined with melodic tone 2, which is assigned to the subject marker. When the verb root has a lexical high tone, such as the verb *shótok* 'jump' in (88), 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 §3.1.1). When used with a toneless verb root, such as *zibar* 'forget' in (89), the prefix *ni-/ne-/na-* is not realized with a high tone, in which case the high tone of the subject marker is also not deleted.

(88) nándàshótòkà
ná-ndí-a-shótok-a   > ná-ndi-a-shótok-a
REM-SM1SG-PST-jump-FV
'I have jumped.' (ZF_Elic14)

(89) nàndázìbàrà
na-ndí-a-zibar-a
REM-SM1SG-PST-forget-FV
'I have forgotten.' (ZF_Elic14)

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 (90); more than fifty years ago in (91); a few months ago in (92), which is the conclusion of a story about an elephant attack that happened a few months before.

(90) nìbáhùrà zyônà
ni-bá-a-hur-a   zyóna
REM-SM2-PST-arrive-FV yesterday
'They arrived yesterday.' (NF_Elic15)

(91) êmè nándàré:tìwà kánàìntìnsíkìsitì

eme   ná̠-ndi-a-ré:t-iw-a   ká-naintinsíkisiti
PERS1SG REM-SM1SG-PST-give_birth-PASS-FV at-1960

'I was born in 1960.' (ZF_Narr15)

(92) mbóbùryâhò nìyápàngàhàrírà

mbó-bu-riáho   ni-í̠-a-pang-ahar-ir-á̠
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 (93), the speaker is contrasting this year's farming activities with those of the previous year.

(93) cìrìmò cíkê:zyà nàndínàkúná màyìrà cìrìmò nàcámànà mùndáré
nàndá'kúnà

ci-rimo   cí-ké:zy-a   na-ndí-na-kun-á   ma-ira
NP7-year SM7.REL-come-FV REM-SM1SG-FUT-plant-FV NP6-sorghum

ci-rimo   na-cí-a-man-a   N-mu-ndaré
NP7-year REM-SM7-PST-finish-FV COP-NP3-maize

na-ndí-a-kun-á
REM-SM1SG-PST-plant-FV<REL>

'Next year, I will plant sorghum. **Last year I planted maize**.' (ZF_Elic14)

The RPP expresses perfective aspect; it presents the event's nucleus as a single event and does not allow reference to its internal structure. (94) illustrates the use of the RPP in contrast with its imperfective counterpart (see §8.3.4): the remote past imperfective verb *kàndírwârà* 'I was sick' provides the background for the RPP verb *nàndákàtà* 'I became thin'.

(94) àhà kàndírwârà nàndákàtà

a-ha   ka-ndí̠-rwá̠r-a
AUG-DEM.I16 PST.IPFV-SM1SG-become_sick-FV

na-ndí̠-a-kat-a
REM-SM1SG-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 9 on aspect). As seen in (95), the RPP may also not co-occur with the

locative pluractional marker, which indicates that an event takes place in multiple locations (see §11.2); 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 (61) in §8.3.1,). The near and remote past perfective constructions do occur with the locative pluractional (see Sections 8.3.3 and 8.3.4).

(95) *nìndákàbúyèndà
    ni-ndí-a-kabú-end-a
    PST-SM₁SG-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, such as the result state of a change-of-state verb, it is possible that the coda phase no longer holds at UT, as in (96), or that the coda phase continues at UT, as in (97).

(96) níndàrwárà zyônà kònó shûnù ndìrìshùwírè nênjà
    ní-ndi-a-rwár-a   zyóna   konó shúnu
    PST-SM₁SG-PST-become_sick-FV yesterday but   today
    ndi-ri_H-shu_H-íre   nénja
    SM₁SG-REFL-feel-STAT well
    'I got sick yesterday, but today I feel well.'

(97) níndàrwárà zyônà nèshûnù ndìshìrwàrîtè
    ní-ndi-a-rwár-a   zyóna   ne=shúnu ndi-shi_H-rwa_Hr-íte
    PST-SM₁SG-PST-be_sick-FV yesterday COM=today SM₁SG-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, as in (98), and in a context where the coda phase still holds, as in (99).

(98) níndàzyá:k' ènjûò ndókùyí|àpàùrà hápè
    ní-ndi-a-zyá:k-a   e-N-júo
    REM-SM₁SG-PST-build-FV   AUG-NP₉-house
    ndi-ó=ku-í-|ap-a-ur-a   hapé
    PP₁SG-CON=INF-OM₉-tear-PL1-SEP.TR-FV again
    'I built a house, then I destroyed it again.' (NF_Elic15)

(99) ndímè níndàyízyà:kà èyí njûò òmò á'kárà

ndí-me   ní-ndi-a-yí-zya:k-a   e-í   N-júo
COP-PERS3SG REM-SM1SG-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)

8.3.3 Near past imperfective

The near past imperfective (NPI) only occurs 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'. An example of a near past imperfective is given in (100).

(100) ndàkùtòmbwèrà
ndi-aku-tombwer-a
SM1SG-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:
like the infinitive prefix *ku-*, the syllable *ku* of the NPI can be dropped when the
distal marker *ka-* is used (see §11.1), as in (101). However, maintenance of both *ku*
and the distal prefix *ka-* is also possible, as in (102).

(101) ndàkàbèrèkà
ndi-a-ka-berek-a
SM1SG-NPST.IPFV-DIST-work-FV
'I was working there.'

(102) ndàkùkàbèrèkà
ndi-aku-ka-berek-a
SM1SG-NPST.IPFV-DIST-work-FV
'I was working there.' (NF_Elic17)

The NPI also resembles the infinitive in its maintenance of lexical tones, with-
out melodic tone, as illustrated in (103–104).

(103) a. hîkà 'cook'

      b. ndàkùhîkà
         ndi-aku-hík-a
         SM₁SG-NPST.IPFV-cook-FV
         'I was cooking.' (NF_Elic17)

(104) a. rìmà 'cultivate'

      b. ndàkùrìmà
         ndi-aku-rim-a
         SM₁SG-NPST.IPFV-cultivate-FV
         'I was cultivating.' (NF_Elic15)

The NPI prefix *aku-* can be used on the lexical verb, as in (105), or on an auxiliary verb *ri* 'be', as in (106). The constructions are interchangeable, and no difference in meaning was observed.

(105) bàkùbèrèkà
      ba-aku-berek-a
      SM₂-NPST.IPFV-work-FV
      'They were working.'

(106) bàkùrí kùbèrèkà
      ba-aku-rí   ku-berek-a
      SM₂-NPST.IPFV-be INF-work-FV
      'They were working.' (NF_Elic15)

The NPI situates an event in the near past, which is usually interpreted as earlier on the day of speaking, and aspectually, it references the internal structure of the event. In (107), the NPI is used to describe an event that was ongoing earlier the same day.

(107) ndàkùtòmbwèrà shûnù
      ndi-aku-tombwer-a   shúnu
      SM₁SG-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. In (108), the NPI verb *ndákùbútùkà* 'I was running' describes the ongoing event which subsumes the shorter event described with the near past perfective verb *ndàdóntì* 'I got blisters'.

(108) ndàdóntì múmàténdè ángù àhà ndákùbútùkà
ndi-a-d<u>ó</u>nt-i   mú-ma-ténde a-angú
SM₁-PST-develop_blister-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-NP₆-foot PP₆-POSS₁SG
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, such as persistive in (109) and stative in (110).

(109) àkùshíŋòrà
a-aku-shí-ŋor-a
SM₁-NPST.IPFV-PER-write-FV
'S/he was still writing.'

(110) ndàkùrwárîtè
ndi-aku-rwaₕr-íte
SM₁SG-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 *kwesi*, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (111). When used without other overt imperfective markers, the NPI has a progressive interpretation, as in (112).

(111) *bàkwèsì bàkùsèbèzà
Intended: 'They were working.'

(112) bàkùsèbèzà
ba-aku-sebez-a
SM₂-NPST.IPFV-work-FV
'They were working.' (NF_Elic17)

The NPI also does not co-occur with habituals, as shown for the habitual suffix *-ang* in (113).

(113) *ndàkùtòmbwèràngà
ndi-aku-tombwer-ang-a
SM₁SG-NPST.IPFV-weed-HAB-FV
Intended: 'I used to weed.' (NF_Elic17)

Even when used without habitual markers, the NPI is never used with a habitual interpretation. This may be a result of its restriction to the near past: this time frame may be too short for any event to be considered habitual. The remote past imperfective does combine with *-ang* to express a past habitual (see §8.3.4).

The NPI may be combined with the locative pluractional, which marks that an event takes place across different locations (see §11.2), as in (114). 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.

(114) 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; the event's nucleus or coda is no longer ongoing at the time of speaking. The NPI construction in (115) situates the verb's nucleus ('working') in the near past, and simultaneously expresses that the nuclear phase no longer holds at UT.

(115) 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 illustrated in (116), 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.

(116) ndàkùrwárîtè
      ndi-aku-rwa_Hr-íte
      SM₁SG-NPST.IPFV-become_sick-STAT
      'I was sick (but I am not anymore).' (NF_Elic17)

8.3.4 Remote past imperfective

The (remote) past imperfective construction has the form ka-sm-B-a, with 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, the 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). Examples of the tonal realizations of verbs in the past imperfective are given in (117–119).

(117) ménjì kàátòntórà
       ma-ínji   ka-á-to$_H$ntor-á
       NP$_6$-water PST.IPFV-SM$_6$-be_cold-FV
       'The water was cold.' (NF_Elic15)

(118) kàbáyêndà nàbàmbwá ꜜbábò
       ka-bá-énd-a   na=ba-mbwá ba-a=bó
       PST.IPFV-SM$_2$-go-FV COM=NP$_2$-dog PP$_2$-CON=DEM.III$_2$
       'She was walking with her dogs.' (ZF_Narr15)

(119) àhá kàbádàmàdàmá bùryàhò
       a-há   ka-bá-dama-dam-á   bu-ryaho
       AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ PST.IPFV-SM$_2$-PL2-beat-FV NP$_{14}$-like_that
       'When they were beating [the drum] like that...' (ZF_Narr13)

The PI construction seems to have developed from an auxiliary 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 §8.2 on the present). The high tone of the subject marker, seen in the PI construction, is also used in subordinate verbs (see §13.1 on clause types). The earlier auxiliary grammaticalized into a prefix *ka-* 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, as in (120–121). To refer to events that took place earlier on the day of speaking, Namibian Fwe uses the near past imperfective (see §8.3.2).

(120) kàndírwàrítè zyônà
       ka-ndí-rwa_H r-íte   zyóna
       PST.IPFV-SM_1SG-become_sick-STAT yesterday
       'I was sick yesterday.' (NF_Elic17)

(121) èzìryó kàzí'ryóhà
       e-zi-ryó   ka-zí-ryo_H-á
       AUG-NP_8-food PST.IPFV-SM_8-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 past, as in (122), and the remote past, as in (123).

(122) mùndáré kàndí'twá shùnù
       N-mu-ndaré   ka-ndí-tw-á   shunu
       COP-NP_3-maize PST.IPFV-SM_1SG-pound-FV today
       'I was pounding maize today.'

(123) mùndáré kàndí'twá zyônà
       N-mu-ndaré   ka-ndí-tw-á   zyóna
       COP-NP_3-maize PST.IPFV-SM_1SG-pound-FV yesterday
       'I was pounding maize yesterday.' (ZF_Elic14)

The RPI presents an event as ongoing, with explicit reference to the internal constituency of the event's nucleus. This becomes clear 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 (124), the RPI verb *kàndìtèká* '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.

(124) àhà kàndìtèká mênjì ndókùsús' ècìbìyà cángù
       a-ha   ka-ndí-te_H k-á   ma-ínji
       AUG-DEM.I_16 PST.IPFV-SM_1SG-fetch-FV NP_6-water
       ndi-ó=ku-sús-a   e-ci-biya   ci-angú
       SM_1SG-CON=INF-drop-FV AUG-NP_7-container PP_7-POSS_1SG
       'While I was fetching water, I dropped my container.' (ZF_Elic14)

The RPI may co-occur with markers that indicate a type of imperfective aspect, such as the stative in (125), the habitual -*ang* in (126), the progressive-marking fronted-infinitive construction in (127), the progressive auxiliary *kwesi* in (128), and the persistive *shí-* in (129).

(125) zyônà **kàndìshwénêtè**
zyóna ka-ndi-shwen-<u>é</u>te
yesterday PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-become_tired-STAT
'Yesterday, **I was tired**.' (ZF_Elic14)

(126) **kárìzò:rángà** òndávù kùyà kúkùcâ:nà
ka-<u>á</u>-ri$_H$-zo:r-<u>á</u>ng-a o-∅-ndavú ku-i-a
PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-REFL-turn-HAB-FV AUG-NP$_{1a}$-lion INF-go-FV
kú-ku-cá:n-a
NP$_{17}$-INF-hunt-FV
'**He used to turn himself** into a lion to go hunting.' (NF_Narr15)

(127) kùshókà ká'shókà
ku-shók-a ka-<u>á</u>-sho$_H$k-<u>á</u>
INF-rain PST.IPFV-SM$_{1a}$-rain-FV
'It has been raining.' (ZF_Elic14)

(128) cìntù císhàkàhárà ècí **kàtúkwèsì tùàmbàúrà**
∅-ci-ntu cí-shakahar-<u>á</u> e-cí
COP-NP$_7$-thing SM$_7$.REL-be_important-FV AUG-DEM.I$_7$
ka-t<u>ú</u>-kwesi tu-ambaur-<u>á</u>
PST.IPFV-SM$_{1PL}$-PROG SM$_{1PL}$-discuss-FV
'It's an important thing that **we were discussing**.' (ZF_Elic14)

(129) **kàshìké:zyà** mùrùshàrá 'rwángù
ka-<u>á</u>-shi$_H$-k<u>é</u>:zy-a mu-ru-shará ru-angú
PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-PER-come-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_{11}$-back PP$_{11}$-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, as in (130), or less commonly, habitual, as in (131).

(130) kàtúyêndà nòzyú mùyéꜜnzángù
ka-tú-énd-a   no=zyú   mu-énz-angú
PST.IPFV-SM₁ₚₗ-go-FV COM=DEM.I₁ NP₁-friend-POSS₁ₛG
'I was traveling with this friend of mine.' (NF_Narr17)

(131) kàndízyîmbà
ka-ndí-zyímb-a
PST.IPFV-SM₁ₛG-sing-FV
'I used to sing/be a singer.' (NF_Elic15)

The PI may also co-occur with the locative pluractional marker, as in (132), 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.

(132) kàndíkàbúyêndà
ka-ndí-kabú-énd-a
PST.IPFV-SM₁ₛG-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', as in (133–134), and *ina* 'be (somewhere)' in (135).

(133) èzíryó kàzîrì zìrôtù
e-zi-río   ka-zí-ri   zi-rótu
AUG-NP₈-food PST.IPFV-SM₈-be NP₈-good
'The food was good.' (NF_Elic15)

(134) kàbárì bànînì
ka-bá-ri   ba-níni
PST.IPFV-SM₂-be NP₂-small
'They were small.' (NF_Elic15)

(135) kàkwín' ꜛómùnzì òmù kàmwíꜜná bàntù
ka-kú-iná   o-mu-nzi   o-mu   ka-mú-iná
PST.IPFV-SM₁₇-be_at AUG-NP₃-village AUG-DEM.I₁₈ PST.IPFV-SM₁₈-be_at
ba-ntu
NP₂-person
'There was a village, where people were living.' (NF_Narr15)

The remote past imperfective situates the entire event in the past, including an optional coda phase. The event cannot overlap with UT, as in (136), which indicates that it is no longer raining at utterance time. When the PI expresses a past habitual, overlap with UT is also not possible, as in (137), where all instances of weeding (which together constitute the speaker's habit of weeding) are situated before UT.

(136)   kùshókà ká'shókà
        ku-shók-a   ka-á-sho$_H$k-á
        INF-rain-FV PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-rain-FV
        'It has been raining (but it's not raining now).' (ZF_Elic14)

(137)   kàndítòmbwèrângà
        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 stativized verbs, it describes an ongoing state (e.g. the coda state that follows the nuclear change in state), which cannot overlap with UT. For instance, in (138), the coda phase of being tired does not hold at the time of speaking, and in (139), the coda phase of knowing them does not hold at the time of speaking, because the people described have now passed away.

(138)   zyônà kàndìshwénêtè shùnù tàndìshwènètê:
        zyóna   ka-ndi-shwen-éte   shunu
        yesterday PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-become_tired-STAT today
        ta-ndi-shwen-ete-í
        NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-become_tired-STAT-NEG
        'Yesterday I was tired, today I'm not tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

(139)   kàndíbàzyì:
        ka-ndí-ba-zyi:
        PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_2$-get_to_know.STAT
        'I used to know them.' (but they passed away) (NF_Elic15)

Note that the use of the past imperfective with a change-of-state verb that is not stativized is interpreted as dynamic, i.e. an incipient change of state, that is no longer ongoing at the time of speaking, as in (140).

(140) ká^ꞌnúnà kònó hànó shàkábúkàtà

ka-<u>á</u>-nun-<u>á</u>   konó hanó
PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-become_fat-FV but   DEM.II$_{16}$

shi-a-kabú-kat-a
INC-SM$_1$-LOC.PL-become_thin-FV

'She was getting fat, but now she's getting thin again.' (NF_Elic15)

8.4 Future

Like the past, the future is divided into two domains based on their perceived distance from the utterance time: the near future construction situates the event after utterance time but 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.

8.4.1 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 (see chapter 10), and both can be made into near future forms, as in (141–142).

(141) a. Subjunctive perfective
           ndìbèrékè
           ndi-berek-é
           SM$_{1SG}$-work-PFV.SBJV
           'I should work.'

       b. Near future perfective
           mbòndíbèrékè
           mbo-nd<u>í</u>-berek-<u>é</u>
           NEAR.FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-work-PFV.SBJV
           'I will work.'

(142) a. Subjunctive imperfective
           mbòndákùbèrèkà
           mbo-nd-áku-berek-a
           NEAR.FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
           'I will be working.'

b. Near future imperfective
ndákùbèrèkà
ndi-áku-berek-a
SM₁SG-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-*, but a high tone is added to the subject marker (melodic tone 2), which is absent in the corresponding subjunctive form (see §10.2). 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, as in (143); MT 1 is used when there is no object marker, as in (144), or only one object marker, as in (145).

(143)   mbòndícìkùtòrókèrè
        mbo-ndí-ci_H-ku-to_Hrók-er-e
        NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-OM₇-OM₂SG-exlain-APPL-PFV.SBJV
        'I will explain it to you.' (NF_Elic15)

(144)   mbòndítòrókè
        mbo-ndí-to_Hrok-é
        NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-explain-PFV.SBJV
        'I will explain.'

(145)   mbòndícìtòrókè
        mbo-ndí-ci_H-to_Hrok-é
        NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-OM₇-explain-PFV.SBJV
        'I will explain it.'

In Zambian Fwe, the near future prefix has an alternative form *mba-*, as in (146), which is used interchangeably with the prefix *mbo-*. Namibian Fwe only uses the prefix *mbo-*, as in (147).

(146)   mbàndíyêndè
        mba-ndí-énd-e
        NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-go-PFV.SBJV
        'I will go.' (Zambian Fwe)

(147) mbòndíyêndè

mbo-ndí-énd-e

NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-go-PFV.SBJV

'I will go.' (Zambian and Namibian Fwe)

The near future 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 *màsíkù* 'tonight' in (148), or *shùnù* 'today' in (149).

(148) mbàndí⸍rárè màsíkù

mba-ndí-rá:r-e   ma-sikú

NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-sleep-PFV.SBJV NP₆-evening

'I will sleep tonight.' (ZF_Elic14)

(149) 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 can also be based on larger temporal domains, such as the current year in (150).

(150) mwánàngú ómweri mbwámàné cìkòró ùnó mwâkà

mu-án-angú   u-ó=mu-eri   mbo-á-man-é

NP₁-child-POSS₁SG PP₁-CON=NP₁-firstborn NEAR.FUT-SM₁-finish-PFV.SBJV

unó   mu-áka

DEM.II₃ NP₃-year

'My eldest child will finish school this year.' (NF_Elic17)

The near future can also be used to refer to events that are imminent. The example in (151) 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 immediately. This imminence is expressed with the use of the near future.

(151) ècìmbòtwè cókùbá⸍téyé mbòndímìtúsè

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-SM₁SG-OM₂PL-help-PFV.SBJV

'The frog told them, I will help you.' (NF_Narr15)

The near future form can only be used for events that have not yet started at the time of speaking, as in (152), which can only be said by someone who has not yet started to work. In (153), from a narrative, the speaker is considering removing his injured eye, because he cannot 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.

(152) shùnù mbòndísèbèzê
       shunu mbo-ndí-sebez-é
       today NEAR.FUT-SM1SG-work-PFV.SBJV
       'Today, I will work.' (said by someone who has not yet started)
       (NF_Elic15)

(153) mwèndì mbòndíbòné nèrí rìnàsìyárìrì
       mwendi mbo-ndí-boHn-é   ne=rí
       maybe   NEAR.FUT-SM1SG-see-PFV.SBJV COM=DEM.I5
       ri-na-siárir-ir-i
       SM5-PST-leave-APPL-NPST.PFV
       'Maybe I will see with the other one.' (ZF_Narr14)

The near future perfective is used to refer to single events, as in (154), and the near future imperfective to extended or recurring events, as in (155).

(154) mbòndísèbèzé shûnù
       mbo-ndí-sebez-é   shúnu
       NEAR.FUT-SM1SG-work-PFV.SBJV today
       'I will work today.' (NF_Elic17)

(155) mbòndákùbèrèkà èzyúbà nèzyûbà
       mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a   e-∅-zyúba   ne=∅-zyúba
       NEAR.FUT-SM1SG-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV AUG-NP5-day COM=NP5-day
       'I will work every day.'

The near future imperfective can have a progressive interpretation, or more commonly a habitual interpretation. The near future imperfective may combine with the habitual suffix *-ang* (see also §9.2.1), as in (156), but a habitual interpretation is also available without habitual markers, as in (157).

(156) mbòndákùshàmbàngà
       mbo-ndi-áku-shamb-ang-a
       NEAR.FUT-SM1SG-SBJV.IPFV-wash-HAB-FV
       'I will wash regularly.'

(157) mbòndákùbèrèkà
      mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a
      NEAR.FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
      'I will work regularly.'

In Zambian Fwe, a near future habitual can be expressed by combining the near future perfective with the habitual suffix *-ang*, as in (158). In Namibian Fwe the expression of a near future habitual always requires the near future prefix *áku-*, as in (157).

(158) èyìnó nsûndà **mbòndíbù:kángè** kàêtì
      e-inó   N-súnda mbo-ndí-bu:$_H$k-áng-e   ka-éti
      AUG-DEM.II$_9$ NP$_9$-week NEAR.FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-wake-HAB-PFV.SBJV ADV-eight
      'This week, I will wake up at eight.' (ZF_Elic14)

The near future construction cannot be used in subordinate clauses, as shown in (160). Instead, near future can be expressed in subordinate clauses with a present verb, as in (160) (note that the present construction may also have a future interpretation in main clauses; see §8.2). This is in line with the origin of this construction from in an earlier subordinated verb, which is is further supported by the use of melodic tone 2, which is also used in subordinated verbs (see §13.5.1 for details).

(159) *àbàbàrà àbó mbòbáhùré shùnù
      a-ba-bara   a-bó   mbo-bá-hur-é   shunu
      AUG-NP$_2$-visitor AUG-DEM.III$_2$ NEAR.FUT-SM$_2$-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
      Intended: 'The visitors who will arrive today...'

(160) àbàbàrà àbó ꜛbáhùrá shùnù
      a-ba-bara   a-bó   bá-hur-á   shunu
      AUG-NP$_2$-visitor AUG-DEM.III$_2$ SM$_2$.REL-arrive-FV today
      '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, which is preceded by a negated auxiliary *ri* 'be' (see also §12.4 on negation).

(161) kàrì ndíkààmbè
      ka-ri   ndí-ka-ámb-e
      NEG-be SM$_{1SG}$.REL-DIST-speak-PFV.SBJV
      'I will not speak there.' (NF_Elic17)

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 §8.4.2).

8.4.2 Remote future

The form of the remote future construction differs between Zambian and Namibian Fwe. In Zambian Fwe, the remote future 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, as in (162–163).

(162) zyônà nàndínàménèkà
       zyóna   na-ndí-na-mének-a
       tomorrow REM-SM₁SG-REM.FUT-go_early-FV
       'Tomorrow I will go very early.' (ZF_Elic14)

(163) zyônà nàndínàbû:kà kàfôrù
       zyóna   na-ndí-na-bú:k-a   ka-fóru
       tomorrow REM-SM₁SG-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 §8.3.2) and remote subjunctive (see §10.2), and is therefore glossed as 'remote' REM. The post-initial prefix *na-* resembles the post-initial prefix *na-* used in the near past perfective (see §8.3.1), though the near past perfective prefix *na-* has an alternative realization *a-*, whereas the remote future prefix *na-* is consistently realized as *na-*. Due to this difference in allomorphy, as well as the lack of (obvious) semantic connection between the near past perfective and remote future meanings, remote future *na-* and near past perfective *na-* are analyzed as 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, and maintains the verb's underlying tones, as in (164–165).

(164) nàndínàóngòzà (cf. óngòzà 'shout')
       na-ndí-na-óngoz-a
       REM-SM₁SG-REM.FUT-shout-FV
       'I will shout.'

(165) nàndínàshòshòtà (cf. shòshòtà 'whisper')
       na-ndí-na-shoshot-a
       REM-SM₁SG-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*-, as seen in (166). The remoteness prefix *na*- is optional in Namibian Fwe, and most often left out, as in (167).

(166) nàndíràcípàngà zyônà
       na-ndí-ra-cí-pang-a   zyóna
       REM-SM₁SG-REM.FUT-OM₇-do-FV tomorrow
       'I will do it tomorrow.' (NF_Elic17)

(167) ndáràyèndà zyônà
       ndi-ára-end-a   zyóna
       SM₁SG-REM.FUT-go-FV tomorrow
       'I will go tomorrow.' (NF_Elic15)

The prefix *ára*- may also surface as *ra*-, without the initial vowel *á*, as in (168). The high tone of this vowel is maintained, though, and surfaces on the subject marker.

(168) ndáràtèndà ~ ndíràtèndà
       ndi-ára-tend-a
       SM₁SG-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, as in (169–170).

(169) ndáràzyîmbà (cf. zyîmbà 'sing')
       ndi-ára-zyímb-a
       SM₁SG-REM.FUT-sing-FV
       'I will sing.'

(170) ndáràtèndà (cf. tèndà 'do')
       ndi-ára-tend-a
       SM₁SG-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 interpretation 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 (171), or 'next week', in (172).

(171) mùrâːrè twáràzíkàndèkà zyônà
mu-ráːr-e   tu-ára-zí-kandek-a   zyóna
SM2PL-sleep-PFV.SBJV SM1PL-REM.FUT-OM8-tell-FV tomorrow
'Go to sleep, we'll discuss it tomorrow.' (NF_Narr15)

(172) ènsúndá yìkêːzyà nàndínàyà kùbàmàtè
e-N-sundá i-kéːzy-a   na-ndí-na-i-a   ku-ba-mate
AUG-NP9-week SM9-come-FV REM-SM1SG-REM.FUT-go-FV NP17-NP2-Mate
'Next week I will go to Mate.' (ZF_Elic14)

Like the remote past, the remote future can be used for any time frame that the speaker considers to be far in the future. In (173), the speaker is discussing a house that is currently being built, but has not been completed yet, and therefore the statement about the house is set in the remote future.

(173) yáràdùrà cáhà
i-ára-dur-a   cahá
SM9-REM.FUT-be_expensive-FV very
'It will be very expensive.' (about a house that is currently being built)
(NF_Elic15)

As discussed in §8.2, remote future meaning can also be expressed by the present construction, without a difference in meaning, as in (174–176).

(174) ndìtwá zyônà
ndi-tw-á   zyóna
SM1SG-pound-FV tomorrow
'I will pound tomorrow.'

(175) ndáràtwá zyônà
ndi-ára-tw-á   zyóna
SM1SG-REM.FUT-pound-FV tomorrow
'I will pound tomorrow.' (NF_Elic15)

(176) ndìyêndà zyônà
       ndi-énd-a   zyóna
       SM₁SG-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 (177), or a subjunctive construction with the remoteness prefix *na-*, as in (178).

(177) ndìzyónà ndíyêndà
       ndi-zyóna   ndí-énd-a
       COP-tomorrow SM₁SG.REL-go-FV
       'It's tomorrow that I will go.'

(178) ndìzyónà nàndíyêndè
       ndi-zyóna   na-ndí-énd-e
       COP-tomorrow REM-SM₁SG.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-*, as in (179).

(179) kàrì nèndícìpángè zyônà
       ka-ri   ne-ndí-ci_H-páng-e   zyóna
       NEG-be REM-SM₁SG-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 §8.2, 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 §9.1.2).

8.5 Consecutive

Fwe has a consecutive verb form, which is, both in form and function, intermediate between an inflected and an infinitive verb form. Temporally, the consecutive situates the event relative to an event encoded with an inflected verb 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 preced by a connective or a comitative clitic. The connective clitic consists of a connective stem and a pronominal prefix (see §4.3.3 on connectives), which in the consecutive verb marks agreement with the intended subject. An example is given in (180), 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'.

(180)   ndàmání kùyídàmá ènjókà yókúfwà
      ndi-a-man-í   ku-í-dam-á   e-N-jóka
      SM$_{1SG}$-PST-finish-NPST.PFV INF-OM$_9$-beat-FV AUG-NP$_9$-snake
      í-o=ku-fw-á
      PP$_9$-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 §5.2 on comitatives), as in (181).

(181)   nàháshàmì **nòkùkárìsà** kùzyîmbà
      na-ásham-i   no=ku-káris-a   ku-zyímb-a
      SM$_1$.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 (see also §3.3 on melodic tone in TAM constructions), and the replacement of the infinitive prefix *ku-* with the distal prefix *ka-* to expresses an event taking place away from the place of speaking (see §11.1 on the distal). An example of a consecutive using the distal infinitive *ka-* is given in (182).

(182) àhà bákàsúkꞋáhò **bókàyèndà** kàhùrà kúmùnzì
       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 can only be used when preceded by another, tense-inflect-
ed verb, and the consecutive verb is interpreted as occuring more or less directly
after the event encoded by the inflected verb. In (183), the remote past perfective
verb *níndàzyá:kà* 'I built' describes an event immediately followed by that of the
consecutive *ndókùyíǀàpàùrà* 'I took it apart'.

(183) níndàzyá:k' ènjûò ndókùyíǀàpàùrà hápè
       ni-ndí-a-zyá:k-a   e-N-júo
       REM-SM1-PST-build-FV AUG-NP9-house
       ndi-ó=ku-í-ǀap-a-ur-a
       PP1SG-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 (183), the event expressed by the consecutive directly follows
the event expressed by the inflected verb. When preceded by an imperfective
verb, on the other hand, 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 (184), and an imperfective past verb *kàndíshâmbà* 'I was swimming',
in (185).

(184) zyônà **kàndíyèndètè** mùtêmwà ndókùshótòkà zyôkà
       zyóna   ka-ndí-end-ete   mu-témwa ndí-o=ku-shótok-a
       yesterday PST.IPFV-SM1SG-go-STAT NP3-bush   PP1SG-CON=INF-jump-FV
       ∅-zyóka
       NP5-snake
       'Yesterday I was on a walk in the bush, and I stepped on a snake.'
       (ZF_Narr14)

(185) àhà **kàndíshâmbà** ndókùbón' òngwènà

a-ha   ka-ndí-shámb-a   ndi-ó=ku-bón-a
AUG-DEM.I₁₆   PST.IPFV-SM₁SG-swim-FV   PP₁SG-CON=INF-see-FV

o-∅-ngwena
AUG-NP₁ₐ-crocodile

'While I was swimming, I saw a crocodile.' (ZF_Elic14)

Multiple consecutive verbs can be used in succession, as in (186), which is taken from the start of a narrative and describes the various steps of a marriage contract, using a tense-inflected verb followed by three consecutive verbs.

(186) àké:zyà kùmùshàkà bókùmùtòmènà ákùmànà kùróbòrà nòkútéyè
       àhíndè mùkéntù wàkwé cwárè àyêndè

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   cwáre a-énd-e
SM₁-take-PFV.SBJV   NP₁-woman   PP₁-POSS₃SG   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)

Since subject marking is not possible on the comitative-marked consecutive, it is usually interpreted as having the same subject as the preceding, inflected verb, as in (187), or even the same subject and object as the preceding inflected verb, as in (188).

(187) àkàrôngò kànâgwì 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)

(188) ndìnàhîndì nsânzù nòkùbí:kà hàzìkù

ndi-na-hínd-i   N-sánzu   no=ku-bí:k-a   ha-∅-ziku
SM₁SG-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)

Given appropriate context, the comitative-marked consecutive may also be used for verbs that have a different intended subject, as in (189), where the preceding two verbs (in the present and consecutive form respectively) are marked

for a first person singular subject, but the last verb, a comitative-marked consecutive, has as its intended subject not the speaker himself, but a snake, whose encounter was the topic of the story.

(189) àhá ndíìbùkùmá bùrỳahò ndókùyídàmà nòkúfwà
       a-ha   ndí-i$_H$-bu$_H$kum-á   buryaho
       AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_5$-throw-FV NP$_{14}$-like_that
       ndi-ó=ku-í-dam-a   no=ku-fú-a
       PP$_{1SG}$-CON=INF-OM$_9$-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 is only allowed when context is sufficient to establish the intended subject, either through the preceding inflected verb, or through the wider (discourse-internal or external) context. (190) was considered ungrammatical, because the lack of context does not provide enough clues to correctly identify the buffalo as the intended subject of the verb.

(190) *ndàshónjì ònyátì nòkúfwà
       ndi-a-shónj-i   o-∅-nyáti   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)

9 Aspect

In this chapter, I discuss different ways in which Fwe verbs can be inflected for aspect, specifying 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. Melodic tone, which plays an important role in the expression of tense constructions, is only seen in the aspectual construction expressing a stative. Table 9.1 summarizes the aspect constructions used in Fwe, which will be discussed in this chapter.

Table 9.1: Aspect constructions

Label	Segmental form	Melodic tone	Interpretation
Progressive	auxiliary *kwesi*	-	progressive; inchoative; repetitive
Fronted-infinitive	*ku*-B-*a* SM-B-*a*	-	progressive; verb focus
Habitual	*-ang*	-	habitual
Habitual	*náku-*	-	habitual
Stative	*-ite*	3,4	stative; progressive
Persistive	*shí-*	-	persistive
Inceptive	*sha-/she-/shi-*	-	inchoative; proximative; contrastive; completive

9.1 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 a finite 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.

9.1.1 Progressive auxiliary

Progressive aspect can be expressed with the auxiliary *kwesi* followed by an inflected lexical verb, as in (1–2). 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 (see §13.5.1 on relative clauses).

(1) òmvúrà àkwèsì àshôkà
o-∅-mvúra   a-kwesi   a-shók-a
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-rain SM$_{1a}$-PROG SM$_{1a}$-rain-FV
'It is raining.' (ZF_Elic14)

(2) ndìkwèsì ndìrìkúkà
ndi-kwesi   ndi-ri$_H$kuk-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 'have'. It derives from the verb *kwát* 'grasp', with an imbricated stative suffix *-ite* (see §9.3 on the stative). Similar forms are seen in Totela, which uses *kwesi* (as the stative of *kwata*) (Crane 2019: 674) as a progressive auxiliary, and in Subiya, which uses an auxiliary *kwete,* derived from *ku kwata* 'to grab' (Jacottet 1896: 64).

An object marker cannot be used on the progressive auxiliary, only on the lexical verb, as shown with the object marker *ndi-* in (3).

(3) àkwèsì àndìàmbìsâ
a-kwesi   a-ndi-amb-is-á
SM$_1$-PROG SM$_1$-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, as in (4–6). A locative clitic of class 17

=ko, however, may be used on the auxiliary *kwesi* to focus the progressive aspect, as in (7–9).[1]

(4) ndìkwèsì ndìngòngòtáhò
ndi-kwesi   ndi-ngo$_H$ngot-a=h$\underline{ó}$
SM$_{1SG}$-PROG SM$_{1SG}$-knock-FV=LOC$_{16}$
'I am knocking on it.'

(5) ndìkwèsì ndìngòngòtákò
ndi-kwesi   ndi-ngo$_H$ngot-a=k$\underline{ó}$
SM$_{1SG}$-PROG SM$_{1SG}$-knock-FV=LOC$_{17}$
'I am knocking there.

(6) bàkwèsì bàrà:rámò
ba-kwesi ba-ra:$_H$r-a=m$\underline{ó}$
SM$_2$-PROG SM$_2$-sleep-FV=LOC$_{18}$
'S/he is sleeping in there

(7) ndìkwèsìkó ndìngòngótà
ndi-kwesi=k$\underline{ó}$ ndi-ngo$_H$ngot-a=k$\underline{ó}$
SM$_{1SG}$-PROG=LOC$_{17}$ SM$_{1SG}$-knock-FV=LOC$_{17}$
'I am knocking there (for a long time).'

(8) bàkwèsìkó bàhíkà
ba-kwesi=k$\underline{ó}$ ba-hi$_H$k-$\underline{á}$
SM$_2$-PROG=LOC$_{17}$ SM$_2$-cook-FV
'They are busy cooking.' (stresses that they have already started)

(9) ndìshìní òkùmànà ndìshìkwèsìkó ndìhíkà
ndi-shi$_H$-ní o-ku-man-a   ndi-shi$_H$-kwesi=k$\underline{ó}$ ndi-hi$_H$k-$\underline{á}$
SM$_{1SG}$-PER-be AUG-INF-finish-FV SM$_{1SG}$-PER-PROG=LOC$_{17}$ SM$_{1SG}$-cook-FV
'I have not yet finished, I am still cooking.' (Answer to: 'Did you finish cooking?') (NF_Elic17

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 *kwesi*,

[1]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).

i.e. it is followed by a non-subordinate inflected lexical verb. There appears to be no difference in meaning between the two auxiliaries. (10–11) illustrate the use of both progressive auxiliaries.

(10) ndìkwèsì ndìfwêbà
    ndi-kwesi   ndi-fw*é̱*b-a
    SM$_{1SG}$-PROG SM$_{1SG}$-smoke-FV
    'I am smoking.'

(11) ndìná ndìfwêbà
    ndi-iná   ndi-fw*é̱*b-a
    SM$_{1SG}$-PROG SM$_{1SG}$-smoke-FV
    'I am smoking.' (NF_Elic17)

The only established difference between the progressive auxiliaries *kwesi* and *iná* is that where *kwesi* combines with the class 17 locative clitic =*ko* to focus the progressive aspect (see (7)), *iná* takes the locative clitic of class 16 =*ho* to focus the progressive aspect, as in (12).

(12) ndìná ndìfwêbà
    ndi-ina=h*ó̱*   ndi-fw*é̱*b-a
    SM$_{1SG}$-PROG=LOC$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$-smoke-FV
    'I am smoking.' (NF_Elic17)

The use of progressive *iná* appears to be restricted. I have not found this construction with any Zambian speakers, and with only one of the Namibian speakers that were interviewed. Other Namibian Fwe speakers accepted the construction but would only use *kwesi* in their own speech. More research is needed to establish if the auxiliary *iná* is really functionally equivalent to the auxiliary *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* marks an ongoing and durative event, meaning that it cannot be instantaneous, but has to cover a certain time span. With dynamic verbs, it typically presents the nuclear phase as ongoing, as in (13–14).

(13) òmvúrà àkwèsì àshókà
    o-∅-mvúra   a-kwesi a-sho$_H$k-*á̱*
    AUG-NP$_{1a}$-rain SM$_1$-PROG SM$_1$-fall-FV
    'It's raining (right now).' (ZF_Elic14)

(14) èfónì yòzyûmwì ìkwès' ìrírà

e-∅-fóni   i-o=zyú-mwi   i-kwesi   i-rir-<u>á</u>

AUG-NP$_9$-phone PP$_9$-CON=PP$_1$-other SM$_9$-PROG SM$_9$-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: 35), 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, as in (15–16).

(15) bàkwèsì bàsèpàhárà

ba-kwesi ba-sep-ahar-<u>á</u>

SM$_2$-PROG SM$_2$-trust-NEUT-FV

'S/he is becoming important.'

(16) cìkwèsì cìcénà

ci-kwesi   ci-cen-<u>á</u>

SM$_7$-PROG SM$_7$-become_clean-FV

'It is becoming clean.' (while you are washing it, you see it getting cleaner) (NF_Elic17)

With change-of-state verbs that do not have an onset phase, the progressive gives a repetitive interpretation, as illustrated with the change-of-state verb *aruk* 'open' in (17), and the change-of-state verb *rá:r* 'sleep/fall asleep' in (18).

(17) cìkwèsì cìàrúkà

ci-kwesi   ci-ar-uk-<u>á</u>

SM$_7$-PROG SM$_7$-close -SEP.INTR-FV

'It keeps opening.' (of a door that doesn't close properly)

(18) bàkwèsì bàrà:rámò

ba-kwesi ba-ra:$_H$r-a-m<u>ó</u>

SM$_2$-PROG SM$_2$-sleep-FV

'S/he is sleeping in in there [for the duration of his/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' in (19), which can be used with the progressive when it has a plural subject.

(19) bàkwèsì bàfwâ
ba-kwesi ba-fw-á
SM$_2$-PROG SM$_2$-die-FV
'They are dying.' (NF_Elic17)

The progressive examples seen so far involved present progressives, which present ongoing actions set at or around the time of speaking. *kwesi* can also be combined with a past construction, in which case the auxiliary takes the (remote) past imperfective prefix *ka-*, as in (20). 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. *kwesi* is not used with the near past imperfective.

(20) àhà **kàtúkwèsí** tùkàndèká èzìntù nòkùkárìsà kùkákànà
a-ha ka-tú-kwesí tu-kandek-á e-zi-ntu
AUG-DEM$_{16}$ PST.IPFV-SM$_{1PL}$-PROG SM$_{1PL}$-tell-FV AUG-NP$_8$-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 auxiliary *kwesi* is mainly used for events that have a relatively short duration, such as smoking a cigarette, as in (21), or getting dressed, as in (22). Progressive events with a longer duration tend to be expressed with the fronted-infinitive construction (see §9.1.2).

(21) bàkwèsì bàfwébà mùtômbwè
ba-kwesi ba-fwéb-a mu-tómbwe
SM$_2$-PROG SM$_2$-smoke-FV NP$_3$-cigarette
'S/he is smoking a cigarette.'

(22) wáshàkàbìrì múnjûò kwìn' ózyò ákwèsì àzwâtà
o-ásha-kabir-i mú-N-júo ku-iná o-zyo
SM$_{2SG}$-NEG.SBJV-enter-NEG NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house SM$_{17}$-be_at AUG-DEM.III$_1$
á-kwesi a-zwát-a
SM$_1$.REL-PROG SM$_1$-dress-FV
'Don't go in the house, there is someone getting dressed.' (NF_Elic17)

9.1.2 Fronted infinitive construction

The fronted-infinitive construction (FIC) 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. For a detailed analysis of the fronted-infinitive construction in Fwe, see Gunnink (2019). Examples of the FIC are given in (23–24).

(23) shùnù kùsèbèzà ndísèbèzâ
      shunu ku-sebez-a   ndí-sebez-á
      today INF-work-FV SM1SG.REL-work-FV
      'Today I am working.' (ZF_Elic14)

(24) kùshèkà báˈshékà
      ku-shek-a   bá-shek-á
      INF-laugh-FV SM2.REL-laugh-FV
      'They are laughing.' (NF_Elic15)

The FIC is a type of cleft construction (see also §13.6 on cleft constructions): the infinitive functions as a clefted element, and the inflected verb as (the beginning of) a relative clause. Example (25) presents the analysis of a FIC as a cleft construction.

(25) kùyèndà ndíyêndà
      ∅-ku-end-a   ndí-énd-a
      [clefted element]   [relative clause]
      COP-NP15-walk-FV SM1SG.REL-walk-FV
      'I am walking.' (ZF_Elic14)

In a cleft construction, the clefted element is marked by a copula. Although the copulative prefix is zero with nouns of class 15 (such as the infinitive), its presence can still be detected. In Namibian Fwe the copulative prefix on class 15 nouns can be realized as *nku-*, and this form can also be seen with the infinitive used in the FIC, as in (26).

(26) nkùhóˈm' áˈhómà
      N-ku-hóm-a   á-hoHm-á
      COP-NP15-lie-FV SM1.REL-lie-FV
      'He's lying.' (NF_Elic15)

The class 15 copula also has a definite form *kó-*, which can also be used on the infinitive in the FIC, as in (27).

(27) kókùmànà ndɪ́ꜝmánà
kó-ku-man-a   ndɪ́-man-á̱
COP.DEF₁₅-INF-finish-FV SM₁SG.REL-finish-FV
'I've just finished.' (ZF_Elic14)

Furthermore, the copula can never be preceded by a vocalic augment. In infinitives, the prefix *ku-* can optionally be preceded by an augment *o-*, as in (28), but in the FIC, the augment *o-* is not allowed, as shown in (29–30).

(28) ndìpàtéhìtè (ò)kùnywá ètìyì
ndi-paté̱h-ite   (o-)ku-nyw-á   e-∅-tiyi
SM₁SG-be_busy-STAT (AUG-)INF-drink AUG-NP₉-tea
'I'm busy drinking tea.'

(29) kùnywá ꜝndínywà
N-ku-nyú-a   ndɪ́-nyw-á̱
COP-INF-drink-FV SM₁SG.REL-drink-FV
'I am drinking.'

(30) *òkùnywá ꜝndínywà (ZF_Elic14)

The inflected verb of a FIC has a relative clause tone pattern. For most TAM constructions, the relative clause verb form is distinguished from its main clause counterpart by the addition of a high tone on the subject marker (melodic tone 2), as is the case for the present construction (see §13.5.1 on relative clauses). The relative clause form of the present construction is given in (31), and (32) shows that this same form is used in the FIC.

(31) màyìrà ndɪ́ꜝhíbà
ma-ira   ndɪ́-hib-á̱
NP₆-sorghum SM₁SG.REL-steal-FV
'the sorghum that I steal'

(32) kùhíbà ndɪ́ꜝhíbà
N-ku-híb-a   ndɪ́-hib-á̱
COP-INF-steal-FV SM₁SG.REL-steal-FV
'I am stealing.' (NF_Elic15)

The word order used with the FIC is also typical of relative clauses. In a canonical main clause, subjects tend to precede the verb, and objects and locatives tend to follow the verb (see also §13.1 on word order). With a FIC, however, subjects, objects, and locatives all follow the verb, as in (33–35).

(33) Verb - Object
      kùhòndà ndí'hóndà bùhòbè
      ku-hond-a   ndí̱-hó̱nd-a   bu-hobe
      INF-cook-FV SM₁SG.REL-cook-FV NP₁₄-porridge
      'I am cooking porridge.' (ZF_Elic14)

(34) Verb - Locative
      kùyèndà ndí'yéndà mùmùtêmwà
      ku-end-a   ndí̱-é̱nd-a   mu-mu-témwa
      INF-walk-FV SM₁SG.REL-walk-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-forest
      'I am walking through the forest.' (ZF_Elic13)

(35) Verb - Subject
      kùshóká 'shókò mvûrà
      ku-shók-a   á̱-shó̱k-a   o-∅-mvúra
      INF-fall-FV SM₁.REL-fall-FV AUG-NP₁ₐ-rain
      'It is raining.' (ZF_Elic13)

Even when used with a FIC, a subject may be placed before the verb, as in (36). In that case, however, it precedes both the infinitive and inflected verb; subjects (or any other constituents) never occur between the infinitive 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 §13.2 on left dislocation).

(36) zywìn ómùntù kùkúrá 'kúrà
      zwiná   o-mu-ntu   ku-kúr-a   á̱-ku$_H$r-á̱
      DEM.IV₁ AUG-NP₁-person INF-sweep-FV SM₁.REL-sweep-FV
      'That person is sweeping.' (ZF_Elic13)

Only the progressive auxiliary *kwesi* can be used between the infinitive and inflected verb, as in (37). 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.

(37) kùnèngà túkwèsì tùnêngà
      ku-neng-a   tú̱-kwesi   tu-né̱ng-a
      INF-dance-FV SM₁PL.REL-PROG SM₁PL-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: (40) shows the clefting of the infinitive verb, and (39) the clefting of a locative adjunct, but as shown by the ungrammaticality of (40), clefting both constituents is not possible.

(38) kùkízìkìtè ndíkìzíkîtè
      ku-kí-zik-ite   ndí-ki$_H$-zik-íte
      INF-REFL-hide-STAT   SM$_{1SG}$.REL-REFL-hide-STAT
      'I am hidden.'

(39) mùmùtémwà ndíkìzìkîte
      N-mu-mu-témwa   ndí-ki$_H$-zik-íte
      COP-NP$_{18}$-NP$_3$-forest   SM$_{1SG}$.REL-REFL-hide-STAT
      'It's in the forest that I'm hidden.'

(40) *mùmùtémwà kùkízìkìtè ndíkìzìkîtè (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, as also argued for Kikongo (De De Kind et al. 2015). The focus use of the FIC is discussed in §13.6 on cleft constructions.

The FIC can be used to express progressive aspect, although the duration of the event referred to by the FIC can vary considerably. In (41) and (42), the FIC describes a progressive action that takes up most of the day. The FIC in (43) describes an event that takes place over several months, and the FIC in (44) describes an event that takes place over several years. This use of the FIC contrasts with the use of the progressive *kwesi*, which typically describes events with a relatively short duration.

(41) zyônà kùsébèzà kàndìsèbèzâ
      zyóna   ku-sébez-a   ka-ndi-sebez-á
      yesterday INF-work-FV   PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-work-FV
      'Yesterday, I was working.'

(42) kùkékèrà kàndíkèkérá shùnù
      ku-kéker-a   ka-ndí-ke$_H$ker-á   shunu
      INF-plough-FV PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-plough-FV today
      'I was ploughing today.'

(43) kùpòtà ákàpòtà bàkwâkwè mwànàmìbìà
      ku-pot-a   á-ka-pot-a   ba-kwákwe mwa-namibia
      INF-visit-FV SM₁-DIST-visit-FV NP₂-relative NP₁₈-Namibia
      'She's visiting her relatives in Namibia.' (ZF_Elic14)

(44) òzyú mwâncè kùkúrà á'kúrà
      o-zyú mu-ánce ku-kúr-a   á-kuₕr-á
      DEM.I₁ NP₁-child INF-grow-FV SM₁-grow-FV
      'The child is growing.' (ZF_Elic13)

The FIC can even be used when the speaker is not certain, or does not assert strongly, that the event is actually ongoing. In (45), the FIC is used to describe people who are away for months at a time doing construction work in Angola. Here, the speaker does not assert that the people described are actually doing work at the time, yet he still uses the FIC.

(45) àbàntù kùbèrèkà bákàbèrèkà mwàngòrà
      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 expresses both progressive aspect and verb focus. This is illustrated in (46), 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.

(46) ècìpùpé 'cákò kùzywìzyà cíkwèsì cìzywîzyà
      e-ci-pupé   cí-akó   ku-zywizy-a cí-kwesi   ci-zywíz-a
      AUG-NP₇-container PP₇-POSS₂SG INF-leak-FV SM₇.REL-PROG SM₇-leak-FV
      'Your container is leaking!' (ZF_Elic14)

The FIC can combine with different TAM constructions, such as the present in (45–46) above. When used to mark progressive aspect, the FIC may only combine with imperfective constructions, such as the remote past imperfective in (47) or the near past imperfective in (48). When used to express verb focus, the FIC may also combine with perfective past constructions, such as the near past perfective in (49).

(47) zywìn' ómùntù kùnywá kànywâ
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)

(48) kùshèkà ndákùshèkà
ku-shek-a ndí-aku-shek-a
INF-laugh-FV SM₁.REL-NPST.IPFV-laugh-FV
'I was laughing.' (NF_Elic15)

(49) kùshúmà nàmùshûmì kònó kànâfwì
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 only occur in main clauses (see §8.4). Instead, to express a progressive action the FIC combines with a verb in the subjunctive mood, as in (50) (see also §10.2 on the subjunctive). This is one of the default strategies for expressing future temporal reference in subordinate clauses.

(50) shûnù àbáncè kùzànà bázânè
shúnu a-ba-ánce 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 verb does not retain all the inflectional and derivational affixes of the inflected verb. Suffixes occur on both the inflected verb and the infinitive: this is the case for derivational suffixes, such as the pluractional suffix *-a* and the transitive separative suffix *-ur* in (51), or the causative suffix *-is* in (52), as well inflectional suffixes, such as the aspectual suffix *-ite* in (53).

(51) kùàmbàùrà túàmbàúrà kwàmànà nòmfûmù
ku-amb-a-ur-a tú-amb-a-ur-á kwamana
INF-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-FV SM₁PL.REL-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-FV about
no=∅-mfúmu
COM=NP₁ₐ-chief
'We are talking about the chief.' (ZF_Elic13)

(52) kùrís'á rìsó mùcècè

ku-rí-is-a   á-ri$_H$-is-á   o-mu-cece
INF-eat-CAUS-FV SM$_1$.REL-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP$_1$-child

'She is feeding the child.' (ZF_Elic14)

(53) kùzíkìtè ndìkìzíkîtè

ku-zík-ite   ndi-ki$_H$-zik-íte
INF-hide-STAT SM$_{1SG}$.REL-REFL-hide-STAT

'I am hiding.' (ZF_Elic13)

Prefixes of the inflected verb are never copied onto the infinitive verb. This is the case for the object marker in (54); the reflexive prefix in (55); the persistive prefix in (56), and the distal in (57).

(54) kùtwírà ndímùtwîrà

ku-tw-ír-a   ndí-mu-tw-ír-a
INF-pound-APPL-FV SM$_{1SG}$.REL-OM$_1$-pound-APPL-FV

'I am pounding for someone.' (ZF_Elic14)

(55) kùzíkìtè ndìkìzìkîtè

ku-zík-ite   ndi-ki$_H$-zik-íte
INF-hide-STAT SM$_{1SG}$.REL-REFL-hide-STAT

'I am hiding.' (ZF_Elic13)

(56) éntì kùhórà íshìhórà

e-N-tí   ku-hór-a   í-shi$_H$-ho$_H$r-á
AUG-NP$_9$-tea INF-cool-FV SM$_9$.REL-PER-cool-FV

'The tea is still cooling down.' (ZF_Elic14)

(57) kùsèbèzà kàndíkàsèbèzâ

ku-sebez-a   ka-ndí-ka-sebez-á
INF-work-FV PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-DIST-work-FV

'I worked there.' (ZF_Elic13)

9.2 Habitual

Habitual is a subtype of imperfective aspect (see, for instance, Comrie (1976: 25)). Habitual expresses a repeated event that is considered characteristic of the subject (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012). Fwe expresses the habitual with the suffix *-ang* or the prefix *náku-*, which may be combined on the same verb. The following two sections describe the form and function of both habitual markers.

9.2.1 Habitual 1

The habitual suffix -*ang* follows the verb base, and precedes the final vowel suffix, as in (58).

(58) ndìshámbângà
      ndi-shamb-<u>á</u>ng-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 6), 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. This order is shown with the passive in (59), and the applicative in (60).

(59) ècí cìntù kàcìrìwângà
      e-cí   ci-ntu   ka-ci-ri$_H$-iw-<u>á</u>ng-a
      AUG-DEM.I$_7$ NP$_7$-thing NEG-SM$_7$-eat-PASS-HAB-FV
      'This thing, it is not eaten.' (NF_Elic17)

(60) tùkìŋòrèrâ:ngà àmàŋórò
      tu-ki$_H$-ŋo$_H$r-er-<u>á</u>ng-a   a-ma-ŋoró
      SM$_{1PL}$-REFL-write-APPL-HAB-FV AUG-NP$_6$-letter
      'We write each other letters.' (ZF_Elic13)

The habitual suffix -*ang* is common in Bantu, reconstructed as *ag or *ang (Meeussen 1967), and its cognates are often used with a habitual meaning (Nurse 2008: 98). The habitual -*ang* in Fwe describes a recurrent event that is considered a characteristic of the situation or its participants, as in (61), where the habitual -*ang* indicates that making the speaker sleepy is a typical property of this medicine.

(61) òwú mùshámù ùnákùndìsùkùrìsàngà
      o-ú   mu-shámu   u-náku-ndi-sukur-is-ang-a
      AUG-DEM.I$_3$ NP$_3$-medicine SM$_3$-HAB-OM$_{1SG}$-become_dozy-CAUS-HAB-FV
      'This medicine makes me sleepy.' (NF_Elic17)

The habitual suffix *-ang* is used to describe an event that is repeated, for instance, every day, as in (62), or every morning, as in (63).

(62) èzyûbà nèzyûbà káyàngà kúrùwà
      e-∅-zyúba   ne=∅-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)

(63) mùzyûbà màsíkùsîkù ndìnywângà màsàmbà
      mu-∅-zyúba ma-síkusíku ndi-nyw-áng-a   ma-samba
      NP₁₈-NP₅-day NP₆-morning SM₁SG-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 utterance time. In (64), the use of the habitual suffix *-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.

(64) kásìkìsì ndíbù:kângà
      ∅-ká-sikisi   ndí-bu:ₕk-áng-a
      COP-ADV-six SM₁SG.REL-wake-HAB-FV
      'It's at six that I normally wake up.' (ZF_Elic14)

The habitual suffix *-ang* may also have a gnomic meaning, as in (65), where it describes the general behavior of all dogs, and in (66), where it describes the general characteristics of old people's hair.

(65) àbámbwà bàbbózângà
      a-ba-mbwá   ba-bboₕz-áng-a
      AUG-NP₂-dog SM₂-bark-HAB-FV
      'Dogs bark.' (ZF_Elic13)

(66) ènshúkí ꞌzábànkàrâmbà zìtùbângà
      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. As discussed in §8.3.3, this is only possible for the remote past imperfective, not the near past imperfective. When used with the remote

past imperfective, the 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, as in (67).

(67) kàndítòmbwèrângà
      ka-ndí-tombwer-áng-a
      PST.IPFV-SM₁SG-weed-HAB-FV
      'I used to weed (but not anymore).' (NF_Elic15)

In Zambian Fwe, the habitual suffix -*ang* may be used with a subjunctive, as in (68), or a near future based on the subjunctive, as in (69).

(68) òràpèrángè múzyûbà
      o-raper-áng-e   mú-∅-zyúba
      SM₂SG-pray-HAB-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₅-day
      'You should pray every day.' (ZF_Elic14)

(69) èyìnó nsûndà mbòndíbù:kángè kàêtì
      e-inó   N-súnda mbo-ndí-bu:ₕk-áng-e   ka-éti
      AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-wake-HAB-PFV.SBJV ADV-eight
      'This week, I will wake up at eight.'

In Namibian Fwe, the habitual suffix -*ang* can only co-occur with the imperfective subjunctive, as in (70), and the near future based on the imperfective subjunctive, as in (71). The imperfective subjunctive may also express habitual without the suffix -*ang*, as in (72) (see also §10.3 on the imperfective subjunctive).

(70) ìnú èmvîkì wákùménèkàngà éwè
      inú   e-N-víki   o-áku-mének-ang-a   éwe
      DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-week SM₂SG-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV PERS₂SG
      'This week, you should wake up early every day.'

(71) mbòndákùbèrèkàngà
      mbo-ndi-áku-berek-ang-a
      NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-SBJV.IPFV-work-HAB-FV
      'I will work every day.'

(72) mbòndákùbèrèkà
      mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a
      NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
      'I will work every day.' (NF_Elic17)

9.2.2 Habitual 2

Another form of the habitual uses the post-initial prefix *náku-*, as in (73). Aside from the high tone on the habitual prefix *náku-*, no melodic high tones are assigned, and the underlying tones of the verb surface.

(73) bàntù bànákùrìm' òmùndárè
      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-* grammaticalized from the verb *iná* 'be (at)' and an infinitive verb, beginning with *ku-*.[2] The lack of melodic tone in verbs with *náku-* is consistent with its origin in an infinitive, which also lacks melodic tone. *náku-* changes to *náka-* when combined with the distal prefix *ka-*, indicating a location away from the place of speaking. This, too, is typical of the infinitive prefix *ku-* (see §11.1 on the distal). It is also possible, however, for the distal not to merge with the prefix *náku-*, but to be added after it, as in (74). This is part of the grammaticalization process of this construction, and shows that it no longer functions as an infinitive.

(74) ànákàtòngàùkà ~ ànákùkàtòngàùkà
      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* (see §9.2.1), 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 (75), or may have a gnomic use, as in (76).

(75) 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.'

(76) zìnákùtíyìzà
      zi-náku-tíiz-a
      SM₈-HAB-be_dangerous-FV
      'They are dangerous.' (NF_Elic17)

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[2]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*, as in (77–78).

(77) hàhéná **ndìnákùbú:kàngà** ìyé màshènè màshènè
      ha-hená   ndi-náku-bú:k-ang-a   iyé N-ma-shene
      EMPH-DEM.IV₁₆ SM₁SG-HAB-wake-HAB-FV that COP-NP₆-worm
      N-ma-shene
      COP-NP₆-worm
      'Every time I wake up and say: there are worms, there are worms.'
      (NF_Narr15)

(78) **tùnákùzìbònângà** kàrì mbùryó túhâmbà kònó zìntù túbwènè zìténdéhèrè
      tu-náku-zi_H-bo_Hn-áng-a   ka-ri N-bu-ryó   tú-ámb-a   konó
      SM₁PL-HAB-OM₈-see-HAB-FV NEG-be COP-NP₁₄-only SM₁PL-speak-FV but
      ∅-zi-ntu   tú-bwe_Hne   zi-tend-éhere
      COP-NP₈-thing SM₁PL.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 has yet been observed between habitual *náku-* and habitual *-ang*, although there is a difference in distribution, namely that only *-ang*, but not *náku-* can be combined with a past tense. Historically, *náku-* is clearly a newer form, as it still shows signs of recent grammaticalization.

9.3 Stative

Fwe has a stative suffix which displays complex allomorphy. Its regular form is the final vowel suffix *-ite*, which displays vowel harmony with the stem of the verb: it is realized as *-ete* after verb stems with a mid vowel, and as *-ite* in all other cases, as in (79–83) (see also §2.5.3 on vowel harmony).

(79) ndìfúmîtè
      ndi-fum-íte
      SM₁SG-become_rich-STAT
      'I am rich.'

(80) zìbómbêtè
      zi-bomb-éte
      SM₈-become_wet-STAT
      'They are wet.'

(81) ndìkátîtè
      ndi-kat-íte
      SM$_{1SG}$-become_thin-STAT
      'I am thin.'

(82) ndìshéshêtè
      ndi-she$_H$sh-éte
      SM$_{1SG}$-marry-STAT
      'I am married.'

(83) ndìtíyîtè
      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 §3.3.3). The 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*, as in (79–83). This tone may spread to the left up until the first syllable of the verb stem, as in (84–85) (see also §3.1.6 on optional high tone spread).[3]

(84) cìtúrúkìtè
      ci-tu$_H$rúk-ite
      SM$_7$-burst-STAT
      'It is burst.' (ZF_Elic14)

(85) 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 roots that take the regular stative suffix *-ite*, but also with disyllabic roots that take an irregular stative suffix that does not add an extra syllable. For

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[3]Although leftward spread is an optional process in most words (see §3.1.6), the high tone of 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.

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, as in (86), or to disyllabic stems with two moras, as in (87), but melodic tone is assigned to trisyllabic stems with three moras, as in (88). This contrasts with melodic tone 1, which does take moras into account (see §3.3 on melodic tone).

(86) cìfwìtè
      ci-fw$_H$-ite
      SM$_7$-die-STAT
      'It has died.' (ZF_Elic14)

(87) ndìkèrè
      ndi-kere
      SM$_{1SG}$-sit.STAT
      'I sit.'

(88) ndìtábîtè
      ndi-tab-íte
      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. Verbs with the intransitive impositive *-am* 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*. These allomorphs are summarized in Table 9.2.

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: although there are formal similarities between Fwe *-ite* and reconstructed *-ide, the regular reflex of *-ide would be *-ire*, because reconstructed

Table 9.2: Forms of the stative suffix

Allomorph	Conditioning
-ite	regular
-ete	vowel harmony: after mid vowels
-i	with intransitive impositive verbs
-ire	lexical exceptions
imbrication	verbs ending in a continuant
spirantization	lexical exceptions

*d corresponds to /r/ in Fwe (Bostoen 2009: 114-115). 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 in this secdtion.

Imbricated forms of the stative suffix are used with verbs where the last stem consonant 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. This is illustrated in (89) with the verb *rind-ir* 'wait for', where the verb stem ends in a continuant /r/, thus allowing imbrication.

(89)   a.   rind-ir 'wait for'
       b.   ndìríndîrè
            ndi-rind-ír-e
            SM₁SG-wait-APPL-STAT
            'I am waiting.' (NF_Elic15)

If the last stem vowel is /i/, imbrication of /i/ does not result in a change of the vowel, as in (89). If the last stem vowel is /e/ or /a/, the imbricated vowel /i/ lowers to /e/, as in (90–91).

(90)   a.   deber 'dangle'
       b.   cìdébêrè
            ci-deb<u>é</u>r-e
            SM₇-dangle-STAT
            'It is dangling.' (NF_Elic15)

(91) a. sumbar 'become pregnant'
      b. àsúmbêrè
          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], as in (92). In the case of a mid back vowel /o/, the imbricated vowel /i/ is lowered to a mid vowel /e/, as in (93).

(92) a. zyur 'become full'
      b. cìzywìrè
          ci-zywir-e
          SM₇-become_full-STAT
          'It is full.' (NF_Elic15)

(93) a. tontor 'be cold'
      b. kùtòntwêrè
          ku-to_Hntwér-e
          SM₁₅-be_cold-STAT
          'It is quiet.' (NF_Elic15)

Imbrication of the stative suffix is most common with verb stems 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 other verb stems that require imbrication of the stative suffix, listed in Table 9.3; these include mainly verbs that are more commonly used with the stative suffix than in a different construction.

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, as in (94). The verb *bonahar* 'appear', even displays imbrication up to the first stem vowel, as in (95). Note that the underived verb *bón* 'see' also has an imbricated form *bwene*.

(94) a. sep-ahar 'be trustworthy'
      b. bàsépéhèrè   ~ bàsépáhèrè
          ba-sep-éher-e   ~ ba-sep-áher-e
          SM₂-promise-NEUT-STAT
          'S/he is trustworthy.'

Table 9.3: Imbrication

Verb root	English translation	Stative form
bón	'see'	*bwènè*
kar	'sit down'	*kèrè*
rá:r	'lie down; go to sleep'	*rè:rè*
rwar	'become sick'	*rwèrè*
zyur	'become full'	*zywìrè*

(95) a. bón-ahar 'appear, be visible'

  b. kùbwénéhèrè
  ku-bwe$_\text{H}$n-éher-e
  SM$_{15}$-see-NEUT-STAT
  'It is visible.' (NF_Elic15)

Many verbs with an imbricated stative form also have an unimbricated stative form, as in (96–97). Both forms are used interchangeably, without a discernable change in meaning.

(96) a. gumb-am 'be next to'

  b. bàrìgùmbêmè
  ba-ri$_\text{H}$-gumb-éme
  SM$_2$-REFL-be_next_to-IMP.INTR.STAT

  c. bàrìgùmbámìtè
  ba-ri$_\text{H}$-gumb-ám-ite
  SM$_2$-REFL-be_next_to-IMP.INTR-STAT
  'They are next to each other.' (NF_Elic15)

(97) a. rwár 'become sick'

  b. àrwèrè
  a-rwe$_\text{H}$re
  SM$_1$-become_sick.STAT

  c. àrwárîtè
  a-rwa$_\text{H}$r-íte
  SM$_1$-become_sick-STAT
  'S/he is sick.' (ZF_Elic14)

In certain cases, the stative suffix causes 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 9.4 lists all attested verbs that have a spirantized stative form. Three of 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.

Table 9.4: Stative verbs with spirantization

Verb root	Translation	Stative form
kwát	'grab, grasp'	*kwèsì ~ kwátîtè*
pak	'carry on one's back'	*pèsì ~ pákîtè*
vúrumat	'close one's eyes'	*vúrúmèsì*
zwát	'get dressed'	*zwèsì ~ zwátîtè*

Spirantization is also seen in the stative form of a number verbs with the intransitive impositional suffix *-am*, listed in Table 9.5. Verbs with this suffix 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.

These stative forms also have a different 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 phrase-final position), as in (98–99). That these stative forms are derived from impositive verbs 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 (see §6.6).

(98) a. kùkúnàmà
          ku-kún-am-a
          INF-smoke-IMP.INTR-FV
          'to be put on a smoking shelve'

Table 9.5: Intransitive impositive verbs in the stative

Verb stem	Translation	Stative form
bémbàmà	'stand next to'	*bémbì*
bòmbàmà	'soak'	*bómbì*
cànkàmà	'be put on a fire (of a pot)'	*cánsì*
céngèkà	'be close to'	*cénzì*
còkàmà	'spy (from a hidden position)'	*cósì*
gábàmà	'hang (on a hook)'	*gábì*
gùmbàmà	'be next to'	*gúmbì*
hángàmà	'hang (intr.)'	*hánzì*
jánàmà	'open one's mouth wide'	*jánì*
kòtàmà	'bend forward'	*kósì*
kúnàmà	'be smoked (of food stuff, i.e. fish)'	*kúnì*
nyòngàmà	'bend (intr.)'	*nyónzì*
ⁿ/ùmpàmà	'plant'	*ⁿ/úmpì*
shèndàmà	'lean'	*shéndì*
súngàmà	'bow the head'	*súnzì*
téngàmà	'bend (intr)'	*ténzì*
tùmpwàmà	'be thrown in water' (of an inanimate object)	*túmpwì*
zyánàmà	'hang'	*zyánì*
zyáshàmà	'open one's mouth'	*zyáshì*
zyíàmà	'lean'	*zyéndì*

    b. zìkúnì
    zi-ku$_H$n-í
    SM$_8$-smoke-IMP.INTR.STAT
    'They (fish) are lying on a smoking shelve.'

    c. *kùkûnà (NF_Elic15)

(99) a. kùzyánàmà
    ku-zyán-am-a
    INF-spread-IMP.INTR-FV
    'to be spread out to dry'

    b. zìzyánì
        zi-zya_Hn-í
        SM₈-spread-IMP.INTR.STAT
        'They (clothes) are spread out to dry.'

    c. *kùzyânà (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*. All three forms are illustrated with the impositive intransitive verb *nyong-am* 'bend' in . 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.

(100)   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, as in (101).

(101)   zìkúníkìtwà
        zi-kun-ík-itwa
        SM₁₀-smoke-IMP.TR-STAT-PASS-FV
        'They are being smoked.' (ie lying on the smoking shelve) (NF_Elic15)

Combined with the passive suffix *-(i)w*, the stative suffix is realized as *-itwe* in Zambian Fwe, as in (102), and *-itwa* in Namibian Fwe, as in (103) (see also §6.1 on the passive).

(102)   ndìshéshêtwè
        ndi-she_Hsh-étwe
        SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT.PASS
        'I am married (said by a woman).' (ZF_Elic14)

(103) cìhàrîtwà
       ci-ar-<u>í</u>twa
       SM7-close-STAT.PASS
       'It is closed.' (NF_Elic15)

Finally, the stative has an allomorph *-ire* that is used with only four verbs, listed in Table 9.6.

Table 9.6: Stative verbs with *-ire*

Verb root	Translation	Stative form
shúw	'hear, feel, perceive'	*shùwîrè*
fú	'die; break'	*fwìrè ~ fwìtè*
fwîimp	'become short'	*fwíímpèrè*
bbíh	'become bad'	*bbíhîrè ~ bbíhîtè*

The interpretation of the stative depends on lexical aspect. With change-of-state verbs, the stative gives a present state interpretation, as in (104–105).

(104) hànshí kùbómbêtè
       ha-N-shí   ku-bomb-<u>é</u>te
       NP16-NP9-ground SM17-become_wet-STAT
       'The ground is wet.' (ZF_Elic14)

(105) òpótó àzywìré bùsù
       o-∅-potó   a-zywir-<u>é</u>   bu-su
       AUG-NP1a-pot SM1-become_full-STAT NP14-flour
       'The pot is full of flour.' (ZF_Elic14)

The experiencer verbs *bón* 'see' and *shúw* '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, as in (106–107).

(106) ndìbwènè
       ndi-bwe_Hne
       SM1SG-see.STAT
       'I see.'

(107) ndìshúwîrè
ndi-shu_H-íre
SM_1SG-hear-STAT
'I hear.' (ZF_Elic14)

True stative verbs, which express a continuing, unbounded state, cannot be used in the stative construction, as in (108). A present state interpretation is achieved when a true stative verb is used in the present, as in (109).

(108) *zìtìyìzîtè
zi-ti_Hiz-íte
SM_8-be_busy-STAT
Intended: 'They are dangerous.'

(109) zìtìyìzâ
zi-ti_Hiz-á̱
SM_8-be_busy-FV
'They are dangerous.' (NF_Elic15)

Some verbs[4] can be used either as change-of-state verbs or as true stative. 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 in (110), 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.

(110) èzí zìzwâtò zìcénà
e-zí   zi-zwáto zi-cen-á̱
AUG-DEM.I_8 NP_8-cloth SM_8-be_clean-FV
'Are these clothes clean?'

(111) èzí zìzwâtò zìcénêtè
e-zí   zi-zwáto zi-cen-éte
AUG-DEM.I_8 NP_8-cloth SM_8-become_clean-STAT
'Are these clothes clean?' (ZF_Elic14)

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[4]More research into the lexical aspectual properties of these verbs is needed, including their interpretation in various tense/aspect construction, and which lexical verbs exhibit this behaviour. Further data collection might also reveal that the differences in interpretation of this subset of lexical verbs is not (only) due to a difference in lexical aspect but possibly (also) lexical semantics.

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 §8.2, the present construction indicates 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. These different interpretations of the present and stative are illustrated with the verb *rwár* 'be/become sick': in the present construction in (112), it is interpreted as referring to a chronic illness, such as diabetes, from which a person can suffer without actually feeling ill all the time. In the stative construction in (113), it can only be interpreted as the speaker feeling ill right now.

(112)   ndìrwârà
        ndi-rwár-a
        SM1SG-be_sick-FV
        'I am sick/have an illness.'

(113)   ndìrwárîtè
        ndi-rwaHr-íte
        SM1SG-be_sick-STAT
        'I am (feeling) sick.' (NF_Elic15)

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 (114–115), the stative is used to indicate a currently ongoing state, which is not the result of an earlier change of state.

(114)   èzí zìshámù zìgórêtè wâwà
        e-zi   zi-shamú zi-gor-éte   wáwa
        AUG-DEM.I8 NP8-tree SM8-become_strong-STAT very
        'These trees are very strong.' (ZF_Elic14)

(115)   èzí zìntù zìkìkózêtè
        e-zí   zi-ntu   zi-kiH-koz-éte
        AUG-DEM.I8 SM8-thing SM8-REFL-resemble-STAT
        'These things are similar.' (ZF_Elic13)

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 (116), 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.

(116) àá màyî: àbórêtè
       a-á   ma-yí: a-bor-éte
       AUG-DEM.I$_6$ NP$_6$-egg SM$_6$-rot-STAT
       'These eggs, they're rotten.' (NF_Elic15)

The fact that the stative 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. Without an agent, the stative can be used, as in (117), but the addition of an agent phrase is ungrammatical, as in (118). An agent phrase can only be used with a verb in the near past perfective construction, as in (119).

(117) cíàzò cìàrúkìtè
       cí-azo   ci-ar-úk-ite
       NP$_7$-door SM$_7$-close-SEP.INTR-STAT
       'The door is open.'

(118) *cíàzò cìàrúkìtè kúꞌrú:ho
       Intended: 'The door is opened by the wind.'

(119) cíàzò cáàrùkì kúꞌrú:hò
       cí-azo   ci-á-ar-uk-i   kú-rú:-ho
       NP$_7$-door SM$_7$-PST-close-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV NP$_{17}$-NP$_{11}$-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 (120), not the time of the preceding change in state, as the ungrammaticality of (121) shows.

(120) ndìrwárítè shûnù
       ndi-rwa$_H$r-íte shúnu
       SM$_{1SG}$-be_sick-STAT
       'I am sick today.' (NF_Elic17)

(121) *èténdè ryómbwà wángù rìcó:kétè zyônà
e-tènde rí-o-∅-mbwá   u-angú   ri-co:k-éte   zyóna
AUG-leg PP5-AUG-NP1a-dog PP1-POSS1SG 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 §8.3.1), 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 (intr.), become bent': in the near past perfective construction in (122), 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 in (123), it expresses something that is currently bent, without implying anything about if or how this has come about.

(122) cànyóngâmì
ci-a-nyong-ám-i
SM7-PST-bend-IMP.INTR-NPST.PFV
'It is bent (has become bent).'

(123) 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 of when or how the change of state took place. The contetxt for (124) is that 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 rather than the near past perfective.

(124) òzyû mbwà àfwìtè
o-zyú   o-∅-mbwá   a-fw$_H$-ite
AUG-DEM.I1 AUG-NP1a-dog SM1-die-STAT
'This dog is dead.' (ZF_Elic14)

For the sake of comparison, (125) gives an example of the same verb in the near past perfective. In this context, 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.

(125) èzyôkà rìnáfwì
       e-∅-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 (126). The context for this utterance is seeing a person staggering and talking incoherently, upon which the speaker concludes that he is 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.

(126) 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. In the context of (127) 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.

(127) èzìzwátò zìbómbêtè èzí zìzyúmîtè
       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 a current state 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. This difference is illustrated in (128) and (129) with the verb *bú:k* '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.

(128) àbâncè bànàbû:kì
a-ba-ánce   ba-na-bú:k-i
AUG-NP$_2$-child SM$_2$-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
'The children are awake (have woken up).'

(129) àbâncè bàbú:kîtè
a-ba-ánce   ba-bu:$_H$k-íte
AUG-NP$_2$-child SM$_2$-wake-STAT
'The children are healthy.' (ZF_Elic14)

With dynamic verbs, the interpretation of the stative depends on the presence of a result state. If present, the result state is targeted by the stative, similar to the use of the stative with change-of-state verbs. In (130), the dynamic verb *zímburuk* 'surround' is used in the stative construction, and is interpreted as a currently valid state. In (131), 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.

(130) èrápà rìzìmbúrùkìté njûò
e-∅-rapá   ri-zi$_H$mbúruk-ite   N-júo
AUG-NP$_5$-courtyard SM$_5$-surround-STAT NP$_9$-house
'The courtyard surrounds the house.'

(131) ndìbárítè èmbúká ˈyémìràhò
ndi-bar-íte   e-N-buká   i-é=mi-raho
SM$_{1SG}$-read-STAT AUG-NP$_9$-book PP$_9$-CON=NP$_4$-law
'I've read a law book.' (i.e., I know the law) (NF_Elic15)

Dynamic verbs without an associated result state, however, receive a progressive interpretation when used with the stative, i.e. the state expressed by the stative is a state of dancing, as in (132), a state of walking, as in (133), or a state of shouting, as in (134).

(132) ndìzánîtè
ndi-zan-íte
SM$_{1SG}$-dance-STAT
'I am busy dancing.' (NF_Elic15)

(133) zyônà kàndíyèndêtè mùmùtêmwà
zyóna   ka-ndí-end-éte   mu-mu-témwa
yesterday PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-go-STAT NP$_{18}$-NP$_3$-bush
'Yesterday I was walking in the bush.' (ZF_Elic14)

(134) kwìná òzyù ákàríhìtè
       ku-iná   o-zyu   á-ka$_H$ríh-ite
       SM$_{17}$-be_at AUG-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-shout-STAT
       'There's someone who is shouting.' (NF_Elic15)

The relevance of a result state can be seen with the verb *be:zy* 'carve'. In (135), the verb *be:zy* 'carve' has a progressive reading with the stative construction, and a resultant state reading is not allowed. In (136), the verb *be:zy* '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.

(135) mùbèzyì àbé:zyêtè
       mu-bezyi a-be:zy-éte
       NP$_1$-carver SM$_1$-carve-STAT
       'The carver is carving.' *The carver has carved.

(136) mùbèzyì àbé:zyêtè zìntù zìngî:
       mu-bezyi a-be:zy-éte   zi-ntu   zi-ngí:
       NP$_1$-carver SM$_1$-carve-STAT NP$_8$-thing PP$_8$-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 illustrated in (133) above, which is the first sentence of a short narrative about events that transpired during the narrators walk in the bush. All subsequent events take place during this walk in the bush, which is described by the stative verb *kàndíyèndêtè* 'I was walking'.

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* (see §9.1).

Table 9.7 summarizes the interpretations of the stative with different lexical aspectual classes.

Although the 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

Table 9.7: Interpretation of the stative construction

Lexical aspect	Interpretation with the stative construction
Change-of-state	Present (resultant) state
Dynamic: telic	Present (resultant) state
Dynamic: atelic	Progressive (long duration, background to other events)
Stative	ungrammatical

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 past action that has led to the state described by the stative construction is never conceptualized.

The stative may be combined with other morphologically and periphrastically marked TAM constructions, such as the fronted infinitive, as illustrated in §9.1.2, or the persistive *shí-* (see also §9.4), as in (137–138).

(137)   òshìrwárîtè
        o-shi$_H$-rwa$_H$r-íte
        SM$_{2SG}$-PER-be_sick-STAT
        'Are you still sick?' (ZF_Elic14)

(138)   ndìshìbàzyì:
        ndi-shi$_H$-ba$_H$-zyi:$_H$
        SM$_{1SG}$-PER-OM$_2$-know.STAT
        'I still know them.' (NF_Elic15)

To express a past state, the stative can co-occur with a remote or near past imperfective, as in (139–140). Both 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 is expressed by the stative construction without past marking, as in (141).

(139)   òzyú mùkêntù kànúnítè kònò hànó shànàkátì
        o-zyú   mu-kéntu   ka-á-nun-íte   kono hanó
        AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-woman PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-become_fat-STAT but DEM.II$_{16}$
        sha-na-kat-í
        INC-SM$_1$.PST-become_thin-NPST.PFV
        'This woman used to be fat, but now she's thin.' (NF_Elic15)

(140) ndàkùrwárîtè
     ndi-aku-rwa$_H$r-íte
     SM$_{1SG}$-NPST.IPFV-become_sick-STAT
     'I was sick (but I am not anymore).'

(141) kùzwà zyônà àrwárîtè
     ku-zw-a   zyóna   a-rwa$_H$r-íte
     INF-come_out-FV yesterday SM$_1$-become_sick-STAT
     'S/he has been sick since yesterday.' (NF_Elic17)

9.4 Persistive

Persistive 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), such as the present construction, as in (142). 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 in (143).

(142) èntî ìshìhôrà
     e-n-tí   i-shi$_H$-h*ó*r-a
     AUG-NP$_9$-tea SM$_9$-PER-cool-FV
     'The tea is still cooling down.' (ZF_Elic14)

(143) ndàkùshíbèrèkà
     ndi-aku-shí-berek-a
     SM$_{1SG}$-NPST.IPFV-PER-work-FV
     'I was still working.' (NF_Elic17)

A grammatical persistive marker is common in Bantu, where it is usually a reflex of *kɪ- (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. When combined with a present construction, as in (144), the persistive indicates an event that started before, and is still ongoing at utterance time.

(144) àshìŋórà
     a-shi$_H$-ŋo$_H$r-*á*
     SM$_1$-PER-write-FV
     'He is still writing.' (NF_Elic17)

The persistive may also be interpreted as a temporarily interrupted event, as in (145), which indicates that the speaker has run before, and will run again later, but is currently not running.

(145)   ndìshìbùtúkà
      ndi-shi$_H$-bu$_H$tuk-$\underline{á}$
      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 (146).

(146)   ndìshìkàzyámbírá ꞋzóꞋkúryà
      ndi-shi$_H$-ka-zyambir-$\underline{á}$ zi-ó-ku-ry-á
      SM$_{1SG}$-PER-DIST-gather-FV PP$_8$-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. 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 (147), or the near past imperfective, in (148). It may not co-occur with the near past perfective, as the ungrammaticality of (149) shows.

(147)   káshìké:zyà mùrùshàrá Ꞌrwángù
      ka-$\underline{á}$-shi$_H$-ké:zy-a   mu-ru-shará   ru-angú
      PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-PER-come-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_{11}$-back PP$_{11}$-POSS$_{1SG}$
      'It (the elephant) was still coming behind me.' (ZF_Narr13)

(148)   àkùshíŋòrà
      a-aku-shí-ŋor-a
      SM$_1$-NPST.IPFV-PER-write-FV
      'S/he was still writing.' (NF_Elic17)

(149)   *ndàshívùrùmàtì
      ndi-a-shí-vurumat-i
      SM$_1$-PST-PER-close_eyes-NPST.PFV
      Intended: 'My eyes are still closed.'

The persistive can co-occur with other subtypes of imperfective aspect, such as the stative *-ite* (see §9.3, examples (137) and (138)), the progressive-marking fronted infinitive construction (see §9.1.1, example (56)), and the progressive auxiliary *kwesi* in (150).

(150)   àshìkwèsì àfwêbà
        a-shi$_H$-kwesi a-fw$\underline{\acute{e}}$b-a
        SM$_1$-PER-PROG SM$_1$-smoke-FV
        'He is still smoking.'

The persistive can be negated in two ways, giving different interpretations. With a negative prefix *ka-/ta-* and a negative suffix *-i*, the persistive expresses discontinuity: the situation used to hold, but does not hold anymore, as in (151–153).

(151)   kàndíshìkwàngìtê:
        ka-nd$\underline{\acute{i}}$-shi$_H$-kwa$_H$ng-ite-$\acute{i}$
        NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-PER-tired-STAT-NEG
        'I am no longer tired.'

(152)   àbá bàntù kàbáshìkizyî:
        a-bá   ba-ntu   ka-b$\underline{\acute{a}}$-shi$_H$-ki$_H$-zyi$_H$-$\acute{i}$
        AUG-DEM.I$_2$ NP$_2$-person NEG-SM$_2$-PER-REFL-know.STAT-NEG
        'The people do not know each other anymore.' (ZF_Elic13)

(153)   àbàmbwá tàbáshìbbózì
        a-ba-mbwá   ta-bá-shi$_H$-bbo$_H$z-$\acute{i}$
        AUG-NP$_2$-dog NEG-SM$_2$-PER-bark-NEG
        'The dogs are no longer barking.' (ZF_Narr14)

The persistive can also be negated with an auxiliary *ni*[5], 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 (154–155).

(154)   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)

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[5]This auxiliary, which is not used in any other constructions, formally resembles the verb *ina* 'be at' with a negative suffix *-i*. While this may represent the historical origin of this auxiliary, it cannot be synchronically analyzed as such, as *ina* does not take the negative suffix *-i*; instead, Fwe uses a different lexical verb *aazya*.

(155) kàtùshíní kùríbònà
       ka-tu-shi_H-ní   ku-rí-bon-a
       NEG-SM1PL-PER-be INF-REFL-marry-FV
       'We have not yet seen each other.' (NF_Elic17)

9.5 Inceptive

The inceptive indicates that an action is starting or is about to happen, and is marked by a pre-initial prefix that can be realized as *shi-*, as in (156), *she-*, as in (157), or *sha-*, as in (158).

(156) shìrìŋátùrà
       shi-ri-ŋát-ur-a
       INC-SM5-tear-SEP.TR-FV
       'It [the sun] is starting to come up.' (NF_Elic15)

(157) èzyúbà shèrìmínà
       e-∅-zyúba   she-ri-min-á̱
       AUG-NP5-sun INC-SM5-set-FV
       'The sun is starting to set.' (NF_Narr15)

(158) shàndìkwângà
       sha-ndi-kwá̱ng-a
       INC-SM1SG-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-*[6]. 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. §2.2). Table 9.8 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/.

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[6]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 §8.3.2 on the use of the remoteness prefix in the remote past perfective construction).

Table 9.8: Allomorphs and regional variation in the inceptive prefix

Form	Zambian Fwe	Namibian Fwe
shi-	not attested	default form
she-	free allomorph	free allomorph
sha-	default form	not attested
se-	not attested	inter-speaker variation
si-	not attested	inter-speaker variation

The inceptive highlights the initial phases of an event, resulting in different interpretations depending on lexical aspect: inchoative ('starting to'), proximative ('be about to'), contrastive ('now', as opposed to earlier), completive ('already'). The inchoative interpretation, highlighting the initial stages of the event, is available with dynamic verbs, as shown with *kwesi tutuma* 'shiver' in (159) and *hík* 'cook' in (160).

(159) shàkwèsì kwátùtúmà
       sha-a-kwesi   kwá-tutumá
       INC-SM₁-have NP₁₇-shiver
       'She started shivering.'

(160) àbó shìbàhíkà
       a-bó   shi-ba-hi_Hk-á̠
       AUG-DEM.III₂ INC-SM₂-cook-FV
       'They start cooking.' (NF_Narr15)

The inchoative interpretation also occurs with change-of-state verbs, where it highlights the onset phase. This is illustrated with the change-of-state verb *nun* 'become fat' in (161), where the use of the inceptive is interpreted as 'starting to get fat'.

(161) hànó màzyûbà ndìryá nênjà kòbwéné **shèndìnúnà**
       hanó   ma-zyúba ndi-ri-á̠   nénja ka-o-bwe_Hné̠
       DEM.II₆ NP₆-day SM₁SG-eat-FV well NEG-SM₂SG-see.STAT
       she-ndi-nun-á̠
       INC-SM₁SG-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 without an onset, the inceptive cannot highlight the initial stages of the nuclear phase, as the nucleus is too short, nor the onset phase, as the event lacks an onset. Instead, the inceptive highlights the phase just before the event, giving a proximative interpretation, as in (162–163).

(162) èsáká shàrìŋàtúkà
       e-∅-saká   sha-ri-ŋatuk-á
       AUG-NP$_5$-bag INC-SM$_5$-break-FV
       'The bag is about to break.' (ZF_Elic14)

(163) énswí shàyìfwâ
       e-N-swí   sha-i-fw-á
       AUG-NP$_9$-fish INC-SM$_9$-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)

This use of the inceptive prefix is also seen with dynamic verbs that have a short nucleus, such as *nanuk* 'leave', *zu* 'go out', and *u* 'fall'. Again, the lack of onset and the short nucleus means that the phase highlighted by the inceptive is the phase right before the event, as in (164–166).

(164) kàtùàmbáhùrì kàkúrì shàndìnànúkà
       ka-tu-amb-á-ur-i   kakúri 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)

(165) shìbàkàzwá ꜝhánjè hàhánò
       shi-ba-ka-zu-á   ha-njé   ha-hanó
       INC-SM$_2$-DIST-go_out-FV NP$_{16}$-outside now
       'S/he is about to walk out right now.'

(166) ìn' énjûò shèyìwá ꜝyínà
       iná   e-N-júo   she-i-w-á   iná
       DEM.IV$_9$ AUG-NP$_9$-house INC-SM$_9$-fall-FV DEM.IV$_9$
       '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. Example (167) 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 them are conceptualized as lacking a clear onset. In these cases, the use of the inceptive causes an interpretation of 'now (in contrast to earlier/ elsewhere)'.

(167) mwáìnò ènàkò **shìtúꞌhárà** mbàmúwânè màfòní **shàbábèrèkìsâ**

mwá-ino   e-N-nako   shi-tú-ha$_H$r-á

NP$_{18}$-DEM.II$_9$ AUG-NP$_9$-time INC-SM$_{1PL}$.REL-live-FV

mba-mú-wán-e   N-ma-foní

NEAR.FUT-SM$_{2PL}$-find-PFV.SBJV COP-NP$_6$-phone

sha-bá-berek-is-á

INC-SM$_2$.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, as in (168).

(168) màsíkùsîkù kàndíshùwìrè njârà hànó **shàndìkútîtè**

ma-síkusíku ka-ndí-shu$_H$-ire   N-jára   hanó

NP$_6$-morning PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-feel-STAT NP$_9$-hunger DEM.II$_{16}$

sha-ndi-kut-íte

INC-SM$_{1SG}$-become_full-STAT

'This morning I was hungry, but **now I am full**.' (ZF_Elic14)

The inceptive may also give a contrastive 'now' interpretation with verbs in the near past perfective (NPP), as in (169–171). As discussed in §8.3.1, the NPP usually gives a present state reading with change-of-state verbs. 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.

(169) cwàré bùryénà **shìbáꞌnázyìbì** báꞌmúꞌkwáꞌmé ꞌwénù

cwaré bu-ryená   shi-bá-ná-zyib-i   bá-mú-kwámé

then NP$_{14}$-like_that INC-SM$_2$-PST-know-NPST.PFV NP$_2$-NP$_1$-man

u-enú

PP$_1$-POSS$_{2PL}$

'Then as you see, your husband **has now become aware**.'

(170) shàbànàbû:kì
sha-ba-na-bú:k-i
INC-SM$_2$-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
'They are now awake.' (NF_Narr15)

(171) òzyú mùkêntù kànúnítè kònò hànó **shànàkátì**
o-zyú   mu-kéntu   ka-a-nun-íte   kono hanó
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-woman PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-become_fat-STAT but   DEM.II$_{16}$
sha-na-kat-í
INC-SM$_1$.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 (172) and (173), or 'yet', as in (174). Again, the inceptive is used to contrast a current situation with an earlier one, similar to the contrastive interpretation seen in (169–171).

(172) shìryámìnì zyûbà
shi-ri-á-min-i   ∅-zyúba
INC-SM$_5$-PST-set-NPST.PFV NP$_5$-sun
'The sun had already set.' (ZF_Narr15)

(173) shètwàtángì 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)

(174) bèshò shàbànàhúrì
ba-esh-o   sha-ba-na-hur-í
NP$_2$-father-POSS$_{2SG}$ INC-SM$_2$-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
'Has your father arrived yet?' (ZF_Elic13)

The inceptive can also be prefixed to nouns, interpreted as inchoative, as in (175–176), contrastive, as in (177–178), or completive, as in (179–180).

(175) shórùmwî kàrè
sha-ó-ru-mwí   kare
INC-AUG-NP$_{11}$-heat already
'It's becoming summer.' (NF_Elic15)

(176) kàré: kàré: àbàcèmbèrè shó'ndávù
　　　　karé karé a-ba-cembere　　　shí-o-ndavú
　　　　now now AUG-NP$_2$-old_woman INC-AUG-lion
　　　　'The old woman immediately turned into a lion.' (NF_Narr17)

(177) òmùndáré 'sómùbîzù
　　　　o-mu-ndaré　　sí-o-mu-bízu
　　　　AUG-NP$_3$-maize INC-AUG-NP$_3$-something_ripe
　　　　'The maize is now ripe.' (NF_Elic17)

(178) sóbùhùbà cáhà òkàhùràkò
　　　　sí-o-bu-huba　　cáha o-ka-hur-a=ko
　　　　INC-AUG-NP$_{14}$-easy very AUG-INF.DIST-arrive-FV=LOC$_{17}$
　　　　'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

(179) shémàsíkù kàrê:
　　　　shé-N-ma-síku　　karé:
　　　　INC-COP-NP$_6$-night already
　　　　'It's already night.' (NF_Elic15)

(180) àh' átôndà shécìbàkà shìcàhítìhò
　　　　a-ha　　　á-tónd-a　　　　shé-ci-baka
　　　　AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-watch-FV INC-NP$_7$-place
　　　　shi-ci-a-hít-i=ho
　　　　INC-SM$_7$-PST-pass-PST=LOC$_{16}$
　　　　'When she looked, he had already covered a large place.' (Lit: 'a place
　　　　had already passed.') (NF_Narr15)

The nominal use of the inceptive has most likely developed out of its verbal use,
if the prefix was originally used on a 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
(181).[7]

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[7]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 §4.1.2, augments have a floating high tone that is
never realized on the augment prefix itself, but always on the immediately preceding syllable.

(181)   a. Putative source construction
        shàrì mwâncè
        shi-a-ri   o-mu-ánce
        INC-SM₁-be AUG-NP₁-child
        'S/he is starting to be/is becoming a child.'

        b. Loss of ri 'be'
        shì mwâncè
        shi o-mu-ánce
        INC AUG-NP₁-child

        c. Reanalysis of inceptive as a nominal prefix
        shómwâncè
        shí-o-mu-ánce
        INC-AUG-NP₁-child
        'S/he is starting to be/becoming a child.'

The inceptive prefix may have developed from a lexical verb *shak* 'want, like, love, need, look for'. Grammaticalization of earlier lexical verbs of volition into markers of proximative 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 utterance in (182) was considered dubious, because it could be interpreted as the speaker wanting to become sick.

(182)   ?shèndìrwârà
        she-ndi-rwár-a
        INC-SM₁SG-be_sick-FV
        'I am getting sick/I want to get sick.' (NF_Elic15)

Furthermore, the lexical verb *shak* 'want' is also used to express meanings similar to the inceptive: in (183), the verb *shak* is not used to express volition, but to express an event about to happen.

(183)   òmvúrà shàshàk' ókùshôkà
        o-∅-rain   shi-a-shak-á   o-ku-shók-a
        AUG-NP₁ₐ-rain INC-SM₁-want-FV AUG-INF-fall-FV
        'The rain is about to fall.'

These traces of volitional semantics in the inceptive prefix also argue against an alternative analysis, which is that the inceptive prefix in Fwe is a borrowing

from Lozi. Lozi makes use of a prefix *sè-*, which "expresses 'already', 'and then', 'now', or 'soon'" (Gowlett 1967: 199). Similar verbal prefixes are attested in other languages of the Sotho group (Doke 1954: 143). However, as the Lozi suffix lacks the implication of volition, a Fwe-internal grammaticalization scenario from the verb *shak* 'want' is a more plausible explanation.

10 Mood

In this chapter the three morphologically marked moods of Fwe are discussed: the imperative in §10.1, the perfective subjunctive in §10.2, and the imperfective subjunctive in §10.3.

10.1 Imperative

An imperative form in Fwe is formed with a suffix *-e*, but without the subject marker, as in (1–2). The imperative form ending in *-a*, as commonly found in Bantu languages, does not exist in Fwe.

(1) yêndè
     <u>é</u>nd-e
     go-PFV.SBJV
     'Go!'

(2) zwé hànò
     zw-<u>é</u>   hano
     come_out-PFV.SBJV DEM.II$_{16}$
     'Get out of here!' (ZF_Elic14)

The suffix *-e* is also 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, as in (3–5). (See §3.3 for an overview of melodic tones.) With an object marker, the imperative combines melodic tone 4 with melodic tone 3 instead of melodic tone 1, as in (6–8).

(3) hùwé ꜝcáhà
     huw-<u>é</u>   cáha
     shout-PFV.SBJV very
     'Shout loudly.'

(4) kàbìré mùnjûò
     kabir-<u>é</u>   mu-N-júo
     enter-PFV.SBJV NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house
     'Enter the house.' (NF_Elic15)

(5) fùrùmìké kàsúbà kò
     fu$_H$rumik-<u>é</u>   ka-súba   ko
     turn_upside_down-PFV.SBJV NP$_{12}$-dish DEM.III$_{12}$
     'Turn that dish upside down.' (NF_Elic17)

(6) bàtúsè
     ba$_H$-tus-<u>é</u>
     OM$_2$-help-PFV.SBJV
     'Help them.'

(7) ndìàmbîsè
     ndi-amb-<u>í</u>s-e
     OM$_{1SG}$-talk-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
     'Talk to me.' (NF_Elic17)

(8) ndìbèrékèrè
     ndi-ber<u>é</u>k-er-e
     OM$_{1SG}$-work-APPL-PFV.SBJV
     'Work for me.' (NF_Elic15)

The imperative is used to express a command or order. An order expressed with the imperative is considered less polite and more direct than an order expressed with the subjunctive. The imperative can only be used for orders directed at a singular addressee, as in (9–10). Orders directed at plural addressees are expressed by subjunctives (see Sections 10.2-10.3).

(9) íwè tóndè kúnò
     iwé   tónd-e   kunó
     PERS$_{2SG}$ watch-PFV.SBJV DEM.II$_{17}$
     'You! Look here!' (NF_Narr15)

(10) tòntórè
     to$_H$ntor-<u>é</u>
     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 §12.2.

10.2 Perfective subjunctive

The perfective subjunctive form is formed with the suffix *-e* on the verb, and, unlike the imperative, takes a 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 when the verb lacks an object marker, as in (11–12), or 3 and 4 when the verb includes an object marker, as in (13–14).

(11) òtùmbùsé mùrìrò
      o-tu$_H$mbus-<u>é</u>   mu-riro
      SM$_{2SG}$-light-PFV.SBJV NP$_3$-fire
      'You should light a fire.' (ZF_Elic14)

(12) mùbí:kè òtúꜜcényà
      mu-bí:k-e   o-tú-cenyá
      SM$_{2PL}$-put-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP$_{13}$-small
      'You should put a little bit.' (NF_Elic15)

(13) tùmùbóózèrè ècìntú ꜛcákwè
      tu-mu-bo<u>ó</u>z-er-e   e-ci-ntú   cí-akwé
      SM$_{1PL}$-OM$_{1SG}$-return-APPL-SBJV AUG-NP$_7$-thing PP$_7$-POSS$_{3SG}$
      'We should bring his thing back to him.' (ZF_Conv13)

(14) tùzìbbátúrè èzí zìkûnì
      tu-zi$_H$-bba$_H$t-<u>ú</u>r-e   e-zí   zi-kúni
      SM$_{1PL}$-OM$_8$-separate-SEP.TR-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I$_8$ NP$_8$-tree
      'Can we separate these trees?' (NF_Elic15)

The perfective subjunctive describes a one-time event, as in (15), and contrasts with the imperfective subjunctive, which describes habitual or ongoing events, as in (16) (see also §10.3).

(15) òndìtúsè
      o-ndi-tus-<u>é</u>
      SM$_{2SG}$-OM$_{1SG}$-help-PFV.SBJV
      'You should help me (one time only).'

(16) wákùndìtùsà
o-áku-ndi-tus-a
SM2SG-SBJV.IPFV-OM1SG-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 §8.4.1).

The perfective subjunctive has various functions. It can express a plan or intention, as in (17), where the speaker discusses what he plans to do to escape a fire.

(17) **tùpìcùké** mùrìrò **tùyé** òkò úkàzwîrà
tu-pi$_H$cuk-é   mu-riro tu-y-é   o-ko
SM1PL-escape-PFV.SBJV NP3-fire SM1PL-go-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.III17
ú-ka-zw-ír-a
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 (18–19).

(18) nêyè àyéndè nêyè
né=ye   a-énd-e   né=ye
COM=PERS3SG SM1-go-PFV.SBJV COM=PERS3SG
'She too wanted to go with her.' (NF_Narr15)

(19) ndìpátámè
ndi-patam-é
SM1SG-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, as in (20–22). Note that the adverb *nanga* with the imperfective subjunctive does not express uncertainty, but immediate future (see §10.3).

(20) nàngà bàké:zyè bàtùpángé cìmwî
nanga ba-ké:zy-e   ba-tu$_H$-pang-é   ci-mwí
even SM2-come-PFV.SBJV SM2-OM1PL-do-PFV.SBJV PP7-other
'He might come and do something else to us.' (NF_Narr15)

(21) wáshàívùkùmì nàngà ìfwê
o-ásha-í-vukum-i nanga i-fw-é
SM2SG-NEG.SBJV-OM9-throw-NEG even SM9-die-PFV.SBJV
'Don't throw it, it might break.'

(22) àndìzìmísìkìzè màláìtì ángù nàngà àndìhìsíkìzè ènjûò
a-ndi-zim-ísikiz-e ma-láiti nanga
SM1-OM1SG-go_out-CAUS.APPL-PFV.SBJV NP6-light even
a-ndi-his-íkiz-e e-N-júo
SM6-OM1SG-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 may express a hortative, as in (23–25).

(23) tùràpérè
tu-raper-é
SM1PL-pray-PFV.SBJV
'Let's pray.' (ZF_Elic14)

(24) ndìrìkòshórèkó bùryô
ndi-ri$_H$-ko$_H$sh-ór-e=ko bu-ryó
SM1SG-OM5-cut-SEP.TR-PFV.SBJV=LOC17 NP14-just
'Let me just cut it.' (ZF_Narr14)

(25) kàntí ndìkùtòmbwérìsè
kantí ndi-ku-tombwér-is-e
well SM1SG-OM2SG-weed-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
'Then let me help you weed.' (NF_Narr15)

With a second person subject, the subjunctive may express a command, as in (26–27).

(26) òkê:zyè òndìtúsè
o-ké:zy-e o-ndi-tus-é
SM2SG-come-PFV.SBJV SM2SG-OM1SG-help-PFV.SBJV
'Come and help me.'

(27) mùtòntórè mùyéndè mùkàrá:rè

   mu-to_Hntor-<u>é</u>   mu-<u>é</u>nd-e   mu-ka-ra:_Hr-<u>é</u>

   SM2PL-be_quiet-PFV.SBJV SM2PL-go-PFV.SBJV SM2PL-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 §10.1). To express even more politeness, the prefix *ngá-* 'can' can be added, as in (28).

(28) ngóndìtúsè kùndìkwátìrà ècí cìpùpè

   ngá-o-ndi-tus-<u>é</u>   ku-ndi-kwát-ir-a   e-cí

   can-SM2SG-OM1SG-help-PFV.SBJV INF-OM1SG-grab-APPL-FV AUG-DEM.I7

   ci-pupe

   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, as in (29–30).

(29) bàmùbérékérà òkùtéyè **àfúmè**

   ba-mu-berek-er-<u>á</u> okuteye a-fum-<u>é</u>

   SM2-OM1-work-FV that   SM1-become_rich-PFV.SBJV

   'They work for him, **so that he becomes rich**.' (NF_Elic17)

(30) mbóshàkèsháké àkàshérêŋì **òpàngé** àkà-business

   mbo-<u>ó</u>-shake-shak-<u>é</u>   a-ka-sheréŋi

   NEAR.FUT-SM2SG-PL2-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP12-money

   o-pang-<u>é</u>   a-ka-business

   SM2SG-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, as in (31–32). In main clauses, the perfective subjunctive with *na-* expresses the same functions as the perfective subjunctive without *na-*, only set in the remote future, such as a command to be followed up tomorrow, not today. This use is illustrated in (33–34). 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, §8.3.2).

(31) mbùtí náyìwánè èyí shérêŋì
      N-bu-tí   na-á-i_H-wan-é   e-í   ∅-sheréŋi
      COP-NP14-how REM-SM1-OM9-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I9 NP9-money
      'How will he get this money?' (Lit.: 'It is how that he will get this money?') (ZF_Conv13)

(32) éwè zyúmùnyà ndíwè nóbè háꞌkátì
      éwe   zyú-munya ndí-we   na-ó-b-e
      PERS2SG PP1-other   COP-PERS2SG REM-SM2SG-be-PFV.SBJV
      há-ka-tí
      NP16-NP12-middle
      'You, the other one, it is you who will be in the middle.' (ZF_Narr13)

(33) nóyêndè zyônà
      na-ó-énd-e   zyóna
      REM-SM2SG-go-PFV.SBJV tomorrow
      'Go tomorrow.'

(34) nìbézyè bàkùbónè
      ni-bá-izy-e   ba-ku-bo_Hn-é
      REM-SM2SG-come-PFV.SBJV SM2-OM2SG-see-PFV.SBJV
      'She has to come and take care of you.' (NF_Narr17)

The remoteness prefix *na-* is used with the verb *ta* 'say' in the subjunctive, followed by a subjunctive main verb, to express an event that almost, but not quite, took place, as in (35–36).

(35) nàté ndìmùcáîsè zywínà
      na-ta-é   ndi-mu-caís-e   zwiná
      REM-say-PFV.SBJV SM1SG-OM1-bump_into-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV1
      'I almost bumped into her/him, that one.' (NF_Elic17)

(36) nòbónì cwárè rìnꞌ éòndè nàté òírè
      no-bón-i   cwaré riná   e-∅-onde
      SM2SG.PST-see-NPST.PFV then   DEM.IV5 AUG-NP5-waterlily
      na-ta-é   o-ir-é
      REM-say-PFV.SBJV SM2SG-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)

10.3 Imperfective subjunctive

An imperfective subjunctive is formed with the post-initial prefix *áku-*, as in (37). 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.

(37) ènwé ꜛbáꜜnángù mwákùkàrà
      enwé   bá-na-angú   mu-áku-kar-a
      PERS2PL NP2-child-POSS1SG SM2PL-SBJV.IPFV-stay-FV
      'You, my children, must stay here.' (NF_Elic17)

The second syllable *ku* of the prefix *áku-* is derived from the 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 (43)), and the lack of melodic tones, which is typical of infinitives and rarely seen in inflected verbs (see also §3.3.5).

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*, as in (38) (see also §9.2.1).

(38) wákùmùtùsàngà
      o-áku-mu-tus-ang-a
      SM2SG-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, as in (39). The imperfective subjunctive does not combine with overt progressive markers, and in most cases, such as in (40), the habitual reading appears to be preferred.

(39) wákùmùtùsà
      o-áku-mu-tus-a
      SM2SG-SBJV.IPFV-OM1-help-FV
      'You should be helping her/him.' / 'You should help her/him regularly.'

(40)   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 §8.4.1.

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, as in (41), or a hortative, as in (42).

(41)   mwákùrítèèzà
       mu-áku-rí-teez-a
       SM₂-SBJV.IPFV-REFL-listen-FV
       'You have to listen to each other.'

(42)   ndákùmènèkàngà
       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', not to express uncertainty, as is the case for the perfective subjunctive, but to express immediate future, as in (43–45).

(43)   nàngà ndákàyà
       nanga ndi-áka-y-a
       even   SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV.DIST-go-FV
       'I am about to leave.' (NF_Elic15)

(44)   òmùndáré nàngà wákùbîzwà
       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.'

(45)   nàngà bákùhùrà ndìkàré: ˈbákànànúkà
       nanga ba-áku-hur-a   ndi-ka-ré: bá-ka-nanuk-á
       even   SM₂-SBJV.IPFV-arrive-FV COP-ADV-long SM₂.REL-DIST-leave-FV
       'S/he is about to arrive, s/he left a long time ago.' (NF_Elic17)

11 Space

In addition to tense and aspect, which situate an event in time, Fwe verbs may be inflected 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 (§11.1). Fwe also has a locative pluractional, which indicates that an event takes place in multiple locations (§11.2).

11.1 Distal

Fwe has a post-initial distal prefix *ka-*, not to be confused with the pre-initial prefix *ka-*, which marks the remote past imperfective (see §8.3.4), or negation (see §12.1). The prefix *ka-* as a distal marker is well-attested in Bantu languages, especially in south-central Bantu (Botne 1999).

   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 the utterance in (1), the speaker uses the distal because it 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) kùnjûò ndìkàzwâ
     ku-N-júo   ndi-ka-zw-á̱
     NP17-NP9-house SM1SG-DIST-come_out-FV
     'I came from home.' (NF_Elic15)

(2) mwákàrí kwànàmíbyá kàndìkàsèbèzâ
     mu-ákarí   kwa-namibyá ka-ndi-ka-sebez-á̱
     NP3-last_year NP17-Namibia PST.IPFV-SM1SG-DIST-work-FV
     'Last year I worked in Namibia.' (ZF_Elic14)

   Bantu languages with distal *ka-* may differ in terms of which moods the distal *ka-* can combine with (Botne 1999). In Fwe, the distal *ka-* can be used in all moods.

Examples of the distal marker used in the indicative were given in (1) and (2). The distal marker can also combine with an infinitive, as in (3). When the distal combines with an infinitive, the infinitive prefix *ku-* is replaced by the distal prefix *ka-*.[1]

(3) nàndámànà kàtémà èmìsùmò
     na-ndí-a-man-a   ka-tém-a   e-mi-sumo
     REM-SM₁SG-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 (4–5), 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 10).

(4) yêndè kàtêkè mênjì
     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) kùtêyè ndìkàkùmbùré rùkùmbà
     kuteye ndi-ka-kumbur-é   ru-kumba
     that   SM₁SG-DIST-strip-PFV.SBJV NP₁₁-fibre
     '… in order to cut strips of fibre there.' (ZF_Narr14)

In many Bantu languages, the distal *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 verbs of motion is a well-attested grammaticalization path (Heine et al. 1993: 103-104), and is also seen in two Tanzanian Bantu languages (Nicolle 2003). The link between the distal marker and an itive interpretation is not seen in all languages, however;

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[1]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.

in Yeyi, a Bantu language geographically but not genealogically 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 (7–8), drawn from a narrative. In (7), 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 (8).

(7) àhá ndíkàhùrá kùrwâmbà
a-ha ndí-ka-hur-á ku-ru-ámba
DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-DIST-arrive-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_{11}$-middle_of_field
'(…) when I reached the middle of the field…'

(8) ndìshùwîrè bàklàùdìyà bàndìkûwà
ndi-shu$_{H}$-íre ba-klaudia ba-ndi-kú-a
SM$_{1SG}$-hear-STAT NP$_{2}$-Claudia SM$_{2}$-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. In (9), the verb *bàhúrè* '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 (10), the verb *kàndíkê:zyà* 'I was coming' is used without the distal because it describes a journey that ends at the place of speaking.

(9) ênì òbùrótù mbòkú'té bàhúrè tùrâ:rè
éni o-bu-rótu N-bo-kúteyé ba-hur-é
yes AUG-NP$_{14}$-good COP-NP$_{14}$-that SM$_{2}$-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)

(10) àhá kàndíkê:zyà ndàhîtì òcècì

a-ha   ka-ndí̱-ké̱:zy-a   ndi-a-hít-i

AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-come-FV SM`$_{1SG}$-PST-pass-NPST.PFV

o-∅-ceci

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-church

'When I came here, I passed by the church.' (ZF_Elic14)

11.2 Locative pluractional

The post-initial prefixes *yabú-* and *kabú-* both express a locative pluractional, an event that is carried out in different places. *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. Both locative pluractional prefixes are illustrated in (11).

(11) cìkàbúkùkà ~ cìyàbúkùkà

ci-kabú/yabú-kuk-a

SM$_7$-LOC.PL-float-FV

'It floats, it goes by floating.' (NF_Elic17)

The locative pluractional indicates an event taking place in different places: in (12), without locative pluractional, the verb *rí:zy* indicates climbing in one place, and in (13), with a locative pluractional, the verb *rí:zy* indicates climbing in several places.

(12) ndìkwèsì ndìrî:zyà

ndi-kwesi   ndi-rí:zy-a

SM$_{1SG}$-PROG SM$_{1SG}$-climb-FV

'I am climbing.'

(13) ndìkàbúrì:zyà

ndi-kabú-ri:zy-a

SM$_{1SG}$-

'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 §6.7, these pluractional strategies may express that an event is repeated, or involves multiple participants. The locative pluractional suffix *yabú-*/*kabú-* only expresses that an

event is repeated in different locations. It may combine with either or both of the other pluractional strategies, as in (14–16), combining the interpretation of event repetition of pluractional I or II with the locative pluractional's interpretation of spatial distribution.

(14) Locative pluractional + Pluractional I (suffix -a)
ndìkàbúbàsùndàíkà
ndi-kabú-ba-sund-a-ik-á
SM1SG-LOC.PL-OM2-point-PL1-IMP.TR-FV
'I am going around pointing at them.'

(15) Locative pluractional + Pluractional II (stem reduplication)
àkàbúkàbìràkàbìrà múmàràpá ˈábàntù
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 people's courtyards.' (NF_Elic17)

(16) Locative pluractional + Pluractional I + Pluractional II
nàkàyâ ìyé àkábúyèndàùràyèndàùrà òkábúbônà
na=ka-y-á iyé a-kabú-endaura-end-a-ur-a
COM=INF.DIST-go-FV that SM1-LOC.PL-PL2-go-PL1-SEP.TR-FV
o-kabú-bón-a
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: associated motion, where the event and motion co-occur ('go while X-ing'), and distributive, 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. This is illustrated with the verb *shíb* 'whistle' in (17), which expresses whistling while moving when combined with the locative pluractional.

(17) àkábúˈshíbà
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 is interpreted as associated motion with these verbs, as shown for the stative verb *tíy* 'be afraid' in (18).

(18) 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, as in (19).

(19) mbùryàhó kàbákàbúpàngà bùryáhò
      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, as in (20–22).

(20) ndìyàbúyèndà bùryáhò ndókùryàt' énjôkà
      ndi-yabú-end-a   bu-ryahó   ndí-o-ku-ryat-á
      SM₁SG-LOC.PL-walk-FV NP₁₄-like_that CON₁SG-AUG-INF-step-FV
      e-N-jóka
      AUG-NP₉-snake
      'I was walking like that, then I stepped on a snake.' (ZF_Narr13)

(21) kùshàmbà ndí'kábú'shámbà
      ku-shamb-a   ndí-kabú-shámb-a
      INF-swim-FV SM₁SG.REL-LOC.PL-swim-FV
      'I am swimming (across a distance, or to somewhere).' (NF_Elic15)

(22) 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, such as the verb *w* 'fall' in (23); when combined with the locative pluractional, it expresses something that repeatedly falls in different places.

(23) cìkàbúwà
      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 without an onset phase also take *yabú-/kabú-*, but in this case it is interpreted as a gradual change through time, as in (24–26).

(24) kànínì kànînì kùfúmà bákàbúfùmà bénà
      ka-níni   ka-níni   ku-fúm-a   bá-kabú-fum-a
      ADV-small ADV-small INF-get_rich-FV SM2.REL-LOC.PL-get_rich-FV
      bená
      DEM.IV2
      'S/he is slowly getting more and more rich.'

(25) cìkàbúrèmà
      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)

(26) shèkùkàbúhìsà
      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 §5.5 on adverbs). The syllable *ya* is derived from the lexical verb *ya* 'go', which is still used in Fwe with this meaning. *kabú-* is the result of the contraction of distal *ka-* with the locative pluractional *yabú-*. In modern Fwe, *ka-yabú-* is considered to be interchangeable with *kabú-*, as shown in (27). The original deictic semantics of distal *ka-* have been lost in *kabú-*, which does not mark motion away from the deictic center.

(27) 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, 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 by optional high tone spread from *bú* to the preceding syllable, e.g. *yábú-* and *kábú-*. High tone spread does not cross word boundaries (see §3.1.6), so its occurrence shows that the formerly independent verb has become part of the prefix.

A similar marker *yabo-* is 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).

12 Negation

Negation in Fwe is marked through verbal affixes, auxiliaries, and combinations thereof, depending on the TAM construction. The pre-initial prefix *ka-* (Namibian Fwe) */ta-* (Zambian Fwe) is used to negate indicative verbs. 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 12.1 gives an overview of the different negative strategies used in Fwe.

Table 12.1: Negation

Position	Form	Inflections in which it is used
pre-initial	*ka-* (Namibian Fwe)	present, near past
	ta- (Zambian Fwe)	perfective, stative
post-initial	*(á)sha- / (á)sa-*	subjunctive/imperative
	shá- / sá-	infinitive
final vowel suffix	*-i*	present, subjunctive
auxiliary	*aazyá*	stative, fronted-infinitive construction
auxiliary	*ka-/ta-ri*	remote past, future, past progressive, past imperfective, nominal predicates

12.1 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 in (1–3).

(1) ndìúrà
     ndi-ur-<u>á</u>
     SM₁SG-buy-FV
     'I buy.'

(2) kàndìúrì
     ka-ndi-ur-<u>í</u>
     NEG-SM₁SG-buy-NEG
     'I don't buy.' (NF_Elic15)

(3) tàndìúrì
     ta-ndi-ur-<u>í</u>
     NEG-SM₁SG-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 §3.3), but negated present verbs take only MT 3. The tonal difference between the affirmative and negative present is illustrated in (4).

(4) kàndìzíbârì (cf. ndìzìbárà 'I forget')
     ka-ndi-zib<u>á</u>r-i
     NEG-SM₁SG-forget-NEG
     'I don't forget.' (NF_Elic15)

The negative suffix *-i* 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*, as in (5). However, when the passive suffix *-(i)w* is separated from the final vowel by the occurrence of the habitual suffix *-ang*, the negative suffix *-i* is used, as in (6). Incompatibility with the passive suffix is also observed for the near past perfective suffix *-i* (see §8.3.1).[1]

(5) kàcìhîkwà
     ka-ci-hík-w-a
     NEG-SM₇-cook-PASS-FV
     'It cannot be cooked.' (NF_Elic15)

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[1]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 causes spirantization (as opposed to certain other suffixes with /i/, where spirantization is attested in lexicalized cases). Both forms use melodic tone 3, which is assigned to the second stem syllable. In spite of these formal similarities, however, there is little semantic overlap between the negative and near past perfective meanings.

(6) báshàshéshíwàngì
ba-ásha-shesh-íw-ang-i
SM₂-NEG-marry-PASS-HAB-NEG
'They should not be married.' (ZF_Conv13)

Of the two forms of the negative prefix, *ka-* is mainly used in Namibian Fwe, and *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; *ta-* is used in the Zambian variety (Crane 2011: 82), and *ka-* in the Namibian variety. Subiya and Yeyi, only spoken in Namibia, both only use *ka-* (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.

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: 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-*, as in (7).

(7) tàndìbútùkì (cf. ndìbùtúkà 'I run')
ta-ndi-búꞇuk-i
NEG-SM₁SG-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, as illustrated in (8).

(8) kàndàzíbònì (cf. ndàzíbònì 'I've seen them')
ka-ndi-a-zí-bon-i
NEG-SM₁SG-PST-OM₁₀-see-NPST.PFV
'I haven't seen them.' (NF_Elic15)

Verbs in the stative construction are also negated with the prefix *ka-/ta-*, combined 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*, which contributes an extra mora to the last vowel of the verb, but its vowel quality merges with the last vowel of the verb (/e/ or /i/, depending on the allomorph of the stative suffix, see §9.3). The length difference in the last vowel of affirmative and negative stative verbs is illustrated in (9–10).

(9) kàìbòrètê: (cf. ìbórêtè 'it is rotten')
ka-i-bor-ete-í
NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-rot-STAT-NEG
'It is not rotten.' (ZF_Elic14)

(10) kàndìyìzyî: (cf. ndìyìzyì 'I know it')
ka-ndi-i$_H$-zyi-í
NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_9$-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 high tone on the second stem syllable (MT 3, see §3.3.3). Negated stative verbs take a high tone on the last mora of the verb (MT 1, see §3.3.1). The deletion of the lexical tone of the root, as seen in the affirmative stative, 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. The different tone patterns of affirmative and negated stative verbs are illustrated in (11–12).

(11) tàndìshèshètê: (cf. ndìshéshêtè 'I am married')
ta-ndi-she$_H$sh-ete-í
NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-marry-STAT-NEG
'I am not married.'

(12) tàtùkàtìtê: (cf. tùkátîtè 'we are thin')
ta-tu-kat-ite-í
NEG-SM$_{1PL}$-become_thin-STAT-NEG
'We are not thin.' (ZF_Elic14)

12.2 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*, as in (13–15). In Namibian Fwe, the

prefix has a free variant *ása-*, as in (16) (see §2.2 on the free variation between /s/ and /sh/ in grammatical prefixes).

(13) wáshàyáshàmì òkìmúmé bùryò
      o-ásha-yásham-i   o-ki_H-mum-é   bu-ryo
      SM2SG-NEG.SBJV-open_mouth-NEG SM2SG-REFL-close-PFV.SBJV NP14-only
      'Don't open your mouth, just close it like that.' (ZF_Narr13)

(14) mwáshàbútùkì câhà
      mu-ásha-bútuk-i   cáha
      SM2PL-NEG.SBJV-run-NEG very
      'Don't go too fast.' (NF_Elic17)

(15) ndìryá bùryó kànînì òkùtêyè ndáshànúnì
      ndi-ry-á   bu-ryó   ka-níni   okutéye
      SM1SG-eat-FV NP14-only ADV-little that
      ndi-ásha-nun-í
      SM1SG-NEG.SBJV-become_fat-NEG
      'I only eat a little, so that I do not become fat.' (NF_Elic17)

(16) kònó náàryá òkùtêyè ásàrémùhì
      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, as in (17).

(17) músàndìtáfùnì
      mú-sa-ndi-táfun-i
      SM2PL-NEG.SBJV-OM1SG-chew-NEG
      'Don't eat me!' (NF_Narr17)

12.3 Negation of infinitive verb forms

Infinitive verb forms are negated with a post-initial prefix *shá-*, as in (18–19). In Namibian Fwe, the prefix *shá-* has a free variant *sá-*, as in (20) (/s/ and /sh/ are interchangeable in grammatical prefixes; see §2.2).

(18) kùshátèèzà mbùká'bábù
      ku-shá-teez-a   N-bu-kábabú
      INF-NEG.INF-listen-FV COP-NP$_{14}$-problem
      'Not listening is a problem.' (NF_Elic17)

(19) nàngá mwínàkò yóbùkòbà mbàngí: bànàdàmwá kókùsházyìbà òkùbàrà
      ècìpùrá nècìŋòrétwà ìyé cámàkúwà èwé mpàhó àkè:zyà kúkàrà nòrì
      mùntù ókùsìhà
      nangá mú-e-N-nako   i-ó=bu-koba   N-ba-ngí:
      even NP$_{18}$-AUG-NP$_9$-time PP$_9$-CON=NP$_{14}$-apartheid COP-PP$_2$-many
      ba-na-dam-w-<u>á</u>   **kó-ku-shá-zyib-a**   o-ku-bar-a
      SM$_2$-PST-beat-PASS-FV ADV-INF-NEG.INF-know-FV AUG-INF-read-FV
      e-ci-purá   ne-ci-ŋo$_H$r-<u>é</u>twa   iyé ci-á-ma-kuwá
      AUG-NP$_7$-chair   REM-SM$_7$-write-STAT-PASS that PP$_7$-CON=NP$_6$-white
      ewe   N-pa-hó   a-ke:zy-a   kú-kar-a   na=o-ri
      PERS$_{2SG}$ COP-NP$_{16}$-DEM.III$_{16}$ SM$_1$-come-FV INF-sit-FV COM=SM$_{2SG}$-be
      mu-ntu   u-ó=ku-sih-a
      NP$_1$-person PP$_1$-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, when you are a black person.' (NF_Song17)

(20) kùshábònà   ~ kùsábònà
      ku-shá-bon-a
      INF-NEG.INF-see-FV
      'to not see'

12.4 Negation with auxiliaries

All other verbal constructions are negated with the use of an auxiliary *ri* 'be' or
aazyá 'be not', or a lexical verb *síy* 'stop, leave'. Negation with *ri* 'be' involves
the negative prefix *ka-*/*ta-* marked on the auxiliary, followed by the inflected
lexical verb, which takes a high tone on the subject marker, showing that it is a
relative verb (see §13.5.1 on the formal properties of relative clause verbs). This
construction is used to negate the remote past perfective, as in (21), the remote
past imperfective, as in (22), and the near past imperfective, as in (23).

(21) kàrì ndáyìbònà
ka-ri   ndi-<u>á</u>-i-bon-a
NEG-be SM₁ₛ𝒢-PST-OM₉-see-FV
'I did not see it.' (NF_Elic15)

(22) kàrì kátòmbwèr' é'sózù
ka-ri   ka-<u>á</u>-tombwer-<u>á</u>   e-∅-sozú
NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM₁-weed-FV AUG-NP₅-grass
'He was not weeding grass.' (NF_Narr15)

(23) kàrì ndákùhîkà
ka-ri   ndí-aku-hík-a
NEG-be SM₁ₛ𝒢-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 are marked by a copulative prefix only (see §5.3). When negated with the auxiliary *ri*, the copulative prefix is maintained, as in (24–25).

(24) mbùrôtù kònó **kàrí mbùrótù** nênjà
N-bu-rótu   konó 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)

(25) òwú **kàrí 'ngómùnzí** 'wángù
o-ú   ka-rí ngó-mu-nzí   u-angú
AUG-DEM.I₃ NEG-be COP.DEF₃-NP₃-village PP₃-POSS₁ₛ𝒢
'This is not my village.' (ZF_Elic13)

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 (26–27). To express a near future, the remoteness prefix is omitted, as in (28–29).

(26) rímwì zyûbà kàrì nèmúbû:'ké nwè
rí-mwi   ∅-zyúba ka-ri   ne-m<u>ú</u>-b<u>ú</u>:k-e   enwé
PP₅-other NP₅-day NEG-be REM-SM₂ₚ𝗟-wake.INTR-PFV.SBJV PERS₂ₚ𝗟
'One day, you are not going to wake up.' (NF_Narr15)

(27) kàrì nándìsépè
ka-ri   na-<u>á</u>-ndi-sep-<u>é</u>
NEG-be REM-SM₁-OM₁SG-trust-PFV.SBJV
'He will not trust me.' (ZF_Conv13)

(28) kàrì ndífìyérè
ka-ri   nd<u>í</u>-fi_Hyer-<u>é</u>
NEG-be SM₁SG-sweep-PFV.SBJV
'I will not sweep.' (ZF_Elic13)

(29) kàrì ndícìpángè shûnù
ka-ri   nd<u>í</u>-ci_H-p<u>á</u>ng-e   shúnu
NEG-be SM₁SG-OM₇-do-PFV.SBJV today
'I will not do it today.' (NF_Elic17)

The auxiliary *aazyá* 'be/have not' is also used to negate the verb *iná* 'be at/have', as in (30–31).

(30) kwìn' écò ndíbwènè
ku-iná   e-co   nd<u>í</u>-bwe_Hne
SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.III₇ SM₁SG.REL-see.STAT
'There is something that I see. / I see something.'

(31) kùààzy' écò ndíbwènè
ku-aazyá   e-co   nd<u>í</u>-bwe_Hne
SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₇ SM₁SG.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*, e.g. class 16, as in (32), class 17, as in (33–34), and class 18, as in (35).

(32) ákè:zyà kùwànà ìyé hààzyá bàntù
<u>á</u>-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)

(33) kwààzyá mùntù
ku-aazyá   mu-ntu
SM$_{17}$-be_not NP$_1$-person
'There is no one.' (ZF_Elic13)

(34) kwáázyó kò nìbáwânè ménò
ku-aazyá   o-kó   ni-bá-wán-e   ma-inó
SM$_{17}$-be_not AUG-DEM.III$_{17}$ REM-SM$_2$-find-PFV.SBJV NP$_6$-tooth
'There's nowhere where he can get the teeth.' (NF_Narr15)

(35) òbú bùsùnsò mwáázyé zwàyì
o-bú   bu-sunso mu-aazyá   e-zwai
AUG-DEM.I$_{14}$ NP$_{14}$-relish SM$_{18}$-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 §9.1.1), is illustrated in (36). It cannot be negated through the prefix *ta-*/*ka-* and the suffix *-i*, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (37). Instead a construction is used with the negative *aazyá* inflected for subject agreement, followed by the lexical verb in the infinitive, as in (38).

(36) kùhòndà ndí꞊hóndà
ku-hond-a   ndí-hónd-a
INF-cook-FV SM$_{1SG}$.REL-cook-FV
'I am cooking.'

(37) *kùhòndà tàndí꞊hóndì (ZF_Elic14)

(38) ndààzyá kùhòndà
ndi-aazyá   ku-hond-a
SM$_{1SG}$-be_not INF-cook-FV
'I am not cooking.'

aazyá is also occasionally used to negate verbs that may also be negated with a prefix *ka-*/*ta-* or an auxiliary *ri* 'be'. This is the case for verbs with a reduplicated stem, as in (39), which may be negated with a prefix *ka-*/*ta-* and a suffix *-i* in the present tense, as in (40), but most speakers prefer to use the auxiliary *aazyá* followed by the reduplicated verb in the infinitive form, as in (41).

(39) ndìtó:rátô:rà
ndi-to:ra-t<u>ó</u>:r-a
SM~1SG~-PL2-pick-FV
'I pick.'

(40) kàndìtó:rìtò:rì
ka-ndi-t<u>ó</u>:ri-to:r-i
NEG-SM~1SG~-PL2-pick-NEG
'I don't pick.'

(41) ndààzy' ókùtó:ràtò: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)

aazyá is also used to negate verbs expressing states, either verbs in the stative construction, as in (42–43), or true stative verbs, as in (44). As shown in §12.1, 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.

(42) ècìyângò càÀzyá kùbórêtè
e-ci-ángo   ci-aazyá ku-bor-<u>é</u>te
AUG-NP~7~-fruit SM~7~-be_not INF-rot-STAT
'The fruit is not rotten.' (ZF_Elic14)

(43) càÀzy' ókùhárîtwà
ci-aazyá   o-ku-ar-<u>í</u>t-w-a
SM~7~-be_not AUG-INF-close-STAT-PASS-FV
'It is not closed.' (NF_Elic15)

(44) ndààzyá kùshàkà kùrìhà òmùrándù
ndi-aazyá   ku-shak-a ku-rih-a   o-mu-randú
SM~1SG~-be_not INF-want-FV INF-pay-FV AUG-NP~3~-fine
'I don't want to pay a fine.' (NF_Elic15)

The lexical verb *síy* 'leave, let go, stop', is used in the imperative form and followed by an infinitive to express a prohibitive, as in (45–46).

(45) sìy' ókùndìkwâtà
si_H-é   o-ku-ndi-kwát-a
stop-PFV.SBJV AUG-INF-OM_{1SG}-grab-FV
'Don't touch me.' (NF_Elic15)

(46) òsìyé kùyángà kwìnà
o-si_H-é   ku-yá-ang-a   kwina
SM_{2SG}-leave-PFV.SBJV INF-go-HAB-FV DEM.IV₁₇
'Never go there.' (NF_Elic17)

13 Syntax and information structure

Various issues in the syntax of Fwe have already been discussed in previous chapters: the marking of subjects and (multiple) objects in Chapter 7, the syntactic behavior of arguments introduced by the causative or applicative derivation in Chapter 6, the use of copulative prefixes to mark non-verbal predication in §5.3, to name a few. This chapter discusses remaining issues in the syntax of Fwe. §13.1 discusses the canonical word order in Fwe, and Sections 13.2 and 13.3 discuss pragmatically motivated derivations from this order. In §13.4 locative inversion is discussed, which involves the use of a locative constituent as a syntactic subject. §13.5 discusses a number of dependent clause types, including relative clauses. §13.6 discusses cleft constructions, which combine nominal predication with a relative clause to mark constituent focus.

13.1 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 (1); note that, while such clauses can easily by elicited, in actual discourse it is likely for the subject, the object, or both to be expressed pronominally rather than as as nominal constituents.

(1) òmùsá nàhíbí ènjìngà yángù
     o-mu-sá   na-hib-í   e-N-jinga   i-angú
     AUG-NP$_1$-thief SM$_1$.PST-steal-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_9$-bicycle PP$_9$-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.

13.2 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 phrase. The prosodic marking of left dislocation is most clearly seen by the application of phrase-final tonal processes, namely the realization of underlying high tones as falling and the shift of final high tones to the penultimate mora (see §3.1 on tonal processes), for instance, the final falling tone in the dislocated subject constituent in (2). 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 in (3), or locative clitic, as in (4).

(2) **àá màyî** àbórêtè
     a-á   ma-yí: a-bor-éte
     AUG-DEM.I$_6$ NP$_6$-egg SM$_6$-rot-STAT
     'These eggs, they're rotten.'

(3) **òzyú mú$^{\mathsf{!}}$kwámè** kàndìmùzyî:
     o-zyú   mú-kwamé ka-ndi-mu-zyi$_H$-í
     AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-man   NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-know.STAT-NEG
     'This man, I don't know him.'

(4) **mòwí$^{\mathsf{!}}$n' ómùnzì** ndáy$^{\mathsf{!}}$ámò
     mu-o-winá   o-mu-nzi   ndi-á-y-a=mó
     NP$_{18}$-AUG-DEM.IV$_3$ AUG-NP$_3$-village SM$_{1SG}$-PST-go-FV=LOC$_{18}$
     '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 phrase-final tone rules. Pre-verbal subjects that are not affected by these phrase-final processes are not left-dislocated, but remain in situ; this is illustrated in (5), where the subject constituent *bàmùrútí* 'teachers' is not affected by the phrase-final tone process

of H retraction, showing that it is not dislocated. Compare with (2) above, where phrase-final processes do affect the left-dislocated subject constituent *àá màyî:* 'these eggs'.

(5) bàmùrútí bàbùtúkà
 ba-mu-rutí ba-bu_Htuk-á
 NP₂-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 mwâncè* '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 mwâncè mùmùtwárè kùcìpátêrà
 o-zyú mu-ánce mu-mu-twár-e ku-ci-patéra
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-child SM₂ₚₗ-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 the first sentence, the referent *òmfûmù* '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 sentence contributes new facts.

(7) kàrê kàkwín' ˈómfûmù
 ka-ré: ka-ku-iná o-∅-mfúmu
 ADV-long PST.IPFV-be_at AUG-NP₁ₐ-rich_man
 'Long ago, there was a rich man.'

(8) òmfûmù bàmùkúwè mùrènà
 o-∅-mfúmu ba-mu-kú-e mu-rena
 AUG-NP₁ₐ-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. (9) and (10) are taken from a conversation in which speakers discuss their views on marriage; in (9), the first speaker gives his view, and in (10), the second speakers gives his own, contrastive view, using the personal pronoun *me* 'I', in the left-dislocated position to mark a contrastive topic.

(9) ndìbwènè mbóbùmángò òkùshéshà òmùkéntù òzyú tàkìtùtìtê:
     ndi-bwene   mbó-bu-mángo   o-ku-shésh-a   o-mu-kéntu
     SM$_{1SG}$-see.STAT COP.DEF$_{14}$-NP$_{14}$-bad AUG-INF-marry-FV AUG-NP$_1$-woman

     o-zyú   ta-a-kitut-ite-í
     AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NEG.SM$_1$-be_educated-STAT.NEG
     'I think that it is bad to marry an uneducated woman.'

(10) kònó mè òbùrótù òbò ndíbwènè òkùshéshà òmùkéntu zyù tàkìtùtìtê:
     konó mè   o-bu-rótu   o-bo   ndí-bwene
     but PERS$_{1SG}$ AUG-NP$_{14}$-good AUG-DEM.III$_{14}$ SM$_{1SG}$.REL-see.STAT

     o-ku-shésh-a   o-mu-kéntu   zyu
     AUG-INF-marry-FV AUG-NP$_1$-woman DEM.I$_1$

     ta-a-kitut-ite-í
     NEG.SM$_1$-be_educated-STAT-NEG
     'But me, I think that it is good to marry an uneducated woman.'
     (ZF_Conv13)

13.3 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 in (11–12), where the dislocated constituent is marked in bold. Right-dislocation may also target subjects, as in (13).

(11) ndìrùshákà **òrú rùzyîmbò**
     ndi-ru$_H$-shak-á   o-rú   ru-zyímbo
     SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_{11}$-like-FV AUG-DEM.I$_{11}$ NP$_{11}$-song
     'I like this song.'

(12) ndá$^{|}$yámò **mòwín' $^{|}$ómùnzì**
     ndí-a-ya=mó   mo-winá   o-mu-nzi
     SM$_{1SG}$-PST-go-FV=LOC$_{18}$ NP$_{18}$-DEM.IV$_3$ AUG-NP$_3$-village
     'I've been to that village.' (NF_Elic15)

(13) shìbá'názyìbì **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-POSS₂PL
      '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 preceding the right-dislocated constituent is optional. Examples of right-dislocated constituents that do function as a separate phrase are given in (11–12), as seen from the application of phrase-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 (14), as seen from the lack of high tone retraction on the verb preceding the dislocated constituent.

(14) mùrùsháká **òrú rùzyîmbò**
      mu-ru_H-shak-á   o-rú   ru-zyímbo
      SM₂PL-OM₁₁-like-FV AUG-DEM.I₁₁ NP₁₁-song
      'Do you like this song?' (NF_Elic15)

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.

Right dislocation marks constituents as definite. The notion of definiteness shows some overlap with the notion of topic, because both definite constituents and topic constituents are 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 (15). The topic is the locative adjunct *mùnjìrà kwécì cìkúnì* 'along the path, at the tree', which occurs in the sentence-initial

topic position. The object noun *ménò énù* '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.

(15)   mùnjìrà kwécì cìkúnì kókò ndàázìkì ménò énù
  mu-N-jira kú-e-ci   ci-kuní kó-ko
  NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-path NP$_{17}$-AUG-DEM.I$_7$ NP$_7$-tree COP.DEF$_{17}$-DEM.III$_{17}$
  ndi-a-á-zik-i   ma-íno a-enú
  SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_6$-hide-NPST.PFV NP$_6$-tooth PP$_6$-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. In (16), taken from a narrative about a lion, the lion has been mentioned frequently in the previous discourse and is therefore construed as definite.

(16)   shànàkàkárìhì òndávù
  sha-na-ka-kárih-i   o-∅-ndavú
  INC-SM$_1$.PST-DIST-be_angry-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_{1a}$-lion
  'The lion was now very angry.' (NF_Narr15)

Right-dislocation can also affect inherently definite constituents, such as personal pronouns, as in (17–18), nouns modified by a demonstrative, as in (19), and proper names, as in (20).

(17)   rímwì zyûbà kàrì nèmúbûːkʼ ꜛénwè
  rí-mwi ∅-zyúba ka-ri ne-mú-búːk-e   enwé
  PP$_5$-other NP$_5$-day NEG-be REM-SM$_{2PL}$-wake-PFV.SBJV PERS$_{2PL}$
  'One day you are not going to wake up.' (NF_Narr15)

(18)   èyí nyàmà kàtwíyírí swè
  e-í   N-nyama ka-tu-í-ri-i   eswé
  AUG-DEM.I$_9$ NP$_9$-meat NEG-SM$_{1PL}$-OM$_9$-eat-NEG PERS$_{1PL}$
  'This meat, we don't eat it.' (NF_Elic15)

(19)   ndókùrídàmà èryó zyôkà
  ndi-ó=ku-rí-dam-a   e-ryó   ∅-zyóka
  PP$_{1SG}$-CON=INF-OM$_5$-beat-FV AUG-DEM.III$_5$ NP$_5$-snake
  'Then I beat that snake.' (ZF_Narr13)

(20) mbàndíbànánúnè bàhènì
      mba-ndí-ba$_H$-nan$\underline{ú}$n-e   ba-heni
      NEAR.FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_2$-lift-PFV.SBJV NP$_2$-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 example of a definite noun phrase used in the pre-verbal position is given in (21), 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 (22).

(21) ècí cìkùnì cìrìbórérá bùryô
      e-cí   ci-kuni   ci-ri$_H$-bor-er-$\underline{á}$ bu-ryó
      AUG-DEM.I$_7$ NP$_7$-tree SM$_7$-REFL-rot-APPL-FV NP$_{14}$-only
      'This wood rots easily.' (NF_Elic15)

(22) kàshùrwè ákùdánsìká èhàmbà
      ka-shurwe a-ó=ku-dánsik-á   e-∅-amba
      NP$_{12}$-rabbit PP$_1$-CON=INF-drop-FV AUG-NP$_5$-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).

13.4 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 widespread in Bantu, and may involve locatives, e.g. locative inversion, but also other constituents, such as patient or instrument inversion (Marten & van der Wal 2014). In Fwe, the only attested inversion construction is locative inversion.

Locative inversion in Fwe is illustrated in (24). In the basic construction in (23), the grammatical subject *rùkúngwè* 'snake' is also the logical subject. In the locative inversion construction in (24), the noun phrase *mwìnjúò* 'in the house' is the grammatical subject, and the logical subject *rùkúngwè* 'snake' is expressed postverbally.

(23) rùkúngwè nàkàbírì mwínjûò
Ø-rukúngwe na-kab<u>í</u>r-i   mú-e-N-júo
NP$_{1a}$-snake   SM$_1$.PST-enter-NPST.PFV   NP$_{18}$-AUG-NP$_9$-house
'The/a snake entered the house.'

(24) mwìnjúò mwàkàbírì rùkûngwè
mu-e-N-júo   mu-a-kab<u>í</u>r-i   Ø-rukúngwe
NP$_{18}$-AUG-NP$_9$-house   SM$_{18}$-PST-enter-NPST.PFV   NP$_{1a}$-snake
'A snake entered the house.' (NF_Elic17)

In locative inversion, the locative subject triggers subject marking on the verb; in (24), 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 mwàkàbírìmò mùsâ
mu-N-júo   mu-a-kab<u>í</u>r-i=mo   mu-sá
NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house   SM$_{18}$-PST-enter-PST=LOC$_{18}$ NP$_1$-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-<u>í</u>   ba-bara
NP$_{17}$-NP$_3$-village   SM$_{17}$-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV   NP$_2$-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. This is illustrated 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 ꜝrápà mwàkàbírì rùkûngwè

    mu-bwene   e-rí   ∅-rapá   mu-a-kabír-i

    SM2PL-see.STAT AUG-DEM.I5 NP5-courtyard SM18-PST-enter-NPST.PFV

    ∅-rukúngwe

    NP1a-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, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (28).

(28) *mwìrápá mwàkàbírì òzyó rùkúngwè

    mu-e-∅-rapá   mu-a-kabír-i   o-zyó

    NP18-AUG-NP5-courtyard SM18-PST-enter-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.III1

    ∅-rukúngwe

    NP1a-snake

    Int.: 'This (aforementioned) snake entered into the courtyard.' (NF_Elic17)

Locative inversion may also be interpreted as thetic focus, e.g. all the information is presented as new, as in (29), repeated from (26), which 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)

13.5 Dependent clauses

This section discusses types of dependent clauses that are used in Fwe. Relative clauses are dependent clauses that modify one of the constituents in the main clause; these are discussed in §13.5.1. There are various other ways of creating a dependent clause, mostly introduced by a specific free morpheme; these are discussed in §13.5.2.

13.5.1 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.

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 has a different tonal pattern than the verb of the same TAM construction in a main clause. For the present, near past imperfective, stative, and perfective subjunctive, the use of a high tone on the subject marker (melodic tone 2) changes a main clause verb into a relative clause verb, as in (30–33).

(30) a. mùrìrò ùtùmbúkà
      mu-riro u-tu$_H$mbuk-á
      NP$_3$-fire SM$_3$-burn-FV
      'The fire burns.'

   b. mùrìró òwò útùmbúkà
      mu-riró o-o   ú-tu$_H$mbuk-á
      NP$_3$-fire AUG-DEM.III$_3$ SM$_3$.REL-burn-FV
      'the fire that burns'

(31) a. bànjòvù bàkùjwêngà
      ba-njovu   ba-aku-jwéng-a
      NP$_2$-elephant SM$_2$-NPST.IPFV-shout-FV
      'The elephants were shouting.'

   b. bànjòvù bákùjwêngà
      ba-njovu   bá-aku-jwéng-a
      NP$_2$-elephant SM$_2$.REL-NPST.IPFV-shout-FV
      'the elephants who were shouting'

(32) a. ènyàmà ìbórêtè
      e-nyama i-bor-éte
      AUG-meat SM$_9$-rot-STAT
      'The meat is rotten.'

   b. ènyàm' êyò íbòrêtè
      e-nyamá e-yo   í-bor-éte
      AUG-meat AUG-DEM.III$_9$ SM$_9$.REL-rot-STAT
      'meat that is rotten'

(33) a. àbàntù bàhùpúrè
          a-ba-ntu   ba-hupur-<u>é</u>
          AUG-NP₂-person SM₂-think-PFV.SBJV
          'People should think.'

      b. àbàntw' ábò báhùpúrè
          a-ba-ntú   a-bo   b<u>á</u>-hupur-<u>é</u>
          AUG-NP₂-person AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-think-PFV.SBJV
          'people who should think' (NF_Elic17)

The remote past perfective (RPP) 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 §8.3.2 on the remote past perfective). The tonal differences between main and relative clause forms of the RPP are illustrated in (34).

(34) a. nìndádàmà
          ni-nd<u>í</u>-a-dam-a
          REM-SM₁ₛG-PST-beat-FV
          'I beat.'

      b. òmùntú zyò nìndá꜒dámà
          o-mu-ntú   zyo ni-nd<u>í</u>-a-dam-<u>á</u>
          AUG-NP₁-person DEM.III₁ REM-SM₁ₛG-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, as in (35). When used in a relative clause, as in (36), this high tone is retained and the verb does not undergo any tonal changes.

(35) kàndí꜒shákà
      ka-nd<u>í</u>-shak-<u>á</u>
      PST.IPFV-SM₁ₛG-want-FV
      'I used to like/want.'

(36) cìntw' ícò kàndí꜒shákà
      ci-ntú   e-co   ka-nd<u>í</u>-shak-<u>á</u>
      NP₇-thing AUG-DEM.III₇ PST.IPFV-SM₁ₛG-want-FV
      'the thing that I used to like/want' (NF_Elic17)

In the relative clause form of the near past perfective, a high tone on the subject marker also appears to play a role, but some variation is observed that can so far not be explained. There are cases where the relative near past perfective has a high tone on the subject marker, as in (37), or where the high tone is absent and the relative clause form is identical to the main clause form, as in (38). 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.

(37) a. bànjòvù bànàjwêngì
          ba-njovu   ba-na-jwéng-i
          NP₂-elephant SM₂-PST-shout-NPST.PFV
          'The elephants shouted.'

      b. bànjòvù bánàjwêngì
          ba-njovu   bá-na-jwéng-i
          NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-PST-shout-NPST.PFV
          'the elephants who shouted'

(38) a. ècìntù càhíkìwà
          e-ci-ntu   ci-a-hík-iw-a
          AUG-NP₇-thing SM₇-PST-cook-PASS-FV
          'The thing is cooked.'

      b. 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 (39), or preceded by the subordinator *sàké*, as in (40), or both, as in (41). The present construction can also be used to express future reference in relative clauses, as in (42); as discussed in §8.2, the present construction can have a futurate use in main clauses was well.

(39) èŋòmbé zò nèndí'úrè
      e-N-ŋombé   zo   ne-ndí-ur-é
      AUG-NP₁₀-cow DEM.III₁₀ REM-SM₁SG.REL-buy-PFV.SBJV
      'the cattle that I will buy' (NF_Elic17)

(40) ècò shàké ꜜcípàngàhárè hânù
e-co   shaké cí-pang-ahar-é   hánu
AUG-DEM.III₇ when SM₇-do-NEUT-PFV.SBJV DEM₁₆
'That which will happen now...' (NF_Narr17)

(41) címùnyà ècìntù ècò sàké nókàwânè kwàzyúmùnyà
cí-munya e-ci-ntu   e-co   saké
PP₇-other AUG-NP₇-thing AUG-DEM.III₇ when
na-ó-ka-wán-e   kwa-zyú-munya
REM-SM₂SG-DIST-find-PFV.SBJV   NP₁₇-PP₁-other
'The other thing that you will get from the other one...' (NF_Song17)

(42) òzyw' ásèbèzá zyônà
o-zyu   á-sebez-á   zyóna
AUG-DEM.III₁ SM₁.REL-work-FV tomorrow
'the one who will work tomorrow...' (NF_Elic15)

Table 13.1 gives an overview of the changes that affect relative clause verbs in different TAM constructions.

Table 13.1: Tonal patterns of relative clause verbs

Inflection	Relative clause form
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 syntactic or pragmatic 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 §13.1). This is illustrated in (43), where the relative clause contains both a nominal subject, *kàshùrwè* 'the rabbit', and a nominal object, *òzyú mùkázànà* 'this girl'; both constituents occur after the relative clause verb.

(43) mbóbùryàhó nàáshèshá kàshùrwè òzyú mùkázànà
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 illustrated in (44–45), where the demonstrative *abo* can be used, as in (44), or left out, as in (45).

(44) bànjòvw' ábò bájwêngà
ba-njovú   a-bo   bá-jwéng-a
NP₂-elephant AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-shout-FV
'The elephants who shout...'

(45) bànjòvù bájwêngà
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, as in (46), and leaving out the demonstrative is ungrammatical, as in (47).

(46) bàntw' ábò ndíbwènè
ba-ntú   a-bo   ndí-bwe_Hne
NP₂-person AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₁SG.REL-see.STAT
'The people that I see...'

(47) *bàntù ndíbwènè
ba-ntu   ndí-bwe_Hne
NP₂-person SM₁SG.REL-see.STAT
Intended: 'The people that I see...' (NF_Elic17)

When the antecedent is a locative, a demonstrative functioning as a relativizer is obligatory, as in (48), which uses the class 17 demonstrative *oko* as a relativizer. Cross-referencing the locative antecedent on the relative clause verb through the use of a locative clitic, is not possible, as in (49).

(48) kùmùnzí òkò ndíyà kwámàkângà
      ku-mu-nzí   o-ko   ndí-i-a   ∅-kwá-makánga
      NP17-NP3-village AUG-DEM.III17 SM1SG.REL-go-FV COP-NP17-Makanga
      'The village that I go to is Makanga.'

(49) *kùmùnzí òkò ndíyàkò kwámàkângà
      ku-mu-nzí   o-ko   ndí-i-a=ko
      NP17-NP3-village AUG-DEM.III17 SM1SG.REL-go-FV=LOC17
      ∅-kwá-makánga
      COP-NP17-Makanga
      Intended: 'The village that I go to is Makanga.'

The demonstratives of the locative classes are also used with non-locative antecedents which only have a locative use in the relative clause, as in (50): the antecedent *mùsébézì* 'a job' is not locative, but has a locative use in the following relative clause, which is headed by the class 17 demonstrative *òkò*.

(50) kùbònàhárá yé òkwésí **mùsébézì òkò** kòshákí nòkùàmbà nàbàntù
      ku-bon-ahar-á   yé o-kwesí   mu-sebézi o-ko
      INF-see-NEUT-FV that SM2SG-have NP3-job   AUG-DEM.III17
      ka-o-shak-í   no=ku-amb-a   na=ba-ntu
      NEG-SM2SG-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)

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 13.6 on cleft constructions), as in (51).

(51) mbàntù ndíˈdámà
      N-ba-ntu   ndí-dam-á
      COP-NP2-person SM1SG.REL-beat-FV
      'It's people that I beat.' (NF_Elic15)

Of the four demonstrative series used in Fwe (see §4.3.2), 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, as illustrated in (52).

(52) àkàfùró àkà / àkànò / àkò /àkènà ndíbèrèkìsâ
      a-ka-furó   a-ka /   a-kano /   a-ko /   a-kena
      AUG-NP$_{12}$-knife AUG-DEM.I$_{12}$ /AUG-DEM.II$_{12}$ /AUG-DEM.III$_{12}$ /AUG-DEM.IV$_{12}$
      ndí-berek-is-á
      SM$_{1SG}$.REL-work-CAUS-FV
      'The knife that I am using...' (ZF_Elic13)

As discussed in §4.3.2, 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. This is illustrated in (53) 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.

(53) bànjòvú àbò bánùnîtè
      ba-njovú   a-bo   bá-nun-íte
      NP$_2$-elephant AUG-DEM.III$_2$ SM$_2$.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, as in (54).

(54) bànjòvù bánùnîtè
      ba-njovu   bá-nun-íte
      NP$_2$-elephant SM$_2$.REL-become_fat-STAT
      'Elephants who are fat...' (NF_Elic17)

The high tone of the demonstrative's augment does appear, however, when the vowel of the augment is not realized. This is illustrated in (55), where the demonstrative *zyo* lacks the augment *o-*, but still assigns a high tone to the antecedent *ònjòvú* 'elephant'.

(55) ònjòvú zyò ndíbwènè

o-∅-njovú   zyo   ndí-bwe$_H$ne

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-elephant DEM.III$_1$ 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 §4.1.2).

All the previous examples contain relative clauses with an overt antecedent. Fwe also allows headless relative clauses, where the antecedent is a demonstrative that functions as both antecedent and relativizer, as in (56).

(56) òzyw' ázìzyì: òzyw' ázìshúwîrè òzyw' ázìbwènè

o-zyu   á-zi$_H$-zyi:$_H$ o-zyu   á-zi$_H$-shu$_H$-íre

AUG-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-OM$_8$-know.STAT AUG-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-OM$_8$-hear-STAT

o-zyu   á-zi$_H$-bwe$_H$ne

AUG-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-OM$_8$-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', as in (57–58). Noun class 16 is primarily a locative class, but is also used for expressing location in time rather than in space, as discussed in §4.1.5. Fwe also has various other ways of expressing temporal clauses, which are discussed in §13.5.2.

(57) àhà bákè:zyà kùkúw' òbwâtò

a-ha   bá-ké:zy-a   ku-kú-a   o-bu-áto

AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_2$.REL-come-FV INF-call-FV AUG-NP$_{14}$-canoe

'When they came to call the canoe...' (NF_Narr15)

(58) àhà kàndírwârà nàndákàtà

a-ha   ka-ndí-rwár-a   na-ndí-a-kat-a

AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-be_sick-FV PST-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-become_thin-FV

'When I was sick, I was very thin.' (ZF_Elic14)

Table 13.2: Markers of dependent clauses

kùtí / kùtêyè / ìyé	- complement 'that'
	- quotative 'that'
	- purpose '(so) that'
	- conditional 'if'
háìbà	- conditional
shàké	- conditional 'if'
	- temporal 'when'
nârì	- counterfactual 'if, if not for'
shi-	- conditional 'if'

13.5.2 Other types of dependent clauses

There are various other types of dependent clauses, marked by a free morpheme, or by a verbal affix. Table 13.2 gives an overview of the different dependent clause markers.

The free morpheme *kùtí / kùtêyè / ìyé* 'that, so that, if' is realized as *kùtí* in Zambian Fwe, as *ìyé* in Namibian Fwe, and *kùtêyè* can be used in both varieties. The forms *kùtí* and *kùtêyè* are contractions of the verb *kùtá* 'to say', with the complementizer *ìyé* 'that'.

The forms *kùtí / kùtêyè / ìyé* can introduce various types of dependent clauses. It can be used to introduce a complement clause, as in (59), where *ìyé* marks a complement clause that functions as the object of the main clause verb *shòshùwírè* 'you hear'. A complement clause marked by *kùtí* is illustrated in (60), and a complement clause introduced by *kùtêyè* in (61).

(59) kàpá shòshùwírè **ìyé** shàkwèsí òmúkwàmé ꜛkwímbari
kapá sha-o-shu_H-íre iyé sha-a-kwesí o-mú-kwamé
or INC-SM_2SG-hear-STAT COMP INC-SM_1-have AUG-NP_1-man
kú-e-N-bari
NP_17-AUG-NP_9-side
'Or you hear that she now has a man on the side.' (ZF_Conv13)

(60) mbábòné **kùtí** cìpèpà bùryó cìbámùdàrà
mbo-á-bo_Hn-é kutí ∅-ci-pepa bu-ryó
NEAR.FUT-SM_1-see-PFV.SBJV COMP COP-NP_7-paper NP_14-only
ci-bá-mu-dara
PP_7-NP_2-NP_1-old_man
'She will see that it is just a paper of her husband.' (ZF_Conv13)

(61) ndìké:zyà kùtóndà **kùtêyè** ndùngwè
ndi-ké:zy-a   ku-tónd-a kutêye ndu-∅-ngwe
SM₁SG-come-FV INF-see-FV COMP   COP₁ₐ-NP₁ₐ-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. This can be
direct speech, where the complement clause literally quotes what is said, as in
(62), or indirect speech, where the complement clause paraphrases what is said
from the perspective of the speaker, as in (63).

(62) rùkúngwè àké:zyà kùmùtóròkèrà ìyé mùyéᐟnzángù ndìkùfwírà ènshê:
∅-rukúngwe a-ké:zy-a   ku-mu-tórok-er-a   iyé
NP₁ₐ-snake   SM₁-come-FV INF-OM₁-explain-APPL-FV COMP
mu-énz-angú   ndi-ku-fw-ír-a   e-nshé:
NP₁-friend-POSS₁SG SM₁SG-OM₂SG-die-APPL-FV AUG-pity
'Snake came to tell him: my friend, I feel pity for you.' (NF_Narr17)

(63) nàndìsúmwìnì ìyé ndákùménèkàngà
na-ndi-súmwin-i   iyé   ndi-áku-mének-ang-a
SM₁.PST-OM₁SG-tell-NPST.PFV COMP SM₁SG-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV
'S/he told me that I should regularly wake up early.' (NF_Elic17)

ìyé can also be used as a quotative without an overt speech verb in the main
clause, as in (64–65), where the quotative *ìyé* is directly followed by the quoted
speech.

(64) òmbwá ᐟákùshwáhùrà ìyé hmm òzyú mùntù kàndíhì ècí cìfûhà
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-SM₁SG-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)

(65) ìyé njìnyàmà njìnyàmà índìrwáríkà
iyé   nji-N-nyama nji-N-nyama í-ndi-rwaₕr-ik-á
COMP COP₉-NP₉-meat COP₉-NP₉-meat SM₉.REL-OM₁SG-be_sick-IMP.TR-FV
'[She said] that, it's meat. It's meat that makes me sick.' (NF_Narr17)

kùtí / kùtêyè / ìyé may also introduce a dependent clause with a subjunctive verb, that expresses the (intended) goal of the main clause, as in (66–67).

(66) ákùhá òmòyà kwíŋwàrárà **ìyé** àyéndè kózywìnà òmùntù
    á-ku-há-a   o-mu-oya   kú-e-∅-ŋwarará   iyé
    CON₁-INF-give-FV AUG-NP₃-soul NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-crow COMP
    a-énd-e   kú-o-zywina   o-mu-ntu
    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)

(67) mbùtí nàyí'wánè èyí shérêŋì **òkùtêyè** àyé ndìbòózèrè
    N-bu-tí   na-í-wan-é   e-í   ∅-sheréŋi
    COP-NP₁₄-how REM.SM₁-OM₉-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-money
    okutéye a-y-é   ndi-boóz-er-e
    COMP   SM₁-go-PFV.SBJV OM₁SG-return-APPL-PFV.SBJV
    'How will he get this money, **so that** he brings it back to me?'
    (ZF_Conv13)

kùtí / kùtêyè / ìyé may also introduce a dependent clause that functions as a conditional, as in (68–69).

(68) mùzyì: òmfúmù **kùtèè** àkwèsí bânà bèná bânà bàsépáhárá 'cáhà
    mu-zyi: o-∅-mfúmu   kuteye a-kwesí ba-ána   bená
    SM₂PL-know.STAT AUG-NP₁ₐ-chief COMP   SM₁-have NP₂-child DEM.IV₂
    ba-ána ba-sep-ahar-á   cáha
    NP₂-child SM₂-trust-NEUT-FV very
    'You know, a chief, **if** he has children, those children are highly respected.'
    (NF_Narr15)

(69) èswé tùbá'kwámè **òkùtêyè** tùshúwé bùryáhò ryètú èfùfá rìhítírìzè
    eswé   tu-bá-kwamé   o-kutéye tu-shuₕ-é   bu-ryahó
    PERS₁PL APP₁PL-NP₂-man AUG-COMP SM₁PL-hear-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-like_that
    ri-etú   e-∅-fufá   ri-hiₕt-íriz-e
    PP₅-POSS₁PL AUG-NP₅-jealousy SM₅-pass-INT.CAUS-PFV.SBJV
    'Us men, if we hear like that, our jealousy is very big.' (ZF_Conv13)

The free morpheme *háìbà* 'if, when' can be used to introduce a conditional clause ('if…'), as in (70–71), or a temporal clause ('when…'), as in (72).

(70) **háìbà** mbwáshòk' ómvûrà kàndìyêndì
háiba mbo-á-sho_Hk-é   o-∅-mvúra   ka-ndi-énd-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)

(71) **háìbà** ènyázì yàkàkùŋórèrì ŋórò
háiba e-N-nyázi   i-a-ka-ku-ŋór-er-i
if   AUG-NP_9-mistress   SM_9-PST-DIST-OM_{2SG}-write-APPL-NPST.PFV
∅-ŋoró
NP_5-letter
'If your mistress has written you a letter...' (ZF_Conv13)

(72) èfoni **háìbà** mbòí'rírè òìtábè
e-∅-foni   háiba mbo-í-rir-é
AUG-NP_9-phone if   NEAR.FUT-SM_9-cry-PFV.SBJV
o-i_H-tab-é
SM_{2SG}-OM_9-answer-PFV.SBJV
'The phone, when it rings, you must answer it.' (NF_Elic17)

háìbà is a borrowing from Lozi *haiba* 'if' (Burger 1960: 78). In Fwe, it may occur on its own, as in (70–72), or it may combine with the native complementizer *kùtí* (and variations thereof), as in (73).

(73) **háìbà kùtéyè** sìànàmání mênjì kàzí'yángà kúmìrâkà
háiba kutéye si-a-na-man-í   ma-ínji
when COMP   INC-SM_6-PST-finish-NPST.PFV NP_6-water
ka-zí-ya-áng-a   kú-mi-ráka
PST.IPFV-SM_{10}-go-HAB-FV NP_{17}-NP_4-kraal
'When the water is finished, they would go to the kraals.' (NF_Narr17)

The free morpheme *shàké* 'when, if' is used to introduce a dependent clause that is either conditional, as in (74–75), or temporal, as in (76–77). The verb in the dependent clause is in the subjunctive mood. The morpheme itself is realized as *shàká* in Zambian Fwe, and as either *shàké* or *sàké* in Namibian Fwe. The interchangeability of /s/ and /sh/ is also seen in other grammatical morphemes (see §2.2). *shàké* is derived from the lexical verb *shàkà* 'want'.

(74) òzyú mùntù **shàká** ndìmùshêshè ndìmùkwànìsá kàpá kàndìmùkwánîsì
o-zyú   mu-ntu   shaká ndi-mu-shǵsh-e
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-person if   SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-marry-PFV.SBJV
ndi-mu-kwan-is-ǻ   kapá ka-ndi-mu-kwan-ís-i
SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-fit-CAUS-FV or   NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-fit-CAUS-FV
'This person, if I marry her, will I manage her, or will I not manage her?'
(ZF_Conv13)

(75) **shàké** bàké:zyè bàtùbùrè hànò mbòbátùcìrírè
shaké ba-kǵ:zy-e   ba-tu$_H$-bur-ǵ   hano
if   SM$_2$-come-PFV.SBJV SM$_2$-OM$_{1PL}$-miss-PFV.SBJV DEM.II$_{16}$
mbo-bǻ-tu$_H$-cirir-ǵ
NEAR.FUT-SM$_2$-OM$_{1PL}$-follow-PFV.SBJV
'If he comes and does not find us here, he will follow us.' (NF_Narr15)

(76) **shàké** ndíkàhùré ꞌkúnjûò ndìkàrá:rà bùryô
shaké ndí-ka-hur-ǵ   kú-N-júo
when SM$_{1SG}$.REL-DIST-arrive-PFV.SBJV NP$_{17}$-NP$_9$-house
ndi-ka-rǻ:r-a   bu-ryó
SM$_{1SG}$-DIST-sleep-FV NP$_{14}$-just
'When I arrive home, I will just sleep.' (NF_Elic17)

(77) wìná òmùndárè **sàké** mùwânè mùkàcìncìsá èŋòmbè
winá   o-mu-ndaré   saké mu-wǻn-e
DEM.IV$_3$ AUG-NP$_3$-maize when SM$_{2PL}$-find-PFV.SBJV
mu-ka-cinc-is-ǻ   e-N-ŋombe
SM$_{2PL}$-DIST-change-CAUS-FV AUG-NP$_{10}$-cattle
'That maize, when you get it, you exchange for cattle.' (ZF_Conv13)

The verbal post-initial prefix *shi-* marks a dependent clause with a conditional interpretation, as in (78–79). This prefix is glossed as 'conditional' COND.

(78) òshìshónjꞋ ónjòvù òkwàtìwâ
o-shi-sho$_H$nj-ǻ   o-∅-njovu   o-kwat-iw-ǻ
SM$_{2SG}$-COND-shoot-FV AUG-NP$_{1a}$-elephant SM$_1$-catch-PASS-FV
'If you shoot an elephant, you will be caught.' (NF_Elic15)

(79) òshìpángà bútì tùzwírà hábùsò
o-shi-pǻng-a   bu-tí tu-zw-ír-a   há-bu-so
SM$_{2SG}$-COND-do-FV NP$_{14}$-so SM$_{1PL}$-come_out-APPL-FV NP$_{16}$-NP$_{14}$-front
'If you do like this, we will make a profit.' (ZF_Conv13)

The conditional prefix *shi-* resembles the post-initial persistive prefix *shí-*, which marks persistive aspect, i.e. a subtype of imperfective aspect that presents an event as still ongoing (see §9.4). It is unclear if conditional *shi-* and persistive *shí-* are two functions of the same morpheme, or accidentally homophonous. According to Nurse (2008: 148), 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. Persistive *shí-* in Fwe 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.

There are two strategies for marking counterfactuals, a type of conditional dependent clause in which the condition is presented as not met. The first is to introduce the conditional clause with the marker *nárì*, while the main clause verb is marked with the remoteness prefix *na-/ne-/ni-*, as in (80–81).

(80)   nárì nóndìtúsì nìndàkùríhì
       nári n<u>ó</u>-ndi-tus-i
       if   SM₂SG.PST-OM₁SG-help-NPST.PFV
       ni-ndi-a-ku-rih-<u>í</u>
       REM-SM₁SG-PST-OM₂SG-pay-NPST.PFV
       'If you had helped me [but you did not], I would have paid you.'
       (NF_Elic17)

(81)   nárì nómùtúkì nánàkùkùtì
       nári n<u>ó</u>-mu-tuk-<u>í</u>   ná-na-ku-kut-i
       if   SM₂SG.PST-OM₁-insult-NPST.PFV REM-SM₁.PST-OM₂SG-curse-NPST.PFV
       'If you had insulted her/him, s/he would have cursed you.' (NF_Elic17)

The remoteness prefix used in a counterfactual is the same remoteness prefix used in, for instance, the remote past perfective. When a counterfactual contains a remote past perfective verb, the remoteness prefix is stacked onto the prefix marking remote past, as in (82).

(82) nárì nìmwákê:zyà zyônà **nìnìmwákê:zyà** kùshàngànà mùyéꞌnzángù
     nári ni-mú̱-a-ké̱:zy-a   zyóna   ni-ni-mú̱-a-ké̱:zy-a
     if   PST-SM$_{2PL}$-PST-come-FV yesterday REM-PST-SM$_{2PL}$-PST-come-FV
     ku-shangan-a mu-yénz-angú
     INF-meet-FV   NP$_1$-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 coun-
terfactual meaning can be united in the model developed by Botne & Kershner
(2008). They conceptualize tense not as a linear timeline, but as a number of sep-
arate 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 *shárì*, as in (83–84).

(83) shárì òmwêzì nèkùsíhà
     shári o-mu-ézi   ne-ku-sih-á̱
     if   AUG-NP$_3$-moon REM-SM$_{17}$-be_dark-FV
     'If not for the moon, it would be dark.' (NF_Elic17)

(84) ákùbáꞌtéyè **shárì** zyùzyú mwâncè nìndáꞌyéndà néyè nìnìndámàn' óꞌkáfwà
     á-ku-bá-téye   shári zyu-zyú   mu-ánce
     CON$_1$-INF-OM$_2$-say_that if EMPH$_1$-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-child
     ni-ndí̱-a-é̱nd-a   ne=ye   ni-ni-ndí̱-a-man-á̱
     REM-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-go-FV COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ REM-REM-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-finish-FV
     o-ka-fw-á
     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)

13.6 Cleft constructions

Cleft constructions are used to mark that a constituent is in focus, meaning that it
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, as in (85), 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.

(85) nìndákàùr' énjìngà
ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á   e-N-jinga
PST-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-DIST-buy-FV AUG-NP$_9$-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 modifies the constituent in the main clause. An example of a cleft construction is given in (86), consisting of the clefted element *ndìŋòmbè* 'it's a cow' and the relative clause *ndí'shákà* 'that I want'.

(86) ndìŋòmbè ndí'shákà
ndi-N-ŋombe   ndí-shak-á
COP-NP$_9$-cow   SM$_{1SG}$.REL-want-FV
[clefted element] [relative clause]
'It's a cow that I want.' (NF_Elic15)

The copulative prefix on the clefted element can be the basic or the definite copulative prefix (which differs in form according to the noun class, see §5.3 on the copula), 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 (87), 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.

(87) kònò mbóbùrótù ndíbwènè bókùshéshà zywìn' ákìtùtîtè
konó mbó-bu-rótu ndí-bwe_Hne bu-ó=ku-shésh-a
but COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-good SM₁SG.REL-see.STAT PP₁₄-CON=INF-marry-FV
zywina á-kitut-íte
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 (88–89); the clefted element is marked in bold.

(88) **ndìwá Ꞌⁱryángù** kàndíkèkérà
ndi-∅-wá ri-angú ka-ndí-ke_Hker-á
COP₅-NP₅-field PP₅-POSS₁SG PST.IPFV-SM₁SG-plough-FV
'It was my field that I was ploughing.' (ZF_Elic14)

(89) **njìcécì yònké**: túkàbírà
nji-∅-céci i-onké tú-kabir-á
COP₉-NP₉-church PP₅-one SM₁PL.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 (90), or a personal pronoun, as in (91).

(90) **mómò** nìbákìtòbòhérà
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)

(91) **ndíw'** ózyâːkà
ndi-wé ó-zyáːk-a
COP-PERS₂SG SM₂SG.REL-build-FV
'It is you who builds.' (NF_Elic15)

The clefted element is modified by a relative clause, which takes the same
shape as relative clauses used outside cleft constructions (see §13.5.1), except that
a demonstrative functioning as a relativizer never occurs in a cleft construction.

Any kind of constituent can be clefted; examples are given where the clefted
element is a subject in (92), an object in (93), a locative in (94), an adverb in (95),
and a temporal adverb in (96).

(92) **ndúmbwá** ábbòzâ
      ndu-∅-mbwá   á-bbo_Hz-á
      COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-dog SM_1.REL-bark-FV
      'It's a dog who barks.' (ZF_Elic14)

(93) hàpé **ndìgámbùtì** ndízyàbèrè
      hapé ndi-∅-gámbuti ndí-zyabere
      again COP_5-NP_5-boot SM_{1SG}.REL-wear.STAT
      'Again, it's boots that I am wearing.' (ZF_Narr13)

(94) shùnù **kùmùnzì** ndíyà
      shunu ∅-ku-mu-nzi   ndí-y-a
      today COP-NP_{17}-NP_3-village SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV
      'Today, it is to home that I go.' (ZF_Elic14)

(95) **mbóbùryáhò** nìyápàngàhàrírà
      mbó-bu-ryáho   ni-í-a-pang-ahar-ir-á
      COP.DEF_{14}-NP_{14}-like_that PST-SM_9-PST-do-NEUT-APPL-FV<REL>
      'That is how it happened.' (ZF_Narr15)

(96) **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.II_{17}
      '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 §13.2 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 extraclausal, i.e. it is affected by phrase-final tonal processes such as high tones realized as falling, as in the left-dislocated constituent *òbûcì* in (97).

(97) òbû:cì ndìmpùká názàbúpàngà
      o-bú:-ci   ndi-N-puká ná-zi-a-bú-pang-a
      AUG-NP_{14}-honey COP-NP_{10}-bee PST-SM_{10}-PST-OM_{14}-make-FV<REL>
      'Honey, it's bees who make it.' (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions are used to mark focus on the clefted element, as in (98), which answers the question 'when did you become ill?'. 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.

(98) ndìzyónà nàndárwârà
ndi-zyóna   na-ndí-a-rwár-a
COP-yesterday PST-SM₁SG-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), called 'counter-presuppositional focus' by Dik (1997: 332). This is illustrated in (99), which 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.

(99) ndìsózú ꜝbárìmângà
ndi-∅-sozú   bá-rim-áng-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 (100), 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.

(100) njíꜝnítì wákùàmbà
njí-N-níti   ó-aku-amb-a
COP₉-NP₉-truth SM₂SG.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 bùryò 'only', as in (101).

(101) màbéré bùryò ndíbyârà
N-ma-beré   bu-ryo   ndí-byár-a
COP-NP₆-millet NP₁₄-only SM₁SG.REL-plant-FV
'It's only millet that I plant.' (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions can also mark thetic focus, where all the information is new and therefore the entire utterance is in focus, and not just one constituent. Though only one element (either the subject or the object) is clefted, the entire construction is interpreted as being in focus. This is illustrated in (102); the context for this utterance is that a noise was heard, and the speaker was asked what happened. 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.

(102)   njìnkómókí yàpwàcûkì
        nji-N-komokí i-a-pwac<u>ú</u>k-i
        COP9-NP9-cup SM9-PST-break-NPST.PFV
        'A cup broke.' (NF_Elic15)

Another example of thetic focus using a cleft is given in (103). 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.

(103)   tàbènáhò ménjì bá꞉tékà
        ta-ba-ina=h<u>ó</u>   N-ma-ínji   b<u>á</u>-te_Hk-<u>á</u>
        NEG-SM2-be=LOC16 COP-NP6-water SM2.REL-fetch-FV
        'She's not here, she's fetching water.' (ZF_Elic14)

In order to focus a 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 an infinitive, which behaves like a noun 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 §5.3 on the form of copulatives), as in (104). The copula also has a form which is used on definite constituents, and for class 15, this form of the copula is (*n*)*kó-*. This definite copula can also be used to mark the infinitive in a FIC, as in (105).

(104)   kùshèkà bá꞉shékà
        ∅-ku-shek-a   bá-shek-<u>á</u>
        COP-NP15-laugh-FV SM2.REL-laugh-FV
        'They laugh.'

(105)   kókùmànà ndí'mánà
        kó-ku-man-a   ndí-man-á
        COP.DEF-NP15-finish-FV SM1SG.REL-finish-FV
        'I just finished.' (ZF_Elic14)

The FIC is also used to mark progressive aspect. This use, as well as other formal aspects of the construction, are discussed in §9.1.1. The focus use of the FIC is illustrated in (106), in which the speaker warns someone not to drink the tea yet, as it is still cooling down.

(106)   èntî: kùhórà í'hórà
        e-N-tí: ku-hór-a   í-hoHr-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 (107), which is the answer to the question 'what did you do today?'.

(107)   kùkékèrà kàndíkèkérà
        ku-kéker-a   ka-ndí-keHker-á
        INF-plough-FV PST.IPFV-SM1SG-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 (108), where the inflected verb of the FIC is in the near past perfective, which is incompatible with a progressive interpretation (see §8.3.1 on the near past perfective). This sentence is uttered in a context where an injured child is brought to the clinic, and the clinic personnel asks how the injury came about.

(108)   òmwâncè kùgwà nâgwì
        o-mu-ánce   ku-gw-a   ná-gw-i
        AUG-NP1-child INF-fall-FV SM1.PST-fall-NPST.PFV
        'The child has fallen down.' (ZF_Elic14)

The use of the FIC differs between Namibian and Zambian Fwe. In Zambian Fwe, a simple present verb may not occur on its own, as in (109), but only in a FIC, as in (110).

(109) * ndìshékà
     ndi-shek-á
     SM₁SG-laugh-FV

(109) * ndìshékà
     ndi-shek-á
     SM$_{1SG}$-laugh-FV
     Intended: 'I am laughing/I laugh.'

(110) kùshèkà 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. This is illustrated with the question words *ni* 'who', *nji* 'what', *kwí* 'where', and *bu-ti* 'how' in (111–114).

(111) ndìní náàŋánk' òndôngò
     ndi-ní   ná-a-ŋánk-a   o-∅-ndóngo
     COP-who SM$_1$-PST-peel-FV<REL> AUG-NP$_{1a}$-groundnut
     'Who has peeled the groundnuts?' (ZF_Elic14)

(112) cìnjí bátêndà
     ∅-ci-njí   bá-ténd-a
     COP-NP$_7$-what SM$_2$.REL-do-FV
     'What are they doing?'

(113) nkòkwí ¦múyà
     N-kokwí   mú-y-a
     COP-where SM$_{2PL}$-go-FV
     'Where are you going?' (NF_Elic15)

(114) mbùtí mwàbû:kì
     N-bu-tí   mu-a-bú:k-i
     COP-NP$_{14}$-how SM$_{2PL}$-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
     'How did you wake up?' (morning greeting)

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-∅-kande
NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM_{2PL}-tell-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₅-story
'I will tell you a story.'

òrùtángù rwángù rwá'bákwàmé bòbírè
ru-tángu ru-angú   rú-a=bá-kwamé   ba-o=biré
NP₁₁-story PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG} PP₁₁-CON=NP₂-man PP₂-CON=two
'My story, about two men.'

àbó 'bákwàmé bòbírè kàbárì bàntù nòmùshêrè
a-bó   bá-kwamé ba-o=biré   ka-bá-ri   ba-ntu
AUG-DEM.III₂ NP₂-man   PP₂-CON=two PST.IPFV-SM₂-be NP₂-person
no=mu-shére
COM=NP₁-friend
'These two men were friends.'

bànàhârì òzyú zyúmùnyà kámùnítè ómbwà
ba-na-hár-i   o-zyú   zyú-munya ka-á-mun-íte
SM₂-PST-live-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.I₁ PP₁-other   PST.IPFV.SM₁-own-STAT
o-∅-mbwá
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 múmùnzì múmò bànàhârì bànàhârì

mbó-bu-ryáho ka-bá-ha_H-r-á mú-mu-nzi mú-mo
COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like.that PST.IPFV-SM₂-live-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-village EMPH-DEM.III₁₈

ba-na-hár-i ba-na-hár-i
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 òkùtêyè bókùhìnd' ómùsípîrì ìyé bàkàpóté kúcìbàkà címùnyà

kó-ku-wan-isik-a okutéye ba-ó=ku-hind-á o-mu-sipíri iyé
COP₁₅-INF-find-NEUT-FV that PP₂-CON=INF-take-FV AUG-NP₃-journey that

ba-ka-pot-é kú-ci-baka cí-munya
SM₂-DIST-visit-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-NP₇-place PP₇-other

'It came to pass that they took a journey to visit another place.'

bànàhíndì òwó mùsípîrì bànànánûkì mùnjìrà múmò nèrà tùyêndè

ba-na-hínd-i o-wó mu-sipíri ba-na-nanúk-i
SM₂-PST-take-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.III₃ NP₃-journey SM₂-PST-leave-NPST.PFV

mu-N-jira mú-mo nera tu-énd-e
NP₁₈-NP₉-way EMPH-DEM.III₁₈ then SM₁PL-go-PFV.SBJV

'They took that journey. They left on their way: "Let's go!"'

nìbáhìndà nèzíryó ꜝzábò zóꜝkábúryà èmpùmpò

ni-bá-a-hind-a ne=zi-ryó zi-a=bó zi-ó=kabú-ry-a
REM-SM₂-PST-take-FV COM=NP₈-food PP₈-CON=DEM.III₂ PP₂-CON=LOC.PL-eat-FV

e-N-pumpo
AUG-NP₉-travel_food

'They brought their food for eating in different places, food for along the way.'

àhò kàbákàbúrâ:rà bùryáhò

a-ho ka-bá-kabú-rá:r-a bu-ryahó
AUG-DEM.III₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC.PL-sleep-FV NP₁₄-like.that

'When they were sleeping in different places like that…'

nàkàsùnsò kàbò bàrìhíndîrè

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 nààyèndà nòmbwá wàkwé bùryáhò

o-zyu   zyú-munya na-á-a-end-a   no=∅-mbwá u-akwé

AUG-DEM.I$_1$ PP$_1$-other   REM-SM$_1$-PST-go-FV COM=NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{3SG}$

bu-ryahó

NP$_{14}$-like.that

'One of them went with his dog like that.'

bàkàbúyèndà nòmbwá ꞌwábò bùryáhò

ba-kabú-end-a   no=∅-mbwá u-abó   bu-ryahó

SM$_2$-LOC.PL-go-FV COM=NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-AUG-DEM.III$_2$ NP$_{14}$-like_that

'They were going with their dog like that.'

básìhúrà àhò bánàhúrì kùzyímànà òkùtêyè bàryê

bá-si$_H$-hur-á a-ho   bá-na-hur-í ku-zyíman-a   okutéye

SM$_2$.REL-   PER-arrive-FV AUG-DEM.III$_{16}$ SM$_2$-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV INF-stop-FV

ba-ry-é

that   SM$_2$-eat-SBJV

'When they arrived where they arrived, to stop so that they can eat…'

ìnꞌ ényàmà yézìfûhà

iná   e-N-nyama   i-é=zi-fúha

DEM.IV$_9$ AUG-NP$_9$-meat PP$_9$-CON=NP$_8$-bone

'That meat with bones…'

òzyó káshàká cáhà kùyàbùrꞌ èzìfûhà ènyàmà yézìfûhà

o-zyó   ka-á-shak-á   cáha ku-yabur-a e-zi-fúha

AUG-DEM.III$_1$ PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-like-FV very INF-take-FV AUG-NP$_8$-bone

e-N-nyama   i-é=zi-fúha

AUG-NP$_9$-meat PP$_9$-CON=NP$_8$-bone

'The one who liked to take bones, meat with bones…'

sìkwàsíyàrìrì èzìfûhà

si-kw-a-síyar-ir-i   e-zi-fúha

INC-SM$_{17}$-PST-leave-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_8$-bone

'Now the bones remain.'

ndózywìn' áàzy' ómbwà
ndó-zywiná   á-azyá   o-∅-mbwá
COP.DEF$_1$-DEM.IV$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-have_not AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog
'It's the one who doesn't have a dog.'

ècò kápàngírà kùtêyè òzyw' ákwès' ûmbwà
e-co   ka-<u>á</u>-pang-ir-<u>á</u>   kutéye o-zyu   <u>á</u>-kwesí
AUG-DEM.III$_7$ PST.IPFV-SM$_1$-do-APPL-FV that   AUG-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$-have
o-mbwá
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog
'He was doing that so that the one who has a dog...'

òmbwá wàkwê nàngà àryê zìn' ézìfûhà
o-∅-mbwá   u-akwé   nanga a-ry-<u>é</u>   ziná   e-zi-fúha
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ even   SM$_1$-eat-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV$_8$ AUG-NP$_8$-bone
'...his dog might eat those bones.'

mbùryàhó kàbápàngângà bú'ryáhò
N-bu-ryahó   ka-b<u>á</u>-pang-<u>áng</u>-a   bú-ryahó
COP-NP$_{14}$-like.that PST.IPFV-SM$_2$-do-HAB-FV NP$_{14}$-like.that
'That's how he did.'

àsìmánà òkùyàbùrà zywìnà áàzy' ómbwà èzìfûhà
a-si-man-<u>á</u>   o-ku-yabur-a   zywina   <u>á</u>-azyá   o-∅-mbwá
SM$_1$-COND-finish-FV AUG-INF-pick-FV DEM.IV$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-have_not AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog
e-zi-fúha
AUG-NP$_8$-bone
'When he finishes picking the bones, that one without a dog...'

àsìmáná 'kúryà kúzìfûhà ákùzíhìndà kùzízìkà mwívù
a-si-man-<u>á</u>   ku-ry-á   kú-zi-fúha   <u>á</u>-ku-zí-hind-a
SM$_1$-COND-finish-FV INF-eat-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_8$-bone PP$_1$-INF-OM$_8$-take-FV
ku-zí-zik-a   mu-e-∅-vú
INF-OM$_8$-bury-FV NP$_{18}$-AUG-NP$_5$-ground
'When he finishes eating from the bones, he takes them to bury them in the ground.'

òkùté òmbwá ꞌwózywìná mùyênzè àswábè

okuté o-∅-mbwá u-ó=zywiná mu-yénz-e a-swab-é

that AUG-NP₁ₐ-dog PP₁-CON=DEM.IV₁ NP₁-friend-POSS₃SG SM₁-be_sad-PFV.SBJV

'So that the dog of that friend of his would be sad.'

kàrì náàrìshùwìsìsìsá nênjà òzyú ꞌsímbwà

ka-ri ná-a-a-ri_H-shu_H-isis-á nénja o-zyú sí-∅-mbwá

NEG-be REM-SM₁-PST-REFL-feel-INT-FV<REL> well AUG-DEM.I₁ AS-NP₁ₐ-dog

'He did not feel good, the one with the dog.'

àhà òzyú mùshérè wángù mbùtí àh' átêndà

aha o-zyú mu-shére u-angú N-bu-tí a-ha

oh AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-friend PP₁-POSS₁SG COP-NP₁₄-how AUG-DEM.I₁₆

á-ténd-a

SM₁.REL-do-FV

'"Oh, this friend of mine, why is he doing this?"'

mònsh' ómò túyàbwîrà èyé àpìhènèrá òkùyàbùrà èzìfûhà hàpé èyé ààzy' ômbwà

mo-nshé: o-mo tú-yabw-ír-a eyé a-pihener-á

NP₁₈-all AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁PL.REL-pick-APPL-FV PERS₃SG SM₁-insist-FV

o-ku-yabur-a e-zi-fúha hapé eyé a-azyá o-∅-mbwá

AUG-INF-pick-FV AUG-NP₈-bone again PERS₃SG SM₁-lack AUG-NP₁ₐ-dog

'"Whenever we pick, he insists on picking the bones, he doesn't even have a dog."'

èmé ꞌndímùnít' ômbwà hàpé kàndìsîyì ìyé ndìyàbùré zìfûhà

emé ndí-mun-íte o-∅-mbwá hapé ka-a-ndi-sí-i

PERS₁SG SM₁SG.REL-own-STAT AUG-NP₁ₐ-dog again NEG-SM₁-OM₁SG-leave-NEG

iyé ndi-yabur-é zi-fúha

that SM₁SG-pick-PFV.SBJV NP₈-bone

'"Me, who owns a dog, he doesn't let me pick the bones."'

áù nìyámùryángànìsà

aú ni-i-á-mu-ryánganis-a

oh REM-SM₉-PST-OM₁-disturb-FV

'It disturbed him.'

kàkùbíràèzì
ka-ku-bíraez-i
NEG-SM$_{15}$-matter-NEG
'"It doesn't matter."'

mbùryàhó kàbákàbúpângà bùryáhò àhò kàbákàbúrá:rà bùryáhó
N-bu-ryaho ka-bá-kabú-páng-a bu-ryahó a-ho
COP-NP$_{14}$-like.that PST.IPFV-SM$_2$-LOC.PL-do-FV NP$_{14}$-like.that AUG-DEM.III$_{16}$
ka-bá-kabú-rá:r-a bu-ryaho
PST.IPFV-SM$_2$-LOC.PL-sleep-FV NP$_{14}$-like.that
'That is how he used to do, when they were spending the night in different places.'

ênì àkàbúyàbùrà èzìfûhà zyúzyò áàzy' ómbwà
éni a-kabú-yabur-a e-zi-fúha zyú-zyo á-azyá
yes SM$_1$-LOC.PL-pick-FV AUG-NP$_8$-bone EMPH-DEM.III$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-have_not
o-∅-mbwá
AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog
'In each place he takes the bones, the one who doesn't have a dog.'

màmànìkìzò àhò bákàrá:rà hápè nàyábûrì hápè cìtùnùrà cécìfûhà
ma-manikizo a-ho bá-ka-rá:r-a hapé na-yabúr-i
NP$_6$-end AUG-DEM.III$_{16}$ SM$_2$-DIST-sleep-FV again SM$_1$.PST-pick-NPST.PFV
hapé ci-tunura ci-é=ci-fúha
again NP$_7$-big_piece_of_meat PP$_7$-CON=NP$_7$-bone
'In the end, when they slept again, he has taken a big piece of meat with a bone in it.'

shànàhíndì cícò cìfûhà zyúzyò áàzy' ómbwà
shi-a-na-hínd-i cí-co ci-fúha zyú-zyo
INC-SM$_1$-PST-take-NPST.PFV EMPH-DEM.III$_7$ NP$_7$-bone EMPH-DEM.III$_1$
á-azyá o-∅-mbwá
SM$_1$.REL-have_not AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog
'He has now taken that bone, that one who doesn't have a dog.'

tùyêndè ákùhìndà kùcíshùmìnìnà kùmùzîò
tu-énd-e á-ku-hind-a ku-cí-shumin-in-a ku-mu-zío
SM$_{1PL}$-go-PFV.SBJV PP$_1$-INF-take-FV INF-OM$_7$-tie-APPL-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_3$-load
'"Let's go." He then takes it and ties it on his luggage.'

kókw' àcìshùmìnínà cícò cìfúhà càkwê

kókwi a-ci$_H$-shu$_H$min-in-á   cí-co   ci-fúha   ci-akwé

where SM$_1$-OM$_7$-tie-APPL-FV EMPH-DEM.III$_7$ NP$_7$-bone PP$_7$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'That is where he ties it, that bone of his.'

nìbàkàyâ bàkàbúyèndà bàkàbúyèndà

ni=ba-ka-y-á   ba-kabú-end-a   ba-kabú-end-a

COM=SM$_2$-DIST-go-FV SM$_2$-LOC.PL-go-FV SM$_2$-LOC.PL-go-FV

'And they went. They were walking, walking.'

ómbwà kébàkà ryécìfúhà cînà sàpìhénèrè kúmàshârà òmùzîò zywìn' ákùrìkítè

o-∅-mbwá   ∅-kébaka ri-é=ci-fúha   ciná   si-a-pihénere

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog NP$_5$-because PP$_5$-CON=NP$_7$-bone DEM.IV$_7$ INC-SM$_1$-insist.STAT

kú-ma-shára o-mu-zío   zywina á-ku$_H$rík-ite

NP$_{17}$-NP$_6$-back AUG-NP$_3$-load DEM.IV$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-carry-STAT

'The dog, because of that bone, he is now behind the load, the one who is
carrying.'

àtòndérèrè kúcìfûhà ìyé témà zywìn' ómùntù mbwámùdánsíkìrè cìn' écìfûhà

a-to$_H$nd-érer-e   kú-ci-fúha   iyé téma zywiná o-mu-ntu

SM$_1$-watch-INT-STAT NP$_{17}$-NP$_7$-bone that maybe DEM.IV$_1$ AUG-NP$_1$-person

mbo-á-mu-da$_H$nsík-ir-e   ciná   e-ci-fúha

NEAR.FUT-SM$_1$-OM$_1$-drop-APPL-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV$_7$ AUG-NP$_7$-bone

'He is staring at the bone, so that maybe that person will drop the bone for him.'

ècìfúhà cìpárá òkùcíshùmùnùnà ìyé àcìh' ómbwà

e-ci-fúha   ci-par-á   o-ku-cí-shum-unun-a   iyé

AUG-NP$_7$-bone SM$_7$-fail-FV AUG-INF-OM$_7$-tie-SEP.TR-FV that

a-ci$_H$-h-é   o-∅-mbwa

SM$_1$-OM$_7$-give-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog

'The bone failed to become untied, so that he would give it to the dog.'

bànàyéndì bùryáhò ècìfúhà cìpárá òkùcíshùmùnùnà

ba-na-énd-i   bu-ryaho   e-ci-fúha   ci-par-á

SM$_2$-PST-go-NPST.PFV NP$_{14}$-like.that AUG-NP$_7$-bone SM$_7$-fail-FV

o-ku-cí-shum-unun-a

AUG-INF-OM$_7$-tie-SEP.TR-FV

'They went like that. The bone did not become untied.'

òmbwá àrí kùtóndèrèrà kúcìfúhà kúmùzîò
o-∅-mbwá   a-rí   ku-tónd-erer-a   kú-ci-fúha   kú-mu-zío
AUG-NP1a-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 bùryáhò
ba-kabú-end-a   bu-ryahó
SM2-LOC.PL-go-FV like.that
'They went like that.'

òmbwá ákùshwáhùrà ìyé hm òzyó mùntù kàndíhì ècí cìfûhà
o-∅-mbwa   á-ku-shwáhur-a   iyé hm o-zyú   mu-ntu
AUG-NP1a-dog PP1-INF-give.up-FV that hm AUG-DEM.I1 NP1-person
ka-a-ndí̱-h-i   e-cí   ci-fúha
NEG-SM1-OM1SG-give-NEG AUG-DEM.I7 NP7-bone
'The dog now gives up, saying that, "hmm, this person won't give me this bone."'

ákùshwáhùrà kùhítà kúˈbúsò nàkàbúrìcànìnàcànínà zîngì:
á-ku-shwáhur-a   ku-hít-a   kú-bu-só
PP1-INF-give_up-FV INF-pass-FV NP17-NP14-front
na=a-kabú-ri_H-canina-can-í̱n-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 starts hunting other things.'

ómbwà àshàká ˈcáhà èzìfûhà
o-∅-mbwá   a-shak-á̱   cáha e-zi-fúha
AUG-NP1a-dog SM1-like-FV very AUG-NP8-bone
'The dog, he likes bones very much.'

témà mbwákàcìndìhé zywînà
téma   mbo-á̱-ka-ci_H-ndi-h-é̱   zywína
maybe NEAR.FUT-SM1-DIST-OM7-OM1SG-give-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV1
'"Maybe he will give it to me, that one."'

shókùbòòrà hàpé kùmùzíò kàtóndàkò kùwàn' écìfûhà sìcákùàázyà

shi-ó-ku-boor-a   hapé ku-mu-zío   ka-tónd-a=ko
INC-AUG-INF-return-FV again NP_{17}-NP_3-load DIST.INF-look-FV=LOC_{17}
ku-wan-a   e-ci-fúha   si-ci-áku-aazyá
INF-find-FV AUG-NP_7-bone INC-SM_7-NPST.IPFV-be_not
'He returned 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-SM_7-NPST.IPFV-be_not AUG-NP_7-bone INC-SM_7-NPST.IPFV-be.not
'It's not there anymore, the bone is no longer there.'

kàntì háhò mwéyò ènàkò zyúzyò sícìfûhà, zyúzyò mùntù ákùcíhìndà kùcíshònjèrà múmùtêmwà cókùwà

kanti há-ho   mú-e-yo   e-N-nako   zyú-zyo
then EMPH-DEM.III_{16} NP_{18}-AUG-DEM.III_9 AUG-NP_9-time EMPH-DEM.III_1
sí-ci-fúha   zyú-zyo   mu-ntu   á-ku-cí-hind-a
AS-NP_7-bone EMPH-DEM.III_1 NP_1-person PP_1-INF-OM_7-take-FV
ku-cí-shonj-er-a   mú-mu-témwa ci-ó=ku-w-a
INF-OM_7-throw-APPL-FV NP_{18}-NP_3-forest PP_7-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 shècíkàwâ kàntì cìkàwírà hámfùmò

a-ha   she-cí-ka-w-á   kanti ci-ka-w-ír-a
AUG-DEM.I_{16} INC-SM_7.REL-DIST-fall-FV then SM_7-DIST-fall-APPL-FV
há-∅-mfumo
NP_{16}-NP_{1a}-rhino
'When it fell, it fell onto a rhino.'

ómbwà ècìfúhà càkùààzy' ôkò, kúmùzîò

o-∅-mbwá   e-ci-fúha   ci-aku-aazyá   o-ko
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP_7-bone SM_7-NPST.IPFV-be_not AUG-DEM.III_{17}
kú-mu-zío
NP_{17}-NP_3-load
'The dog [thought]: "the bone is not on the load".'

ákùbòòrà múmàshârà kàbúnùnkìzànùnkìzà ècó cìfûhà

á-ku-boor-a   mú-ma-shára   kabú-nunkiza-nunkiz-a e-có
PP₁-INF-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back INF.LOC.PL-PL2-sniff-FV AUG-DEM.III₇

ci-fúha
NP₇-bone

'He then goes back to sniff around for that bone.'

mànì nákàcìwánè ómbwà

mani na-á-ka-ci_H-wán-e   o-∅-mbwá
until REM-SM₁-DIST-OM₇-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁ₐ-dog

'Until the dog finds it.'

àh' ákàtôndà ndùmfùmò páhà náàfwîrà

a-ha   á-ka-tónd-a   ndu-∅-mfumo   pá-ha
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₁.REL-DIST-look-FV COP₁ₐ-NP₁ₐ-rhino COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆

na-á-a-fw-ír-a
REM-SM₁-PST-die-APPL-FV<REL>

'When he looked there, there was a rhino, it had died there.'

òmbwá ákùtángìsà òkùbbóòzà

o-∅-mbwá   á-ku-tángis-a   o-ku-bbóoz-a
AUG-NP₁ₐ-dog PP₁-INF-start-FV AUG-INF-bark-FV

'The dog starts to bark.'

bèn' âbò bànêtì múmùsípîrì

bena a-bó   ba-néti   mú-mu-sipíri
DEM₂ AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂-be_gone NP₁₈-NP₃-journey

'As for them, they continued their journey.'

zywiná ˈsímbwà àhà sákàbóná bùryáhò òmbwá ˈwángù àhà kàndìsìmùbwènè mbùtí

zywiná sí-∅-mbwá a-ha   si-á-ka-bo_Hn-á   bu-ryahó
DEM.IV₁ AS-NP₁ₐ-dog AUG-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM₁.REL-DIST-see-FV NP₁₄-like.that

o-∅-mbwá   u-angú   a-ha   ka-ndi-si_H-mu-bwe_Hne
AUG-NP₁ₐ-dog PP₁-POSS₁SG AUG-DEM.I₁₆ NEG-SM₁SG-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 don't I see it anymore?"'

ómbwà òmbw' êyè ákwèsì àbbòòzá kúkò

o-∅-mbwá   o-∅-mbwá   éye   a-kwesi   a-bbo$_H$oz-$\underline{á}$ ku-kó

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PERS$_{3SG}$ SM$_1$.REL-PROG SM$_1$-bark-FV EMPH-DEM.III$_{17}$

'The dog, the dog who is barking there.'

òmbwá ꜝwángù îwè acho kàndìmùbwênè

o-∅-mbwá   u-angú   íwe   acho   ka-ndi-mu-bw$\underline{é}$ne

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ PERS$_{2SG}$ please NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-OM$_1$-see.STAT

'"My dog, you, please, I don't see it."'

tùyéndè bùryô ècíbbwà ncènjí

tu-$\underline{é}$nd-e   bu-ryó   e-ci-bbwá   N-ci-e=njí

SM$_{1PL}$-go-PFV.SBJV NP$_{14}$-just AUG-NP$_7$-dog COP-PP$_7$-CON=what

'"Let's just go. What about the stupid dog?"'

mùntù káshàkí ꜝbámbwà

N-mu-ntu   ka-$\underline{á}$-shak-$\underline{í}$ ba-mbwá

COP-NP$_1$-person NEG-SM$_1$.REL-like-NEG NP$_2$-dog

'He is a person who does not like dogs.'

tùyéndè bùryô cààzy' éntàbà cíbbwà ncènjí

tu-$\underline{é}$nd-e   bu-ryó   ci-aazyá   e-N-taba   ci-bbwá

SM$_{1PL}$-go-PFV.SBJV NP$_{14}$-just SM$_7$-be_not AUG-NP$_9$-issue NP$_7$-dog

N-ci-e=njí

COP-PP$_7$-CON=what

'"Let's just go. Why should you care about the stupid dog?"'

ènkânì èmé sèndìbòórà ndìsìtónd' òmbwá ꜝwángù múmàshârà

e-N-káni   emé   se-ndi-boor-$\underline{á}$ ndi-si$_H$-t$\underline{ó}$nd-a

AUG-NP$_{10}$-argument PERS$_{1SG}$ INC-SM$_{1SG}$-return-FV SM$_{1SG}$-PER-look-FV

o-∅-mbwá   u-angú   mú-ma-shára

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ NP$_{18}$-NP$_6$-back

'An argument. "Me, I'm going back to look for my dog."'

tùyêndè á'à sèndìbòórà émè ndìtòndé òmbwá ꜝwángù múmàshârà

tu-$\underline{é}$nd-e   á'a se-ndi-boor-$\underline{á}$ emé   ndi-to$_H$nd-$\underline{é}$

SM$_{1PL}$-go-PFV.SBJV no INC-SM$_{1SG}$-return-FV PERS$_{1SG}$ SM$_{1SG}$-look-PFV.SBJV

o-∅-mbwá   u-angú   mú-ma-shára

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ NP$_{18}$-NP$_6$-back

'"Lets go!" "No. I am going back to look for my dog."'

bókùfútùmùkà kùbòòrà
ba-ó=ku-futumuk-a   ku-boor-a
PP$_2$-CON=INF-turn_around-FV INF-return-FV
'He turns around and goes back.'

òzù ábòórà ndózwìnà símbwà
o-zyu   á-boor-á   ndó-zywina   sí-Ø-mbwá
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-return-FV COP.DEF$_1$-DEM.IV$_1$ AS-NP$_{1a}$-dog
'The one who returns is the one with the dog.'

òzyù áàzy' ómbwà kàbòôrì ìyé bòóré wê
o-zyu   á-azyá   o-Ø-mbwá   ka-a-boór-i   iyé
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-be_not AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog NEG-SM$_1$-return-NEG that
boor-é   wé
return-PFV.SBJV PERS$_{2SG}$
'The one who does not have a dog does not go back. He says, "you can go back."'

nìkwápàrà kàkúrì òmwínì wómùsípîrì òzyù ázyì òkò báyà ndóòzyù mwini wómbwà
ni-kú-a-par-a   kakúri o-mw-íni   u-ó=mu-sipíri   o-zyu
PST-SM$_{15}$-PST-fail-FV because AUG-NP$_1$-owner PP$_1$-CON=NP$_3$-journey AUG-DEM.I$_1$
á-zyi$_H$ o-ko   bá-y-a   ndó-o-zyú   mu-íni
SM$_1$.REL-know.STAT AUG-DEM.III$_{17}$ SM$_2$.REL-go-FV COP-AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_1$-owner
u-o-Ø=mbwá
PP$_1$-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.'

mùshérè sànàbòôrì mbùtí sàké ndìpángè
mu-shére si-a-na-boór-i   N-bu-tí   saké ndi-pang-é
NP$_1$-friend INC-SM$_1$-PST-return-NPST.PFV COP-NP$_{14}$-how if   SM$_{1SG}$-do-PFV.SBJV
'"My friend has gone back. What can I do?"'

nòkùmúcìrìrà kùbòòrà múmàshârà
no=ku-mú-cirir-a   ku-boor-a   mú-ma-shára
COM=INF-OM$_1$-follow-FV INF-return-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_6$-back
'He follows him going back.'

ómbwà éyè àkwèsì àbbòòzá òkó

o-mbwa   eye   a-kwesi   a-bbo$_H$oz-á   o-kó

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PERS$_{3SG}$ SM$_1$-PROG SM$_1$-bark-FV AUG-DEM.III$_{17}$

'The dog is barking far away!'

sàkàshúwîrè òmbwá wàkwê àbbòòzâ

si-a-ka-shu$_H$-íre   o-∅-mbwá   u-akwé   a-bbo$_H$oz-á

INC-SM$_1$-DIST-hear-STAT AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ SM$_1$-bark-FV

'He now hears his dog barking.'

òh ndómbwà wángù zyùnú sàbbòòzâ

oh ndó-∅-mbwá   u-angú   zyunú si-a-bbo$_H$oz-á

oh COP.DEF$_1$-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ DEM.II$_1$ INC-SM$_1$.REL-bark-FV

'"Oh! That is my dog that is barking there!"'

kùbòòrà kàmùwán' ᵎómbwà òzyú kùtôndà hárùbbârì cìpâù cìtùúmènè

ku-boor-a   ka-mu-wan-á   o-∅-mbwá   o-zyú   ku-tónd-a

INF-return-FV DIST.INF-OM$_1$-find-FV AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog AUG-DEM.I$_1$ INF-look-FV

há-ru-bbári   ∅-ci-páu   ci-tuúmen-e

NP$_{16}$-NP$_{11}$-side COP-NP$_7$-animal SM$_7$-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 ᵎwángù sànàwání cìpâù njìnyàmà nyàmà nyàmà

o-∅-mbwá   kutá ndu-∅-mbwá u-angú   si-a-na-wan-í

AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog true COP-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ INC-SM$_1$-PST-find-NPST.PFV

ci-páu   nji-N-nyama   N-nyama N-nyama

NP$_7$-animal COP$_9$-NP$_9$-meat NP$_9$-meat NP$_9$-meat

'"It's true! It's my dog. It has got an animal. It's meat, meat, meat."'

ákàbòòrà nêyè zywînà zywìná ᵎkáshàkí ᵎbámbwà kùtôndà nêyè óh

á-ka-boor-a   né=ye   zywína zywiná ka-á-shak-í

PP$_1$-DIST.INF-return-FV COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ DEM.IV$_1$ DEM.IV$_1$ NEG.SM$_1$.REL-like-NEG

ba-mbwá ku-tónd-a   né=ye   óh

NP$_2$-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!"'

òzyû mbwà sànàwání ènyàmà

o-zyú o-∅-mbwá si-a-na-wan-í   e-N-nyama
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog INC-SM$_1$-PST-find-NPST.PFV AUG-NP$_9$-meat
'"This dog found some meat."'

nìkwáwàn' ènkânì cwárè

ni-kú-a-wan-a e-N-káni   cwaré
PST-SM$_{15}$-PST-find-FV AUG-NP$_9$-argument then
'There broke out an argument.'

zyúzyò áàzy' ómbwà sàpìhénèrè nêyè ècìpáù ncángù ncàngú cìpâù

zyú-zyo á-azyá   o-∅-mbwá si-a-pihéner-e né=ye
EMPH-DEM.I$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-be.not AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog INC-SM$_1$-insist-STAT COM=PERS$_{3SG}$
e-ci-páu N-ci-angú   N-ci-angú   ci-páu
AUG-NP$_7$-animal COP-PP$_7$-POSS$_{1SG}$ COP-PP$_7$-POSS$_{1SG}$ NP$_7$-animal
'The one who doesn't have a dog, he is now insisting, "the animal is mine, it's my animal."'

òzyú ˈsímbwà nêyè nè kàkùò:résèkì ècìpáù ncángù

o-zyú sí-∅-mbwá né=ye   ne ka-ku-o:r-ések-i
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ AS-NP$_{1a}$-dog COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ no NEG-SM$_{15}$-can-NEUT-NEG
e-ci-páu N-ci-angú
AUG-NP$_7$-animal COP-PP$_7$-POSS$_{1SG}$
'The one with the dog says, "no, it's not possible, the animal is mine."'

òzyú ìyé ncángù

o-zyú iyé N-ci-angú
AUG-DEM.I$_1$ that COP-PP$_7$-POSS$_{1SG}$
'This one says, "it's mine".'

nìkwáwàn' ènkânì kàbàsíˈshúwânì

ni-kú-a-wan-a e-N-káni   ka-ba-sí-shuwán-i
REM-SM$_{15}$-PST-find-FV AUG-NP$_9$-argument NEG-SM$_2$-PER-get_along-NEG
'There was an argument. They did not get along anymore.'

tùyéndè bùryó kàntì tùhîndè

tu-énd-e   bu-ryó kanti tu-hínd-e
SM$_{1PL}$-go-PFV.SBJV NP$_{14}$-just then SM$_{1PL}$-take-PFV.SBJV
'"Let's just go and take [it]."'

kùyá kùzyùnà cìn' écìpâù kùkúrìkà ábò nòmùsípîrì kàbàshúwânì

ku-y-á   ku-zyun-a ciná e-ci-pau   ku-kúrik-a   a-bó
INF-go-FV INF-skin-FV DEM.IV₇ AUG-NP₇-animal INF-shoulder-FV AUG-DEM.III₂

no=mu-sipíri   ka-ba-shuwán-i
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.'

níbàríàbèrà níbàríbbàtwìrà há⸢kátì

ní-ba-a-rí-ab-er-a   ní-ba-a-rí-bbatw-ir-a
REM-SM₂-PST-REFL-divide-APPL-FV REM-SM₂-PST-REFL-split-APPL-FV

há-ka-tí
NP₁₆-NP₁₂-middle

'They divided it. They split it in half for each other.'

nìbàkáyá mùsípîrì kàbàshúwênè

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 cìpáù ncángù

né=ye   á'a ci-páu   N-ci-angú
COM=PERS₃ₛG no NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS₁ₛG

'He says, "no, the animal is mine."'

tùyéndè kàntì mbòtúkàbûzè hówù mùnzì kúbàntù àbò báyèndèsá òmùnzì

tu-énd-e   kanti mbo-tú-ka-búz-e   há-o-wu
SM₁PL-go-PFV.SBJV then NEAR.FUT-SM₁PL-DIST-ask-PFV.SBJV NP₁₆-DEM.I₃

mu-nzi   kú-ba-ntu   a-bo   bá-end-es-á   o-mu-nzi
NP₃-village 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 bákàhúrá ⸢hámùnzì kàbàrùmérènè mònsh' ômò

a-ha   bá-ka-hur-á   há-mu-nzi   ka-ba-rumérene
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-DIST-arrive-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-village PST.IPFV-SM₂-differ.STAT

mo-nshé: o-mo
NP₁₈-all AUG-DEM.III₁₈

'When they arrived at the village, they differed even more.'

kàhùrà kàsûsà kùbárùmèrèsàrùmèrèsà bànákàrì

ka-hur-a   ka-sús-a   ku-bá-rumeresa-rumeres-a

DIST.INF-arrive-FV DIST.INF-put_down-FV INF-OM$_2$-PL2-greet-FV

ba-ná-kar-i

SM$_2$-PST-sit-NPST.PFV

'They arrived and put down [their loads] and they greeted them. They sat down.'

mbàní bàìndùná hânù hámùnzì

N-ba-ní   ba-induná   hánu   há-mu-nzi

COP-NP$_2$-who NP$_2$-headman DEM.II$_{16}$ NP$_{16}$-NP$_3$-village

'"Who is the headman of this village?"'

nábò ìyé mbáꞋbábà kwìrápá Ꞌryábò kó Ꞌkwínà

ná=bo   iyé mbába-bá   ku-e-∅-rapá   ri-abó

COM=DEM.III$_2$ that COP.DEF$_2$-DEM.I$_2$ NP$_{17}$-AUG-NP$_5$-courtyard PP$_5$-DEM.III$_2$

kó   ku-iná

DEM.III$_{17}$ SM$_{17}$-be_at

'They said, "it's this one. His courtyard is that one."'

nìbàyákò

ni=ba-y-a=k<u>ó</u>

COM=SM$_2$-go-FV=LOC$_{17}$

'And they went there.'

hàpé mbùtí kùyá kùbásùkùrwìrà zònshé: zómùsípírì wábò

hapé N-bu-ti   ku-y-á   ku-bá-sukurw-ir-a   zi-onshé:

again COP-NP$_{14}$-how INF-go-FV INF-OM$_2$-report-APPL-FV PP$_8$-all

zi-ó=mu-sipíri   u-abó

PP$_8$-CON=NP$_3$-journey PP$_3$-DEM.III$_2$

'And what? They go and tell him all about their journey.'

nèrà nìtwákè:zyà nètùrùmérènè

nera ni-t<u>ú</u>-a-ke:zy-a   ne=tu-rum<u>é</u>rene

then REM-SM$_{1PL}$-PST-come-FV COM=SM$_{1PL}$-agree.STAT

'"We came while understanding each other."'

tùrì bàntù nòmùshêrè

tu-ri   ba-ntu   no=mu-shére

SM$_{1PL}$-be NP$_2$-person COM=NP$_1$-friend

'"We are friends."'

cwàré àhà tú'ké:zyà kùhùrà há'kátì zyúzy' òmbwá 'wángù nèrà nàábòòrà múmàshârà

cwaré a-ha   tú-ké:zy-a   ku-hur-a   há-ka-tí

then   AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{1PL}$.REL-come-FV INF-arrive-FV NP$_{16}$-NP$_{12}$-middle

zyú-zyu   o-mbwa   u-angú   nera na-á-a-boor-a   mú-ma-shára

EMPH-DEM.I$_1$ AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-POSS$_{1SG}$ then PST-SM$_1$-return-FV NP$_{18}$-NP$_6$-back

'"Then when we reached halfway, this dog of mine, he went back."'

ákàwàn' écìfûhà cìdánsì

á-ka-wan-á   e-ci-fúha   ci-dans-í

PP$_1$-DIST.INF-find-FV AUG-NP$_7$-bone SM$_7$-put_down-IMP.INTR.STAT

'"He found a bone lying there."'

àhà sákàwàná cìfûhà ákàwàn' écìpâù

a-ha   si-á-ka-wan-á   ci-fúha   á-ka-wan-á

AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ INC-SM$_1$.REL-DIST-find-FV NP$_7$-bone PP$_1$-DIST.INF-find-FV

e-ci-páu

AUG-NP$_7$-animal

'"After getting the bone, he got an animal."'

shànàwàní ècó cìpâù páhà nìhá'zwírà ènkánì zétù twèbírè

shi-a-na-wan-í   e-có   ci-páu   pá-ha

INC-SM$_1$-PST-find-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.III$_7$ NP$_7$-animal COP$_{16}$-DEM.I$_{16}$

ni-há-a-zw-ír-a   e-N-káni   zi-etú   twe-biré

REM-SM$_{16}$-PST-come_out-APPL-FV AUG-NP$_{10}$-argument PP$_{10}$-POSS$_{1PL}$ CON$_{1PL}$-two

'"When he got this animal, that is when our argument started, the two of us."'

néyè zyúzyò áàzy' ómbwà nêyè ákàsùkùrùrà zàkwê

ne=ye   zyú-zyo   á-azya   o-∅-mbwá   né=ye

COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ EMPH-DEM$_1$ SM$_1$.REL-be_not AUG-NP$_{1a}$-dog COM=PERS$_{3SG}$

á-ka-sukurur-a   zi-akwé

PP$_1$-DIST.INF-report-FV PP$_8$-POSS$_{3SG}$

'And the one who does not have a dog, he too reports his side of the story.'

kàtúyêndà nózyù mùyéꜜnzángù
ka-tú-énd-a   nó=zyu   mu-yénz-angú
PST.IPFV-SM1PL-go-FV COM=DEM.I1 NP1-friend-POSS1SG
'"I was walking with this friend of mine."'

àhà túhùrá ꜜháꜜkátì èmé kàndíshùmínínè ècìfúhà kúmùzîò
a-ha   tú-hur-á   há-ka-tí   emé
AUG-DEM.I16 SM1PL.REL-arrive-FV NP16-NP12-middle PERS1SG
ka-ndí-shuHmin-ín-e   e-ci-fúha   kú-mu-zío
PST.IPFV-SM1SG-tie-APPL-STAT AUG-NP7-bone NP17-NP3-load
'"When we were halfway, me, I had the bone tied to my luggage."'

àhà kàndíshùmínínè bùryáhò páhà sèndícìhîndà kùcíshònjèrà múmùtêmwà kùcíbùkùmùnà
a-ha   ka-ndí-shumin-ín-e   buryahó   pá-ha
AUG-DEM.I16 PST.IPFV-SM1SG-tie-APPL-STAT NP14-like.that COP16-DEM.I16
se-ndí-ciH-hínd-a   ku-cí-shonj-er-a   mú-mu-témwa
INC-SM1SG.REL-OM7-take-FV INF-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 sècíkàwâ kàntì cìkàwírà hácìpâù
a-ha   se-cí-ka-w-á   kanti ci-ka-w-ír-a
AUG-DEM.I16 INC-SM7.REL-DIST-fall-FV then SM7-DIST-fall-APPL-FV
há-ci-páu
NP16-NP7-animal
'"When it fell down, it fell on an animal."'

càkàwírì hécìpâù
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 wôzyò mpáhà sìkábòòrá múmàshârà ákàwàn' ècó cìpâù

cwaré o-zyú   ∅-mbwá u-ó=zyo   mpá-ha
then   AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁ₐ-dog PP₁-CON=DEM.III₁ COP₁₆-DEM₁₆
si-ka-á-boor-á   mú-ma-shára á-ka-wan-a   e-có
INC-PST.IPFV-SM₁-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back PP₁-DIST-find-FV AUG-DEM.III₇
ci-páu
NP₇-animal
'"Then this one's dog, that's when he went back, he found that animal."'

sànàkàcí'wánì mpáhà nézàzwírà ènkânì ìyé ècìpáù càkwê

si-a-na-ka-cí-wan-í   mpá-ha
INC-SM₁-PST-DIST-OM₇-find-NPST.PFV COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆
ne-zí-a-zw-ír-a   e-N-káni   iyé
REM-SM₁₀-PST-come_out-APPL-FV<REL> AUG-NP₁₀-argument that
e-ci-páu   ∅-ci-akwé
AUG-NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS₃SG
'"When he had found it, that is when the argument broke out, that the animal is his."'

kàntí mé ncángù ècìpâù

kantí mé   N-ci-angú   e-ci-páu
then   PERS₁SG COP-PP₇-POSS₁SG AUG-NP₇-animal
'"But the animal is mine."'

cwàré mbóbùryàhó ꞌtúꞌké:zyà kàtùsìrùmèrènê:

cwaré mbó-bu-ryaho   tú-ké:zy-a
then   COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that SM₁PL.REL-come-FV
ka-tu-si_H-rumerené:
NEG-SM₁PL-PER-agree.STAT.NEG
'"That is how we are coming. We no longer see eye to eye."'

mbóbùryáhò bùryânù

mbó-bu-ryahó   bu-ryanu
COP.DEF₁₄-like.that NP₁₄-like.this
'"Is it like that?" "It is like this."'

kàntì èswé tùbàsí'nkútà mbòtúmìààtúrè

eswé	tu-ba-sí-N-kutá	mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é
PERS1PL	APP1PL-NP2-AS-NP9-court	NEAR.FUT-SM1PL-OM2PL-judge-PFV.SBJV

'"Then us, the people of the court, we will judge you."'

mbòtúmìààtùr' êswè

mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é	eswé
NEAR.FUT-SM1PL-OM2PL-judge-PFV.SBJV	PERS1PL

'"We will judge you."'

ècò shàké cìpàngàhàré hânù

e-co	shaké	ci-pang-ahar-é	hánu
AUG-DEM.III7	if	SM7-do-NEUT-PFV.SBJV	DEM.II16

'"What will happen now..."'

éwè wèmwínì wómbwà ècí cìpâù ncákò

ewé	we-mw-íni	u-ó=mbwá	e-cí	ci-páu
PERS2SG	APP2SG-NP1-owner	PP1-CON=NP1a-dog	AUG-DEM.I7	NP7-animal

N-ci-akó
COP-PP7-POSS2SG

'"You, the owner of the dog, this animal is yours."'

kàkúrì kùbònàhárá òkùtêyè òzyú kàshàkí 'bámbwà

kakúri	ku-bo_Hn-ahar-á	okutéye	o-zyú	ka-a-shak-í	ba-mbwá
because	SM15-see-NEUT-FV	that	AUG-DEM.I1	NEG-SM1-like-NEG	NP2-dog

'"Because it seems that this one doesn't want dogs."'

kàshákí 'bámbw' ôzyù

ka-a-shak-í	ba-mbwá	o-zyú
NEG-SM1-like-NEG	NP2-dog	AUG-DEM.I1

'"He doesn't like dogs, this one."'

kùbònàhárá òkùtêyè éwè ècò ó'ké:zyà kùzèkàkw' éwè

ku-bon-ahar-á	okutéye	ewé	e-co	ó-ké:zy-a
SM15-see-NEUT-FV	that	PERS2SG	AUG-DEM.III7	SM2SG.REL-come-FV

ku-zek-a=ko	ewé
INF-sue-FV=LOC17	PERS2SG

'"It seems that you, what are you coming to sue for?"'

ncìfúhà cákò ècò nówàshònjérà múmùtêmwà, ècò nìcákàwáníwà kóˈzyú mbwà
wôzyù

N-ci-fúha   ci-akó   e-co   nó̠-w-a-sho$_H$nj-er-á̠
COP-NP$_7$-bone PP$_7$-POSS$_{2SG}$ AUG-DEM.III$_7$ REM-SM$_{2SG}$-PST-throw-APPL-FV<REL

mú-mu-témwà e-co   ni-c-á̠-ka-wan-iw-á̠
NP$_{18}$-NP$_3$-bush AUG-DEM.III$_7$ REM-SM$_7$-PST-DIST-find-PASS-FV<REL>

kú-o-zyú   ∅-mbwá u-ó=zyu
NP$_{17}$-AUG-DEM.I$_1$ NP$_{1a}$-dog PP$_1$-CON=DEM.I$_1$

'"It is your bone that you threw into the forest, and that was found by this one's
dog."'

cwàré éwè wèmwínì wômbwà kùtí nòmànì kúryà kwényàmà kùryá ènyàmà ínà

cwaré ewé   we-mu-íni   u-ó=∅-mbwá   kutí
then PERS$_{2SG}$ APP$_{2SG}$-NP$_1$-owner PP$_1$-CON=NP$_{1a}$-dog if

no-man-í̠   ku-ry-á kú-e-N-nyama   ku-ry-á
SM$_{2SG}$.PST-finish-NPST.PFV INF-eat-FV NP$_{17}$-AUG-NP$_9$-meat INF-eat-FV

e-N-nyama   iná
AUG-NP$_9$-meat DEM.IV$_9$

'"Then you, the owner of the dog, when you have finished eating from the meat,
eating that meat..."'

wókùhìndá èzìfûhà kùzíhà zyúzyù

u-ó=ku-hind-á   e-zi-fúha   ku-zí-ha-a   zyu-zyú
PP$_{2SG}$-CON=INF-take-FV AUG-NP$_8$-bone INF-OM$_8$-give-FV EMPH-DEM.I$_1$

'"...then you take the bones and give them to this one."'

kàkúrì kùbònàhárá ìyé nzìfúhà áˈké:zyà kùzèk' ôzyù

kakúri ku-bon-ahar-á̠   iyé N-zi-fúha   á̠-ké:zy-a   ku-zek-a
because SM$_{15}$-see-NEUT-FV that COP-NP$_7$-bone SM$_1$.REL-come-FV INF-sue-FV

o-zyú
AUG-DEM.I$_1$

'"Because it seems that it's bones that he comes to sue about, this one."'

mùshúwîrè ìyé twàshûwì

mu-shu$_H$-í̠re   iyé tu-a-shú-i
SM$_{2PL}$-hear-STAT that SM$_{1PL}$-PST-hear-FV

'"Do you understand?" They say, "we understand."'

njénkàtúrò yàmánì
njé-N-katuró i-a-man-í
COP.DEF$_9$-NP$_9$-judgment SM$_9$-PST-finish-NPST.PFV
'"That's the judgment. It is finished."'

kàkúrì wé kòshákí zìmùnântù
kakúri wé ka-o-shak-í zi-munántu
because PERS$_{2SG}$ NEG-SM$_{2SG}$-like-NEG NP$_8$-pet
'"Because you don't like pets."'

kózyì òkùtêyè àh' óshônjà cìn' écìfûhà ócìbùkùmúnà kózyì ìyé hèn' écìpâù
ka-ó-zyi$_H$ okutéye a-ha ó-shónj-a ciná
PST.IPFV-SM$_{2SG}$-know.STAT that AUG-DEM.I$_{16}$ SM$_{2SG}$.REL-throw-FV DEM.IV$_7$
e-ci-fúha ó-ci$_H$-bukum-un-á ka-ó-zyi$_H$ iyé
AUG-NP$_7$-bone SM$_{2SG}$.REL-OM$_7$-throw-SEP.TR-FV PST.IPFV-SM$_{2SG}$-know.STAT that
ha-iná e-ci-páu
SM$_{16}$-be_at AUG-NP$_7$-animal
'"Did you know that when you threw that bone, when you threw it, did you know there was an animal there?"'

nêyè kàrì kàndîzyì kàrì kôzyì
né=ye ka-ri ka-ndí-zyi$_H$ ka-ri
COM=PERS$_{3SG}$ NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM$_{1SG}$-know.STAT NEG-be
ka-ó-zyi$_H$
PST.IPFV-SM$_{2SG}$-know.STAT
'He said, "I did not know." "Yes, you did not know."'

cwárè ènyàmà njôzyù
cwaré e-N-nyama nji-ó=zyu
then AUG-NP$_9$-meat COP$_9$-CON=DEM.I$_1$
'"Then the meat is his."'

éwè mbwákùkúhà bùryó èzìfûhà
ewe mbo-a-áku-ku-h-á bu-ryó e-zi-fúha
PERS$_{2SG}$ NEAR.FUT-SM$_1$-SBJV.IPFV-OM$_{2SG}$-give-FV NP$_{14}$-only AUG-NP$_8$-bone
'"He will give you bones only."'

ndìbwènè mpáhò nìkwámànínà ènkàtùró ꜜyínù
ndi-bwe_Hne   mpá-ho   ni-k<u>ú</u>-a-man-in-<u>á</u>
SM_1SG-see.STAT COP_16-DEM.III_16 REM-SM_15-PST-finish-APPL-FV<REL>
e-N-katuró   inú
AUG-NP_9-judgment DEM.IV_9
'I see that is where the judgment has ended.'

nâbò kókùmànà bókùshúwànà nénjà nénjà hápè
ná=bo   kó-ku-man-a   ba-ó=ku-shuwan-a   nénja nénja
COM=DEM.III_2 COP_15-INF-finish-FV PP_2-CON=INF-get_along-FV well   well
hapé
again
'It ended there. They are good friends again.'

ndìbwènè ndórùtángò rwángù rúrò
ndi-bwe_Hne   ndó-ru-tángu   ru-angú   ru-ró
SM_1SG-see.STAT COP.DEF_11-NP_11-story PP_11-POSS_1SG EMPH-DEM.III_11
'I see that this is my story.'

Appendix B: Useful phrases

This appendix contains a number of 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 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 mwàbû:kì*, literally 'how did you wake up?', comparable to English 'good morning'. It can be shortened to *mwàbû:kì*.

(1) mbùtí mwàbû:kì
     N-bu-tí   mu-a-bú:k-i
     COP-NP$_{14}$-how SM$_{2PL}$-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
     'Good morning.' (Lit. 'How did you wake up?')

(2) mwàbû: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 nênjà*, literally 'we woke up well', comparable to English good morning. It can be shortened to *twàbû:kì*, or to *nênjà*.

(3) twàbú:kì nênjà
     tu-a-bú:k-i   nénja
     SM$_{1PL}$-PST-wake-NPST.PFV well
     'Good morning.' (Lit. 'We woke up well.')

(4) twàbû:kì
tu-a-bú:k-i
SM1PL-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
'Good morning.' (Lit. 'We woke up.')

(5) nênjà
nénja
well
'[We woke up] well.'

Morning greetings are appropriate to about midday. From midday onwards, a different greeting is used, *mbùtí mwàrí'shárì*, comparable to English 'good afternoon', though with a literal meaning 'how have you stayed?'. As with the morning greeting, *mbùtí* can be left out.

(6) mbùtí mwàrí'shárì
N-bu-tí   mu-a-rí-shar-í
COP-NP14-how SM2PL-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
'Good afternoon.' (Lit. 'How have you stayed?')

(7) mwàrí'shárì
mu-a-rí-shar-í
SM2PL-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
'Good afternoon.' (Lit. 'Have you stayed?')

The answer to the afternoon greeting is *twàríshàrí nênjà*, which can be shortened to *twàrí'shárì*. A correct response to the afternoon greeting is also *nênjà*.

(8) twàríshàrí nênjà
tu-a-rí-shar-í   nénja
SM1PL-PST-stay-NPST.PFV well
'Good afternoon.' (Lit. 'We've stayed well.')

(9) twàrí'shárì
tu-a-rí-shar-í
SM1PL-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
'Good afternoon.' (Lit. 'We've stayed.')

(10) nênjà
      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 participants 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.

(11) Namibian Fwe
      twàrítùmêrì
      tu-a-rí-tum<u>ér</u>-i
      SM1PL-PST-REFL-thank-NPST.PFV
      'Thank you.'

(12) Zambian Fwe
      twàkítùmêrì
      tu-a-kí-tum<u>ér</u>-i
      SM1PL-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, *ndàrítùmêrì / ndàkítùmêrì*.

The verb *tùmèlà* 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 nênjà*, literally 'go well'. The person who leaves bids farewell to the person who stays with *mùsìyàré nênjà* 'stay well'.

(13)   mùyéndè nênjà
       mu-én̠d-e   nénja
       SM2PL-go-PFV.SBJV well
       'Goodbye (said to someone who leaves).'

(14)   mùsìyàré nênjà
       mu-siar-é̠   nénja
       SM2PL-stay-PFV.SBJV well
       'Goodbye (said to someone who stays).'

Appendix C: Word list

This Fwe-English word list is organized alphabetically by the first letter of the lexical root. Nominal prefixes are separated from the root with a hyphen, verbs are listed without the infinitive prefix *ku-*. 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, pp for personal pronoun, 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.

mw-áánjà n silver terminalia (*Terminalia sericea*) 3,4 *mì-áánjà*

áàtùrà v judge

kw-àhà n armpit 15,6 *m-àhà*

mw-âkà n year 3,4 *mì-âkà*

àmbà n scales (of a fish) 5,6 *mà-àmbà*

àmbààmbà v talk a lot

àmbàhùrà v discuss

zì-ámbântù n things people talk about 8

mw-âncè n child 1,2 *b-âncè*

bw-ânce n youth 14

c-ândà n pole 7,8 *z-ândà* NF

àndà v freeze

cì-ândè n frost 7

àngà v tie

mw-ânì n mopane tree 3,4 *mì-yânì*

ànjà n hand 5,6 *mà-ànjà*

mà-ànò n knowledge 6

ányîsì n onion 9 English

´ àrà v close

àrìrà v follow (in order of birth)

cí-àrìsò n latch 7,8 *zí-àrìsò*

cì-àrò n basket 7,8 *zì-àrò*

´ àrùkà v open (intr.)

àrùkà v go back

àrùmùkà v roll (intr.)

àrùmùnà v roll (tr.)

àrùrà v open

rw-âtà n crack 11

bw-átò n canoe 14,6 *m-átò*

cí-àzò n door 7,8 *zí-àzò*

àzyàrà v plan

ng-àzyàrò n plan 9,10 *ng-àzyàrò*

à:zyàrìrà v wish (onto s.o.)

mù-bângà n tree (*Combretum imberbe; Acacia sieberiana*) 3,4 *mì-bângà*

bâzyì n *Euphorbia ingens* 5,6 *màbâzyì*

bâbà v itch; be bitter

bábàrèrà v guard

cì-bàkà n place 7,8 *zì-bàkà*

m-bàndè n eagle 9,6 *mà-mbàndè m-bàndè*

bàndò n wing 5,6 *mà-bàndò*

rù-bàngò n fish sp. 11,6 *mà-bàngò*

bànjà v scoop

rù-bánjè n cannabis 11

bàrà v read

mù-bàrà n guest 1,2 *bà-bàrà* NF

mù-bárà n color, spot, stripe 3,4 *mì-bàrà*

bàràkàtà v flap (as a fish on dry land)

mù-bàránà n guinea fowl 3,4 *mì-bàránà*

rù-bârè n palm leaves 11

rù-bàrè n seed, pip 11,10 *m-bàrè*

mù-bàrì n reader 1,2 *bà-bàrì*

mù-bárù n *Calodendrum capense* 3,4 *mì-bárù*

bárùkà v taste (a crop to test if it is ripe)

rù-bàsì n swallow-tailed bee eater 11

rù-bàsì n extended family 11,6 *mà-bàsì*

cì-bâtà n scar 7,8 *zì-bâtà*

cì-bàtànà n predator, carnivore 7,8 *zì-bàtànà*

cì-bàzù n body part 7,8 *zì-bàzù*

bbâbbà n grandfather 1a,2 *bà-bbâbbà*

bbábbàtà v touch with fland hands

cì-bbákù n snake sp. 7,8 *zì-bbákù*

bbàmpà v bounce (tr.)

bbàmpùkà v bounce (intr.)

bbàmùkà v break in half (intr.)

bbàmùnà v break in half (tr.)

bbáryàntà v burn across a stretch of land

bbátàùrà v divide

bbátùkà v separate (intr.)

bbátùrà v separate (tr.)

´-bbì adj bad

bbîhà v become bad

bbìmbìrírò n rubbish heap to be set on fire 5,6 *mà-bbìmbìrírò*

bbîsà v look bad because of one's clothes

m-bórà n ball 9,10 *m-bórà*

bbô:zà v bark

bbùà v swim, splash around

bbùkùkà v be blown on (of fire)

bbùkùrà v blow on fire

cì-bbùkùrìsò n bellows 7,8 *zì-bbùkùrìsò*

bémbàmà v stand next to

bémbèkà v put next to

bêngà v become angry

béngèrèrà v be always angry

bù-bêngì n anger 14

rù-bênzwà n pancreas 11,6 *mà-bênzwà*

mà-bérè n millet 6

kà-bérèbèrè n centipede 12,13 *tù-bérèbèrè*

bèsà v shine, flash

bèzyà v carve (wood)

mù-bèzyàmpâmpà n tree sp. 3,4 *mì-bèzyàmpâmpà*

mù-bèzyì n carver 1,2 *bà-bèzyì*

m-bèzyò n ax for making surfaces smooth 9,6 *mà-mbèzyò*

bìbêrè n bible 9,6 *mà-bìbêrè*

bìkà v prepare for a fight

m-bìngwà n leprosy 9

bînzwà v ripen

bìrà v boil (intr.)

bíràèrà v complain

bírè num two

mù-bìrì n body 3,4 *mì-bìrì*

m-bìrìmbìrì n pepper 9,10 *m-bìrìmbìrì*

bìrìsà v boil (tr.)

cì-bîshì n something unripe 7

mù-bísì n root 3,4 *mì-bísì*

mà-bísì n sour milk 6

bìtà n grave 5,6 *mà-bìtà*

cì-bízù n something ripe 7

bízyù n Baobab tree 5,6 *mà-bízyù*

bî:kà v put

bôkò ~ kù-bôkò n arm 15/5,6 *mà-bôkò*

m-bòmà n python 9,6/10 *mà-mbòmà ~ m-bòmà*

bòmbà v become wet

mà-bòmbà n blisters 6

bòmbàmà v soak (intr.)

bòmbèkà v soak (tr.)

bônà v see

bónàhàrà v be visible, seem

bónàhàzà v make visible

cì-bónàntù v something visible

rù-bônò n castor oil plant (*Ricinus communis*) 11,10 *m-bônò*

bòòrà v return

bòòzà v bring back

bòrà v rot

bòtêlà n bottle 5,6 *mà-bòtêlà* English

bówà n amaranth 5

bù-bózù n rot 14

bùbì n spider 5,6 *mà-bùbì*

m-búfù n bream 9,10 *m-búfù*

m-búkà n book 9,10 *m-búkà*

bûkà v wake up (intr.); consult spirits (as a witch doctor)

búkìsà v have a witch doctor consult spirits

mù-búkù n African dream herb 3,4 *mì-búkù*

búkùshùrà v rub hard (an itch)

mà-bùkùtà n cattle skin used for sharpening axes 6

bùkùtà v sharpen (an axe)

bûmbà v make a pot; create

mù-bûmbì n potter; creator (God) 1,2 *bà-bûmbì*

zì-búmbwàntù n creatures (people) 8

bùnà n leaf 5,6 *mà-bùnà*

kà-bùndù n mist 12

m-bùndù n dew 9

búnìnìkìzà v be stingy

búpùrà v beat

bûrà v not find, miss, fail

cì-búrù n Afrikaans 7

mù-búrù n Afrikaner 1,6 *mà-búrù*

bùrùkà v remember

bûsà v wake up (tr.); greet

m-bútò n seed 9,6 *mà-mbútò*

bútùkà v run

bútùkìsà v drive

mù-bútùkìsìrò n driving 3

bútùrà v clear a field (from small shrubs)

bûzà v ask

bù-bûzì n poverty

m-bûzì n lie (ZF); information (NF) 9

cì-bwângà n frog 7,8 *zì-bwângà*

bwè n stone 5,6 *mà-bwè*

bw-îrì n *Grielum humifusum* 14

cì-byà n household item 7,8 *zì-byà*

cì-byáràntù n cultivated plant 7,8 *zì-byáràntù*

byâ:rà v plant

câbà v fetch, collect (firewood)

cábàcàbà v fish by scooping with a bucket

câhà adv very

cáisà v collide; knock off (work)

n-càkà n rattle 9,10 *n-càkà*

cákànìzà v rattle

càkànsà v shake (a liquid)

càmàùnà v divide food

càmùnà v cut off a piece; take (food)

càncàùsà v be fast

rù-cáncì n lavender croton (*Croton gratissimus*) 11

mù-cânì n hunter 1,2 *bà-cânì*

cànkà v sow

cànkàmà v stand on the fire (of a pot)

cànkàwìrà v sow an entire field

cànkìkà v put a pot on the fire

cánkùrà v remove a pot from the fire

mù-cârò n buffalo thorn (*Ziziphus mucronata*) 3 Khwe

n-cárò n fruits of the buffalo thorn 10

câ:nà v hunt

cébùkà v look behind

mù-cècè n baby 1,2 *bà-cècè*

cécèntà v winnow

cékù adj sharp

cékùrà v cut oneself

mù-cèmbèrè n old lady 1,2 *bà-cèmbèrè* Lozi

cèmpà v cut at the stem of a sorghum plant

cènà v become clean

cènèsà v clean

céngàmà v be right next to

mù-cêngè n bushwillow 3,4 *mì-cêngè*

céngèkà v smoke/dry by the fire

cènkà n aloe 5,6 *ma-cènkà*

cènkùkà v look behind, over one's shoulder

cènkùrà v cut off half; look over one's shoulder

´ˈcényà adj small

bú-ˈcényà n smallness 14

ká-ˈcényácènyà n sth. very small 12

cényèhèsà v make small

cêrà v wound, injure

rù-cérè n grass sp., used for mats 11, 10 *n-cérè*

cérùkà v become torn

cérùrà v tear

bû-cì n honey 14

cìkàrìrà adv always

cìmbùrà v lift up, improve

cìncà v change

cìncànà v be different; exchange

cíndù n wild date palm 5,6 *mà-cíndù*

cînkà n tree sp. 5,6 *mà-cînkà*

mù-cîrà n tail 3,4 *mì-cîrà*

círìrà ~ ´cìrìrà v follow

círùkà v jump

kà-cíyóˈcíyò n chick 12,13 *tù-cíyóˈcíyò*

còbà v cycle

còkàmà v spy, hide in order to spy

còkòkà v come off (of chaff)

còkòrà v remove chaff

còmpòrà v snatch

cònà v disappear, be gone for a long time

cònkà v press, push, poke

cònkòmònà v press buttons

cò:kà v break (intr.)

cò:rà v break (tr.)

cùkàcùkà v shake (a drink)

cùkùnsà v shake

cùncùnà v kiss

cùncùrà v stumble

cùnkùtà v limp

n-cùpà n whip 9,10 *n-cùpà*

cùpùrà v undress
cùùnà v limp
bù-cwàrà
~ bù-jwàrà n beer 14
cwárè adv then
cwè n stone 5,6 *mà-cwè*
n-dàà,nò n message 9,10 *n-dàànò*
dàbbàmà v jump into water
dàbbìkà v throw s.o. into water
cì-dàkwà n heavy drinker, addict 7,8
zì-dàkwà
dàmà v beat
dàmàdàmà v beat repeatedly
dàmàùrà v beat up
dânà adj small
mù-dânà n child 1,2 *bà-dânà*
dánkàmà v be put down
dánsàìkà v scatter (tr.)
dánsìkà v drop
dêbà v hang loose
dèbèrà v be not taut
dékèshèrà v move the shoulders in a
dancing movement
dékètà v move the shoulders up and
down in a dancing movement
dìbà v tie (a *chitenge*)
n-díshì n dish 9,10 *n-díshì* English
dòkòmà v clear one's throat
dòkòrà v belch, clear one's throat
dòkótà n doctor 1a,2 *bà-dòkótà*
n-dòngà n needle 9,10 *n-dòngà*
dònkà v drip
dònkèsà
~ dònsà v cause to drip
dònsà v cause to drip; pull
dòntà v get blisters
mù-dôrò n back of the knee 3,4
mì-dôrò
drámù n drum 5 English

cì-dùdì n fat person 7
dùdùsà ~ dùdùsâ n dust, dried black
clay 5
cì-dùkùtùrì n owl, hawk 7,8
zì-dùkùtùrì
dùnà v stare round-eyed
dùnàmìnà v stare at s.o. with round
eyes
n-dúngàtì n disturbance 9
dùnkà v swim
dùnkùrà v thresh
dùrà v be expensive Afrikaans
c-êhò n winter 7
bw-ékè n grain 14
èkèzà v continue
émè pp I ZF
m-ênjì n water 6
énwè pp you (plural) ZF
mw-èrì n firstborn 1,2
éswè pp we ZF
éwè pp you (singular) ZF
éyè pp he, she ZF
mw-êzì n moon, month 3,4 *mì-êzì*
cì-fàtéhò n face 7,8 *zì-fàtéhò* Lozi
kà-fìfì n darkness 12
fíyèrà v sweep Lozi
rù-fíyêrò n grass (*Stipagrostis
uniplumis*) 11
mù-fíyêzò n broom 3,4 *mì-fíyêzò* Lozi
cí-fò n poison (used in hunting) 7,8
zí-fò
fônì n phone 5,6 *mà-fônì* English
fòsà v sin, make a mistake
fòsàhàrà v be wrong, be a bad person
rú-fù n death 11,6 *má-fù*
fúàmà v park (a boat)
fúfà n jealousy 9
fùfùrèrwà v sweat
cì-fûhà n bone 7,8 *zì-fûhà*

fùkêrà n fever 9

fûmà v become rich

mù-fûmbò n Cheesewood tree (*Pittosporum viridiflorum*) 3,4 *mì-fûmbò*

mù-fúmì n rich person 1,2 *bà-fúmì*

fùndà v carve meat

fúndùkà v leave, start off (on a journey)

fùndùsà v escort out

cì-fúpì n lid 7,8 *zì-fúpì*

fûrà v sharpen, weld

fùrà v pick (fruit)

fúrâyì n airplane 9,6 *mà-fúrâyì* English

m-fùrèmfùrè n small insect that walks backwards 9,10 *m-fùrèmfùrè*

cì-fúrì n duck 7,8 *zì-fúrì*

mù-fûrì n blacksmith 1,2 *bà-fûrì*

kà-fùrò n knife 12,13 *tù-fùrò*

cì-fùròfùrò n aloe 7,8 *zì-fùròfùrò*

fúrùmànà v become adult (of girls)

fúrùmìkà v place upside down

fúrùmùnà v remove a lid; put upright

mà-fútà n oil (for putting on skin) 6

fútàtìrà v stand with one's back to s.o.; quit a job

fútùmùkà v turn around

fútùrùkà v turn to face s.o.

mù-fûzì n blacksmith 1,2 *bà-fûzì*

fúzìrà v blow on a fire to get it going

fúzìrìrà v blow on a fire

´fwà v die; break

fwáfwàtìrà v get crushed

fwáfwàtìzà v crush

mù-fwákàzì n co-wife (said by co-wife) 1,2 *bà-fwákàzì*

fwánìkìzà v be better

¹fwányà v be nothing

mù-fwè n stone (used for sharpening) 3,4 *mì-fwè*

cì-fwè n Fwe language, culture 7

fwèbà v smoke (tobacco)

mù-fwèzì n smoker 1,2 *bà-fwèzì*

fwíìkà v park

fwíìmpìsà v make short

fwìnkà v seal a hole

cì-fwìnkìsò ~

cì-fwìnsò n stopper, seal 7,8 *zì-fwìnkìsò ~ zì-fwìnsò*

mù-fwírwà n widow, widower 1,2 *bà-fwírwà*

fwíyàùrà v be blessed with sth.

fwîyì adj short

bù-fwîyì n shortness 14

fwíyìmpà v become short

fwîzyà v curse

gâbà v block

gábàgàbà v talk nonsense

gábàmà v hang on a hook (intr.)

gàbbà n tin 5,6 *màgàbbà* Lozi

gábìkà v hang on a hook (tr.)

gábùkà v break off

gábùrùrà v unblock

gángìrà v freeze

gàrà v dig (with hands)

gàyà v sew

gáyìrà v fence in

n-gè n scorpion 9,10 *n-gè*

n-gêrè n part between bones 9,10 *n-gêrè*

gî: (ZF) ~ *yî:* (NF) n egg 5,6 *mà-gî: ~ mà-yî:*

n-gìnà n louse 9,10 *n-gìnà*

n-gìrìngìrì n shell 9,6 *mà-ngìrìngìrì*

góbbòrà v wade

n-góngà mùrívù n adam's apple 9

n-gòngò n joint 9,10 *n-gòngò*

n-góˈngórézà n resin 9,10
n-góˈngórézà

gòrà v become strong

n-gòrò n curse 9,10 *n-gòrò*

cì-gòrògòrò n puddle; well 7,8
zì-gòrògòrò

mà-grázì n glasses 6 English

n-gù n sheep 9,10 *n-gù*

gùmbàmà ~ gùmbànà v stand next to
e.a.

gùmbìkà v put next to e.a.

rù-gúˈngúrà n dead tree 11,6
mà-gúˈngúrà

gùnkà v bump/lean into

gùnkàmà v kneel

n-gúrì n namegiver 9,10 *n-gúrì*

n-gúrò n business 9,10 *n-gúrò*

gwà (ZF) ~ *wà* (NF) v fall

gwàgùrà v brush (teeth); remove
callous

rù-gwáràrà n grass (*Juncus krausii*) 11

n-gwè n leopard 9/1a,2 *bà-ngwè*

mù-gwégwèsì n ankle bone 3,4
mì-gwégwèsì

n-gwèshì n tigerfish 9,10 *n-gwèshì*

gwìsà (ZF) ~ *wìsà* (NF) v drop

ᵍ*/ábùrùrà* v stick on clothes (thorns)

ᵍ*/ákàmìnà* v sit with arms and legs
extended (to catch fish; warm oneself
by the fire)

ᵍ*/àmbùrà* v strip a tree

ᵍ*/àndàùkà* v disperse

ᵍ*/àndàùrà* v scatter (tr.)

ᵍ*/àndùkà* v disperse

ᵍ*/árùmùsà* v warm oneself

ᵍ*/âzà* v shiver, be startled

ᵍ*/ênè ~ gênè* adj thin

ᵍ*/ìmà* n small fish sp. 5,6 *mà* ᵍ*/ìmà*

ᵍ*/ôntà* v drip

ᵍ*/óntàùrà* v drip continuously

ᵍ*/òtòmònà* v scrub; wash s.o.'s back

ᵍ*/úkùmù* n fruit sp. 5,6 *mà* ᵍ*/úkùmù*

ᵍ*/ùkùmùnà* v scrub

ᵍ*/àpùrà* v spread one's legs or arms

ᵍ*/árùmùkà* v shout loudly

cì-ᵍ*/ìnjò* n tree sp. 7,8 *zì-*ᵍ*/ìnjò*

ᵍ*/ínkìtà* v pound with short, sharp
movements

ᵍ*/ônsà* v make drip

ᵍ*/òpòkà* v widen (intr.)

ᵍ*/òpòrà* v widen (tr.); remove flesh, an
eye

háfù n lung 5,6 *mà-háfù*

háfùkà v be not normal; be half full

háfùrà v make half full

háìbà con if Lozi

hâkà v not feel, hear, understand

cì-hámbà kùfûrà n duck sp., with a
beak shaped like a hoe 7,8 *zì-hámbà*
kùfûrà

hámbàùkà v walk this way and that

mù-àmbì n speaker 1,2 *bà-àmbì*

hámbìkà v accuse

hámbìrìzà v accuse

hândè n bark; 200 dollar bill (plural
only) 5,6 *mà-hândè*

hángàmà v be put in a high position,
be hung

hángùmùkà v fall down from a high
position

hángùrà v remove from a high
position

hánjìkà v hang (tr.), put in a high
position

hápè adv again Lozi

hápù n watermelon 5,6 *mà-hápù*

hârà v live, survive

hàrà v scrape, rake

kà-hárá‹hárà n African finger millet 12

hàrànténè n cockroach 5,6 *mà-hàrànténè*

hàràùkà v be completely scratched

háribikà v try hard, apply oneself

hàrìkà v fry

bù-hârò n life 14

hásànà v scatter

rù-háti n rib 11,10 *m-páti*

hátò n amaranth (*Amaranthus hybrides*) 5

hâwà adv very NF

hâzà v save

hêmbà v blow one's nose

hèmêrè n bucket 5,6 *mà-hèmêrè* Afrikaans, via Lozi

hênjà v look secretly, spy

hèːrà ~ hwèrà v hurry

híbà v steal

híkà v cook (relish)

mù-híki n cook 1,2 *bà-híki*

cì-híkisò n cooking utensil 7,8 *zì-híkisò*

hímininà v sink, go down

hìnà v disagree (by saying 'hm')

hìndà v take

hìndìrìrà v take all, take and take

híngisà v put more, make full

mà-hìrà n sorghum 6

hítà v pass by

hítùrà v carry

rûː-hò n wind 11

bù-hóbè n porridge 14 from Lozi; ZF

hômà v lie

bù-hómà n mongongo tree (*Schinziophyton rautanenii*) 14,6 *mà-hómà*

kà-hômò n disease with symptoms similar to AIDS 12

hòmpwèrà v hammer

hòndà v cook (porridge)

mà-hóndêrò n kitchen 6

hó‹ngórò n millipede 5,6 *mà-hó‹ngórò*

hòrà v be paid

hôrà v cool down, recover

cì-hórè n disabled person (from an injury) 7,8 *zì-hórè*

hóròngànà v become worn, broken

hôshà v plait; twist a rope

hóshòròrà v take out plaits

hósòkà v slip out

hótòkà v break off (of a branch)

hôzà v heal

mù-hôzì n healer 1,2 *bà-hôzì*

bù-hùbà n lightness 14

hùbà adj light

mù-hûkò n lid 3,4 *mì-hûkò*

hùkò n water snake sp. 5,6 *mà-hùkò*

hùmbwà n cheetah 5,6 *mà-hùmbwà*

hùmpà v follow

hùmpìrìrà v follow excessively

mù-hùngà n tree sp. 3,4 *mì-hùngà*

hùpùrà v remember, think Lozi

hùrà v arrive

hùrèhà v put a yoke

mù-hùrì n buyer 1,2 *bà-hùrì*

mù-hùrìsì n seller 1,2 *bà-hùrìsì*

hùrùrà v take a yoke off

hûwà v shout

húwèrèzà v shout

mù-húwò n shouting 3

hûzyù n breath 5

hùzyà v breathe

hùːtà v sip

mw-ìkà n slave 1,2 *b-èkà*

mw-í‹kánà n slave 1,2 *b-é‹kánà*

ímè pp I NF

mw-îndì n leg of a pot 3,4 *m-îndì*

ìndúnà n induna (political figure) 1a,6
mà-ìndúnà Lozi

kà-ìngà n clay bowl; spot on the skin
12,13 *tù-ìngà*

mw-îngà n thorn 3,4 *m-îngà*

mw-ínì n handle of a tool 3,4 *m-ínì*

r-ínò n tooth 5,6 *m-énò*

mw-ìnshì n pestle 3,4 *m-ìnshì*

r-înshò n eye 5,6 *m-ênshò*

ínwè pp you (plural) NF

îsà v burn, be hot

mw-îsì n thorn 3,4 *m-îsì*

íswè pp we NF

íwè pp you (singular) NF

íyè pp he, she NF

rw-îzyì n river 11

jàjùrà v shell groundnuts

jânà v gape

jánàmà v gape

n-jàrà n hunger 9

járùmùkà v raise one's voice

´n-jè n outside 9

jéfù n poison 5

jérùmùkà v be sour, have a strong
taste that makes the mouth contract

jìkìtà v dance (a type of dance)

mù-jìsíwà n poison (used on humans)
3,4 *mì-jìsíwà*

n-jìngà n bicycle 9,6 *mà-njìngà*

n-jìnjò n funeral 9

n-jìrà n way 9,6 *mà-zyìrà*

n-jôkà ~ zyôkà n snake 9/5,6
mà-zyôkà

jókwè n yoke 5,6 *mà-jókwè*

jómbèzà v shout

jùjùkà v become bleached, fade

jùjùrà v bleach

jùkùtà v rinse clothes

jùkùtùrà v scrub clothes; struggle to
remove sth.

jùmbà v leave in protest

jùntà v hop

jùntàùkà v hop across a distance

n-jûò n house 9,6 *mà-zyûò*

cì-jûò n nest 7,8 *zì-jûò*

rù-jûù n pea, jugo bean 11,10 *n-jûù*

jwêngà v shout (of an elephant)

bú-kà n black ant 14

bù-káˈbábù n problem 14

cì-kàbì n skins 7,8 *zì-kàbì*

kábùhàrà v be difficult

kàbùà v stop raining

kácìkìrà v be interrupted

kácìkìzà v interrupt

cì-kâhù n flat tray-like basket used
for winnowing 7,8 *zì-kâhù*

kákànà v argue

rù-kákàtìrà n burdock 11

kákàtìrà v become stuck

kâmà v milk

n-kámà n comb 9,10 *n-kámà*

kámàtà v scoop

kàmbà n river bank 5,6 *mà-kàmbà*

kâmbà v clap (once)

kámbàmà v be on top of e.a.

n-káˈmbámò n upward slope 9,6
mà-nkáˈmbámò

kámbìkà v put on top of e.a.

n-kámbìkìrò n profit 9

n-kámbìkwà n profit 9

kámbìrìzà v applaud

kámbùrà v remove from on top of e.a.

mù-kámìsò n squeezing tool 3,4
mì-kámìsò

kàmùnà v comb

kánàmà v lay down while facing up

kánànà v argue

n-kândà n plain, valley 9,6
mà-nkândà

kàndà v massage

kàndáŋòmbè n lily sp. 5

kàndè n story 5,6 *mà-kàndè*

kàndèkà v tell

mà-kándò n type of treatment for
success or luck 6

rù-kânì n jaw 11,10 *n-kânì*

kànkà v hack

kànkàùrà v destroy crops by cutting

kântì adv then

kàntùkà v cross (a river, road)

kàntùsà v help s.o. cross (a river,
road)

n-kànzà n central village square 9

kápà con or Lozi

kàpàsò n policeman 1a,2 *bà-kàpàsò*
Lozi

kârà n charcoal 5,6 *mà-kârà*

´kàrà v sit, stay

káràmìndwà n crab 5,6
mà-káràmìndwà

zí-kàràntù n problems 8

kárìhà v shout, scold

kárìkà v put down

kàrìmà v borrow

´kàrìsà v keep s.o. company

má-kàrò n place 6

n-kárúrò n share 9,6 *n-kárúrò*

kàtà v become thin

bù-kâtà n weakness 14

kátàzà v be naughty

ká-tì n middle 12

n-kàtúrò n judgment 9,10 *n-kàtúrò*

mà-kátûrò n shoes 6 Lozi

káwùhànà v be separated Lozi

n-kàwùhânò n divorce 9,10
n-kàwùhânò

káwùhànyà v separate Lozi

kàyà v tie with rope; tie a cow while
milking

mù-kázànà n girl

cì-kâzì n sp. of women's disease 7

kâːnà v divorce, reject, refuse

cì-kébéngà ~

cì-gébéngà n criminal 7,8 *zì-kébéngà ~*
zì-gébéngà Lozi

kékèrà v plough

cì-kékêrè n disc plough 7,8 *zì-kékêrè*

kênà v be present

mù-kènà n tree (*Burkea africana*) 3,4
mì-kènà

bù-kêntù n female genitals 14

mù-kêntù n woman, wife 1,2 *bà-kêntù*

cì-kérè n scissors 7,8 *zì-kérè*

n-kèrékè n church 9,10 *n-kèrékè*
Afrikaans

n-kèrézò n advice 9,10 *n-kèrézò*

rù-késhà n foxtail millet 11

cì-kèsì n eyebrow 7,8 *zì-kèsì*

kèːzyà v come

kíkòzà v be the same

kìmà adj fat

bù-kìmà n fatness 14

kímùmà v close one's mouth

mù-kítì n party 3,4 *mì-kítì*

kítùkìsèzà v get ready

kítùtà (ZF) ~ *rítùtà* (NF) v learn

kìyà v lock

kíyùrùrà v unlock

kízìmà (ZF) ~ *rízìmà* (NF) v close one's
eyes

mù-kôː n lid 3,4 *mì-kôː*

bù-kòbà n apartheid 14 Lozi

kòbòcà v drive

kóbúmàyì adv unfortunately

cì-kôcì n skirt 7,8 *zì-kôcì*

kûhà v wink, blink

n-kôhè n eyelid 9,10 *n-kôhè*

kôkà v pull, suck

kókìŋà v cock a gun

n-kôkò n porridge 9,6 *mà-kôkò*

kókòbà v crawl

rù-kóˈkónà n elbow 11,10 *n-kóˈkónà*

kókòròrà v drag

mù-kókòsì n bush (*Osyris compressa*) 3,4 *mì-kókòsì*

kòmà v win

n-kômbà n lastborn 9

kômbà v lick

rù-kômbò n navel 11,10 *n-kômbò*

cì-kómbómbà n flower (*Acrotome angustifolia*) 7,6 *mà-kómbómbà*

mù-kòmbwè n rooster 3,4 *mì-kòmbwè*

n-kòmókì n cup 1a/9, 10 *n-kòmókì*

kòmòkwà v be surprised

n-kómòngù n part of Cape Bulrush 9,10 *n-kómòngù*

mù-kónà n tree (*Acacia fleckii*) 3,

kòndè n banana 5/9,6 *mà-kòndè* Lozi

kòndòrà v brew

kóˈngórò n flower sp. 5,6 *mà-kóˈngórò*

n-kòngòròfù ~ n-kòngòròkòfù n snail 9,10 *n-kòngòròfù ~ n-kòngòròkòfù*

kònkà v swear

kókòmònà v hatch

kónò con but

kònsà v doze

kòpànà v meet Lozi

kòpànìsà v gather Lozi

n-kòpèrò ~ n-kòpêzò n button 9,10 *n-kòpèrò ~ n-kòpêzò*

kôrà v irritate

kórèkà v carry on the shoulders

ˈn-kórì n walking stick 9,10 ˝ˈn-kórì

kòròtà v borrow

mù-kòròtèrà n pod 3,4 *mì-kòròtèrà*

kôshà v take meat apart after cooking

kóshàùkà v be (easily) cut

kóshàùrà v cut into two

kóshòrà v cut off, pull off, cross

kòsì n nape of the neck 5,6 *mà-kòsì*

kósòròkwà v sleep until rested

kòtàmà v bend over

mù-kòtânà n bag 3,4 *mì-kòtânà*

cì-kôtè n basket 7,8 *zì-kôtè*

kòtèkà v delegate

kôtò n knot 5,6 *mà-kôtò*

kòtòmòkà v hold up one's head

kòtòmònà v hold up s.o.'s head

mù-kôwà n age group; family 3,4 *mì-kôwà*

kòwà v blink

mù-kózù n strength, power 3,4 *mì-kózù*

mù-kôzù n strong person 1,2 *bà-kôzù*

kózyàùrà v pick (fruit)

kô:rà v cough

cì-kùbábè n plant (*Dioscorea quartiniana*) 7

kúbàzà v hurt

kûbì n vulture 5,6 *mà-kûbì*

cì-kûbò n time 7

kùbùrà v pluck (a chicken)

kùkà v float away

kúkùrà v cut nails, cut the side of a mat to make it even

n-kùkwè n leftovers 9

rù-kùmbà n rope, used in building 11,6 *mà-kùmbà*

kúmbàtà v hug

kúmbìrà v beg

kùmbùkà v come out (fibres from a tree)

kùmbùrà v cut fibres from a tree

kà-kúmbwàtìtì n laughing dove 12,13 *tù-kúmbwàtìtì*

kûnà v grow (crops)

kúnàmà v lie on a smoking shelve

cì-kúnàntù n plant 7,8 *zì-kúnàntù*

mù-kùngù n dish used for washing with medicine 3,4 *mì-kùngù*

kúngùrà v clean up after a meal

cì-kûnì n tree 7,8 *zì-kûnì*

n-kúnjù n mortar 9,6 *mà-nkúnjù*

kúnìkà v smoke (food stuff)

mù-kûnkù n tree sp., roots are used as medicine 3,4 *mì-kûnkù*

kûrà v grow

kùrà v sweep

cì-kùrìkùrì n shrub (*Euclea undulata*) 7,4 *mì-kùrìkùrì*

kúrìrà v infect, be infectious

cì-kùrìsò n broom 7,8 *zì-kùrìsò*

mù-kùrò n district 3,4 *mì-kùrò*

mù-kûrô: n your older sibling 1,2 *bà-kûrô:*

mù-kûrù n elder, older sibling, adult 1,2 *bà-kûrù*

mù-kúrùànà n young man 1,2 *bà-kúrùànà*

cì-kùrùbè ~

cì-gùrùbè n pig 7,8 *zì-kùrùbè*

cì-kùrùkùrù n padlock 7,8 *zì-kùrùkùrù*

kúrùmpàrà v become old

kùrùrà v cut hair

mù-kûsì n Zambezi teak 3,4 *mì-kûsì*

n-kútà n courtroom 9,10 *n-kútà*

´kùtà v become satiated

kûtà v curse

kútàzà v preach

tékèhà v be respectable

kútìkà v respect

kûwà v call

n-kûwà n tick 9,10 *n-kûwà*

cì-kúwà n English 7

bù-kúwà n urban area 14

mù-kúwà n white person 1,6 *mà-kúwà*

kúzìkìzà v infect

kùzyà n outer cover of a *mongongo* nut 5,6 *mà-kùzyà*

kúzyùkà v come out (of the outer shell of a *mongongo* nut)

kúzyùrà v take off the outer shell of a *mongongo* nut

kû:rà v shift, move

kwàcàmà n watermelon 5,6 *mà-kwàcàmà*

rù-kwákwà n fence 11

mù-kwàkwà ~

mù-gwàgwà n road 3,4 *mì-kwàkwà ~ mì-gwàgwà*

mú-ˈkwámè n man, husband 1,2 *bá-ˈkwámè*

bú-ˈkwámè n male genitals 14

ká-ˈkwáméànà n boy 12,13 *tú-ˈkwáméànà*

kwànà v fit, be normal

n-kwánà n pot for beer or water 9,6 *mà-nkwánà*

kwângà v become tired, weak

kwángìsà v be tiresome

kwângwà v fail

n-kwânì n hat 9,10 *n-kwânì*

n-kwáràkwàsì n trouble 9

mù-kwàrèzò n sticks that close a kraal 3,4 *mì-kwàrèzò*

cì-kwàrò n door 7,8 *zì-kwàrò*

kwâsà v help

kwâtà v catch

kwátàkwàtà v touch everywhere

kwátàùrà v touch everywhere

mà-kwátìrò n handle 6

cì-kwàyèzò n lid 7,8 *zì-kwàyèzò*

rù-kwê: n reed sp. 11

kwèrà v board a vehicle

cì-kwèrèsò n money for a taxi 7,8
zì-kwèrèsò

kà-kwíkwîndè n ebony 12,13
tù-kwíkwîndè

rù-kwîrà n cyphia sp. 11,10 *n-kwîrà*

bù-kwízyù n sycamore fig 14,6
mà-kwízyù

kyèrà v cut with scissors

máìrûmè n maternal uncle 1a,2
bà-máìrûmè

màkà v be watchful

rù-màkà n berries of *Grewia flava*
11,10 *màkà*

cì-màkà n tree *(Grewia flava)* 7,8
zì-màkà

mâmà n grandmother 1a,2 *bà-mâmà*

màmèrà v take care of

mànà v finish

bù-mângò n evil, ugliness 14

mângò adj bad, ugly

màngùrà v remove a thorn

mà-mànikìzò n end 6

mànìnà v disappear

mântà v hop

mà-rândà n village of one's husband
6

màryânjò ~
màryânshò n virgin 1a,2 *bà-màryânjò ~*
bà-màryânshò

cì-mátè n wall 7,14 *bù-mátè*

mâyè n mother 1a,2 *bà-mâyè*

máyèmwàncè n maternal aunt 1a,2
bà-máyèmwàncè

màyí'wúyè n wild duck sp. 1a

màzùkà n squirrell 1a,2 *bà-màzùkà*

mbàràmànyà n dragon fly 1a,2
bà-mbàràmànyà

kà-mbàryàmbàryà n lizard sp. 12,13
tù-mbàryàmbàryà

cì-mbàyàmbàyà n storage drum 7,8
zì-mbàyàmbàyà

mbèbà n rat 1a,2 *bà-mbèbà*

mù-mbétà n bed 3,4 *mì-mbétà* Lozi

mbîzyì n zebra 1a,2 *bà-mbîzyì*

mbó'érà n wild dog 1a,2 *bà-mbó'érà*

mù-mbòngòrò n plant (*Hyaenanche
globosa*) 3,4 *mì-mbòngòrò*

mù-mbòrè n shrub (*Flacourtia indica*)
3,4 *mì-mbòrè*

cì-mbòtwè n frog 7,8 *zì-mbòtwè*

mbòwà n mushroom 9/14

kà-mbú'mbúrù n beetle sp. 12,13
tù-mbú'mbúrù

mù-mbùwà n grass sp. 3

´mbwà n dog 1a,2 *bá-mbwà*

kà-mbwânà n puppy 12,13 *tù-mbwânà*

mbwêshì n giraffe 1a,2 *bà-mbwêshì*

mbwîtì n horned melon 1a,2
bà-mbwîtì

mù-mè n dew 3

mèmà v invite

mènà v sprout (of cultivated plants)

ménèkà v be early

mérèsà v greet

mfùmò n rhinoceros 1a,2 *bà-mfùmò*

mfûmù n chief, king 1a,2 *bà-mfûmù*

mfûzì n blacksmith 1a,2 *bà-mfûzì*

bú-mì n life (state of being alive) 14

´mìnà v set (of the sun)

mìnà v swallow

rù-mìnànjókà n small plant sp. 11

´*mìnìnà* v sink

mìnìsà v put in, tuck in

mírò yóngùrù n sweet potato stalks 4

cí-ˈmónshò n left 7 *zí-ˈmónshò*

mótà n car 9,6 *mà-mótà* English

ká-ˈmpáfwà ~
ká-mpàfwà n bat sp. 12,13 *tú-ˈmpáfwà ~*
tú-mpàfwà

cì-mpàngò n silver barbel fish 7,8
zì-mpàngò

mpêngù n white impala 1a,2
bà-mpêngù

mpíyù n kudu 1a,2 *bà-mpíyù*

mpókò n vegetable sp. 1a,2 *bà-mpókò*

cì-mpónì n mirror 7,8 *zì-mpónì*

kà-mpòrwè n diarrhea 12

mpûngù n pumpkin 1a,2 *bà-mpûngù*

cì-mpùrùmùnùnkà n small insect sp.,
secretes bad smell 7,8
zì-mpùrùmùnùnkà

mú-kwè n mother-in-law 1

kà-múmbùrù n Rhinoceros beetle
12,13 *tù-múmbùrù*

múmùtùrà v open one's mouth

mùnà v own

cì-múnântù n domesticated animal
7,8 *zì-múnântù*

mù-mùnì n lightning, light 3,4
mì-mùnì

mùnìkà v shine

mùnⅼápì n frog sp. 1a,2 *bà-mùnⅼápì*

mû-zyà n steam 3

mvùmbè n snake sp. 1a,2 *bà-mvùmbè*

mvûrà n rain 1a

mvúù n hippopotamus 1a,2 *bà-mvúù*

rú-mvwì n grey hair 11,10 ´ ´*mvwì*

mvwì n kudu 1a,2 *bà-mvwì*

rù-mwè n mosquito 11,10 *mwè*

mwémwètà v smile

mwênà v be quiet

mwèndì adv maybe

mwéngèsà v greet

kà-mwî: n heat (from the sun);
afternoon 12

rù-mwî: n summer 11

mwínshì n under 9

mw-íˈwángù n grandchild 1,2
bw-éˈbángù

ŋà n callous 5,6 *mà-ŋà*

nàhànà v think

rù-nâkà n horn 11,6 *mà-nâkà*

nàkò n time, period 9

kà-nàmánì n calf 12,13 *tù-nàmánì*

nàmúntàbùrà n flower (*Commelina
subulata*) 1a,2 *bà-nàmúntàbùrà*

nàmùróbáˈróbà n flower (*Scilla
natalensis*) 1a,2 *bà-nàmùróbáˈróbà*

ŋâŋà v be stingy; tie firmly

nángà adv even (if)

ŋàngà n doctor 1a,2 *bà-ŋàngà*

mù-ŋâŋgà n flower (*Pelargonium
luridum*) 3,4 *mì-ŋâŋgà*

nákàrà n acacia 1a

ŋánkùsùrà v struggle free, prise open

nánùkà v leave, stand up

nànùnà v lift

nànùnìsà v ask for help in carrying
sth.

bù-nànzì n brown ants 14

ŋárò n chameleon 1a,2 *bà-ŋárò*

ŋàrùkà v be scratched

nàrùnkàrámbà n praying mantis 1a,2
bà-nàrùnkàrámbà

nàrwézáˈézà n chameleon 1a,2
bà-nàrwézáˈézà

ŋàtà v beat

ŋàtàùkà v be full of scratches

ŋàtàùrà v cut in strips

ŋàtùkà v crack, tear

ŋàtùrà v tear

ŋàtùràmùshòrò n vine 1a,2 *bà-ŋàtùràmùshòrò*

ŋàtùzà v stay up all night

ŋàù n cheetah 5,6 *mà-ŋàù*

ncênjè n cricket 1a,2 *bà-ncênjè*

ncèrè n snake sp. 1a,2 *bà-ncèrè*

cì-ncèrè n Swainson's francolin 7,8 *zì-ncèrè*

kà-ndàngárà n striped ground squirel 12,13 *tù-ndàngárà*

mù-ndárè n maize 3

ndárè n cob of maize 5,6 *mà-ndárè*

ndávù n lion 1a,2 *bà-ndávù*

ndôngò n groundnuts 1a

rù-nèmbwè n cannabis plant 11

nênè adj big

nénèhà v become big

nèngà v dance, play

nèngò n aardvark 9,6 *mà-nèngò*

nênjà adv well

ká-ˈnénsà n pinkie, little toe 12,13 *tú-ˈnénsà*

nê: num four

rú-ngàmàzyòbà n plant sp. 11

bû-ngì n multitude 14

ngìrì n warthog 1a,2 *bà-ngìrì*

ngóngòtà v knock

cì-ngùndè n fishing implement 7

ngùrù n sweet potato 1a

ngûyà n baboon 1a,2 *bà-ngûyà*

ngwébùnà n plant sp. 1a

ngwènà n crocodile 1a,2 *bà-ngwènà*

n-gwêngwè n ankle 9,10 *n-gwêngwè*

n-gwéngwèsì n joint 9,10 *n-gwéngwèsì*

ngwénjùrà v slash grass (to clear a piece of land)

nînì adj small

nínìsà v make small

mà-nyînjà n border 6

bù-njèwè n poverty 14

njèwè n poor person 1a,2 *bà-njèwè*

njíbà n dove 1a,2 *bà-njíbà*

njòmbà v get stuck (for instance, a car in the sand)

mù-njòngòrò n bush sp. 3,4 *mì-njòngòrò*

njòvù n elephant 1a,2 *bà-njòvù*

mù-nkà n shortness of breath 3

ká-nkàfwà n bat 12,13 *tú-nkàfwà*

nkângà n guinea fowl 1a,2 *bà-nkângà*

nkàrâmbà n old person 1a,2 *bà-nkàrâmbà*

nkázè n cat 1a,2 *bà-nkázè*

nkê: num one

nkòmò n bush tortoise 1a,2 *bà-nkòmò*

cì-nkómbwà n slave 7,8 *zì-nkómbwà*

nkômbwè n tortoise 1a,2 *bà-nkômbwè*

nkûkù n chicken 1a,2 *bà-nkûkù*

n-kûmbà n plant (*Ancylanthos bainesii*) 9,10 *n-kûmbà*

nkúmbìzì n beggar 1a,2 *bà-nkúmbìzì*

kà-nkúnè n smoking shelf 12,13 *tù-nkúnè*

kà-nkûnè n snake sp. 12,13 *tù-nkûnè*

nkùtè n bird sp. 1a,2 *bà-nkùtè*

cì-nkwà n bread 7,8 *zì-nkwà*

nkwéngà n parrot 1a,2 *bà-nkwéngà*

kà-nkwìrímbà n pigeon 12,13 *tù-nkwìrímbà*

nkwìzyù n rabbit sp. 1a,2 *bà-nkwìzyù*

nôkà n hip 5,6 *mà-nôkà*

ŋòkòkà v charge, attack

bú-ˈŋómbà n plant (*Lannea edulis*) 14

ŋòmbè n cow 9,10 *ŋòmbè*

kà-ŋômbyà n xylophone 12,13
tù-ŋômbyà
ŋòmézò n button 9,10 *ŋòmézò*
cì-nôngò n nose booger 7,8 *zì-nôngò*
cì-nônò n black-footed cat 7,8 *zì-nônò*
nònòsà v exaggerate, blow out of
proportion
ŋônzì n sleep, drowsiness 9
ŋôrà v write Lozi
cì-ŋórìsò n pen 7,8 *zì-ŋórìsò* Lozi
ŋórò n letter 5,6 *mà-ŋórò* Lozi
nsâ n duiker 1a,2 *bà-nsâ*
mù-nséfà n sieve 3,4 *mì-nséfà* English
nsèmbèrè n rhinoceros 1a,2
bà-nsèmbèrè
kà-nsènè n tortoise (appears during
the rainy season) 12,13 *tù-nsènè*
n-shângù n pair of shoes 9
mù-nshàrè n sugar cane 3,4
mì-nshàrè
má-ˈnsáwánshàwà n berries of
Grewia sp. 6
nshéfù n eland 1a,2 *bà-nshéfù*
nshîndì n squirel, mongoose 1a,2
bà-nshîndì
nshôkò n monkey 1a,2 *bà-nshôkò*
nshôhò n barbel fish 1a,2 *bà-nshôhò*
nshómbò n edible plant sp. 1a,2
bà-nshómbò
nshôngè n puku 1a,2 *bà-nshôngè*
nshúngwè n Matabele ant 1a,2
bà-nshúngwè
nshwê n breast 5,6 *mà-nshwê*
n-síkì n disease 9,10 *n-síkì*
ká-nsìkwè n darkness 12
nsîmbà n genet 1a,2 *bà-nsîmbà*
n-síngò n neck 9,6 *mà-nsíngò*
ká-ˈsísì n small blue bird sp. 12,13
tú-ˈsísì

nsîwà n orphan 1a,2 *bà-nsîwà*
cí-ˈnsózì n tear 7,8/4 *zí-ˈnsózì* ~
mí-ˈnsózì
nsùmbò n black impala 1a,2
bà-nsùmbò
mà-ntà n power 6
mà-ntêngù n evening 6
ntìmbìrà n dung beetle 1a,2
bà-ntìmbìrà
n-tòbòrò n gun 9,6 *mà-ntòbòrò*
rù-ntù n pupil 11
bù-ntù n humanity 14
mù-ntù n person, human being 1,2
bà-ntù
cì-ntù n thing 7,8 *zì-ntù*
ntûù n amaranth 1a
ntûù n hyena 1a,2 *bà-ntûù*
nùnà v become fat
nûngù n porcupine 5,6 *mà-nûngù*
rù-nùngùrà n waterlily sp. 11,6
mà-nùngùrà
nùnkà v smell
mù-nùnkò n (bad) smell 3,4 *mì-nùnkò*
nûnsà v make (s.o.) smell; crave a
certain food (during pregnancy)
kà-nwà n mouth 12,13 *tù-nwà*
ŋwàrárà n crow 5,6 *mà-ŋwàrárà*
mù-nwè n finger; toe 3,4 *mì-nwè*
ŋwètà v pull tight
ŋwètètèzà v tighten
nyà v defecate
nyàkàùrà v kick the limbs
nyàkùrà v kick, stretch a limb
nyàmà n meat 9
nyámbè n god 1a
kà-nyàndì n fishing net 12,13
tù-nyàndì
nyàngànìsà v whobble (tr.)
nyàngànà v whobble (intr.)

nyângù n beans 10

ká-ꞌnyángwé-nyàngwè n tree (*Mundulea sericea*) 12,13 ***tú-ꞌnyángwényàngwè***

nyànsà v blame, accuse

nyánsìrìzà v be ignorant

nyàtérà n sandal 5,6 ***mà-nyàtérà***

nyâtì n buffaloe 1a,2 ***bà-nyâtì***

nyàyà v scratch

nyàzì n lover 9,6/2 ***mà-nyàzì ~ bà-nyàzì*** Lozi

nyèèrwà v become angry

nyèèzà v annoy, anger

nyèhèrèrà v be sad

cì-nyémbêrè n barbary fig (*Opuntia ficus-indica*) 7,8 ***zì-nyémbêrè***

nyêndà n visitor 1a,2 ***bà-nyêndà***

nyéngètèkà v be unstable, wobbly

nyêngwà v be nauseous

nyènsà v defeat

nyényètèzà v warn

nyérèrà v hang from, dangle

nyìnà n mother 1a,2 ***bà-nyìnà***

nyìnàkúrwè n his grandmother 1a,2 ***bà-nyìnàkúrwè***

nyìnàkúꞌrwétù n our grandmother 1a,2 ***bà- nyìnàkúꞌrwétù***

nyìnyánì n earrings

nyírù n tigerfish sp.

nyòkòkúrò n your grandmother 1a,2 ***bà-nyòkòkúrò***

nyònà v have heartburn

nyòngàmà v bend sideways (intr.)

nyòngèkà v bend (tr.)

nyônkà v breastfeed (intr.)

nyónkèsà ~ nyônsà v breastfeed (tr.)

nyònònà v twist

cì-nyôrò n plant remains or rubbish in the fields which needs to be removed before cultivating 7,8 ***zì-nyôrò***

nyôtà n thirst 9

nyùkàùrà v uproot, pull out

nyùkùrà v uproot

nyûmbù n wildebeest 1a,2 ***bà-nyûmbù***

kà-nyùndwè n small stone, pebble 12,13 ***tù-nyùndwè***

nyùngà v shake

nyùngànyùngà v shake repeatedly

cì-nyùngèrà n food, put in a container with water which needs to be shaken before eating 7

´nywà v drink

nywínìnà v drink incessively

mù-nzì n village 3,4 ***mì-nzì***

rù-nzì n fly 11

nzìkè n single, unmarried 1a,2 ***bà-nzìkè***

mú-ꞌnzúrè n shadow, malaria 3,4 ***mí-ꞌnzúrè***

nǀàmbùkà v burst (of a *mukusi* pod)

nǀàmbùrà nkúsì n *mukusi* seed; hundred dollars 5,6 ***mà-nǀàmbùrà nkúsì***

nǀâmpà v suck (even though there is no milk); be flat (of stomach)

nǀámpàùrà v go from one breast to another when the milk is finished

rú-ꞌnǀánǀà n sedge-leaf (*Kilyinga alba*) 11

nǀàngì n resin 5/9

nǀânkà v shell groundnuts

nǀánkùmùnà v take maize off a cob

nǀàrànǀàsà v rummage noisily

mù-nǀáwà n tree (*Rhus tenuinervis*) 3,4 ***mì-nǀáwà***

nǀínǀà n fruit of the wild date palm 9,10 ***nǀínǀà***

nǀômpà v taste by sucking one's finger

nlòndòrà v take a fingerful of sth.

nlòngòmònà v hollow out

rù-nlórè n toe 11

nlûmà v suck blood (as treatment for pain, a snake bite, or a curse; same as *shúwìkà*)

nlónzòròkà v be thread-like, stretching (like ocra)

nlórèzà n resin 5/9

nlúmàrè n fruit sp. 5,6 *mà-nlúmàrè*

nlùmàùnà v uproot

nlúmèntà v kiss

nlùmpàmà v be planted (of a pole)

nlùmpìkà v plant (a pole)

nlúmpwàmà v fall in water (of an inanimate object)

nlùmpwí id ideophone of falling in water

nlùmùnà v pull out, uproot

cì-nlùnà n grasshopper sp. 7,8 *zì-nlùnà*

mú-nlùryà ~

mú-ˈnlúryà n lizard 3,4 *mí-nlùryà ~ mí-ˈnlúryà* type of lizard in ZF; generic word for lizard in NF

cì-nlûshù n sore 7,8 *zì-nlûshù*

nkámpwìzà v say a click as insult

m-ôfù n blind person 1,2 *b-ôfù*

ng-ômà n drum (musical instrument) 9,6 *mà-òmà*

òmbà v play (an instrument)

òmbàrà v be quiet, calm

ònà v snore

òndè n waterlily (*Nymphea nouchali*) 5,6 *mà-òndè*

m-ôndò n shrub (*Bauhinia petersiana*) 3,4 *mì-ôndò*

cì-òngò n storage 7,8 *zì-òngò*

rù-òngòrà n backbone 11,10 *ng-òngòrà*

óngòzà v shout

mù-ònò n snoring 3

ònzònòkà v stretch

òrà v can, be able to

òrèsèkà v be necessary

c-ôrò n rubbish 8 *zì-côrò*

m-òyà n wind 3,4

r-ózì n plant (used as rope) 11,10 *nyózì*

b-ôzyà n feathers 14

m-òzyò n heart 3,4 *mì-òzyò*

ˊpàkà v carry in a sling on the back

cì-pàkò n bead 7,8 *zì-pàkò*

m-pâkwà n cloth used to carry a baby 9,10 *m-pâkwà*

m-pàmà n slap 9,6 *mà-mpàmà*

m-pâmpà n forked stick 9,10 *m-pâmpà*

pânà v put on a yoke

pângà v do, make, repair

pángàhàrà v happen

pàpàùrà v divide a dead animal into pieces

pàrà v fail, refuse

pàrìsà n flower 5,6 *mà-pàrìsà* Lozi

pàtàmà v lie on stomach, be flat Lozi

pátèhà v be busy Lozi

cì-pátêrà n hospital 7,8 *zì-pátêrà* Lozi

cì-pátù n duck 7,8 *zì-pátù* Lozi

cì-pâù n wild animal 7,8 *zì-pâù*

m-péhò n cold; malaria 9

pékà n honeycomb 5,6 *mà-pékà*

pèndà v paint

m-pênè n goat 9,10 *m-pênè*

kà-pêntà n Lake Tanganyika sardine 12,13 *tù-pêntà*

cì-pèpà n paper 7,6 *mà-pèpà* English

m-pérèmpêrè n butterfly 9,10 *m-pérèmpêrè*

pèrèsà n horse 5,6 *mà-pèrèsà* Lozi

kà-pêrù n pail 12,13 *tù-pêrù* English

pícùkà v escape, dodge

kà-píkírì n nail 12,13/8 *zì-píkírì ~ tù-píkírì* Afrikaans

m-pòhò n bull 9,6 *mà-pòhò*

pômpì n pump, tap 9/5,6 *mà-pômpì* English

pòmpòròkà v become deflated

cì-pôncì n sponge 7,8 *zì-pôncì*

m-pòndà n spear 9,6 *mà-mpòndà*

pòpòkà v pop

pòròkà v have diarrhea

pòtà v visit

m-pùmpò n food for on the road 9

pùmùrà v be on holiday, rest Lozi

pùndà v doubt, guess

m-púkà n bee 9,10 *m-púkà*

ꜜm-púndù n sandpaper raisin bush 9,10 *´ ꜜm-púndù*

cì-púrà n chair 7,8 *zì-púrà* Lozi

kà-púrà n stool 12,13 *tù-púrà* Lozi

m-pùrânì n plan 9,6 *mà-pùrânì* English

pùrù n ox 5,6 *mà-pùrù* Lozi

cì-púrùpúrù n deaf and dumb person 7,8 *zì-púrùpúrù*

kà-pùtùrà n short trousers 12,13 *tù-pùtùrà* Lozi

mù-pùzò n gift 3,4 *mì-pùzò* Lozi

m-pùzò n question 9,10

pwàcàùkà v be broken (everything)

pwàcàùrà v break everything

pwàcùkà v break (intr.)

pwàcùrà v break (tr.)

mù-rà n intestine 3,4 *mì-rà*

ràànà v say goodbye

ràbbùnùkà v stretch (of rubber)

cì-rábì n wound 7,8 *zì-rábì*

cì-ràbò n paddle, punting pole 7,8 *zì-ràbò*

cì-ráhà n trap 7,8 *zì-ráhà*

ràhà v kick

mù-ràhò n law 3,4 *mì-ràhò* Lozi

cì-ràhò n paddle 7,8 *zì-ràhò*

mù-râkà n kraal 3,4 *mì-râkà* Lozi

rákàtà n gill; plural: uvula 5,6 *mà-rákàtà*

cì-ràmà n part 7,8 *zì-ràmà*

rá꜀mátwà n devil's claw 5,6 *mà-rá꜀mátwà*

râmbà v plaster a mud wall

ràmbò n pit

ràmbùrùrà v smoothen a wall after applying plaster

mù-rámù n stick 3,4 *mì-rámù*

mù-râmù n sibling in law 1,2 *bà-râmù* Lozi

cì-ràndàbèrè n secondborn 7

ràndàtà v follow (tracks)

mù-rândù n fine 3,4 *mì-rândù*

rângù n Mozambique cherry orange (*Citropsis daweana*) 5,6 *mà-rângù*

mù-ràngù n bell 3,4 *mì-ràngù*

bù-ránzàbì n sleeping uneasily 14

bù-rànzì n ants 14

rápà n fence, courtyard 5,6 *mà-rápà* Lozi

rápèrà v pray

mú-ràrà n leftovers 3,4 *mí-ràrà*

râːrà v sleep, lie down

mù-ráràmbîndà n milky way 3

rù-ràrì n palm tree 11

ráːrìkà v lay down (tr.)

rárìrà v eat dinner

rárìrà v sleep close to a sick person

mù-rárìrò n dinner 3

mà-rârò n room 6

ràtèrà v follow a plough, sowing

ràyîsì n rice 9 English

bù-rê: n length 14

rèhà v become tall

rèkà v leave (s.o.)

rèmà v be heavy

rémànà v become injured

rémèkà v injure (tr.)

bù-rémù n weight 14

rémù adj heavy

rémùhà v discover

rèndà v go very high

réndèrà v flee from

rèngà v hurt (in bones); be beaten, thunder

rèrà v feed

mù-rèrì n animal breeder 1,2 *bà-rèrì*

mù-rérò n plan 3,4 *mì-rérò*

rê:sà v prolong

rê:tà v bring; give birth (humans)

mù-ré:tìsì n midwife 1,2 *bà-ré:tìsì*

ré:tìwà ~ rê:twà v be born (humans)

cì-réyì n sledge 7,8 *zì-réyì*

cì-rèzù n cheek 7,8 *zì-rèzù*

cî:-rì n puff-adder 7,8 *zî:-rì*

rìhà v pay

rîhà v pretend to be important

rìkà v try

ríkùkà v hiccup

kà-ríkùrîkù n hiccup 12,13 *tù-ríkùrîkù*

rù-rímà n bat 11,13/2 *tù-rímà ~ bà-rùrímà*

rìmà v farm

cì-rìmbà n lamellophone, thumb piano 7,8 *zì-rìmbà*

rímbàùzà v not pay attention; be ignorant

mù-rímbùrîmbù n ignorance 3

rímbùrùrà v discover, figure out, prove wrong

rù-rîmì n tongue 11,6/10 *mà-rîmì ~ n-dîmì*

mù-rìmì n farmer 1,2 *bà-rìmì*

cì-rìmò n season, year 7,8 *zì-rìmò*

rìndà v wait

rínèkà v dance on tiptoes with the stomach held in

mù-ríngà n thunder 3,4 *mì-ríngà*

rìrà v cry, mourn

mù-rìrì n mourner 1,2 *bà-rìrì*

mù-rìrò n fire 3

kà-rìròrìrò n plant sp. 12,13 *tù-rìròrìrò*

rîsà v feed

mù-rísânì n herder 1,2 *bà-rísânì*

rísìkà v feed

rísùkà v have breakfast

mù-rísìkò n breakfast 3

rísùngàmìnà v look down

rítàbìrìrà v ignore advice

ríùmà v be quiet

mù-rívù n windpipe 3,4 *mì-rívù*

rívwàngà v put on a *chitenge*

rívwàngùrùrà v take off a *chitenge*

rù-rîyà n taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) 11,10 *n-dîyà*

ríhèhà v be late

mà-ríʼzíkò n hiding place 6

rízìngà v twist (like a vine)

rízìngàìzà v wrap oneself around

mù-rízìngè n vine 3

rî:zyà v climb

rízyùmìnìnà v ignore; be unconscious

rízyùmìnìzà v pretend to be unconscious, be ignorant; keep quiet

bú-rò n sleeping place 14,6 *má-rò*

mù-róbà n young male, teen 1,2
bà-róbà

ròbèrà v capsize; eat fast

ròbòrà v pay dowry

mà-ròhà n blood

cì-ròmbòrà n elephant's trunk 7

mù-ròmò n mouth, plural: lips 3,4
mì-ròmò

ròndà v be slow

kà-ròndòròndwè n beetle sp. 12,13
tù-ròndòròndwè

mù-rôngà n seasonal stream 3,4
mì-rôngà

ròngà v load

kà-rôngò n three-legged cooking pot
12,13 *tù-rôngò*

ròngòrà v offload

rònzòròrà v compare

mù-ròrà n soap 3,4 *mì-ròrà*

mù-rórì n whistling 3,4 *mì-rórì*

rôrò n custard apple (*Annona
stenophylla*) 5,6 *mà-rôrò*

rô:tà v dream

cì-rô:tò n dream, the topic of the
dream 7,8 *zì-rô:tò*

bù-rôtù n goodness, beauty 14

rôtù adj good, beautiful

rótùhà v be exciting, nice

ròwà v perform witchcraft

bù-ròzì n witchcraft 14

mù-ròzì n witch, sorcerer 1,2 *bà-ròzì*

rùbà v not recognize; mix

bù-rùbì n brain 14

rùkà v braid, sew (with machine)

rûkà v vomit

rùkìsà v repair

rùkúngwè n snake; black mamba 1a,2
bà-rùkúngwè

rùkùrùrà v divorce

bù-rúkwè n long trousers 14,6
mà-rúkwè Afrikaans, via Lozi

cì-rûmbà n ghost 7,8 *zì-rûmbà*

mù-rúmbùrùmbù n robber fish 3,4
mì-rúmbùrùmbù

mù-rùméhò v horn used to suck
blood 3,4 *mì-rùméhò* (same as
mù-shûwì)

rúmò n bullet 5,6 *mà-rúmò*

mù-rùmò n sound 3,4 *mì-rùmò*

rùmùkà v go/come down

rúndù n mountain 5,6 *mà-rúndù*

rúngàrùngà v disturb (with noise)

rúngàùzà v make noise

rúngàwìzà v disturb (s.o.)

bù-rùngù n beads 14

rùngwè n morning star 9

mù-rùò n mother/daughter-in-law 1,2
bà-rùò

rúpùkà v arrive

rùrà v be bitter

kà-rùrérùrè n plant sp. 12,13
tù-rùrérùrè

rùrì n dust 5,6 *mà-rùrì*

bù-rùrù n bitterness 14

rùtà v teach Lozi

mù-rútì n teacher 1,6 *mà-rútì* Lozi

rúvùkà v stare

bù-rúwàrúwà n centella (*Centella
asiatica*) 14

mà-rùwò n village of one's in-laws 6

rwà v fight

rwârà v become sick

cì-rwáràntù v disease 7

rwárìkà v take care of a sick person

mà-rwáꞌrírà n sickness 6

cì-rwârù n disease 7,8 *zì-rwârù*

rwárùkà v get better

rwèrà v watch

mù-rwèrè n sick person 1,2 *bà-rwèrè*

rwêzyà n taboo 9,6 *mà-rwêzyà*

mù-rwì n fighter 1,2 *bà-rwì*

ˊryà v eat

kà-ryábàcânì n flower (*Pelargonium tomentosum*) 12,13 *tù-ryábàcânì*

bù-ryáhò n like that 14

ryángànìsà v disturb, trouble

ryàtà v step on

ryénkwètà v bribe

ryôwà v be sweet

mù-sâ ~ mú-sà n thief 1,2 *bà-sâ*

ˊsà v dig

n-sàbátà n Saturday 9,10 *n-sàbátà*

sákà n bag 5,6 *mà-sákà* Afrikaans, via Lozi

sàmbà n tea 5,6 *mà-sàmbà*

n-sàndò n hammer 9,6/10 *mà-nsàndò ~ n-sàndò*

cì-sàndùrè n turned language (metathesis) 7

sánì n hard grains left after pounding 9,6 *mà-sánì*

sànzà v wash

sàrùtóˈmbórwà n tree (Co*mbretum mossambicense*) 1a

bù-sàwànà n lie 14

ká-sè n cat 12,13 *tú-sè*

sèbèzà v work

mù-sébézì n work, job 3,4 *mì-sébézì* Lozi

sêfà v sieve Lozi

séhèkà v suffer

kà-sèkà n bracelet 12,13 *tù-sèkà*

sèkà v put on (ring, bangle, cap, etc)

n-sèkè n female chicken 9,10 *n-sèkè*

sèpà v trust, hope Lozi

sèpàhàrà v be honest, important

sèpìsà v promise Lozi

n-sépò n hope 9 Lozi

sèsì n bullfrog 5,6 *mà-sèsì*

mù-sètò n border 3,4 *mì-sètò*

rù-sêzà n fruit sp, grows underground 11,10 *n-sêzà*

shábùrà v cut down

sháhìkà v cook (relish)

shàkà v love, like, want, look for

shàkàhàrà v be necessary

shàkàshàkà v look for

mù-shàkàshèrà n tree (*Albizia versicolor, Bobgunnia madagascariensis*) 3,4 *mì-shàkàshèrà*

shàkìsìsà v investigate

shâmà v make strips of dried meat

cì-sháˈmátwà n sickness involving nausea 7

shàmbà v swim, bathe

shàmbànà v play in water

cì-shàmbàngò n place to play around in the water 7,8 *zì-shàmbàngò*

shàmbèrèrà v pray; dance in celebration of s.o. who has been away for a long time

cì-shàmbìrò n bathroom 7

shàmpùrà v deny

mù-shámù n medicine 3,4 *mì-shámù*

cì-shámù n tree; stick 7,8 *zì-shámù*

mù-shânà n back 3,4 *mì-shânà*

shândà v suffer

shândò n suffering 5,6 *mà-shândò*

shàngànà v meet

rù-sháˈngánì n plant (*Salsola aphylla*) 11

mà-shángànjìrà n crossroads 6

shángàshàngà v contribute (money)

shángàùrà v contribute (money)

shànshà n shoulder 5,6 *mà-shànshà*

shàràngàrà v scatter

shàrùrà v take out rotten groundnuts from good ones

shâshà n mat 5,6 *mà-shâshà*

shèbà v sieve

bù-shèbè n gossip 14

shèbèkà v gossip

shèhà n joke 5

shèkà v laugh

shèkàshèkà v laugh often

shêkè n sand (in the bush) 5

shékèshêkè n sand 5

mù-shêmì n parent 1,2 *bà-shêmì*

shémpèkà v shoulder a load

mù-shêmpù n load 3

shémpùrà v walk with a load on one's shoulders

shèmùnà v carry a child on one's shoulders

shèndàmà v recline

shèndèkà v put into a leaning position

shèndèkèrà v joke, mock

shènè n worm 5,6 *mà-shènè*

shèngà n liver 5,6 *mà-shèngà*

shèngà v sharpen

shèngèkà v veer off course

mù-shèngèrà n sharp tip 3,4 *mì-shèngèrà*

mù-shêrè n friend 1,2 *bà-shêrè*

shêshà v marry (of a man)

shêshwà ~
shéshìwà v be married (of a woman)

bù-shéshèzì n village of one's in-laws 14

mà-shêshwà n marriage 6

cì-shêwò n tree (*Boscia albitrunca*) 7,8 *zì-shêwò*

cí-shì n country, world 7,8 *zí-shì*

shîbà v whistle

bù-shìbì n tree (*Berchemia zeyheri*) 14,6 *mà-shìbì*

rú-ꞌshíkà n African Mangosteen (*Garcinia livingstonei*) 11,10 *n-shíkà*

shíkáꞌnkózè n falcon 1a,2 *bà-shíkáꞌnkózè*

shìkàrìmbírè n kite 1a,2 *bà-shìkàrìmbírè*

shìmbà v carry a baby on the shoulder

shímù|*òpwè* n fish sp. 1a,2 *bà-shímù*|*òpwè*

mù-shînjà n soup 3

shînjà v harvest

shínténgwè n red-winged starling 1a,2 *bà-shínténgwè*

shírìrà v desire

shírùbùmbìrà n mud wasp 1a,2 *bà-shírùbùmbìrà*

shíryà n other side 5

shò n bow 5,6 *mà-shò*

mù-shóbêngwà n tree (*Acacia sieberiana/hebeclada*) 3,4 *mì-shóbêngwà*

cì-shòbò n language 7,4 *mì-shòbò*

mù-shòbò n tribe, kind, type 3,4 *mì-shòbò* Lozi

shòhà v lose weight; throw away

shôkà v fall (rain)

mà-shókèrà n falling 6

bù-shóꞌmánì n bad luck 14

shômbò n cassava leaves 1a

shòmpà v stab, spear

shòngà v talk about s.o. who is not there, tattle

cì-shóngò n bullet cartridge 7,8 *zì-shóngò*

shônjà v shoot, throw

mù-shônjì n hunter 1,2 *bà-shônjì*

shôrà v produce a click in offense

rù-shòshò n shin 11,10 *n-shòshò*
shòshòtà v whisper
shótàùkà v jump up and down
kà-shòtò n fish-hook 12,13 *tù-shòtò*
shótòkà v cross, jump
mù-shú n urine 3,4 *mì-shú*
shùbà v urinate
cì-shùkà n rooftop 7,8 *zì-shùkà*
n-shúkì n hair 10
shûmà v bite
cì-shûmì n biting insect 7,8 *zì-shûmì*
shúmìnà v tie
shúmìnìnà v be engaged
shùmpùrà v shout
shúmùnùkà v be interesting; become
untied; give birth (euphemism); feel
better
shúmùnùnà v untie
mù-shúndùkìrè n lizard 3,4
mì-shúndùkìrè ZF
shùndùrùkùtù n water rat 5,6
mà-shùndùrùkùtù
shúngùrà v distrust
cì-shûngwà n African cabbage
(*Cleome gynandra*) 7,8 *zì-shûngwà*
shùnshà v shrug
cì-shûnshù n burnt grass remains 7,8
zì-shûnshù
shûnù adv today
kà-shùrù (ZF) ~
kà-shùrwè (NF) n rabbit 12,13 *tù-shùrù*
~ *tù-shùrwè*
shùtà v fish (with hook)
kà-shùtò n fishing hook 12,13 *tù-shùtò*
shûwà v understand, hear, feel
mù-shûwì n horn used to suck blood
3,4 *mì-shûwì* (same as *mù-rùméhò*)
shúwìkà v suck blood (same as
n/ûmà)

shúwìsìsà v understand
n-shwâ n termite 9,10 *n-shwâ*
shwáhùrà v console; be disappointed,
give up
mù-shwátì n sugar cane 3,4 *mì-shwátì*
shwátìrà v whip
shwènà v become tired
shwènùnùkà v become rested
bû:-sì n smoke 14
sì-bbwê n jackal 1a,2 *bà-sìbbwê*
sìhà v be dark, black
síkà v light
mù-sìkà n market 3,4 *mì-sìkà*
sìkíò n earring 5,6 *mà-sìkíò*
cì-síkí'síkì n tree stump 7,8 *zì-síkí'síkì*
sìkónò n type of roasted food 5,6
mà-sìkónò
mà-síkù n night 6
mà-síkùsíkù n morning 6
'símà n well 5,6 *má-'símà*
sìnà v wrestle
kà-sìndè n bracelet, made of beads or
ivory 12,13 *tù-sìndè*
mù-sìndè n Indian finger millet 3
síndìkìzà v escort
rù-sîngà n vein 11,10 *n-sîngà*
sìngà v paint
sìngàbà v apply oil on one's skin
sìnkà v patch
sìntà v pour
sìnyà v destroy Lozi
'sínzà n snot 9,6 *má-'sínzà*
cì-sînzì n termite 7,8 *zì-sînzì*
cì-sí'nzínà n heel 7,8 *zì-sí'nzínà*
mù-sípírì n journey 3,4 *mì-sípírì* Lozi
sírà n piece of cloth 5,6 *mà-sírà*
mà-sìrà n dirt 6
sìrà v grind; cross a river

cì-sìrìsò n upper grinding stone 7,8
zì-sìrìsò

bù-sîrù n stupidity 14

mù-sîrù n stupid person 1,2 *bà-sîrù*

mù-sírù n tree (*Acacia ataxantha*) 3,4
mì-sírù

sírùhà v be stupid

rù-sîwù n reed (*Cyperus fulgens*) 11,10
n-sîwù

sîyà v leave, drop

síyàbàrìrà n black mamba 5,6
mà-síyàbàrìrà

kà-sîyè n forehead wrinkle 12,13
tù-sîyè

rù-sí'yízà n darkness before rain 11

rù-sîyò n kidney 11,10 *n-sîyò*

bú-sò n front 14

sókòròrà ~
sòkòròrà v feel heartburn

mù-sókwânì n stirring stick 3,4
mì-sókwânì Lozi

sóndàìkà v point (to multiple things);
wag finger at s.o.

sóndèkà v point (to one thing)

n-sòngà n needle 9,6 *mà-nsòngà*

cì-sóngò n kind of disease 7,8 *zì-sóngò*

sónsònìsà v search around

bù-sòròsòrò n tree (*Abrus precatorius*)
14

sòsèrà v poke (a fire)

cì-sòtì n woollen hat 7,8 *zì-sòtì*

sózù n grass 5

bù-sù n flour 14

mú-sù n acacia (*Acacia tortilis*) 3,4
mí-sù

kà-sûbà n dish 12,13 *tù-sûbà*

sùbìrà v be red

sûhà v spit

sûkà v disembark, climb down

sùkà v soften (a skin)

sùkùrà v doze

sùkùrùrà v report, tell

sûmà v sew

rú-'súmà n jackalberry (*Diospyros mespiliformis*) 11,10 *n-súmà*

bù-sûmbà n pregnancy 14

mù-sûmbà n pregnant woman 1,2
bà-sûmbà

súmbàrà v be pregnant

súmbàzà v impregnate

sûmbì n Marsh cane-rat 5,6 *mà-sûmbì*

súmbìkà v impregnate

súmìkà v burn

mù-sùmò n big pole (for houses) 3,4
mì-sùmò Lozi

súmùnà v report

súmwìnà v explain, tell

sûnà v love (romantically)

sûndà v show

n-súndà n week 9,6 *mà-nsúndà*
Afrikaans

n-sûndè n bush (*Baphia massaiensis*) 9

mù-sûngà n belt 3,4 *mì-sûngà*

súngàmà v bow the head

sùnsà v dip porridge in relish

bù-sùnsò n relish 14,6 *mà-sùnsò*

mù-sûnsù n front part of lower leg 3,4
mì-sûnsù

mù-sûrà n bushwillow 3,4 *mì-sûrà*

cì-sùrìràmbîzyì n green stink bug 7,8
zì-sùrìràmbîzyì

súrùmùkà v descend

n-súrùmùkò n downward slope 9

sûsà v put down (when carrying sth.),
drop

sûtù n chaff 5

mú-swà n small rope (for making
mats) 3,4 *mí-swà*

swâbà v be ashamed

mà-swàbì n death; shame 6

swànà v be the same Lozi

´swànèrà v must

swàyà v sharpen

´n-swì n fish 9,10 *´n-swì*

mù-swîtì n magic guarri (*Euclea divinorum*) 3,4 *mì-swîtì*

bú-tà n bow 14,6 *má-tà*

´tà v say

rù-tâ: n crack 11

´tàbà v answer

tàbà v become happy

n-tâbà n case 9,10 *n-tâbà*

n-táúrò n headveil 9,10 *n-táúrò*

cì-tàbàmàhúrè n plant (*Gunnera perpensa*) 7,8 *zì-tàbàmàhúrè*

mù-tâbì n branch 3,4 *mì-tâbì*

tàbìsà v be interesting, exciting

táfùnà v chew, graze

mù-táfùnànjòvù n acacia sp, with thorns 3,4 *mì-tàfùnànjóvù*

tâhà v give, be generous

táhùrà v divide food

rù-tàkà n reeds 11,3 *mù-tàkà*

tâkò n buttock 5,6 *mà-tâkò*

tàkùmà v scream

tâmà n cheek 5,6 *mà-tâmà*

tâmbà v give herbs (as witchcraft)

támbìkà v give

támbùrà v receive

tànànà n tree (*Croton megalobotrys*) 5,6 *mà-tànànà*

tândà v chase

tándàbàrà v stretch legs while sitting

tándàbìkà v make s.o. stretch his/her legs

tângà v start

rù-tàngà n pumpkin stem 11

n-tàngà n pumpkin seeds 10

tángányàmbè n calabash 5,6

mà-tángányàmbè

tàngàràrà v rejoice

tángàùrà v provoke

tángìsà v start

tángìzà v walk in front of s.o., lead

rù-tângo ~ tângò n story, proverb 11/5,6 *mà-tângò*

tángùrà v tell a story

cì-tántà n hill 7,8 *zì-tántà*

tàntà v overtake, pass

ká-tànzì adv first

cì-tàpà n garden at the river or floodplain 7,8 *zì-tàpà*

tàpà n mud 5

tâpà v take forcibly, against s.o.'s will

mù-tàrà n footprint 3,4 *mì-tàrà*

táràùkà v go step by step

cì-târè n tool; piece of iron 7,8 *zì-tárè*

bù-tárì n wisdom 14

tárùkà v take a step

tárùsà v explain

tátà n father 1a,2 *bà-tátà*

tàtámwâncè n paternal uncle 1a,2 *bà-tàtámwâncè*

tàtánkâzì n paternal aunt 1a,2 *bà-tàtánkâzì*

tàtèrà v cock a gun

tátìkà v start (intr.)

bù-tátù n third 14

tátùrùrà v take out stitches

tátwè num three

rù-tâyà n walking stick 11,13 *tù-tâyà*

má-tè n saliva 6

rú-tè n saliva gland 11,6 *má-tè*

mù-tébè n reed (*Typha capensis*) 3,4 *mì-tébè*

tèènà v limp

têkà v fetch

tékè adj fresh

têmà v chop

témà adv maybe

kà-têmù n axe 12,13 *tù-têmù*

mù-têmwà n forest 3,4 *mì-têmwà*

tèndà v do, make

tèndàhàrà v happen

cì-téndântù n (human) action 7

têndè n foot, leg, footprint 5,6
mà-têndè

cì-tèndò n action 7

kà-tênè n calabash 12,13 *tù-tênè*

kà-tênè n otter 12,13 *tù-tênè*

tèngà v be dissatisfied (with what you are given)

téngàmà v bend (intr.)

téngèkà v bend (tr.)

tèngènà v carry on the head

kà-téntèrè n xiphoid 12

mù-tèpwèrèrè n thin porridge (with sugar and/or sour milk) 3

tèrà v pay tax

tèrèrà v be soft, slippery

térèzà ~ téèzà v listen

n-tètè n kingfisher 9,6 *mà-ntètè*

n-tété zìkâzì n yellow berries sp. 10

n-tété zìrûmè n red berries sp. 10

têyà v trap

tîkà v roll/fall out of

tìmbà v push

tìmbìkà v send

tìnà v press, push

cì-tínà n brick 7,8 *zì-tínà*

tìshùmùkà v sneeze

tî:yà v be afraid

tíyìzà v be fearsome, dangerous, scare s.o.

mù-tóbò n bushwillow 3,4 *mì-tóbò*

tóbòhà v console

tòkwàhàrà v pass away

mà-tòkwànì n cannabis 6

tòmà v charge dowry; pull apart/taut; sentence

cì-tômbò n wound 7,8 *zì-tômbò* Lozi

mù-tômbwè n tobacco; cigarette 3

tòmbwèrà v weed

tómèsà v give s.o. meat

tòmpòrà v uproot

tôndà v look, watch

tóndèrèrà v stare

tóndèsà v look carefully

tôngà v become sick, complain about feeling sick, groan

tòngàmà v kneel

tóngàùkà v complain

tòngèkà v bend one's knees; lean on an elbow

mà-tòngêrà n illness 6

tòngò n deserted village 5/9,6
mà-tòngò

tóntòrà v be cold; be calm, quiet

tô:rà v pick up

tó:ràtò:rà v pick, gather

tòrè adj soft, easy

cì-tòrè n female cow 7,8 *zì-tòrè*

tòrèhà v become soft

tóròkà v translate, explain

tòyà v hate

mù-tòyà n tree (*Ficus burkei*) 3,4
mì-tòyà

tùbà v be white

tùbìsà v make white

tùkà v insult

n-tùkèrò n responsibility, right 9,10
n-tùkèrò

mà-tûkà n insults 6

bù-túkù n disease 14

tùkùsà v warm up (tr.)

mù-tú⌐kútà n heat 3,4 *mì-tú⌐kútà*

tú⌐kútà n dirt 5

tùkùtà v become warm

cì-tùkùtùkù n sweat 7

tûmà v send

n-tùmbù n calf (of the leg) 9,10
n-tùmbù

rù-tùmbù n back of calve 11,10
n-tùmbù

túmbùkà v burn (intr.)

tùmbùrà v cut and gut a fish

tùmbûrwà n roasted scone 5,6
mà-tùmbûrwà

túmbùsà v light, burn (tr.)

túmìkà v send

túmìnìzà v send

tùmpà v sprout (of wild plants)

tùmpìkà v poison (a pot)

tùmpùrà v fish with a net; take meat
from a pot on the fire

tùmpwàmà v plunge

tùmpwìkà v put sth. in water

cì-tûndù n flat open basket 7,8
zì-tûndù

tûngà v take fire to one's own
fireplace

cì-tûngù n canopy 7,8 *zì-tûngù*

túngùrùrà v hit (while shooting)

rù-túngwêzì n star 11,10 *n-túngwêzì*

kà-tûò n spoon 12,13 *tù-tûò*

cì-tùpù n corpse 7,8 *zì-tùpù* Lozi

tûrà v land

túrùkà v burst

túrùrà v pierce

tùsà v help; cure

n-túsò n help 9

mù-tùtàbônì n blind person 1,2
bà-tùtàbônì

tùtùmà v shiver

cì-tûwà n roof 7,8 *zì-tûwà*

⌐twà v pound

twámìkà v succeed; be spot on, be
exactly right

twârà v bring

⌐twè n ash 5

mú-twì n head 3,4 *mí-twì*

kú-twì ~ ⌐twì n ear 15/5,6 *má-twì*

ng-ùbò n blanket 9,10/6 *n-gùbò ~*
mà-hùbò

c-ûngù n bird sp., red tail 7,8 *z-ûngù*

ùrà v buy

ùrìkà v name

ùrìsà v sell

ng-ùrìsò n profit; sales 9

cì-ùrù n anthill, mud 7,8 *zì-ùrù*

kù-ùrù n leg 15,6 *mà-ùrù*

ùrùkà v fly

ùrùsà v blow away (tr.), winnow

ùtwánà n small pole 5,6 *mà-ùtwánà*

mûzyà n character 3,4 *my-ûzyà*

vù n wasp 5,6 *mà-vù*

⌐vù n sand, soil, land 5

vúkùmà v throw

vùkùtà v blow on the fire

vùmò n stomach 5,6 *mà-vùmò*

vùngà v fold

vùngùrùrà v unfold

vúrùmàtà v close one's eyes

vùrùrà v winnow

rù-vú⌐támò n lower part of stomach 11

vwìkà v cover

vwìkùrà v uncover

wà n field 5,6 *mà-wà*

⌐wà (ZF) ~ *⌐hà* (NF) v give

cì-wàkàkà n horned melon (*Cucumis
metuliferus*) 7,8 *zì-wàkàkà*

wànà v find

wànàhàrà v be found
wànìsìkà v be found
rù-wâwà n jackal 11,2 *bà-wâwà*
wàyà v fish with a spear
mù-wàyò n arrow, spear 3,4 *mì-wàyò*
Lozi
wèzà v add
wìrù n sky 5
wízyù n baobab 5,6 *mà-wízyù*
wóngòrò n millipede 14,6 *mà-óngòrò*
´yà v go
yàbùrà v take meat from a plate
cí-yàìsì n killer 7
yâmbà n hoe 5,6 *mà-yâmbà*
yàmbà v fish
yângà v pick fruit
cì-yàngà n cripple (from birth) 7,8
zì-yàngà
cì-yàngò n fruit 7,8 *zì-yàngò*
yáshìmìsà v sneeze
kà-yávù n piece of meat 12,13 *tù-yávù*
´yàà v kill
cí-yàzì n traitor 7,8 *zí-yàzì*
ìyé con that, so that
yècà ~ yòcà v roast (in ash)
mà-yémò n nature, characteristics 6
yèndà v go, walk, travel
yèndàùrà v walk around
bù-yèndàòzì n walking too much 14
yèndàyèndà v continue walking;
walk back and forth
yèndèsà v guide
rù-yèndò n journey 11
mù-yéʹnzángù n my friend 1,2
bà-yéʹnzángù
mù-yênzê: n his/her friend 1,2
bà-yênzê:
mù-yénzô: n your friend 1,2 *bà-yénzô:*
yèrèkà v try, taste

mà-yìkútò n feelings 6
mà-yìrà n sorghum 6
yùrùmìkà v pile up
zànà v play (a game), joke, dance
zândò n fishing trap made out of reed
9,10 *zândò*
cì-zànò n game 7,8 *zì-zànò*
zârà v give birth (animals)
n-zâsì n sparks 10
zásìmìtà v sneeze
zèkà v appear in court
mù-zèkò v court hearing
zêrà ~ zérèrà v hang, dangle
zèrìkà v faint
zêzà v carry in the hand
zèzà v think, plan
mà-tûzì n excrement 6
zìbà n lake 5,6 *mà-zìbà*
zìbàrà v forget
n-zìbísò n notice 9
zíìzà v imitate
zì:kà v hide, bury
zîkò n hearth, nuclear family 5
zîmà v turn off, extinguish
zîmbà v swell, hit
zímbàùkà v walk in circles, keep
walking around
zímbìkà v cause to swell
zímbùkà v go around
zímbùrùkà v walk around, surround;
smuggle
zímbùrùsà v smuggle; spin (tr.)
zímbùsà v bring sth. around
zímìsà v extinguish
mù-zîmù n spirit 3,4 *mì-zîmù*
zînà n name 5,6 *mà-zînà*
zîngà v twist
zíngàìzà v tie around
mù-zîò n load 3,4 *mì-zîò*

zìzà v obey an instruction

cì-zò n tradition, traditional 7,8 *zì-zò*

zòkàùkà v turn around, toss and turn while sleeping; be unreliable

zò:kà v turn around (intr.)

zò:rà v turn around (tr.)

n-zózì n (process of) dreaming 9

cì-zúbà n chest 7,8 *zì-zúbà*

zùbìrìrà v put the first flour into a pot of boiling water to make porridge

zùbùkà v ford

zùbùrà v take food from a boiling pot

zûhà v pole (a boat)

zùkàùkà v move around (of food in a pot)

zùkàùrà v stir

zûmà v hum

mù-zùmàngòmà n tree (*Albizia versicolor*) 3,4 *mì-zùmàngòmà*

mù-zúmbì n continuous rain 3,4 *mì-zúmbì*

zùmìnà v believe, agree, accept a marriage proposal

zùmìnìzà v allow

zùmìnzànà v agree with/ understand e.a.

zùngùzùngù n tree (*Kigelia africana*) 5,6 *mà-zùngùzùngù*

bù-zûnzù n loneliness, homesickness 14

zúpà n wet clay 5 Lozi

zû:rà v undress

zúràùkà v miss (people)

mù-zúzù n grass roof 3,4 *mì-zúzù*

mù-zúzûmbì n shadow; light rain 3,4 *mì-zúzûmbì*

zùzùnyà v doubt

zwà v come out, come from

mù-zwákêrà n poison (used for humans) 3,4 *mì-zwákêrà*

zwàkèrà v poison

zwâsà v dress (tr.)

zwâtà v dress (oneself)

cì-zwâtò n bottom garment 7,8 *zì-zwâtò*

zwâyì n salt 5

´zwì n knee 5,6 *má-zwì*

zwìsà v take out; fire

zyàbàrà v dress (oneself)

cì-zyàbàrò n top garment 7,8 *zì-zyàbàrò*

zyábìkà v dress s.o.

zyàbùrà v undress

zyâ:kà v build

mù-zyâ:kì n builder 1,2 *bà-zyâ:kì*

zyákùnùkà v be destroyed, taken apart

zyákùrùrà v take apart (to be reused)

zyàmbìrà v gather

zì-zyàmbìrò n gathered fruits 8

zyánàmà v hang to dry (intr.)

zyángùrà v harvest

zyánikà v stretch out to dry

rù-zyârà n fingernail, claw 11,10/6 *njârà ~ mà-zyârà*

zyàrà v spread a bed

cì-zyàrò n mat 7,8 *zì-zyàrò*

zyàrùrà v take blankets off a bed

mà-zyâshà n yawn 6

zyáshàmà v open one's mouth

zyâwà v be denied what one expects

zywáwìsà v deny s.o. what s/he expects

zyéèkà v put in a leaning position

zyéndàmà v lean

cì-zyì n door 7,8 *zì-zyì*

zyíàmà v lean back, lean onto (s.o.)

ˊzyìbà v get to know

zyíbàhàrà v be known, famous

mú-zyìhìsì n teacher 1,2 *bá-zyìhìsì*

zyímànà v stop, stand up; be pregnant

zyîmbà v sing

zì-zyímbàntù n song 8

zyímbàzyìmbà v hum

mù-zyîmbì n singer 1,2 *bà-zyîmbì*

rù-zyîmbò n song 11,10 *n-jîmbò*

zyímìkà v put in a standing position

rù-zyíyì n fruit of *Berchemia discolor* 11,10 *n-jíyì*

bù-zyíyì n tree (*Berchemia discolor*) 14

zyòbà n cloud 5,6 *mà-zyòbà*

zyòbà v get lost

zyônà v destroy, spill, waste

zyônà adv tomorrow; yesterday

zyónàùkà v get destroyed

zyónàùrà v destroy

zyô:tà v warm oneself by the fire

mà-zyòvù n twins 6

zyûbà n sun, day 5,6 *mà-zyûbà*

zyùbà v peel

zyûmà v become dry

bù-zyûmì n life 14

zyúmìnìnà v be unconscious; dry (of grains, wood)

zyúmìsà v dry (tr.)

zyùnà v skin

cì-zyùnì n bird 7,8 *zì-zyùnì*

ˊzyùrà v become full

zyûrù n nose; plural: nostrils 5,6 *mà-zyûrù*

ˊzyùsà v fill

ˊzywì n voice, word 5,6 *má-zywì*

zywìzyà v leak

làmpùtùrà v dig

lánàùnà v divide, share

làpàùrà v destroy

làpàìkà ~ làpìkà v put mud on a wall

làpùrùrà v take mud from a wall; dismantle

làpùrà ~ làpùrùrà v tear

làrùmùnà v search through s.o.'s belongings

lárùmùnà v stretch a fishing net

lásàùkà v spark

bù-lô: n tastelessness 14

rù-lómà n papyrus 11

mù-lômbè n anus 3,4 *mì-lômbè*

lô:hà v become tasteless

lòpòrà v run fast

lô:sà v be boring

ɬùtùrà v bite a piece of tough/undercooked meat

ɬwápìzà v click in anger or insult

ɬósè int true

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Name index

A grammar of Fwe

This book provides a first-ever comprehensive overview of the grammatical structure of Fwe. Fwe is a Bantu language spoken on the border between Zambia and Namibia, by some 20,000 people. Very little previous documentation exists on the language, and the current description of Fwe is based exclusively on data collected by myself in both Zambia and Namibia, between 2013 and 2017 for a total of about 7 months. An earlier version of this grammar served as a dissertation for obtaining the degree of PhD in African Languages and Cultures from Ghent University in 2018.