

A grammar of Fwe

Hilde Gunnink

African Language Grammars
and Dictionaries



Chief Editor: Adams Bodomo

Editor: Firmin Ahoua

In this series:

1. Schrock, Terrill B. The Ik language: Dictionary and grammar sketch.
2. Brindle, Jonathan. A dictionary and grammatical outline of Chakali.
3. Friesen, Dianne. A grammar of Moloko.
4. Ali, Mark, Scott Grimm & Adams Bodomo. A dictionary and grammatical sketch of Dagaare.

A grammar of Fwe

Hilde Gunnink


Hilde Gunnink. 2022. *A grammar of Fwe* (African Language Grammars and Dictionaries). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/000>

© 2022, Hilde Gunnink

Published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence (CC BY 4.0):

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> 

ISBN: no digital ISBN

no print ISBNs!

ISSN: 2512-4862

no DOI

ID not assigned!

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: X_YLaTeX

Language Science Press

xHain

Grünberger Str. 16

10243 Berlin, Germany

<http://langsci-press.org>

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
Abbreviations	ix
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Classification	1
1.2 Sociolinguistic profile	2
1.3 Language vitality	5
1.4 Regional variation	6
1.5 Earlier research	6
1.6 Data collection and transcription	8
2 Segmental phonology	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Consonants	11
2.2.1 Stops	11
2.2.2 Affricates	15
2.2.3 Fricatives	16
2.2.4 Prenasalization	20
2.2.5 Nasals	23
2.2.6 Taps	24
2.2.7 Glides	25
2.2.8 Clicks	27
2.3 Vowels	30
2.3.1 Phonemic vowels	31
2.3.2 Phonemic vowel length	32
2.3.3 Automatic vowel lengthening	34
2.3.4 Penultimate lengthening	39
2.4 Syllable structure	40
2.4.1 Syllable types	41
2.4.2 Co-occurrence restrictions	43
2.5 Morphophonology	50
2.5.1 Prenasalization	51

Contents

2.5.2	Vowel hiatus resolution	55
2.5.3	Vowel harmony	65
2.5.4	Nasal harmony	69
3	Tone	73
3.1	Tonal processes	75
3.1.1	Meeussen’s Rule	76
3.1.2	Downstep	78
3.1.3	Bimoraic doubling	81
3.1.4	H retraction	82
3.1.5	H > F	84
3.1.6	High tone spread	86
3.1.7	The order of tonal processes	88
3.2	Lexical tone	89
3.2.1	Tone on noun stems	89
3.2.2	Tone on verb stems	97
3.3	Melodic tone	102
3.3.1	Melodic Tone 1: H on the last mora	104
3.3.2	Melodic Tone 2: H on the subject marker	106
3.3.3	Melodic Tone 3: H on second stem syllable	107
3.3.4	Melodic Tone 4: deletion of underlying high tones	109
3.3.5	No melodic high tones	111
4	Nominal morphology	113
4.1	Noun classes	113
4.1.1	Nominal prefixes	114
4.1.2	The augment	121
4.1.3	Singular and plural pairings	127
4.1.4	The semantics of noun classes	131
4.1.5	The locative noun classes	143
4.1.6	Noun class assignment of loanwords	150
4.2	Word formation	152
4.2.1	Verb-to-noun derivation	153
4.2.2	Noun-to-noun derivation	161
4.3	Nominal modifiers	168
4.3.1	Adjectives	168
4.3.2	Demonstratives	173
4.3.3	Connectives	183
4.3.4	Quantifiers	191

Contents

4.3.5	Possessives	194
5	Minor word categories	199
5.1	Personal pronouns	199
5.2	Comitatives	201
5.3	Copulatives	210
5.4	Appositives	217
5.5	Adverbs	218
6	Verbal derivation	225
6.1	Passive	226
6.2	Causative	232
6.3	Applicative	243
6.4	Neuter	254
6.5	Separative	256
6.6	Impositive	261
6.7	Pluractional	265
6.7.1	Pluractional 1: completeness	265
6.7.2	Pluractional 2: low intensity	272
6.8	Intensive	279
6.9	Reciprocal	282
6.10	Extensive	284
6.11	Tentive	286
6.12	Partial reduplication	286
7	Subject, object, and locative marking	289
7.1	Subject marking	289
7.2	Object marking	291
7.3	Reflexive	294
7.4	Locative marking	297
8	Tense	301
8.1	TAM constructions in Fwe	301
8.2	Present	307
8.3	Past	318
8.3.1	Near past perfective	319
8.3.2	Remote past perfective	328
8.3.3	Near past imperfective	333
8.3.4	Remote past imperfective	337

Contents

8.4	Future	342
8.4.1	Near future	342
8.4.2	Remote future	347
8.5	Consecutive	350
9	Aspect	355
9.1	Progressive	355
9.1.1	Progressive auxiliary	356
9.1.2	Fronted infinitive construction	360
9.2	Habitual	367
9.2.1	Habitual 1	368
9.2.2	Habitual 2	371
9.3	Stative	372
9.4	Persistive	390
9.5	Inceptive	393
10	Mood	401
10.1	Imperative	401
10.2	Perfective subjunctive	403
10.3	Imperfective subjunctive	408
11	Space	411
11.1	Distal	411
11.2	Locative pluractional	414
12	Negation	419
12.1	Negation of indicative verb forms	419
12.2	Negation of imperative and subjunctive verb forms	422
12.3	Negation of infinitive verb forms	423
12.4	Negation with auxiliaries	424
13	Syntax and information structure	431
13.1	Canonical word order	431
13.2	Left dislocation	432
13.3	Right dislocation	434
13.4	Locative inversion	437
13.5	Dependent clauses	439
13.5.1	Relative clauses	439
13.5.2	Other types of dependent clauses	447

Contents

13.6 Cleft constructions	454
Appendix A: ‘A man who does not like dogs’	463
Appendix B: Useful phrases	487
Appendix C: Word list	491
References	543
Index	553
Name index	553

Acknowledgments

This book would not have been possible without the aid of numerous people and institutions in different parts of the world. I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of Ghent University, for funding my PhD position and two of my field trips. The financial support of the research organization Flanders (FWO) is acknowledged for another two field trips, as well as a number of conferences in which I presented ongoing research on Fwe to a wider audience. Within Ghent University, I want to thank all my colleagues, but especially my PhD supervisors Michael Meeuwis and Koen Bostoen, for their valuable support and input. Numerous others have contributed feedback and suggestions to improve this grammar. I am especially thankful to the members of my jury, prof. Nancy Kula, prof. Mark Van de Velde, dr. Maud Devos, and dr. Thera Crane, as well as two anonymous reviewers of this book.

In Southern Africa, I thank the University of Namibia and the Livingstone Museum of Zambia for their practical and official support with setting up my fieldwork. I am also thankful to Hennie Schoonwinkel, Lienneke de Visser and Orbet Pilaelo for everything they did to make fieldwork possible and enjoyable. Words (in English or Fwe) cannot express how grateful I am to all the Fwe speakers who contributed to my research: Mr. Bonard Simasiku, Mr. Ephraim Mafaya Mbango, Mr. Sishwashwa Muketwa Nector, Mr. Mutoiwa Namangolwa; Mr. Felix, Mrs Rebecca Maunda, Ms Betty Muyendekwa, induna Jared; Ms. Grace Muyendekwa; Mr. Event Mubika Linyando, and Mr. Aldrin Mahulilo Haluzibi. It is to them, and all the other Fwe speakers of the present and future, that I dedicate this work.

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
EXT	extensive	PRS	persistent
FV	final vowel	PST	past
HAB	habitual	REC	reciprocal
IMP	impositive	REFL	reflexive
INC	inceptive	REL	relative
INF	infinitive	REM	remoteness
INS	instrumental	REM.FUT	remote future
INTR	intransitive	SEP	separative
IPFV	imperfective	SBJV	subjunctive
LOC	locative	SM	subject marker
LOC.PL	locative pluractional	STAT	stative
NEAR.FUT	near future	TENT	tentative
NEG	negative	TR	transitive

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 *cifwè* 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 did not feature 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 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 de Luna 2010: 69).¹ Within western Bantu Botatwe, Fwe is most closely related to Shanjo. Seidel

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

1 Introduction

(2005) also found a slight similarity between Fwe and Yeyi, although 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 as 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 1.1² 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 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

²I am grateful to Jan Gunnink from TNO geomodelling for designing these maps

1.2 Sociolinguistic profile

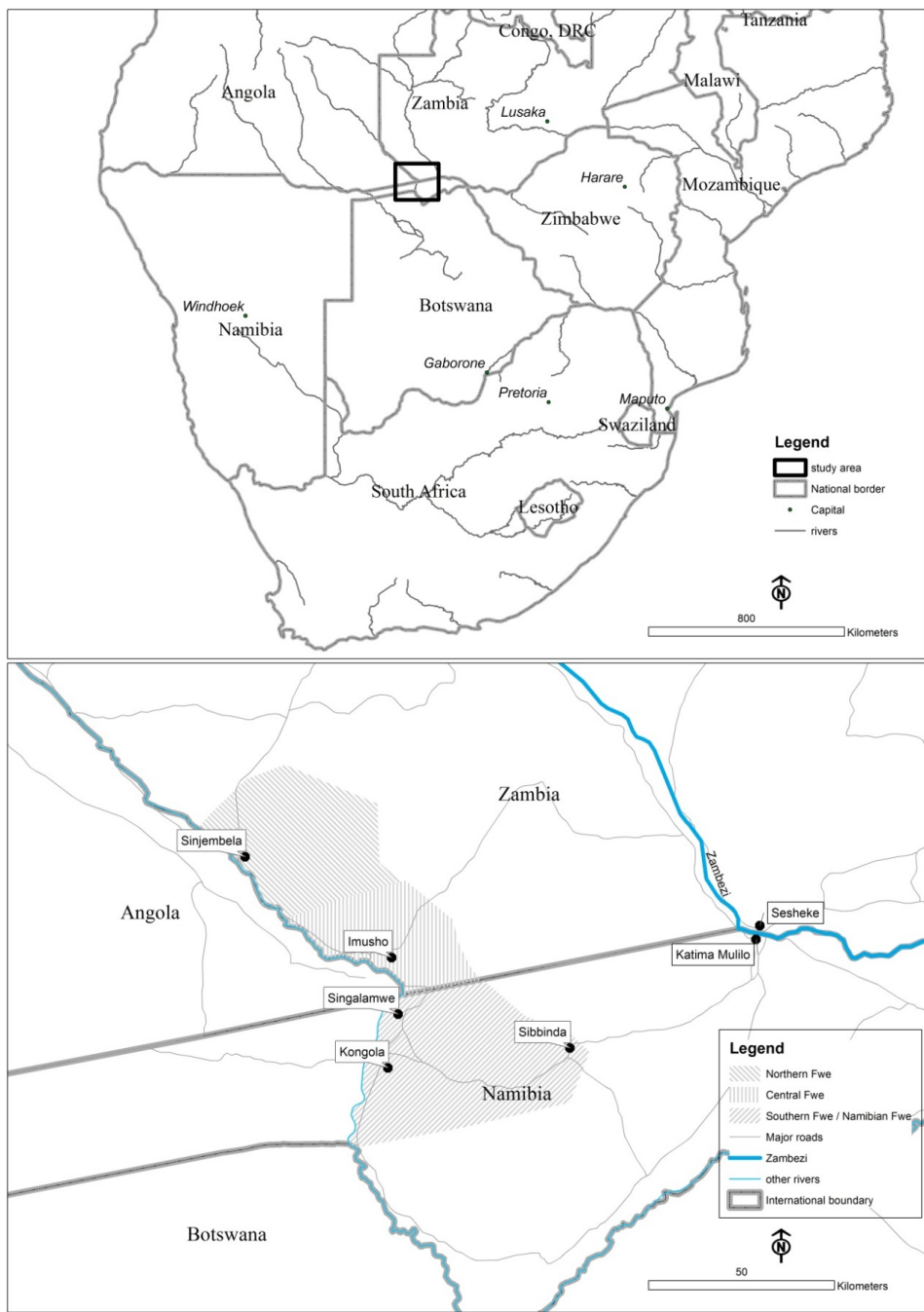


Figure 1.1: The distribution of Fwe

1 Introduction

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 language were ‘Caprivi 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

1.3 Language vitality

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 +- 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 SMS'es. There is popular music in Fwe, and in Zambia, a Bible translation in Fwe is being prepared. The findings of [Sakuhuka et al. \(2011\)](#), who surveyed Fwe in Zambia, also underscore the stable use of Fwe across all social domains, with the exception of formal education, where both Fwe and Lozi are used, and church settings, where Lozi is preferred.

Speakers tend to have a positive attitude towards Fwe, and speaking Fwe is often considered an important part of one's identity. Illustrative in this regard is an affair in 2008 where Fwe-speaking chiefs fined Yeyi-speaking chiefs for speaking Yeyi. They reasoned that Yeyi speakers are part of the Mafwe ethnic group, and as such should speak Fwe rather than Yeyi (Lieneke de Visser, personal communication). This incident is part of a long-standing and complex power struggle between various ethnic groups in the Zambezi region. It shows that speaking Fwe is considered a relevant component of identity and ethnic identification, and thus underscores the vitality of the language.

1 Introduction

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 most salient. 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 geographic 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 by Fortune (1970), which is limited to listing languages and their approximate

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
persistent	shí-	shí-/sí-
negative imperative	ásha-	ásha- / ása-
negative infinitive	shá-	shá-/sá-
negative subjunctive	sha-	sha-/sa-
near future	mbo-/mba-	mbo-

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**; **de Luna 2010**; **de Luna 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

1 Introduction

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

As Fwe is a virtually undescribed language, data collection consisted mainly of elicitation, especially at the beginning stages. In elicitation, speakers were presented with as much detail and context as possible to ensure that the data were as close to natural speech as possible. With this method, a total of about 10,000 elicited phrases and sentences were collected, transcribed and translated, 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 17 stories were collected: 11 fictional tales, five personal (true) narratives, and a Fwe version of the pear story, a small video clip without spoken text, frequently used in linguistic elicitation (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 for me to transcribe it, as well as supplying an English translation.

For all examples used in this work (except isolated words and short phrases), the source is indicated with a code NF for Namibian Fwe and ZF for Zambian Fwe,

1.6 Data collection and transcription

followed by Elic for elicited data, Narr for narrative data, Conv for conversational data, and Song for pop music. The number at the end of each code indicates the year the data were collected. For example, ‘ZF_Elic13’ represents elicited data from Zambian Fwe collected in 2013.

Fwe is mostly an oral language, but the increased use of cell phones has created the need for speakers to reduce it to writing. Fwe is usually written with an orthography inspired by the Lozi orthography, which is fairly suitable to this purpose thanks to the overlap between the phoneme inventories of both languages. An official orthography for Fwe is currently being developed as part of a Bible translation project (Bow 2013). The practical orthography used in this work deviates from this orthography in a number of respects. There are a number of reasons for not adopting the official orthography wholesale: firstly, it was developed in Zambia and for Zambian Fwe, and makes use of certain orthographical conventions that are common in Zambia, which are not well-known in Namibia, such as <zh> for [ʒ]. It also makes use of certain 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 have to do without pre-existing knowledge of the language, and therefore have need for a more detailed and cross-linguistically common orthography, which Fwe speakers can do without.

The 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, and 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 that is not available for every example. Periods to indicate the end of sentences are not used, because it is often unclear to me where a sentence ends, and what criteria can be used to establish sentence boundaries. Capitalization is not used, as tone marking is difficult to read on capitalized vowels, and because capitalized words may have grammatical prefixes or clitics. In order to avoid the question of which letter should be capitalized, capitalization is left out altogether. The second line of each

1 Introduction

example gives the underlying form, in which underlying tones are marked, and in which hyphens indicate morpheme boundaries. The third line gives a morpheme by morpheme gloss, and the last line gives a free translation into English. These orthographical conventions only apply to the Fwe data. Whenever data on other languages are cited, the orthography of the original source is maintained.

2 Segmental phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the segmental phonology of Fwe. Earlier 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’ |

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 Segmental phonology

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 [β]	f	v	s	z	sh [ʃ]	zy [ʒ]		h
nasal		m				n		ny [ɲ]		ŋ
tap						r [ɾ]				
glide								y [j]		w
click				g						
prenasalized stop	mp [ᵐp]	mb [ᵐb]			nt [ⁿt]	nd [ⁿd]			nk [ⁿk]	ng [ⁿg]
prenasalized fricative			mf [ᵐf]	mv [ᵐv]	ns [ⁿs]	nz [ⁿz]	nsh [ⁿʃ]			
prenasalized affricate							nc [ⁿtʃ]	nj [ⁿdʒ]		
prenasalized click			ⁿ ◦	ⁿ						

- (2)

kùpàrà

ku-par-a

INF-fail-FV

‘to fail, refuse’

-

kùgàrà

ku-gar-a

INF-search-FV

‘to search/dig around’
- (3)

kùdùnkà

ku-dunk-a

INF-swim-FV

‘to swim’

-

kùgùnkà

ku-gunk-a

INF-bump-FV

‘to bump into; lean against’

2.2 Consonants

(4)	cìbbákù	-	cìbàkà
	ci-bbakú		ci-baka
	NP ₇ -snake		NP ₇ -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 loanwords¹, as in (5)-(12), or sound-symbolic words and ideophones, as in (13)-(16).

- (5) cìpùrà ‘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) kàpíkìrì ‘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) màgràzì ‘glasses’ < English glasses
- (13) bbùndù bbùndù
‘ideophone expressing sudden appearance’
- (14) cìsùbìrà cò bbùkù
ci-subir-á co bbúku
SM₇-be_red-FV DEM.III₇ very_red
‘It is very red.’ (NF_Elic17)

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

2 Segmental phonology

- (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) cikùrùbè (NF) ~ cigùrùbè (ZF/NF)
ci-kurube
NP₇-pig
'pig'
- (18) cikébéngà (NF) ~ cigébéngà (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 /^g/, as in (20).

- (20) mù^glène ~ mù-gène
mu-^gléne
NP₁-thin
'thin person'

2.2 Consonants

/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) mùgwégwèsi
 mu-gwégwesi
 NP₃-ankle_bone
 ‘ankle bone’ (from Neitsas/Nurugas !Xung gwé: ‘ankle’ (Doke 1925), or Jul’hoan #hòè#hòè ‘enkelknop [ankle bone]’) (Snyman 1975: 107)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) ^glúkùmù ~ gúkùmù ~ dúkùmù
 ø-^glúkumu
 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 /j/ (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-círìr-a | | ku-shírìr-a |
| | INF-follow-FV | | INF-desire-FV |
| | ‘to follow’ | | ‘to desire’ |
| (24) | kùcâ:nà | - | kùkâ:nà |
| | ku-câ:n-a | | ku-kâ:n-a |
| | INF-hunt-FV | | INF-reject-FV |
| | ‘to hunt’ | | ‘to refuse, reject, divorce’ |
| (25) | kùjánàmà | - | kùzyánàmà |
| | ku-jánam-a | | ku-zyánam-a |
| | INF-gape-FV | | INF-hang-FV |
| | ‘to gape’ | | ‘to hang to dry’ |

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

2 Segmental phonology

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (26) | kùjùmbà
ku-jumb-a
INF-leave-FV
'to leave in protest' | - | kùgùmbàmà
ku-stand_next_to-a
INF-reject-FV
'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
ku-céruk-a
INF-tear-FV
'to be torn' | - | kùjérùmùkà
ku-jérumuk-a
INF-be_sour-FV
'to be sour' |
| (28) | kùcùkùnsà
ku-cukuns-a
INF-shake-FV
'to shake' | - | kùjùkùtà
ku-jukut-a
INF-rinse-FV
'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 , /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
ku-vur-ur-a
INF-winnow-SEP.TR-FV
'to winnow' | - | kùfùrà
ku-fur-a
INF-pick-FV
'to pick (fruit)' |
|------|--|---|--|

2.2 Consonants

- (32) a. kùfùmà
ku-fúm-a
INF-become_rich-FV
'to become rich'
- b. kùsùmà
ku-súm-a
INF-sew-FV
'to sew'
- c. kùshùmà
ku-shúm-a
INF-bite-FV
'to bite'
- d. kùzùmà
ku-zúm-a
INF-hum-FV
'to hum'
- e. kùzyùmà
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) | kùbùrà | - | kùfùrà |
| | 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

2 Segmental phonology

of the latter; whereas /v/ only occurs before /u/, /b/ occurs in all environments, and is therefore much more common.

- (35) kùvwàngà ~ kùbwàngà
 ku-vwáng-a
 INF-wrap-FV
 ‘to wrap’
 cf. *búang ‘mix’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (36) cìvwàngà ~ cibwàngà
 ci-vwáng-a
 NP₇-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) shèndirèrè ~ sèndirèrè
 she-ndi-re_Hre
 INC-SM_{1SG}-sleep.STAT
 ‘I am now sleeping.’ (NF_Elic17)

The alternation between /s/ and /sh/ affects all grammatical prefixes in which the phoneme occurs. The only grammatical suffix with /s/ is the causative *-is/-es*, which is invariably realized with /s/, 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

2.2 Consonants

~ sh] variation, as this does not occur in lexemes³. 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- persistent
 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’ |
| | | | |
| (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

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

2 Segmental phonology

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. rùhàtì ~ rùhátì
 *rùwátì ~ rùátì
 ru-hatí
 NP₁₁-rib
 ‘rib’
- b. rùhò ~ rùhò
 *rùwò ~ rùò
 ru-úho
 NP₁₁-wind
 ‘wind’

(43) Epenthetic [h]

- a. kùròhà ~ kùròwà ~ kùròà
 *kùròhà
 ku-ro-a
 INF-bewitch-FV
 ‘to bewitch’
- b. rùsì’hízà ~ rùsì’yízà ~ rùsì’ízà
 *rùsì’hízà
 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.

2.2 Consonants

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (44) | mántà
ma-ntá
NP ₆ -power
'power' | - | mátà
ma-tá
NP ₆ -bow
'bows' |
| (45) | kùdùná
ku-dun-a
INF-stare-FV
'to stare' | - | ìndúnà
ø-induná
NP _{1a} -induna
'induna (political figure)' |
| (46) | mùnkê:
mu-né:
NP ₁ -four
'four' | - | mùnkê:
mu-nké:
NP ₁ -one
'one' |
| (47) | bû:ngì:
bú:-ngì:
NP ₁₄ -many
'many' | - | è-gî:
e-ø-gí:
AUG-NP ₅ -egg
'egg' |

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

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (48) | mpùndù
N-pundu
NP ₉ -bush
'sandpaper raisin bush' | - | mbùndù
N-bundu
NP ₉ -dew
'dew' |
| (49) | nditântà
ndi-ta _H nt-a
SM _{1SG} -overtake-FV
'I overtake.' | - | nditândà
ndi-ta _H nd-a
SM _{1SG} -chase-FV
'I chase.' |
| (50) | kùsìnkà
ku-sink-a
INF-patch-FV
'to patch' | - | kùsìngà
ku-sing-a
INF-paint-FV
'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.

2 Segmental phonology

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|
| (51) | bâncè
ba-ânce
NP ₂ -child
'children' | - | rùbânjè
ru-banjé
NP ₁₁ -cannabis
'cannabis' |
| (52) | ncèrè
ø-ncere
NP _{1a} -snake
'snake sp.' | - | njèwè
ø-njewé
NP _{1a} -poor
'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 used as a morphophonological process, /nj/ commutes with /zy/ (see §2.5.1 on prenasalization as a morphophonological process). The voiceless affricate /nc/ does have a non-prenasalized counterpart /c/ as a regular phoneme. There are, however, no minimal or near-minimal pairs to prove that /c/ and /nc/ are contrastive phonemes, though there is also no clear conditioning for the distribution of /c/ and /nc/, should they be analyzed as allophones.

Fwe also has prenasalized fricatives: 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) | bânsâ
ba-nsâ
NP ₂ -klipspringer
'klipspringers' | - | bàsâ
ba-sâ
NP ₂ -thief
'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' |

2.2 Consonants

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

- (56) mpási ~ mpánsi
N-pansí
NP₉-grasshopper
'grasshopper'
- (57) kùbízwà ~ kùbínzwà
ku-bínzw-a
INF-ripen-FV
'to ripen'
- (58) rùshònshò ~ rùshòshò
ru-shonsho
NP₁₁-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.

- (59) mùshêmpù ~ mùnshêmpù (< shémpèkà 'shoulder a load')
mu-shémpu
NP₃-load
'load'
- (60) mùshû: ~ mùnshû: (< shûbà 'urinate', *cɔ 'urine' (Bastin et al. 2002))
mu-shû:
NP₃-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).

2 Segmental phonology

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|
| (61) | ɲàngà
ø-ɲanga
NP _{1a} -doctor
‘doctor’ | - | nángà
nangá

‘even, even though’ |
| (62) | ɲórò
ø-ɲoró
NP ₅ -letter
‘letter’ | - | cìnyôró
ci-nyóro
NP ₇ -plants
‘plant remains in the field’ |
| (63) | kùnyènsà
ku-nyens-a
INF-defeat-FV
‘to defeat’ | - | ká'nénsà
ká-nensá
NP ₁₂ -pink
‘pink, little toe’ |
| (64) | nyôta
N-nyóta
NP ₉ -thirst
‘thirst’ | - | mótà
ø-motá
NP ₅ -car
‘car’ |

2.2.6 Taps

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

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|
| (65) | kùrùrà
ku-rur-a
INF-be_bitter-FV
‘to be bitter’ | - | kùdùrà
ku-dur-a
INF-be_expensive-FV
‘to be expensive’ |
| (66) | kùràmbà
ku-rámb-a
INF-plaster-FV
‘to plaster’ | - | kùtâmbà
ku-tâmb-a
INF-give_herbs-FV
‘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) [mùlirò]
 mu-riro
 NP₃-fire
 ‘fire’

2.2 Consonants

(68) [kùkùrà]
 ku-kúr-a
 INF-grow-FV
 ‘to grow’

(69) [rùlímà]
 ru-rimá
 NP₁₁-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) [èzilyò]
 e-zi-ryó
 AUG-NP₈-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 [r] are allophones of the same phoneme, although their distribution is reversed with respect to Fwe; /l/ is realized as [r] before the high front vowel, and as [l] elsewhere (Gowlett 1989: 129).

2.2.7 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).

2 Segmental phonology

- (72) mbwâwà
 ø-mbwáwa
 NP_{1a}-jackal
 ‘jackal’
- (73) má'nshwáwánshàwà
 má-nshawánshawa
 NP₆-berry
 ‘berries of *Grewia* sp.’
- (74) bùnjèwè
 bu-njewè
 NP₁₄-poor
 ‘poverty’
- (75) cìwàkàkà
 ci-wakaka
 NP₇-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
 ø-ngúya
 NP_{1a}-baboon
 ‘baboon’
- (78) kùyòcà
 ku-bake-a
 INF-bake-FV
 ‘to bake’

2.2 Consonants

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-occurrence 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) kùlâpùrà ~ kù#âpùrà ~ kùllâpùrà
 ku-lapur-a
 INF-tear-FV
 ‘to tear’

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

2 Segmental phonology

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 / $\|$ /, as in (81) a voiced oral click / $\text{ḡ}\|$ /, as in (82), a prenasalized voiceless click / $\text{ᵐ}\|$ /, as in (83), and a voiced nasal click / $\text{ᵐ}\|$ /, as in (84).

- (81) rùló mà
 ru-|omá
 NP₁₁-papyrus
 ‘papyrus’
- (82) kù^ḡ|árùmùkà
 ku-^ḡ|árumuk-a
 INF-shout-FV
 ‘to shout loudly’
- (83) mù^ᵐ|ápì
 mu-^ᵐ|apí
 NP₃-frog
 ‘small frog sp.’
- (84) kù^ᵐ|àmbùrà
 ku-^ᵐ|ambur-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
ku- apur-a
INF-tear-FV
‘to tear’ | - | kù ^ḡ àpùrà
ku- ^ḡ apur-a
INF-stand-FV
‘to stand with legs apart’ |
| (86) | kù òpòrà
ku- opor-a
INF-run-FV
‘to run fast’ | - | kù ^ḡ òpòrà
ku- ^ḡ opor-a
INF-remove_flesh-FV
‘to remove flesh, an eye’ |

2.2 Consonants

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) | $\text{ʘ} \text{úmù}$ -
$\text{ø-ʘ} \text{umú}$
NP ₅ -reed
‘edible reed’ | $\text{kù}^{\text{ɲ}} \text{úmà}$
$\text{ku-}^{\text{ɲ}} \text{úm-a}$
INF-suck-FV
‘to suck out blood (to treat disease, injury or curse)’ |
| (88) | $\text{kù} \text{á'pwízá}$ -
$\text{ku-} \text{ámpwíz-a}$
INF-click-FV
‘to click in anger or resentment’ | $\text{kù}^{\text{ɲ}} \text{âmpà}$
$\text{ku-}^{\text{ɲ}} \text{âmp-a}$
INF-be_flat-FV
‘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 *lakuroko* ‘it’s not true!’, which always takes a post-alveolar click, and *ndi-lose* ‘it’s true’, which always takes a lateral click. A preference for the lateral click is also seen in *nllá'mpwízá* ‘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 *kùɲlâpizá* ‘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) $\text{rù}|\text{ómà}$ ~ $\text{rù}|\text{kómà}$
 ru-lomá

2 Segmental phonology

NP₁₁-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|ìmə ~ ègìmə

e-ø-^g|ima

AUG-NP₅-fish

‘small fish sp.’

(91) ^g|úkùmù ~ gúkùmù ~ dúkùmù

ø-^g|úkumu

NP₅-fruit

‘fruit sp.’

The prenasalized voiceless click may alternate with [ʔk], as in (92).

(92) mù^ʔ|ápì ~ mù^ʔkápì

mu-^ʔ|apí

NP₃-frog

‘frog sp.’

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

(93) kù^ŋ|úmèntà ~ kùŋúmèntà

ku-^ŋ|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

2.3 Vowels

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, ε, a, ɔ, u/, as attested by the minimal pairs in (94)-(97). Throughout this book, /ε/ will be written as <e> and /ɔ/ will be written as <o>.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|---|--|
| (94) | kùkùmbà
ku-kùmb-a
INF-howl-FV
'to howl' | - | kùkômbà
ku-kómb-a
INF-lick-FV
'to lick' | - | kùkâmbà
ku-kâmb-a
INF-clap-FV
'to clap' |
| (95) | kùminà
ku-min-a
INF-swallow-FV
'to swallow' | - | kùmènà
ku-men-a
INF-sprout-FV
'to sprout (of wild plants)' | | |
| (96) | kùsìkà
ku-sík-a
INF-light-FV
'to light' | - | kùsûkà
ku-súk-a
INF-descend-FV
'to descend' | | |
| (97) | kùrê:tà
ku-ré:t-a
INF-bring-FV
'to bring' | - | kùrô:tà
ku-ró:t-a
INF-dream-FV
'to dream' | | |

2 Segmental phonology

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) | kùrà: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-ø-gí: |
| | AUG-NP ₅ -egg |
| | ‘egg’ |

- | | |
|-------|----------------------|
| (103) | yènkê: |
| | ye-nké: |
| | PP ₁ -one |
| | ‘alone’ |

2.3 Vowels

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 similarity 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

2 Segmental phonology

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 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) *kùtwâ:rà*
 ku-twár-a
 INF-bring-FV
 ‘to bring’

2.3 Vowels

- (109) kúryà:
 ku-rí-a
 INF-eat-FV
 ‘to eat’
- (110) kàmwî:
 ka-mwí
 NP₁₂-heat
 ‘heat; afternoon’

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

- (111) kùrà:mbà
 ku-rámb-a
 INF-plaster-FV
 ‘to plaster’
- (112) kùtù:mpà
 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) kùyáshimìsà:
 ku-yáshimis-a
 INF-sneeze-FV
 ‘to sneeze’
- (114) ò:nsâ:
 o-ø-nsá
 AUG-NP_{1a}-klipspringer
 ‘klipspringer (antelope sp.)’

2 Segmental phonology

- (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 analogous to the lengthening in causative verbs. A similar process appears to have taken place in Fwe, where an earlier causative suffix **i* also triggered spirantization of the previous consonant to /s/ or /z/, leading to the loss of /i/ and compensatory lengthening⁴. Although this process is no longer productive 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’

⁴In 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).

2.3 Vowels

- 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 were lengthened, not only those that were the result of causative formation. Whereas in Ganda, this analogical extension was limited to /sa/ sequences at the end of a verb, in Fwe the analogical extension includes all instances of /a/ before an alveolar fricative, also when such a sequence is not the last syllable of a verb stem, as in (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:bùrè
e-ø-saburé
AUG-NP₅-machete
'machete'

2 Segmental phonology

- (123) ká'né:nsà:
 ká-nensá
 NP₁₂-pink
 'pink, little toe'
- (124) ⁿlór'ézà:
 N-ⁿlórezá
 NP₉-resin
 'resin'
- (125) nzâ:sì
 N-zâsi
 NP₁₀-spark
 'sparks'

That the lengthening of /a/ before /s/ and /z/ is the result of analogical extension, and not of individual cases of spirantization in each of the words that contain a /sa/ or /za/ sequence, can be seen from the fact that many words with /sa/ and /za/ sequences are borrowings, such as *mù-sâ*: 'thief' from Khwe *tc'âq* '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 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.

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

⁶An 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.

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) cibà:kà
 ci-baka
 NP₇-place
 ‘place’

- (127) kùbábàrè:rà
 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 *kwa:* 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

2 Segmental phonology

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 : symbol) than when the same vowel is used in a position other than the penultimate, as seen in (130).

- (129) càcô::kì
 ci-a-cô:k-i
 SM₇-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘It broke.’

- (130) cìcò:kètè
 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 Syllable structure

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

- (133) V.V sequences of two identical vowels

- a. kù.bò.ò.rà
ku-boor-a
INF-return-FV
‘to return’

2 Segmental phonology

- b. ndà.à.nò
N-daano
NP₉-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.

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 'hip- popotamus' H	kù.tú:.mbù.kà 'to burn'
HL	mvú.ù 'hip- popotamus' F	kù.bû:.mbà 'to create, mould'
LH	ndì.rà.á.nà 'I say goodbye.'	
FL	ntû.ù 'hyena'	

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

2.4 Syllable structure

(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 *kúpr ‘short’ (Bastin et al. 2002))
 ‘short’

(137) njú.ù (from *jǝgǝ ‘groundnut’ (Bastin et al. 2002))
 N-juú
 NP₁₀-pea
 ‘peas’

(138) njûò (from *jǝgò ‘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 vow-

2 Segmental phonology

els 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) kùsìkà
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
NP₃-lower_leg
'front part of lower leg'
- (143) zìbà
ø-ziba
NP₅-lake
'lake'
- (144) cizùmà
ci-zuma
NP₇-basket
'basket'

2.4 Syllable structure

- (145) rùbênzwà
 ru-bénzwa
 NP₁₁-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’)
 ø-saká
 NP₅-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’ââ ‘to steal’ (Kilian-Hatz 2003: 355))
 mu-sá
 NP₁-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) kùùrisà
 ku-ur-is-a
 INF-buy-CAUS-FV
 ‘to sell’
- (150) ònditúsè
 o-ndi-tus-é
 SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-help-PFV.SBJV
 ‘You should help me.’
- (151) cikùrisò
 ci-kur-is-o
 NP₇-sweep-CAUS-INS
 ‘broom’

2 Segmental phonology

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) kùbùsà
ku-bús-a
INF-wake-FV
'to wake (someone) up'
- (153) mbòndímùbùsè
mbo-ndí-mu-bu_Hs-é
NEAR.FUT-SM_{ISG}-OM₁-wake-PFV.SBJV
'I will wake her/him up.'
- (154) kùfwinsà
ku-fwins-a
INF-seal-FV
'to seal'
- (155) cìfwinsò
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
NP₆-oil
'oil, lotion'
- (157) kùfwèbà
ku-fweb-a
INF-smoke-FV
'to smoke'

2.4 Syllable structure

- (158) vùmò
 ø-vumo
 NP₅-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)
 ø-fóni
 NP₅-phone
 ‘phone’
- (161) cífàtéhò (borrowed from Lozi sifateho ‘face’ (Burger 1960: 54))
 ci-fatehó
 NP₇-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.

2 Segmental phonology

- (162) $^{\text{g}}\text{ìmà}$
 $\text{ø-}^{\text{g}}\text{ìma}$
 NP₅-fish
 ‘small fish sp.’
- (163) $\text{cì}^{\text{g}}\text{ìnjò}$
 $\text{ci-}^{\text{g}}\text{ìnjo}$
 NP₇-tree
 ‘tree sp.’
- (164) $\text{kù}^{\text{g}}\text{ìntùrà}$
 $\text{ku-}^{\text{g}}\text{ìntur-a}$
 INF-lie-FV
 ‘to lie with bent knees’
- (165) $\text{ᵛᵛᵛ}^{\text{ᵛ}}\text{à}$ (from Yeyi zìlĩa ‘fruits of the date palm tree’ (Seidel 2008: 28))
 $\text{N-ᵛᵛᵛ}^{\text{ᵛ}}\text{á}$
 NP₁₀-date
 ‘dates’
- (166) $^{\text{g}}\text{êné}$ (from Yeyi nc'ene ‘thin’)
 ‘thin’
- (167) $^{\text{g}}\text{í}$
 ‘sound of landing’
- (168) $\text{kù}^{\text{g}}\text{ínkìtà}$
 $\text{ku-}^{\text{g}}\text{ínkit-a}$
 INF-pound-FV
 ‘to pound with short, sharp movements’
- (169) $\text{kù}^{\text{g}}\text{ìntà}$
 $\text{ku-}^{\text{g}}\text{ìnt-a}$
 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

2.4 Syllable structure

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 Ju'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/, /ɛ|w/, /ⁿ|w/ and /ⁿ_ɔw/. The absence of these combinations is probably the result of the low frequency of /d/, /ɛ|/, /ⁿ|/ and /ⁿ_ɔ/, 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) sibbwê
 ø-sibbwé
 NP_{1a}-jackal
 'jackal'
- (171) kùgwà
 ku-gw-a
 INF-fall-FV
 'to fall'
- (172) bùcwàrà
 bu-cwara
 NP₁₄-beer
 'beer'
- (173) kù|wámpizà (variant of -|ámpwizà)
 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).

2 Segmental phonology

- (174) èbwè (from *bùè ‘stone’ (Bastin et al. 2002))
 e-ø-bwe
 AUG-NP₅-stone
 ‘stone’
- (175) kùkwâtà (from *kùat ‘seize, grasp’ (Bastin et al. 2002))
 ku-kwât-a
 INF-touch-FV
 ‘to touch’
- (176) kùtwà (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, *s* 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 prenasalisation.

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) nkámbámò (cf. kù-kámbàm-à ‘to ascend’)
 N-kámbamó
 NP₉-slope
 ‘upward slope’
- (181) mpâkwà (cf. kù-pàk-à ‘carry on one’s back (of a child)’ + -w passive)
 N-pákwa
 NP₉-sling
 ‘sling’
- (182) a. mbórá
 N-bborá
 NP₉-ball
 ‘ball’
 b. cf. èbbórá
 e-ø-bborá
 AUG-NP₅-ball
 ‘ball’

2 Segmental phonology

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-zâsi
 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 rù-‘shíkà ‘African mangosteen’)
 N-shiká
 NP₁₀-mangosteen
 ‘African mangosteens’

- (186) njîmbò (cf. kù-zyîmb-à ‘to sing’)
 N-jîmbo
 NP₁₀-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
 NP₉-axe
 ‘small axe (for carving)’

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

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

2.5 Morphophonology

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

- (189) ndúngàtì (cf. kù-rùngà ‘make noise’)
 N-dúngati
 NP₉-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. ngôma
 N-góma
 NP₉-drum
 ‘drum’
 b. màôma
 ma-óma
 NP₆-drum
 ‘drums’
 c. from *gòma ‘drum’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (191) a. ngùrìsò
 N-guriso
 NP₉-profit
 ‘profit’
 b. kùùrìsà
 ku-uris-a
 INF-sell-FV
 ‘to sell’
 c. from *gùd ‘buy’ (Bastin et al. 2002)

- (192) a. nyózi
 ny-ozí
 NP₁₀-plant
 ‘plants (used for making ropes)’
 b. cf. class 11 r-ózi ‘plant (used for making ropes)’

2 Segmental phonology

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

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__
 ø → 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
 NP₉-question
 ‘question’
 b. kàpúzò
 ka-puzó
 NP₁₂-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 *Mùngúrikè* in (196).

- (195) a. Archaic form
 ntámbikè
 N-támbik-e
 OM_{1SG}-give-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Give me.’

2.5 Morphophonology

- b. Modern form
 nditámbikè
 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
 kùùrikà
 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

2 Segmental phonology

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/ > ndiúra
SM_{1SG}-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/ > ndinàúri
SM_{1SG}-PST-buy-NPST.PFV
‘I bought.’
- (201) Distal marker
/ndi-a-ka-ur-í/ > ndàkàúri
SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-NPST.PFV
‘I bought there.’

Maintenance of both juxtaposed vowels may also occur when a nominal prefix of CV shape directly precedes a vowel-initial nominal stem, 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’

2.5 Morphophonology

- (204) /mi-ézi/ > mîêzi
 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/ > njùò
 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/ > kùzîzà
 INF-imitate-FV
 ‘to imitate’

2 Segmental phonology

- (211) /ku-teen-a/ > kùtèèná
 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/ > cùngù
 NP₇-bird
 ‘bird sp. (with a red tail)’

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

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

Deletion of the first of the two vowels also occurs 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-SM₂-PST-sleep-FV
 ‘They went to sleep.’

2.5 Morphophonology

- (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 > nìtwárimà
 REM-SM_{1PL}-PST-farm-FV
 ‘We farmed.’
 - b. o-ásha-ndi-dam-í > wáshàndídámì
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-OM_{1SG}-beat-NPST.PFV
 ‘Don’t beat me!’
 - c. bu-a-hík-iw-a > bwàhíkìwà
 SM₁₄-PST-cook-PASS-FV
 ‘It [relish] is cooked.’ (NF_Elic15)

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/ > yàràdùrà
 SM₉-REM.FUT-be_expensive-FV
 ‘It will be expensive.’ (NF_Elic15)

2 Segmental phonology

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*/ > *ndàpwàcùrì*
 SM_{1SG}-PST-break-SEP.TR-NPST.PFV
 ‘I broke.’
- b. /*ci-á-zyur-i*/ > *cázyùrì*
 SM₇-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV
 ‘It is full.’
- c. /*zi-a-ndi-bús-i*/ > *zàndibùsì*
 SM₈-PST-OM_{1SG}-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-áncé*/ > *mwâncè*
 NP₁-child
 ‘a child’
- b. /*mu-iní*/ > *mwínì*
 NP₃-handle
 ‘handle’
- c. /*bu-eké*/ > *bwékè*
 NP₁₄-grain
 ‘grains’
- d. /*ru-áta*/ > *rwâtà*
 NP₁₁-crack
 ‘crack’

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

2.5 Morphophonology

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

When a high-toned vowel is changed to a glide, the high tone is maintained and realized on the adjacent vowel. 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-*ú*-a-rih-iw-a > nìwàrìhìwà
REM-SM₃-PST-pay-PASS-FV
'It has been paid.' (NF_Elic15)
- (224) ni-*í*-a-hond-iw-a > nìyáhòndìwà
REM-SM₉-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-ø-ndavú á-shámb-a > [ndùndáv^w áshâmbà]
COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-lion SM₁.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.

2 Segmental phonology

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-ø-ténde > [kwítêndè]
 NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-leg
 ‘on the leg’

Vowel coalescence is more common across word boundaries, when a vowel-initial word is preceded by another word which, due to the strictly open syllable structure of Fwe, invariably ends in a vowel. 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-ø-mbwá > [ndikwès' 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 > [èzintw' ízò]
 AUG-NP₇-things AUG-DEM.III₈
 ‘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 initial vowel of *ombwa* ‘dog’ does take place.

2.5 Morphophonology

- (229) ècìntù nècìntù cìkwèsì òbùrótù nòbúbì
 e-ci-ntu ne=ci-ntu ci-kwesi o-bu-rótu no=bu-bbí
 AUG-NP₇-thing COM=NP₇-thing SM₇-have AUG-NP₁₄-good
 COM=AUG-NP₁₄-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/ > miyâni
 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’

2 Segmental phonology

- (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/ > àhàmbà
SM₁-speak-FV
'S/He⁸ 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/ > cìurù ~ cìwùrù ~ cìhùrù
NP₇-hill
'hill'
*cìhùrù
 - b. /bu-fwíi/ > bùfwîi ~ bùfwîyî ~ bùfwîhî
NP₁₄-short
'shortness'
*bùfwîhî

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.

2.5 Morphophonology

(240) Phonemic /h/

- a. /bu-háro/ > bùhârò ~ bùhâò
 NP₁₄-life
 ‘life’
 *bùwârò
 *bùârò
- b. /ku-hík-a/ > kùhíkà ~ kùhîkà
 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 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
 NP₆-blood
 ‘blood’

(242) /ma-ira/ > màyirà ~ màhìrà
 NP₆-sorghum
 ‘sorghum’

(243) /e-N-swí-ana/ > ènswíyànà
 AUG-NP₁₀-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).

2 Segmental phonology

- (244) Vowel harmony affecting the causative -is
- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>kù-fúm-is-à</i> | ‘to make rich’ |
| <i>kù-bìr-is-à</i> | ‘to bring to a boil’ |
| <i>kù-kàr-is-à</i> | ‘to sit with someone’ |
| <i>kù-shèk-ès-à</i> | ‘to make laugh’ |
| <i>kù-gòr-ès-à</i> | ‘to make strong, insist’ |
- (245) Vowel harmony affecting the applicative -ir
- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| <i>kù-bútùk-ir-à</i> | ‘to run to’ |
| <i>kù-zyimb-ir-à</i> | ‘to sing for’ |
| <i>kù-kwát-ir-à</i> | ‘to hold for’ |
| <i>kù-tènd-èr-à</i> | ‘to do for’ |
| <i>kù-shótòk-èr-à</i> | ‘to jump into’ |
- (246) Vowel harmony affecting the transitive impositive -ik
- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>kù-fúrùm-ik-à</i> | ‘to place upside down’ |
| <i>kù-fwí-ik-à</i> | ‘to approach’ |
| <i>kù-cànk-ik-à</i> | ‘to put a pot on the fire’ |
| <i>kù-nyòng-èk-à</i> | ‘to bend’ |
| <i>kù-kór-èk-à</i> | ‘to carry on the shoulder’ |
- (247) Vowel harmony affecting the epenthetic causative/applicative -ik
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>kù-bús-ik-iz-à</i> | ‘to wake up for’ |
| <i>kù-zìm-is-ik-iz-à</i> | ‘to extinguish for’ |
| <i>kù-kác-ik-iz-à</i> | ‘to interrupt’ |
| <i>kù-cèn-ès-èk-èz-à</i> | ‘to clean for’ |
| <i>kù-nyòns-èk-èz-à</i> | ‘to nurse for’ |
- (248) Vowel harmony affecting the stative -ite
- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>ndì-fúm-îtè</i> | ‘I am rich.’ |
| <i>ò-bíz-w-îtè</i> | ‘It is ripe.’ |
| <i>ndì-kwáng-îtè</i> | ‘I am tired.’ |
| <i>ndì-shésh-êtè</i> | ‘I am married.’ |
| <i>cì-bór-êtè</i> | ‘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

2.5 Morphophonology

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

Vowel harmony is only triggered by the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix, which can be part of the verb root or of a different derivational suffix. This means that a mid vowel in the verb root does not trigger vowel harmony a suffix with a low or high vowel intervenes, such as the transitive separative suffix *-uk* in (250).

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

Although vowel harmony is blocked by intervening low or high vowels, in a sequence of 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*

2 Segmental phonology

- (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. kùpàngà (borrowed from Lozi ku panga ‘construct (a wooden frame)’)
 ku-páng-a
 INF-do-FV
 ‘to do, make’
 b. kùpàngìrà
 ku-páng-ir-a
 INF-do-APPL-FV
 ‘to do for (someone)’
 c. *kùpàngèrà

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

<i>kú-tw-à</i>	‘to pound’	<i>kù-tw-îr-à</i>	‘to be pounded’
<i>kù-gw-à</i>	‘to fall’	<i>kù-gw-îs-à</i>	‘to drop’
<i>kú-nyw-à</i>	‘to drink’	<i>à-nyw-îtè</i>	‘S/he is drunk.’
<i>kù-rw-à</i>	‘to fight’	<i>kù-rw-îs-à</i>	‘to fight some- one’
<i>kú-ry-à</i>	‘to eat’	<i>kù-r-îs-à</i>	‘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).

2.5 Morphophonology

Table 2.4: Vowel height harmony in CV verb roots

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

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-^glòp-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

2 Segmental phonology

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

- (257) Nasal harmony in the transitive separative

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

- (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 triggered 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) kùzìmisirà
 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) kùrìsùngàmìnà
 ku-rí-sung-am-in-a
 INF-REFL-bow-IMP.INTR-APPL-FV
 ‘to bow one’s head’

2.5 Morphophonology

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) | kùhàrà | - | kùhàrà |
| | ku-hár-a | | ku-har-a |
| | INF-live-FV | | INF-scrape-FV |
| | ‘to live’ | | ‘to scrape’ |
| (2) | évù | - | èvù |
| | e-ø-vú | | e-ø-vu |
| | AUG-NP ₅ -sand | | AUG-NP ₅ -wasp |
| | ‘sand, soil, land’ | | ‘wasp’ |
| (3) | màsirà | - | màsirà |
| | 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) b́áncè bàzânà
 ba-áncè ba-zán-a
 NP₂-child SM₂-play-FV
 ‘The children play.’

3 Tone

- (5) báncè bázâna
 ba-áncè bá-zân-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 (‘H). 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 Ø) 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 ‘ 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 ¹ H] HLH > [HL ¹ H]	3.1.2
Bimoraic doubling	HØ. > HH. ØH. > HH.	3.1.3
H retraction	ØH# > [HL]#	3.1.4
H > F	H# > [F]# H.Ø > [F.L]#	3.1.5
H tone spread	ØH > [HH] ØØH > [HHH] ØØØH > [HHHH] etc.	3.1.6

3 Tone

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. kùzíbbátùrà
 ku-zí-bbát-ur-a > ku-zí-bbat-ur-a
 INF-OM₈-separate-SEP.TR-FV
 'to separate them'

3.1 Tonal processes

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

SM₇-PST-become_full-NPST.PFV

'It has become full.'

Meeussen's Rule only affects high tones on adjacent moras. When a high tone is followed by another high tone that is on an adjacent syllable, but not an adjacent mora, 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 HØ.H sequences:

/HØ.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:¹ndé 'á:ngù

ma-téndé a-angú

NP₆-foot PP₆-POSS_{1SG}

'my feet'

Meeussen'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) c̀n`jí 'ndímìtàhwî:rà?

ø-ci-njí ndí-mi_H-ta_Hhw-ír-a

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

'What can I give you?' (NF_Elic15)

3 Tone

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) *rú'háti*
 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 > [H¹H]
 (14) Downstep on non-adjacent high tones: HLH > [HL¹H]

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

3.1 Tonal processes

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/ > [ndiyá 'kúmù:nzi]
 SM_{1SG}-GO-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 'I go home.'

Downstep between any two high tones, without an intervening low tone, is also described for the Bantu language Shambaa (Odden 1982). 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 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/ > bukábabú > [bùká'bábù]
 NP₁₄-problem
 'problem'

3 Tone

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 'zómùkê:ntù]
 NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-CON=NP₁-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:'ndá bàntù]
 INF-chase-FV NP₂-person
 'to chase people'
- (20) H-toned moras separated by more than one toneless mora: Downstep
 mbo-ndí-ci_H-to_Hrok-é > [mbò:ndícitò'rókè]
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-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-ká'bábu downstep
 [bùká'bábù]
 'problem'

3.1 Tonal processes

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_Hr-á/ > [mwàimúshó 'ndí'hàrà]
 COP-NP₁₈-Imusho SM_{1SG}.REL-live-FV
 'I live in Imusho.'
- (23) /zi-ryó zí-cenyá / > [zìryó 'zí'cényà]
 NP₈-food NP₈-lion
 'the ears of the lion' (ZF_Elic_2014)

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

3 Tone

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/ > [mà:yí: 'ndí'hí:bà]
 COP-NP₆-egg SM_{1SG}.REL-steal-FV
 'It's eggs that I steal.'

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

3.1 Tonal processes

- (27) /N-shukí zi-angú/ > [nshùkí 'zá:ngù]

NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-POSS_{1SG}

'my hair'

- (28) N-shukí > [nshúkì]

NP₁₀-hair

'hair'

H retraction targets moras, not syllables. If a high tone is assigned to the last mora of a bimoraic syllable, H retraction causes it to move to the preceding mora, but not the preceding syllable. The retracted high tone then undergoes bimoraic doubling, and is subsequently subject to the rule that creates falling tones in the last or penultimate syllable of a 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 /ØH/ syllables:

a. /Ø.ØH/# > Ø.HØ # (H retraction)

> Ø.HH # (bimoraic doubling)

> [L.F] (H > F)

b. /ndi-tw-.aá./ > [nditwâ:]

SM_{1SG}-pound-FV

'I pound.'

- (30) No H retraction in medial /ØH/ syllables:

/ndi-tw-aá mu-ndaré/ > [nditwá: mùndaré]

SM_{1SG}-pound-FV NP₃-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 /HØ/ syllables

a. /Ø.HØ/# > [H.LL]

b. /mu-.twíi./ > [mútwi:]

NP₃-head

'a head'

3 Tone

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) /Ø.H./# > [HL]# retracted high tones: realized as level high
 /ku-s-áa/ > [kúsà:]
 INF-dig-FV
 ‘to dig’

- (33) /H.Ø./# > [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’

¹Retracted 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.

3.1 Tonal processes

- (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_Hne >[mùsá: 'ndíbwè:nè]
 COP-NP₁-thief SM_{1SG}-see.STAT
 ‘I see a thief.’
- (39) ndi-bwe_Hné mu-.saá. > [ndíbwè:né mùsâ:]
 SM_{1SG}-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-POSS_{2SG} 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

3 Tone

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 njùò njétù
 e-í N-júo N-i-etú
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-house COP-PP₉-POSS₁PL
 ‘This house is ours.’

- (42) yìn’ énjúò njirôtu
 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-.yí./ >[ndiúrísá: màyî: ~ ndiùrísá: 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 'bénà]
 COP-NP₁₈-NP₃-journey SM₂-be_at
 ‘She is on a journey.’
- (45) ba-sep-ahar-á cáha > [bàsépáhára 'cáhà]
 SM₂-trust-NEUT-FV very
 ‘They are highly respected.’ (NF_Elic15)

H spread stops at certain morpheme boundaries. Within verbs, high tones may spread across derivational suffixes, but not onto any pre-stem affixes, such as the object marker *mu-* in (46), or the distal marker *ka-* in (47).

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

Within nouns, high tones may spread up to the first root syllable, but not onto the nominal prefix, augment, or any other grammatical prefix. 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) mùsébézì 'wábò
 mu-sebezí u-abó
 NP₃-work PP₃-DEM.III₂
 ‘his job’

H spread may affect the first high tone in an utterance, but also a subsequent high tone, which by default is downstepped. 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

3 Tone

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) ndàcǐ'nyúngínyùngì
 [_ - - - _ _]
 ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
 SM₁-PST-OM₇-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 èchi-fùwà 'bone' (Crane 2014: 65)
 Tonga ícǐ-fùwà 'bone' (Carter 1962: 65)
 Lenje cí-fùwà 'bone' (Kagaya 1987: 49)
 Fwe è-cì-fùhà '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

²According 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.

3.2 Lexical tone

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-¹HL, and H-LL. For the latter two patterns, the initial high tone is a floating tone that attaches to any preceding syllable, usually the noun's nominal prefix or augment. Examples of each of the surface patterns are given in (51).

(51) Tonal patterns on nouns with disyllabic stems

a.	/ØØ/	[LL]	
	/vumo/	vùmò	'stomach'
	/ma-ira/	mà-hirà	'sorghum'
	/mu-riro/	mù-rìrò	'fire'
b.	/HØ/	[FL]	
	/n-júo/	njùò	'house'
	/zyúba/	zyùbà	'sun, day'
	/ku-bóko/	kù-bòkò	'arm'
c.	/ØH/	[HL]	
	/mbufù/	mbúfù	'bream'
	/ndavù/	ndávù	'lion'
	/ci-shamù/	cì-shámù	'tree'
d.	/H-ØH/	[H- ¹ HL]	
	/bú-cenyá/	bú- ¹ cényà	'smallness'

3 Tone

/cí-monshó/	cí- ¹ mó:nshò	‘left’
/ká-nensá/	ká- ¹ né:nsà	‘pink, little toe’
e. /H-ØØ/	[H-LL]	
/mú-ngorwe/	mú-ngòrwè:	‘tree sp. (used to cure a curse)’
/ká-nsikwe/	ká-nsikwè:	‘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 /HØ/, nouns surfacing with a [FL] pattern could have an underlying /HØ/ or /HH/ pattern. Historically, Fwe nouns with a [FL] surface pattern are reflexes of nouns reconstructed as either *HH or *HL, for example *mà-fùtà* ‘oil’, from *kùtà ‘oil, fat’, and *n-sìngò* ‘neck’, from *kíngò ‘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-zyúru-ána/ > /ka-zyúru-ana/ > [kàzyùràrà]
 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-jókà ‘snake’	n-jókààrà ‘small snake’	*-jókà ‘snake’
rù-rìmì ‘tongue’	kà-rìmiàrà ‘small tongue’	*-dími ‘tongue’
mù-zìò ‘load’	mù-zìòàrà ‘small load’	*-dígò ‘load’
mù-kùrù ‘adult’	mù-kùràrà ‘young adult’	*-kùdò ‘adult’

3.2 Lexical tone

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.	/Ø-Ø/	L-L	
	/mu-ntu/	mù-ntù	‘person’
	/e-wa/	è-wà	‘field’
	/ci-zo/	cì-zò	‘tradition’
b.	/Ø-H/	H-L	
	/ku-twí/	kú-twì	‘ear’
	/e-vú/	é-vù	‘sand’
	/e-zwí/	é-zwì	‘knee’
c.	/H:- Ø/	F-L	
	/rú:-ho/	rû:-hò	‘wind’
	/bú:-ci/	bû:-cì	‘honey’
d.	/Ø-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) bùlô:
 bu-ló:
 NP₁₄-tasteless
 ‘tastelessness’

- (55) bùrê:
 bu-ré:
 NP₁₄-long
 ‘length’

3 Tone

- (56) rùkwê:
 ru-kwé
 NP₁₁-grass
 ‘grass (*Schoenoplectus brachyceras*)’
- (57) mùsâ:
 mu-sá
 NP₁-thief
 ‘thief’

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

- (58) /o-ø-mbwáa/ > [ómbwà:]
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘dog’
- (59) /e-N-shwáa/ > [ènshwà:]
 AUG-NP₁₀-termite
 ‘termites’
- (60) /mu-nwee/ > [mùnwè:]
 NP₃-finger
 ‘finger’

Monosyllabic noun stems with the tonal pattern [F-L] have an extra mora before the first (and only) root consonant, causing the vowel of the nominal prefix to be lengthened. Monosyllabic noun stems taking the [F-L] pattern historically derive from disyllabic noun stems. The noun *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
 NP₁₄-honey
 ‘honey’

3.2 Lexical tone

(62) rû:hò
 rú:-ho
 NP₁₁-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-kázàrà	‘girl’
mu-gwégwesi	mù-gwégwèsì	‘joint’
mpúbira	mpúbirà	‘papaya’
b. /ØØØ/	[LLL]	
/o-ntimbira/	ò-ntìmbirà	‘dung beetle’
/mu-cembere/	mù-cèmbèrè	‘old lady’
/e-n-daano/	è-n-dàànò	‘message’
/ci-wakaka/	cì-wàkàkà	‘horned melon (<i>Cucumis metuliferus</i>)’

The tonal pattern [H¹HL], 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 ¹ HL]	
/bu-shómaní/	bù-shó ¹ mànì	‘bad luck’
/ru-vútámó/	rù-vú ¹ támò	‘lower stomach’
/bu-kábabú/	bù-ká ¹ bábù	‘problem’
/mu-túkutá/	mù-tú ¹ kútà	‘heat’

3 Tone

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 /ØØH/ or /ØHØ/ pattern

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. /ØØH/ | [LHL] ~ [HHL] | source |
| /ka-pikíri/ | kà-píkírì ‘nail’ | Afrikaans spyker ‘nail’ |
| /mu-sebezi/ | mù-sébézì ‘work’ | Lozi musebezi ‘work’ |
| /mu-sipíri/ | mù-sípírì ‘journey’ | Lozi musipili ‘journey’ |
| /n-tauró/ | n-táúró ‘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. /ØHØ/ | [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-kòtànà ‘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. /HØØH/ | [HLHL] | |
| /ma-síkusíkú/ | mà-síkùsíkù ‘morning’ | |
| /njóvenjové/ | njòvènjòvè ‘tree (<i>Abrus precatorius</i>)’ | |
| b. /HØHØ/ | [HLFL] | |
| /ka-rikuríku/ | kà-rikùrìkù ‘hiccup’ | |
| /mu-rárambînda/ | mù-ràràmbîndà ‘milky way’ | |
| c. /ØHØH/ | [HH!HL] ~ [LH!HL] | |
| /ka-cióció/ | kà-cíyó!cíyò ‘chick’ | |
| /maíwué/ | màyí!wúyè ‘duck sp.’ | |

3.2 Lexical tone

d.	/ØHØØ/	[LHLL]	
	/ka-rurérure/	kà-rùrèrùrè	‘plant sp.’
	/kacípembe/	kàcípèmbè	‘mongongo beer’
e.	/ØØØH/	[LLHL]	
	/bbimbiriró/	bbimbìrìrò	‘rubbish heap’
	/harantené/	hàrànténè	‘cockroach’
f.	/ØØØØ/	[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-ØH/	[H- ¹ HL]	
	/mú-kwamé/	mú- ¹ kwá:mè	‘man’
	/cí-nsozí/	cí- ¹ nsózi	‘tear’
	/cí-ariso/	cí-àrìsò	‘latch’
	/má-nshawáshawà/	má- ¹ nsháwáshàwà	‘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)	é ¹ nkóri
	é-N-korí
	AUG-NP ₉ -walking_stick
	‘walking stick’

(70)	é ¹ mpúndù
	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).

3 Tone

(71)	ciàzò	cf. kùàrà
	cí-azo	kú-ar-a
	NP ₇ -door	INF-close-FV
	‘door’	‘to close’

(72)	cíyàzì	cf. kúyàà
	cí-yazi	kú-ya-a
	NP ₇ -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- ¹ tángányàmbè	‘calabash’
	mú-ngòrwè	‘tree sp. (used to cure a curse)’
	ká-nkàfwà	‘bat’
	ká-nsikwè	‘darkness’
	ká-nshèrèrè	‘small mushroom sp.’
	rú-ngàmàzyòbà	‘plant sp.’
	mú- ⁿ ùryà ~ mú- ¹ⁿ úryà	‘lizard’
	bú- ¹ cényà	‘smallness’
	mú- ¹ kwámè	‘man’
	cí- ¹ mónshò	‘left-hand side’
	é- ¹ mpúndù	‘berries of the sandpaper raisin bush’
	rú- ¹ⁿ á ⁿ à	‘sedge leaf’
	ká- ¹ nénsà	‘pink, little toe’
	é-n- ¹ kòrì	‘walking stick’
	bú- ¹ jómbà	‘plant (<i>Lannea edulis</i>)’
	ká- ¹ nsínsì	‘small blue bird sp.’
	cí- ¹ nsózi	‘tear’
	mú- ¹ nzúré	‘shadow; malaria’
	rú- ¹ shíkà	‘African mangosteen (<i>Garcinia livingstonei</i>)’
	é- ¹ símà	‘well’
	má- ¹ sínzà	‘snot’
	rú- ¹ súmà	‘jackalberry’
	ká- ¹ mpàfwà	‘bat sp.’
	~ ká-mpàfwà	

3.2 Lexical tone

ká-'nyángwényàngwè 'shrub (*Mundulea sericea*)'
 má-'nsháwáns hàwà 'shrub (*Grewia* sp.)'
 ~ má-'nsháwà

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

(74) /mú-kwamé/ > mú-kwámè (H retraction) > [mú-'kwá:mè] (downstep)
 NP₁-man
 'man'

(75) cí-áriso > /cí-ariso/ > cí-àrisò
 NP₇-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 syllable. 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 isolation, as in (76): FL, LL and the fairly marginal pattern H-LL, with a floating high

3 Tone

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. /HØ/	FL	
ku-hár-a	kù-hâr-à	‘to live’
ku-zyím-b-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. /ØØ/	LL	
ku-har-a	kù-hâr-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-ØØ/	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. /Ø-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. /Ø-Ø/	[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’

3.2 Lexical tone

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) kútwa:
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. /ØØØ/ | [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. /HØØ/ | [HLL] | |
| ku-cécent-a | kù-cécè:nt-à | 'to winnow' |
| ku-círuk-a | kù-círùk-à | 'to jump' |
| ku-kárih-a | kù-kárih-à | 'to shout' |
| c. /ØØØØ/ | [LLLL] | |
| ku-barakat-a | kù-bàràkàt-à | 'to flap (as a fish on dry land)' |
| ku-fufurerw-a | kù-fùfùrèr-w-à: | 'to sweat' |
| /HØØØ/ | [HLLL] | |
| ku-káwuhany-a | kù-káwùhàny-à | 'to separate' |
| ku-súrumuk-a | kù-sùrùmùk-à | 'to descend' |

3 Tone

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

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| (81) | /H-ØØ/ | [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/ > [ndátàbi]
 SM₁SG-PST-answer-NPST.PFV
 ‘I answered.’

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

The surface realization of infinitives with a floating high tone may correspond either to an underlying tone pattern of /H-HØ/ or /H-ØØ/, 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-HØ/ pattern, as the melodic high tone assigned to the second stem syllable is deleted, which can only be the result of the repeated application of Meeussen’s Rule. 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-HØ/ pattern.

- (84) ndi-á-táb-í > ndi-á-tab-i > [ndátàbi]

3.2 Lexical tone

SM₁SG-PST-answer-NPST.PFV

'I answered.'

- (85) ndi-á-kút-í > ndi-á-kut-i > [ndákùtì]

SM₁SG-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 were 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 ~ kùcìrìrà | 'to follow' |
| | /kú-hik-a/ ~ /ku-hík-a/ | kúhìkà ~ kùhìkà | 'to cook' |
| | /kú-min-a/ | kùminà | 'to set (of the sun)' |
| | /ku-min-a/ | kùminà | '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

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 Tone

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’		*-jítáb- ‘answer call’
kú-zyìb-à ‘know’		*-jǐjìb- ‘know’
kú-zyùr-à ‘become full’		*-jǐjød- ‘become full’

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.

3.3 Melodic tone

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 <i>náku</i> - subjunctive imperfective

3 Tone

Table 3.6: Melodic tone marking conventions

Underlying (lexical) tone	/ćv́/, 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	/cṽ/, e.g. /ndi-ka _H m-á/ ‘I am milking.’

Melodic tones and underlying tones are treated the same in the phonology of Fwe, with one exception: melodic tone pattern 4 only deletes underlying tones, not melodic tones. 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.

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 'shùnú
 ba-hur-á shúnu
 SM₂-arrive-FV today
 ‘They arrive today.’
- (89) mbòbáhùré 'shùnú
 mbo-bá-hur-é shúnu
 NEAR.FUT-SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
 ‘They will arrive today.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (90) òshòtòké òmùkwàkwà
 o-sho_Htok-é 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

3.3 Melodic tone

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) ...ndihikìrémó bùjwà:rà
 ndi-hi_Hk-ir-e=mó bu-jwara
 SM_{1SG}-cook-APPL-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈ NP₁₄-beer
 ‘...so that I cook beer in it.’ (NF_Elic15)

MT 1 targets the mora, not the syllable. When a verb has a bimoraic final syllable, 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-.aá. o-bu-jwara/ > bànywá: òbùjwàrà
 SM₂-drink-FV AUG-NP₁₄-beer
 ‘They drink beer.’
 (93) /ba-nyw-.aá./ > 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 shùnu
 tu-rim-á shúnu
 SM_{1PL}-farm-FV today
 ‘We farm today.’
 (95) tùtòmbwèrà shùnu
 tu-tombwér-a shúnu
 SM_{1PL}-weed-FV today
 ‘We weed today.’ (NF_Elic15)

When MT 1 is used with a verb stem that has two moras both in the last and in the penultimate syllable, the melodic tone is assigned to the last verb mora, as in (96).

3 Tone

- (96) ndi-nyans-á > ndìnyà:nsâ:
*ndi-nyáns-a > ndìnyâ:nsà:
SM_{1SG}-accuse-FV
'I accuse.' (NF_Elic15)

The alternation between final and penultimate assignment of this melodic tone cannot be interpreted in terms of the tone rules that are used in Fwe, but should nonetheless be analyzed as exponents of the same melodic tone: 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	<i>shèká</i>	CV:CV	<i>zwá:tà</i>
CVCV:	<i>bùzá:</i>		
CV:CV:	<i>nyà:nsá:</i>		

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).

3.3 *Melodic tone*

- (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:résèki
 ka-i-o:r-ések-i
 NEG-SM₉-can-NEUT-NEG
 ‘It is not possible.’ (ZF_Conv13)

In some Bantu languages, object markers are counted as part of the verb stem 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
 ndàrindìrì
 ndi-a-rind-ìr-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-wait-APPL-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve waited for.’
- (100) Melodic tone 3: with an object marker
 ndàkùrindìrì

3 Tone

ndi-a-ku-rind-ír-i
 SM₁SG-PST-OM₂SG-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:ndínywì:
 ta-ndí-nyw-i
 NEG-SM₁SG-drink-NEG
 ‘I don’t drink.’
- b. ndinânywì:
 ndi-ná-nyw-i
 SM₁SG-PST-drink-NPST.PFV
 ‘I drank.’
- c. ndinàkûwì
 ndi-na-kû-w-i
 SM₁SG-PST-OM₂SG-give-NPST.PFV
 ‘I have given you.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- d. kà:ndikârì
 ka-ndi-kâ-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)

3.3 Melodic tone

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_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-run-FV
 ‘I run.’ (NF_Elic15)

MT 4 also deletes high tones that are associated with affixes, such as object markers, 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 persistent prefix *shí-*, as in (105).

- (104) ndìbàshákà
 ndi-ba_H-shak-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₂-like-FV
 ‘I like them.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (105) ndìshìhò:ndà
 ndi-shi_H-hónd-a
 SM_{1SG}-PER-cook-FV
 ‘I am still cooking.’ (NF_Elic15)

MT 4 always co-occurs with another melodic tone, and the deletion of high tones does not affect the high tones assigned by this pattern. The present construction combines MT 4 with MT 1, which is assigned to the verb’s last mora, and this melodic tone is not affected by the deletion of underlying tones, as in (106).

3 *Tone*

- (106) bàzyibàhàrà
 ba-zyi_Hb-ahar-á
 SM₂-know-NEUT-FV
 ‘S/he is famous.’ (NF_Elic15)

The floating high tone that is part of the lexical tone pattern of certain verb stems (see §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) nditábà
 ndi-tab-á
 SM_{1SG}-answer-FV
 ‘I answer.’ (NF_Elic15)

In one environment, however, MT 4 fails to affect floating tones. This is the case when the prefix before the verb root, normally the syllable the floating tone attaches to, is a toneless prefix. In (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) ndimú’tábà
 ndi-mú-tab-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁-answer-FV
 ‘I answer her/him.’

The realization of floating tones in the present construction is also seen with other toneless prefixes, such as the distal *ka-* in (109), used with the verb ‘*kar* ‘sit’.

- (109) ndiká’kàrà
 ndi-ká-kar-á
 SM_{1SG}-DIST-sit-FV
 ‘I sit there.’ (NF_Elic17)

Floating tones may not be realized on an underlyingly high-toned prefix, even though the use of melodic tone 4 deletes their high tones. This is shown with the high-toned object marker *bá-* in (110) and the high-toned persistive prefix *shí-* in (111).

3.3 *Melodic tone*

- (110) ndibàtábà
 ndi-ba_H-tab-ạ́
 SM_{1SG}-OM₂-answer-FV
 ‘I answer them.’
- (111) ndìshìtábà
 ndi-shi_H-tab-ạ́
 SM_{1SG}-PER-answer-FV
 ‘I still answer.’ (NF_Elic17)

Although subject markers are underlyingly toneless, floating tones never attach to them in TAM constructions that use MT 4, such as the present in (112).

- (112) ndítábà
 ndi-tab-ạ́
 SM_{1SG}-answer-FV
 ‘I answer.’ (NF_Elic15)

More research is needed to explain the complex interaction between floating tones and melodic tones, and to explain why these specific phonological and morphological environments allow for the realization of floating tones, where other lexical tones cannot be realized.

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 Section Error: Reference source not found, 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 dedicated to 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

4 Nominal morphology

Table 4.1: Nominal agreement

Noun class	nominal prefix (NP)	pronominal prefix (PP)
1	mu-	u-/zyu-
2	ba-	ba-
1a	ø-/mu-	u-/zyu-
3	mu-	u-
4	mi-	i-
5	ø-/ri-	ri-
6	ma-	a-
7	ci-	ci-
8	zi-	zi-
9	N-/ø-	i-
10	N-/ø-	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-

different meaning. The semantic basis of noun classes and the derivational processes that 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.

4.1 Noun classes

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

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

4 Nominal morphology

and *ndu-* for class 1a (see §5.3 on copulas). Especially the latter is a convincing argument to treat class 1a as a separate noun class, but it should be noted that with the exception of the 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 Shango, 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) | rìshò | 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

4.1 Noun classes

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-îndî ‘leg of a pot’
- c. class 11 rw-âta ‘crack’
- d. class 14 bw-ékè ‘grain’
- e. class 15 kw-âhà ‘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-ózi ‘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-ânda/ z-ânda ‘pole(s)’
- b. class 7/8 c-ûngù/ z-ûngù ‘bird(s) sp.’

4 Nominal morphology

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 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’
 class 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 (10)a.-b., others take a zero prefix, as in (10)c.-d. 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-dìshì ‘dish’

4.1 Noun classes

- b. class 9 *n-kèrékè* ‘church’ (from Afrikaans *kerk*)
- c. class 9 *ø-râyîsî* ‘rice’
- d. class 9 *ø-fûrâyî* ‘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 njòkà ~ èrí zyòkà*
e-í N-jòka ~ e-rí ø-zyòka
 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 1(a), 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-ø-njovu a-ry_H-á
 AUG-NP_{1a}-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

4 Nominal morphology

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 'nshókò
 o-zýú ø-nshokó
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-monkey
 ‘this monkey’
- (15) bàshókò
 ba-shokó
 NP₂-monkey
 ‘monkeys’
- (16) kàshókóànà
 ka-shokó-ana
 NP₁₂-monkey-DIM
 ‘baby monkey’ (Namibian Fwe)
- (17) kànshókóànà
 ka-nshokó-ana
 NP₁₂-monkey-DIM
 ‘baby monkey’ (Zambian Fwe)

Any class 1a noun loses its homorganic nasal when shifted to class 12. The corresponding unprenasalized consonant has the same manner and place of articulation as the original prenasalized consonant, as well as the same voicing. Surprisingly, though, the morphophonological principles governing the changes that take place when a consonant is prenasalized do not apply here. These determine, for instance, that continuants turn into stops before *N*- (see §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

4.1 Noun classes

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

4 Nominal morphology

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) òmùndàrè ~ mùndàrè
 (o-)mu-ndaré
 AUG-NP₃-maize
 ‘maize’
- (19) mùndàrè òmùgênè ~ mùndàrè mùgênè
 mu-ndaré (o-)mu-gêne
 NP₃-maize (AUG-)NP₃-thin
 ‘small maize’
- (20) òwíná mùndàrè ~ wíná mùndàrè
 (o-)winá mu-ndaré
 (AUG-)DEM.IV₃ NP₃-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
 NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my wife’

4.1 Noun classes

- (24) (*ò)kùrùwà
 ku-ru-wa
 NP₁₇-NP₁₁-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-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-FV NP₉-bicycle
 ‘I bought a bicycle.’
 b. nìndákàùr’ énjìngà
 ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á e-N-jinga
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy AUG-NP₉-bicycle
 ‘I bought a bicycle.’ (NF_Elic15)

For demonstratives, the augment vowel is optional but its presence is often governed by phonological well-formedness: monosyllabic demonstrative stems strongly prefer the use of the augment, and disyllabic demonstrative stems strongly disprefer the use of the augment (see §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, either 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
 SM_{1SG}-have AUG-NP₂-dog
 ‘I have dogs.’
 (27) ndìshák’ ènyàmà
 ndi-shak-á e-N-nyama
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-NP₉-meat
 ‘I want meat.’ (NF_Elic15)

4 Nominal morphology

- (28) kànt' ú'ndávù
 kantí o-n-davú
 then AUG-NP_{1a}-lion
 'Well, the lion...' (NF_Narr15)
- (29) vùmw' énéne
 ø-vumó e-ø-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 èṅòmbè (cf. kùkànkà 'to slaughter')
 ku-kank-á e-N-ṅombe
 INF-slaughter-FV AUG-NP₉-COW
 'to slaughter a cow'

However, because vowel hiatus resolution rules frequently reduce sequences of adjacent vowels to a single vowel, the floating high tone of the augment may revert back to the vowel of the augment, when the preceding vowel is deleted. This is 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' éṅòmbè
 ku-kank-á e-N-ṅombe
 INF-slaughter-FV AUG-NP₉-COW
 'to slaughter a cow'

The vowel and the floating high tone of the augment can occur independently of each other. In (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).

4.1 Noun classes

- (32) kùshàyìká 'zíryò
 ku-sháik-á zi-ryó
 INF-cook-FV NP₈-food
 'to cook food' (NF_Elic15)
- (33) kùkùmbìrà èzwáyì
 ku-kumbir-a e-ø-zwái
 INF-request-FV AUG-NP₅-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. ndizyì: nyàmbè
 ndi-zyi:_H nyambe
 SM_{1SG}-know Nyambe
 'I know Nyambe.'
 b. *ndizyí: nyàmbè
- (36) a. ndisháká kùhòndèrà báma
 ndi-shak-á ku-hond-er-a ba-ø-má
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-APPL-FV NP₂-NP_{1a}-mother
 'I want to cook for my mother.'
 b. *ndisháká kùhòndèrà 'báma (NF_Elic15)

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

4 Nominal morphology

- (37) a. ndìsháká òkùkòròtá màshérêṇì
 ndi-shak-á o-ku-korot-á ma-sheréṇi
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₆-money
 ‘I want to borrow some money.’
- b. ndìsháká òkùkòròtá màshérêṇì
 ndi-shak-á o-ku-korot-a ma-sheréṇi
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₆-money
 ‘I want to borrow some money.’ (NF_Elic17)

A question that requires further investigation is 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’ énkòkò
 ndi-shak-á ku-hond-á e-N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-FV AUG-NP₉-porridge
 ‘I want to cook some porridge.’
- (39) ndìsháká kùhònd’ ènkòkò
 ndi-shak-á ku-hond-a e-N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-cook-FV AUG-NP₉-porridge
 ‘I want to cook some porridge.’ (NF_Elic17)

Another factor that can play a role in the conditioning of the augment in Bantu languages is focus, where the absence of the 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-NP₉-bicycle
 'I bought a bicycle.'
- b. nìndákàùrá njìngà
 ni-ndí-a-ka-ur-á N-jinga
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-buy-FV NP₉-bicycle
 'I bought a bicycle.' (NF_Elic15)

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

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

4 Nominal morphology

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-bùrù ‘Afrikaner’
 class 6 mà-bùrù ‘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 ø-nzìkè ‘single person’
 class 2 bà-nzìkè ‘single people’
 (46) class 1a ø-nyâti ‘buffalo’
 class 2 bà-nyâti ‘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-ìngà ‘thorn’
 class 4 mì-ìngà ‘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’)

4.1 Noun classes

- (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 ø-sèsì ‘bullfrog’
class 6 mà-sèsì ‘bullfrogs’
b. class 5 ø-nòkà ‘hip’
class 6 mà-nòkà ‘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 ‘brems’
- (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-jùò ‘house’
class 6 mà-zyùò ‘houses’
- (57) class 9 n-gômà ‘drum’
class 6 mà-ômà ‘drums’
- (58) class 9 n-ká¹mbámò ‘slope’
class 6 mà-nká¹mbámò ‘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.

4 Nominal morphology

- (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-cíyó'cíyò ‘chick’
class 13 tù-cíyó'cíyò ‘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).

4.1 *Noun classes*

- (68) class 1a shómbò ‘cassava leaves’
 class 1a mvûrà ‘rain’
 class 3 mù-mè ‘dew’
 class 3 mù-rízìngè ‘ivy’
 class 5 dùdùsà ‘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 nyôta ‘thirst’
 class 11 rû-hò ‘wind’
 class 11 rû-nèmbwè ‘cannabis’
 class 12 kà-mwî ‘heat; mid-day’
 class 12 ká-nsikwè ‘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-tètè ‘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

4 Nominal morphology

- 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’
 màriânjò ‘virgin’
 ñàngà ‘doctor’
 mfûzi ‘blacksmith’
- b. Names
 nyàmbè ‘Nyambe (boy’s name)’
 nèzyûbà ‘Nezyuba (girl’s name)’
- c. Animals

4.1 Noun classes

mvwì ‘kudu’
 ɲàrò ‘chameleon’
 ngwèná ‘crocodile’
 nkàngà ‘guinea fowl’

d. Plants

(kà)ngùrù ‘sweet potato’
 mbwìtì ‘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 *dòkòtá* ‘doctor’, and the Lozi borrowing *kàpàsò* ‘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 as 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 *bàmùrúti*, derived with the class 2 prefix, triggers the use of a pronominal prefix of class 2.

- (73) *bàmùrúti bó'ngánà*
 ba-mu-rutí ba-ó=nganá
 NP₂-NP₁-teacher PP₂-CON=smart
 ‘a smart teacher’

This differs from the use of the locative classes 16, 17 and 18, whose prefixes are also used in addition to the 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 *mú'kwámè* ‘husband’;

4 Nominal morphology

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 *bàmùkèntù wángù* ‘my wife’, as in (76).

- (74) *bàmùkèntù wángù*
 ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘my wife’
- (75) *àbá bà mú'kwámè wénù*
 a-bá ba-mú-kwamé u-enú
 AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-NP₁-husband PP₁-POSS_{2PL}
 ‘this husband of yours’ (NF_Narr15)
- (76) *háibà bà mùkèntù wángù bàkwèsì nyàzì mbòndíbàkâ:nè*
 háiba ba-mu-kéntu u-angú ba-kwesi N-nyazi
 when NP₂-NP₁-wife PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₂-have NP₉-lover
 mbo-ndí-ba_H-ká_H-n-e
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₂-refuse-PFV.SBJV
 ‘If my wife has a lover, I will divorce her.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The honorific use of *ba-* is required when the speaker wants to refer to anyone older than himself, as well as to anyone who generally commands respect, such as 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-klàwùdià*
 ‘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.’

4.1 Noun classes

- (80) mùbàhé cìpùrà bàkàréhò
 mu-ba_H-ha_H-é ci-pura ba-ka_Hr-e=hó
 SM₂PL-OM₂-give-PFV.SBJV NP₇-chair SM₂-sit-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₆
 ‘Give her a chair to sit on.’ (NF_Elic15)

The use of plural forms as a marker of respect is also used for the second person; this use is discussed for subject and object markers in Sections 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 who 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 in either of these categories.

- (81) a. Trees
 mù-swìtì ‘magic guarri (*Euclea divinorum*)’
 mù-táfùnànjòvù ‘acacia’
 mù-kùsì ‘Zambezi teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*)’
 b. Plants
 mù-nshàrè ‘sugar cane’
 mù-shwàtì ‘sugar cane’
 mù-tébè ‘reed (*Typha capensis*)’
 c. Natural
 mw-èzì ‘moon, month’
 phenomena mù-fwè ‘stone’
 mù-nùnkò ‘(bad) smell’
 mú-‘nzùrè ‘shadow; malaria’
 m-òyà ‘wind’
 d. Unpaired body parts
 mù-cìrà ‘tail’
 m-òzyò ‘heart’
 mù-rívù ‘windpipe’
 mù-shànà ‘back’
 e. Tools
 mù-shùwì ‘horn for sucking blood from a wound’
 mù-sókwàni ‘stirring stick’
 mù-nséfà ‘sieve’
 mw-inshì ‘pestle’
 mù-wàyò ‘arrow’

4 Nominal morphology

- f. Miscellaneous
 - mù-zìò ‘load’
 - mù-zwákêrà ‘poison’
 - mù-sùngà ‘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-ìshò ‘eye’
- b. Other paired items
 - nyàtèrà ‘sandal’
 - nyìnyànì ‘earring’
 - sikíò ‘earring’
 - kàmbà ‘river bank’
- c. Mass nouns
 - shékèshêkè ‘sand’
 - tàpà ‘mud’
 - túkútà ‘dirt’
 - é-twè ‘ash’
 - sùtù ‘chaff’
- d. Loanwords
 - fònì ‘phone’
 - jókwè ‘yoke’
 - sákà ‘bag’; from Afrikaans *sak* ‘bag’
 - hèmèrè ‘bucket’; from Afrikaans *emmer* ‘bucket’
 - [§]úmù ‘edible reed’; from Ju *g#kò’m* ‘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).

4.1 Noun classes

- (83) a. Non-count nouns
 mà-hirà ‘sorghum’
 mà-shérênjì ‘money’
 mà-bérè ‘millet’
- b. Liquids
 mà-bìsì ‘sour milk’
 mà-ròhà ‘blood’
 m-ênjì ‘water’
- c. Paired items
 mà-gìrázì ‘(eye-)glasses’
 mà-shàngànjìrà ‘crossroads’
 mà-zyòvù ‘twins’
- d. Abstract concepts
 mà-ntà ‘power’
 mà-rwêzyà ‘taboo’
- e. Deverbal nouns
 mà-hóndêrò ‘kitchen’; cf. hònd-à ‘cook’
 mà-kwátirò ‘handle’ cf. kwât-à ‘grab’
 mà-rârò ‘room’ cf. râr-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-fwinsò ‘stopper, seal’, cf. fwins-à ‘seal’
 cì-fò ‘poison used in hunting’, cf. fw-à ‘die’
 cì-àzò ‘door’ cf. àr-à ‘close’
 cì-bónàntù ‘something visible’, cf. bôn-à ‘see’
 cì-téndântù ‘action’ cf. tënd-à ‘do’
- c. Language names
 cì-fwè ‘Fwe’
 cì-búrù ‘Afrikaans’
 cì-kúwà ‘English’
 cì-rwízyì ‘Lozi’

4 Nominal morphology

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 dysfunctional or undesirable body parts, of animals that are useless or harmful to humans, and of humans of low social status, or with physical disabilities; the latter, however, may also occur in class 1.

(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 ùshù	‘sore’
cì-rábì	‘wound’

c. Useless or harmful animals

cì-mbòtwè	‘frog’
cì-sînzì	‘termite’
cì-shùmi	‘biting insect’
cì-rì	‘puff-adder’
cì-bâtànà	‘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’
cì-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 *cì-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

4.1 Noun classes

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

- (86) àhà ndíkè:zyà kùtêyè èrì rînshò ndizèràzèrà ndirikóshórèkò búryò
 a-ha ndí-ke:zy-a kutéye e-rí ri-ínsho
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-come-FV that AUG-DEM.I₅ NP₅-eye
 ndi-zera-zer-á ndi-ri_H-ko_Hshór-e=ko bu-ryó
 SM_{1SG}-PL2-dangle-FV SM_{1SG}-OM₅-cut-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇ NP₁₄-just
 ‘Then, when I saw that the eye was dangling, let me just cut it.’
- (87) àhà ndákùcìkòshòrà
 a-ha ndí-aku-cí-koshor-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-NPST.IPFV-OM₇-cut-FV
 ‘When I had cut it...’ (ZF_Narr14)

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

ṇòmézò	‘button’
zândò	‘fishing trap (made out of reed)’
n-gôma	‘drum (musical instrument)’
n-kwàná	‘pot for beer or water’

b. Mental and physical sensations

fúfà	‘jealousy’
nyòtà	‘thirst’
m-péhò	‘cold; malaria’
n-zózi ¹	‘dreaming’
n-sépò	‘hope’
ṇônzi	‘sleep, drowsiness’

c. Abstract concepts

n-tùkèrò	‘responsibility, right’
n-gàzyàrò	‘plan’
n-kàwùhànò	‘divorce’
n-gùrisò	‘profit’

4 Nominal morphology

d. Useful animals

n-gù	‘sheep’
ṇòmbè	‘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’
rù- ⁿ l ⁿ à	‘sedge-leaf (<i>Kylinga alba</i>)’
rù-lómà	‘papyrus’
rù-kwê	‘reed (<i>Schoenoplectus corymbosus</i>)’

b. Grass species

rù-gwàràrà	‘grass (<i>Juncus krausii</i>)’
rù-sîwù	‘grass (<i>Cyperus fulgens</i>)’
rù-fíyêrò	‘grass (<i>Stipagrostis uniplumis</i>)’

c. Other elongated objects

rù-kwákwà	‘fence’
rw-ízyì	‘river’
rù-háti	‘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’

¹Fwe distinguishes *nzòzì*, the process of dreaming, from *ci-ròtò*, the content of the dream.

²As I was told by my informants, the python is the only snake that is eaten.

4.1 Noun classes

- 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’
 - kà-nshèrèrè ‘small mushroom sp.’
 - kà-nyùndwè ‘pebble’
 - kà-shùtò ‘fishing hook’
- b. Small animals
 - kà-nàmání ‘calf’
 - kà-cíyó’cíyò ‘chick’
 - kà-bérébèrè ‘centipede’
 - kà-mbàryàmbàryà ‘lizard sp.’
- c. Small body parts
 - kà-téntèrè ‘xiphoid bone’
 - ká-’nénsà ‘pink, little toe’
 - kà-sìyè ‘forehead wrinkle’
- d. Utensils
 - kà-tùò ‘spoon’
 - kà-sùbà ‘dish’
 - kà-róngò ‘pot’
 - kà-nkúnè ‘smoking shelve’ (for smoking foods, such as fish)
 - kà-fùrò ‘knife’
 - kà-ingà ‘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’

4 Nominal morphology

- b. class 5 hànjà ‘hand’
class 12 kà-hànjà ‘small hand’
- c. class 7 cì-pùrà ‘chair’
class 12 kà-pùrà ‘stool’
- d. class 9 n-jùò ‘house’
class 12 kà-jùò ‘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

bû:cì	‘honey’
bw-ékè	‘grains’
bù-sùnsò	‘relish’
- c. Trees

bù-kwízyù	‘fig tree’
bù-hómà	‘mongongo tree (<i>Schinziophyton rautanenii</i>)’
bù-zyíyì	‘tree (<i>Berchemia discolor</i>)’

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’

4.1 Noun classes

- 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)-(67) in §4.1.3). Some of these are being reassigned to class 5, e.g. *kú-twi* ‘ear’ and *kù-bôkò* 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 kwàndikwángisì*
o-ku-ís-a ku-a-ndi-kwáng-is-i
 AUG-INF-burn-FV SM₁₅-PST-OM_{1SG}-tire-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 ‘The heat has made me tired.’ (NF_Elic15)

Classes 16, 17 and 18 are locative classes. Very few nouns have inherent class 16, 17 or 18 membership, and these classes are mainly used derivational; their semantics are discussed in §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, occurring 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’

4 Nominal morphology

- (98) mùmùnzi
 mu-mu-nzi
 NP₁₈-NP₃-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:
 NP₁₆-place PP₁₆-CON=one
 ‘one place, the same place’

- (100) hà mùtwí ‘wángù
 ha-mu-twí u-angú
 NP₁₆-NP₃-head PP₃-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘on my head’

When a noun has a pronominal 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
 NP₁₈-PP₃-POSS_{1PL} NP₃-language
 ‘in our language’

- (102) mòwíná mùnzi
 mu-o-winá mu-nzi
 NP₁₈-DEM.IV₃ NP₃-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).

4.1 Noun classes

- (103) hèrìn' éshâshà
 ha-e-riná e-ø-shâsha
 NP₁₆-AUG-DEM.IV₅ AUG-NP₅-mat
 'on that mat' (NF_Elic17)
- (104) riyá kwábà bàkázà à bàsishèshìwâ
 ri-y-á kú-a-ba ba-kázana bá-si_H-she_Hsh-iw-á
 SM₅-go-FV NP₁₇-AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-lady SM₂.REL-PRS-marry-PASS-FV
 'It [the story] goes to these ladies who are not yet married.' (NF_Narr17)
- 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) ndirá:rà héshâshà
 ndi-rá_Hr-a há-e-ø-shâsha
 SM_{1SG}-sleep-FV NP₁₆-AUG-NP₅-mat
 'I sleep on a mat.' (NF_Elic15)
- (106) mbòndíshùmin' ómùhàrà kwítèndè
 mbo-ndí-shu_Hmin-é o-mu-hara kú-e-ø-tènde
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-tie-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₃-rope NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-foot
 'I will tie the rope to my foot.' (NF_Narr15)
- (107) kùshàmbà mwízibà
 ku-shamb-a mú-e-ø-ziba
 INF-swim-FV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-lake
 'to swim in the lake'

These forms are not found in Zambian Fwe, and even in Namibian Fwe, the change of *ku-* and *mu-* to *kwi-* and *mwi-* before *e-* is optional; this could be related to the optional status of the augment vowel (see §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).

4 Nominal morphology

(108) hàmakângà
ha-makángà
NP₁₆-Makanga
‘at Makanga’

(109) kwàmòngù
kwa-mongu
NP₁₇-Mongu
‘in Mongu’

(110) mwànàmibìà
mwa-namibia
NP₁₈-Namibia
‘in Namibia’

(111) mùpótò
mu-ø-potó
NP₁₈-NP_{1a}-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 háci-pùrà
kú-kar-a há-ci-purá
INF-sit-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-chair
‘to sit on a chair’

(113) àrà:rà hámùmbétà
a-rá:_Hr-a há-mu-mbetá
SM₁-sleep-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-bed
‘S/he sleeps on the bed.’ (NF_Elic15)

(114) àké:zyà kùzyímanà hékàmbà
a-ké:zy-a ku-zyíman-a há-e-ø-kamba
SM₁-come-FV INF-stand-FV NP₁₆-AUG-NP₅-bank
‘He comes to stand on the river bank.’ (NF_Narr15)

4.1 Noun classes

- (115) tùzânà hámùkítì
 tu-zân-a há-mu-kití
 SM_{1PL}-dance-FV NP₁₆-NP₃-party
 ‘We dance at the party.’
- (116) àzyíménè hácìzyì
 a-zyì_Hméne há-ci-zyì
 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 hàcìrabi
 a-ma-roha a-zw-á ha-ci-rabi
 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 shùnù
 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
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-leave-NPST.PFV DEM.I₁₇ NP₁₇-NP₉-path
 ‘I’ve left him there, on the path.’ (ZF_Narr13)
- (120) ndiyá ‘kúmùnzi
 ndi-y-á kú-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-go-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘I go home.’ (NF_Elic15)

The class 18 locative is used to express a location inside something, as in (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).

4 Nominal morphology

- (121) ndikèrè múnjûò
 ndi-ke_Hre mú-N-júo
 SM_{1SG}-sit.STAT NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 ‘I’m sitting in the house.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (122) ècikúni càkùrí kùdànsì múnjîrà
 e-ci-kúni ci-aku-rí ku-dàns-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-á mu-ma-ínjì
 SM₁-jump-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-water
 ‘S/he jumps into the water.’
- (124) òzwé mùkàmwî
 o-zw-é mu-ka-mwí
 SM_{2SG}-come_out-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₁₂-sun
 ‘Come out of the sun.’ (NF_Elic15)

The locative prefixes also have a number of non-locative uses. The class 16 and 18 locatives can be used to express a location in time, 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) hàrùmwi
 ha-ru-mwí
 NP₁₆-NP₁₁-summer
 ‘in summer’
- (126) múnàkò yómvûrà
 mu-N-nako i-ó=ø-mvûra
 NP₁₈-NP₉-time PP₉-CON=NP_{1a}-rain
 ‘in the rainy season’

The class 17 locative can be used to express a partitive, as in (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).

4.1 Noun classes

- (127) bàtómá 'kwínyàmà
 ba-tom-á kú-e-N-nyama
 SM₂-share-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-meat
 'S/he shares from the meat.'
- (128) ndiò:r' òkùkàrimà kwífòní 'yénù
 ndi-ò:r-a o-ku-kàrim-a kú-e-ø-foní i-enú
 SM_{1SG}-can-FV AUG-INF-borrow-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-phone PP₉-POSS_{2PL}
 'Can I borrow your phone?' (NF_Elic17)

The class 17 locative *ku-* can be used to mark an agent in a construction where an agent cannot be marked as a core argument. 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-ø-mbwá
 SM₁-PST-bite-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-dog
 'He was bitten by a dog.' (NF_Elic17)
- (130) ndó'rúfù rùbànyámùzàmbàràrà kúnjòvù
 ndó-ru-fù ru-ba-nyá-muzambarara
 COP.DEF₁₁-NP₁₁-death PP₁₁-NP₂-mother-Muzambarara
 kú-ø-njovu
 NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-elephant
 'That is the death of Mrs. Muzambarara by the elephant.' (ZF_Narr15)
- (131) ècizyábàró 'cángù càbùrùki kú'rú:hò
 e-ci-zyabaró ci-angú ci-a-bur-ùk-i
 AUG-NP₇-shirt PP₇-POSS_{1SG} SM₇-PST-blow-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 kú-rú:-ho
 NP₁₇-NP₁₁-wind
 'My shirt was blown away by the wind.' (NF_Elic15)
- (132) èzizwátò zinàbómbì kúmvûrà
 e-zi-zwátò zi-na-bómb-i kú-ø-mvûra
 AUG-NP₈-cloth SM₈-PST-become_wet-NPST.PFV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-rain
 'The clothes have become wet because of the rain.' (NF_Elic15)

4 Nominal morphology

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 as that of Fwe, and loanwords originating from non-Bantu languages, which lack noun classes. Borrowings from Bantu languages are often assigned to the noun class whose prefix is formally most similar to the prefix of the borrowed word. Borrowings from non-Bantu languages use other processes, notably assignment to a default class, but also the more uncommon process of paralexification (Gunnink et al. 2015).

Fwe 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 in 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-Capriivi) 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-ⁿùryà* 'type of lizard', which is assigned to noun class 3 on the basis of its synonym *mù-shúndùkìrè*, a native Fwe word

4.1 Noun classes

Table 4.3: Lozi loanwords in Fwe

Fwe			Lozi		
1	mù-rúti	‘teacher’	1	mu-luti	‘teacher’
3	mù-ràhò	‘law’	3	mu-lao	‘law’
3	mù-ràkà	‘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-rimò	‘season, year’	7	si-limo	‘year’
9	nyàzì	‘lover’	9	nyazi	‘concubine’

with the same meaning which is also in class 3 (Gunnink et al. 2015: 207). This process is referred to as ‘paralexification’ (Mous 2001), and is not commonly used as a strategy for noun class assignment of borrowings by Bantu languages. The paralexification of Khoisan borrowings in Fwe and related languages, and the implications this has for the analysis of the contact situation, are 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

Table 4.4: Possible Khwe and Ju (!Xung/!Xun/!Xuun/Ju|’hoan) loan-words in Fwe

--

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 ‘pótò

4 Nominal morphology

Table 4.5: English and Afrikaans loanwords in Fwe

5	bòtèrà	‘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 ‘Sun- day’

o-zyú ø-potó
AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-pot
‘this pot’ (Zambian Fwe)

(134) èyí 'mpótò
e-í N-potó
AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-pot
‘this pot’ (Namibian Fwe)

English or Afrikaans 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 Word formation

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 gives an overview of the deverbal derivational suffixes, their functions and their productivity.

Table 4.6: Deverbal suffixes

Form	Function	Productivity
<i>-i</i>	agentive (human)	mostly productive
<i>-o</i>	instrumental, patientive, action, result, place, time	mostly productive
<i>-ntu</i>	general nominalizer	mostly productive
<i>-u</i>	instrumental, patientive, abstract	unproductive
<i>-a</i>	instrumental, patientive, agentive (non-human)	unproductive
<i>-e</i>	instrumental, agentive (non-human)	unproductive

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.

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

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

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.

4 Nominal morphology

Table 4.7: Tone in derived nouns

Maintenance of lexical tone			
bûmbà	‘make pottery’	mù-bûmbì	‘potter’
rô:tà	‘dream’	cì-rôtò	‘dream’
kú-fwà	‘die’	rú-fù	‘death’
kákàtirà	‘stick’	rù-kákàtirà	‘burdock’
Changes in lexical tone			
tùsà	‘help’	n-túsò	‘help’
fùrà	‘sharpen, weld’	kà-fùrò	‘knife’
kòhà	‘blink’	n-kôhè (cl 10)	‘eyelids’
tùkà	‘insult’	mà-tùkà	‘insults’
tár-ùk-à	‘take a step’	mù-tàrà	‘footprint’

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 stop- per’	cì-fwìnk-ìs-ò	‘stopper’

4.2 Word formation

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-kúzy-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’
sùmb-àr-à	‘become pregnant’	bù-sùmb-à	‘pregnancy’

Table 4.10: Agent nouns derived with *-i*

Base verb		Derived noun	
bàrà	‘read’	mù-bàrì	‘reader’
fùmà	‘become rich’	mù-fùmì	‘rich person’
fùrà	‘sharpen, weld’	mù-fùrì	‘blacksmith’
rwà	‘fight’	mù-rwì	‘fighter’
zyâ:kà	‘build’	mù-zyâ:kì	‘builder’

There are five words where the agentive suffix *-i* causes the preceding consonant to change to /z/, listed in Table 4.11

Table 4.11: Agent nouns with spirantization

Base verb		Derived noun	
fùrà	‘forge’	mù-fùzì ~ mù-fùrì	‘blacksmith’
fwèbà	‘smoke’	mù-fwèzì	‘smoker’
kúmbirà	‘beg, request’	ø-nkúmbizì	‘beggar’
ròwà	‘perform witchcraft’	mù-ròzì	‘witch’
yàà	‘kill’	cí-yàzì	‘traitor’

The change to /z/ in the agent noun is a lexicalized trace of the earlier sound

4 Nominal morphology

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 spirantization 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 (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 *-jìbì ‘thief’. In Fwe the reflex of *-dògì ‘witch’, *mù-ròzì* ‘witch’, is in fact one of the nouns undergoing spirantization. The reflex of *-jìbì ‘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 *-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-tàngò* ‘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 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

4.2 Word formation

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	
shàndà	‘suffer’	shàndò	‘suffering’
		Derived noun in class 7/8	
tèndà	‘do, make’	cì-tèndò	‘action’
zàrà	‘play’	cì-zàrà	‘game’
zwàtà	‘dress’	cì-zwàtò	‘garment’
zyàbàrà	‘dress’	ci-zyàbàrò	‘bottom garment’
zyàrà	‘spread a bed’	cì-zyàrò	‘mat’
		Derived noun in class 9	
tùsà	‘help’	n-tùsò	‘help’
sùrùmùkà	‘descend’	n-sùrùmùkò	‘downward slope’
		Derived noun in class 11	
zyìmbà	‘sing’	rù-zyìmbò	‘song’
		Derived noun in class 12	
fùrà	‘sharpen, weld’	kà-fùrò	‘knife’
		Derived noun in class 14	
hàrà	‘live’	bù-hàrò	‘life’
sùnsà	‘dip porridge in relish’	bù-sùnsò	‘relish’

spirantization, and a lowered high vowel *-ɨ not causing spirantization, possibly also with a tonal difference. As *u and *ɨ merged (cf. [Bostoen 2009](#)), the difference between the two suffixes was lost. [Meeussen \(1967: 95\)](#) also reconstructs two different deverbal suffixes, *-ú and *-ɨ, 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.

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

4 Nominal morphology

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-is-ò	‘profit’
zyàmbirà	‘gather’	zì-zyàmbirò	‘gathered fruits’
Place			
hòndà	‘cook’	mà-hònd-èr-ò	‘kitchen’
rí-zikà	‘hide oneself’	mà-rí-’zìkò	‘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’	ø-hùzy-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’

4.2 Word formation

Table 4.15: Semantics of nouns derived with -u, -e, and -a

Instrumental			
bùkùtà	‘sharpen’	mà-bùkùt-à	‘skin used for sharpening’
tèmà	‘chop’	kà-tèm-ù	‘axe’
kékèrà	‘plough’	cì-kékèr-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’

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 > [cìbyàràntù]
 NP₇-plant-FV-NMLZ
 ‘something that is planted’
 cf. byàrà ‘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 > [cìrimàntù]
 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).

4 Nominal morphology

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. *citèndò*
 ci-tend-o
 NP₇-do-NMLZ
 ‘action’
 b. *citéndântù*
 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 *cibyáràntù* ‘plant’ specifically refers to a plant cultivated by humans, and the derived noun *cibúmbwàntù* ‘creature’ specifically refers to human beings.

- (138) *cibyáràntù*
 ci-byár-á-ntu
 NP₇-plant-FV-NMLZ
 ‘(domesticated) plant’
 (139) *cibúmbwàntù*
 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

4.2 Word formation

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
 NP₁₂-dog
 ‘small dog; puppy’

- (141) mbwáànà
 ø-mbwá-ana
 NP_{1a}-dog-DIM
 ‘small dog; puppy’

4 Nominal morphology

- (142) kàmbwààna
 ka-mbwá-ana
 NP₁₂-dog-DIM
 ‘small dog; puppy’

Vowel juxtaposition takes place when the vowel-initial suffix *-ána* is added to a noun, which invariably ends in a vowel. In most cases, no changes affect either of the vowels, except when the last vowel of the noun is /a/, in which case it may merge with the vowel /a/ of the diminutive suffix, as in (143).

- (143) /ka-mbwá-ana/ > [kàmbwààna] ~ [kàmbwâna]
 NP₁₂-dog-DIM
 ‘small dog; puppy’

In certain more petrified forms with a diminutive suffix, however, the last vowel of the nominal stem has elided even though it was not a vowel /a/, but /i/ as in (144).

- (144) mùkázàna
 mu-kázana
 NP₁-girl
 ‘girl’
 cf. kázi ‘female’ + -ána diminutive

The suffix *-ána* has a high tone on its first syllable, which may interact with the tone of the last syllable of the root to which it attaches according to the regular tone rules of Fwe. When the diminutive is added to a noun with a final high tone, the high tone of the diminutive suffix is deleted as the result of Meeussen’s Rule, which deletes the second of two adjacent high tones within a single word, as in (145)-(146) (see also §3.1.1).

- (145) /ka-shokó-ána/ > kàshòkòàna
 NP₁₂-monkey-DIM
 ‘small monkey’

- (146) /ci-shamú-ána/ > cishàmúàna
 NP₇-tree-DIM
 ‘small tree’

4.2 Word formation

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 **jána* ‘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 interchangeability 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
 NP₆-fight
 ‘fight’

4 Nominal morphology

- b. shímàndwâ
 ø-shí-ma-ndwá
 NP_{1a}-AS-NP₆-fight
 ‘fighter’

The prefixes *si-* and *na-* are productively used to derive personal names from nouns. *si-* is used to derive a man’s name, as in (148), and *na-* is used to derive a woman’s name, as in (149). In this context, *si-* is consistently realized as *si-*, never as *shi-*.

- (148) nàmàsíkù
 na-ma-sikú
 AS_F-NP₆-night
 ‘Namasiku (name given to a girl born at night)’

- (149) simàsíkù
 si-ma-sikú
 AS_M-NP₆-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) bàshígè mù bàshí'záwà, àbò bábòná èzìpáu
 ba-shí-gè mù ba-shí-zawá a-bo bá-bo_Hn-á
 NP₂-AS-game NP₂-AS-Zawa AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-see-FV
 e-zì-páu
 AUG-NP₈-animal
 ‘The game people, the ZAWA³ people, those who guard the wild animals...’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (151) nábò bàshíbwátò ngá nibàkànànúkà
 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)

³ZAWA refers to the Zambian Wildlife Authority, charged with managing and protecting Zambia’s wildlife.

4.2 Word formation

- (152) èswé tùbàsí'nkútà, mbòtúmìààtùrè
 eswé tu-ba-sí-N-kutá
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-AS-NP₉-court
 mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1PL}-OM_{2PL}-judge-PFV.SBJV
 'Us, the people of the court, we will pass judgment on you.' (NF_Narr17)

There are a number of lexicalized cases of derivation with *si-/shi-* and *na-*, listed in Table 4.16. In these nouns, the derivational prefix is followed by an apparent 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 presumed former nominal prefix is taken into account. *na-ru-nkaramba* 'praying mantis' can be analyzed as a root *nkaramba* 'old person' and two prefixes, derivational *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-inà* '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.

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
 NP₃-acacia
 'acacia'

4 Nominal morphology

Table 4.16: Lexicalized derivational prefix *shi-/si-* and *na-*

Derived noun	Translation	Putative source
shíká'nkózè	'falcon'	
shikàrìmbirè	'kite'	
shímú'lopwè	~ 'fish sp.'	cf. lôhà 'be tasteless'
mú'lopwè		(this fish species is considered edible but not tasty)
shínténgwè ~ sinténgwè	'red-winged starling'	
shírùbùmbirà	'mud wasp'	cf. bumbà 'create, make pottery'
síbbwè	'jackal'	cf. mbwâwâ 'jackal' ?
síkùcèrà	'mole'	
síyàbàrìrà	'black mamba'	
nàmúntàbùrà	'flower (<i>Commelina subulata</i>)'	
nàmùróbá'róbà	'wild hyacinth (<i>Scilla natalensis</i>)'	
nákàrà	'acacia'	
nàrùnkàràmbà	'praying mantis'	cf. nkàràmbà 'old person'
nàrwézá'ézà	'chameleon'	

cf. táfùnà 'chew, graze', njòvù 'elephant'

- (154) kàryábàcâni
 ka-ryábacâni
 NP₁₂-geranium
 'geranium sp.'
 cf. ryà 'eat', bàcâni 'hunters'

- (155) mùbèzyàmpâmpà
 mu-bezyampâmpa
 NP₃-tree
 'tree sp.'
 cf. bè:zyà 'carve (wood)', mpâmpà 'forked stick'

4.2 Word formation

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
 NP₂-maternal_aunt
 ‘maternal aunt’
 cf. maye ‘mother’, mw-áncè ‘child’
- (157) bàtátánkâzi
 ba-tatankázi
 NP₂-paternal_aunt
 ‘paternal aunt’
 cf. tátà ‘father’, -kâzi ‘female’
- (158) mùkwérùmè
 mu-kwérume
 NP₁-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-NP₅-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

4 Nominal morphology

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 *mùrím-bùrìmbù* ‘ignorance’, related to *rímbàùzà* ‘not pay attention’, or *cìtùkùtùkù* ‘sweat’, related to *tùkùtù* ‘be warm’. Reduplication targets both segmental and tonal material (as opposed to verbal reduplication, which targets segmental material only).

(161)	kàciyó'cíyò	‘chick’
	kàhàrá'hàrà	‘African finger millet’
	cisikí'síkì	‘tree stump’
	kàríkùrìkù	‘hiccup’
	mùrìmbùrìmbù	‘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.

4.3 Nominal modifiers

- (162) ndàvú mùcècè
 ø-ndavú mu-cece
 NP_{1a}-lion NP₁-small
 ‘a small lion’ (ZF_Elic14)

The obligatory nominal prefix on adjectives may be preceded by an optional augment prefix, 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) mùndaré mùgênè ~ mùndaré òmùgênè
 mu-ndaré (o-)mu-gêne
 NP₃-maize (AUG-)NP₃-thin
 ‘small maize’

- (164) bàntú bàrôtô ~ bàntú àbàrôtô
 ba-ntú (a-)ba-rôtu
 NP₂-person (AUG-)NP₂-beautiful
 ‘beautiful people’ (ZF_Elic14)

The vowel of the augment, if it is used on an adjective, is subject to vowel hiatus resolution rules, resulting in vowel coalescence and/or glide formation, as in (165)–(166) (see also §2.5.2).

- (165) òmbw’ ó’múbbi
 o-ø-mbwá o-mu-bbí
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP₁-ugly
 ‘an ugly dog’ (NF_Elic15)

- (166) vùmw’ énéne
 ø-vumó e-ø-néne
 NP₅-stomach AUG-NP₅-big
 ‘a big stomach’ (ZF_Elic14)

Like the augment used with nouns, the adjectival augment may also take a floating high tone. This high tone is realized on the syllable preceding the vowel of the augment, though when the vowel of the augment merges with the preceding syllable, the high tone comes to be realized on the vowel of the augment itself, as in (167).

4 Nominal morphology

- (167) rùtàkà òrùrê: ~ rùtàk' òrùrê: (cf. rùtàkà 'reed')
 ru-taká o-ru-ré:
 NP₁₁-reed AUG-NP₁₁-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:
 NP₁-person NP₁-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-ø-ámba N-ri-néne
 AUG-NP₅-hoe COP-NP₅-big
 'The hoe is big.' (NF_Elic15)
- (170) yìn' énjúò n̄jiròtù
 iná e-N-júo n̄ji-rótu
 DEM.IV₉ AUG-NP₉-house COP₉-beautiful
 'That house is beautiful.' (ZF_Elic14)

Adjectives can also be used nominally, in which case the adjective takes a prefix that agrees 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) ndishàk' ómùrê:
 ndi-shak-á o-mu-ré:
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-NP₃-long
 'I want the long one.' (Answer to: 'Which rope do you want?')
 (ZF_Elic14)

4.3 Nominal modifiers

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’
	dànà	‘small’
	fwîyì	‘short’
	ʒlènè	‘thin’
	hùbà	‘light’
	ká‘bábù	‘difficult’ ⁴
	kâtà	‘weak’ ⁵
	kûrù	‘old’
	mângò	‘bad’ (Zambian Fwe only)
	nênè	‘big’
	nîni	‘small’
	rê:	‘tall, long, far’
	rémù	‘heavy’ ⁶
	rôtù	‘good, beautiful’
	tékè	‘fresh’
	tòrè	‘soft, easy’
	yá	‘new’
	lò:	‘tasteless’

Three adjective stems appear to be derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-u*, also used to derive nouns from verbs (see §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-ø-wá
	SM _{1SG} -SBJV.IPFV-DIST-OM _{2SG} -farm-APPL-FV	AUG-NP ₅ -field

⁴Most speakers prefer to use the noun *bù-ká‘bábù* ‘problem, something difficult’.

⁵Most speakers prefer the use of the verb *kâtà* ‘become weak’.

⁶Most speakers prefer the use of the verb *rèmà* ‘be heavy’.

4 Nominal morphology

e-ø-néne-néne
AUG-NP₅-big-big
‘I could cultivate a very big farm for you.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (174) kàcìrì cìròtùròtù ècì cibàkà
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 *kùrù* ‘old’ is used to describe animates, and its reduplicated form *kùrùkùrù* describes inanimates.

That adjectives are marked with almost the same prefixes as nouns (with the exception of class 1a) 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

Table 4.17: Adjective stems that also occur as nouns

Adjective		Noun	
<i>bbì</i>	‘bad’	<i>bù-bbì</i>	‘evil’
<i>dâna</i>	‘small’	<i>mù-dâna</i>	‘child’
<i>kùrù</i>	‘old’ (of ani-mates)	<i>mù-kùrù</i>	‘elder, elder sibling/ cousin’
<i>rê:</i>	‘tall, long, far’	<i>bù-rê:</i>	‘length’
<i>remù</i>	‘heavy’	<i>bù-remù</i>	‘weight’
<i>ròtù</i>	‘good, beautiful’	<i>bù-ròtù</i>	‘goodness’

Despite these similarities, adjectives display syntactic behavior that is distinct from that of nouns, because they can modify nouns without the use of additional morphological material. Although nouns can also modify other nouns, through 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.

4.3 Nominal modifiers

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

Table 4.18: Deadjectival verbs

Derived verb		Underived adjective	
<i>rê:-h-à</i>	‘become tall’	<i>rê:</i>	‘tall, long’
<i>nénè-h-à</i>	‘become big’	<i>nénè</i>	‘big’
<i>tòrè-h-à</i>	‘become soft’	<i>tòrè</i>	‘soft’
<i>lô:-h-à</i>	‘become taste- less’	<i>lô:</i>	‘tasteless’
<i>bbî-h-à</i>	‘become bad’	<i>bbî</i>	‘bad’
<i>fwîi-mp-à</i>	‘become short’	<i>fwîi</i>	‘short’
<i>kûrù-mp-à</i>	‘become old’	<i>kûrù</i>	‘old’

The deadjectival suffix *-h* derives an intransitive change-of-state verb, whereby the state that is entered into is the state described by the 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 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*.

4 Nominal morphology

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

4.3 Nominal modifiers

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 II⁷, *-o* for series III, and *-ina* for series IV, the latter resulting in vowel hiatus resolution through vowel coalescence, vowel deletion, and glide formation apply (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.I₅ hand
 ‘this hand’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (176) ndikáràngà kùnú
 ndi-kar-áng-a kúnu
 SM₁SG-sit-HAB-FV DEM.II₁₇
 ‘I normally stay here.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (177) àmàshérèjì àò nìtwáshàngàúrà
 a-ma-sheréjì a-o nì-tú-a-sha_Hngaur-á
 AUG-NP₆-money AUG-DEM.III₆ REM-SM₁PL-PST-contribute-FV<REL>
 ‘the money that we contributed’ (NF_Elic17)
- (178) ndìsháká kùùrà cìnà ~ cìnà
 ndi-shak-á ku-ur-a cína ~ cina
 SM₁SG-want-FV INF-buy-FV DEM.IV₇
 ‘I want to buy that one.’
- (179) àké:zyà zywîná ~ zywîná
 a-ké:zy-a zywîná ~ zywîná
 SM₁-come-FV DEM.IV₁
 ‘S/he is coming, that one.’ (NF_Elic17)

⁷This 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.

4 Nominal morphology

As seen in Table 4.19, demonstratives can take an augment prefix. Similar to the augment on nouns and adjectives⁸, 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 bàkèntù bàámbà wàwà
 a-bená ba-kèntu 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)’.

- (182) ríryò shènè óbwènè ndíwè
 rí-ryo ø-shene ó-bwe_Hne ndi-wé
 EMPH-DEM.III₅ NP₅-WORM SM₂SG.REL-see.STAT COP-PERS₂SG
 ‘This very worm that you see, it’s you.’ (NF_Song17)

⁸Augments 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.

4.3 Nominal modifiers

- (183) ákùbá'téyè shári zyúzyú mwâncè nindá'yéndà néyè nìnindámàn'
 ó'káfwà
 á-ku-bá-téye shári zyu-zyú mu-ánce
 CON₁-INF-OM₂-say_that if EMPH-DEM.I₁ NP₁-child
 ni-ndí-a-énd-a ne=ye
 REM-SM₁SG-PST-go-FV<REL> COM=PERS₃SG
 ni-ni-ndí-a-man-á o-ka-fw-á
 REM-REM-SM₁SG-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 muntù
 o-zyú mu-ntu
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
 'this person'
- (185) òkú 'kútwì
 o-kú ku-twí
 AUG-DEM.I₁₅ NP₁₅-ear
 'this ear' (ZF_Elic14)
- (186) bókùndisùndà òzwyínà
 bá-o-ku-ndi-sund-a o-zywiná
 CON₂-INF-OM₁SG-show-FV AUG-DEM.IV₁
 'They showed him to me.' (ZF_Narr13)

The unmarked position of adnominally used demonstratives is before the noun they modify, as in (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.

4 *Nominal morphology*

- (187) mùndár' ôwù
 N-mu-ndaré o-ú
 COP-NP₃-maize AUG-DEM.I₃
 'It's maize, this.'
- (188) ndùngúy' òzyù
 ndu-ø-nguyá o-zyú
 COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-baboon AUG-DEM.I₁
 '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), although prenominal demonstratives are also allowed, as in (190). Postnominal demonstratives are only possible with subjunctive or imperative verbs expressing an order, not with other functions of the subjunctive.

- (189) òzìmisé mùrìrò ówù
 o-zì_Hm-is-é mu-riro o-ú
 SM_{2SG}-extinguish-CAUS-PFV.SBJV NP₃-fire AUG-DEM.I₃
 'Extinguish this fire.' (NF_Elic15)
- (190) òtùsé òmùntú zyò
 o-tus-é o-mu-ntú zyo
 SM_{2SG}-help-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁-person DEM.III₁
 'Help that person.'
- (191) òtùsé òzyó mùntù
 o-tus-é o-zyó mu-ntu
 SM_{2SG}-help-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
 'Help that person.' (NF_Elic17)

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 possible languages in which the demonstrative always precedes the noun it modifies. Languages in which the demonstrative may either follow or precede the noun are more common, including some of Fwe's closest linguistic relatives such as the

4.3 Nominal modifiers

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 I 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-á
 AUG-DEM.I₁₀ NP₁₀-shoe SM₁₀-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) èzínó nyàngù
 e-zínó N-nyangu
 AUG-DEM.II₁₀ NP₁₀-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’ àkè:zy’ ókò

4 Nominal morphology

bbónadi bbónadi shá o-ø-njovú zyú á-ke:zy-á
 Bonard Bonard sir AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant DEM.I₁ SM₁-come-FV
 o-kó
 AUG-DEM.III₁₇
 ‘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 demonstrative *énà* to refer to teeth that are hidden at a place far away from the speaker and the hearer.

(195) èmé ndihíndè *énà* ménò
 emé ndi-hínd-e ená ma-inó
 PERS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}-take-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₆ NP₆-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 of an old lady by elephants.

(196) kónàkùrì *èryó* kàndè ryábànjòvù
 kónakuri e-ryó ø-kande ri-á=ba-njovu
 because AUG-DEM.III₅ NP₅-story PP₅-CON=NP₂-elephant
 ‘Because of this story of the elephants...’ (ZF_Narr15)

Within discourse, demonstratives 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 *mùnzi*, and when the aforementioned village is mentioned again, it is marked by the series III demonstrative *òwó* ‘this’.

(197) a. kàkwín’ ’ómùnzi òmù kàmwi’ná bàntù
 ka-kú-iná o-mu-nzi o-mu
 PST.IPFV-SM₁₇-be_at AUG-NP₃-village AUG-DEM.I₁₈
 ka-mú-iná ba-ntu
 PST.IPFV-SM₁₈-be_at NP₂-person
 ‘There was a village, where people were living.’

4.3 Nominal modifiers

- b. òwó m̀nzi kàwínà shíryà yórwízyì
 o-ó mu-nzi ka-ú-ina ø-shírya i-ó=ru-ízyi
 AUG-DEM.III₃ NP₃-village PST.IPFV-SM₃-be_at NP₉-other_side
 PP₉-CON=NP₁₁-river
 ‘This village was at the other side of the river.’ (NF_Narr15)

Salience, or accessibility (Ariel 2001), describes how easy it is for the listener to 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 *m̀nzi* ‘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 mú'kwámè ákùhìndá kàtèmù
 o-zyó mú-kwamé á-ku-hind-á ka-tému
 AUG-DEM.III₁ NP₁-man PP₁-INF-take-FV NP₁₂-axe
 ‘That man took an axe...’ (NF_Narr15)

To refer back to referents that are not salient in the discourse, the series IV demonstrative is used. Example (199) is taken from the beginning of the 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-áncè ka-á-é-nd-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.

4 Nominal morphology

- (200) néy' òzyú mú'kwámè àkêzyà
 né=o-zyú mú-kwamé a-ké: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) èyinó nsúndà
 e-inó N-súnda
 AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week
 'this week' (ZF_Elic14)

- (202) mwáinò ènàkò shítú'hàrà
 mwá-ino e-N-nako shi-tú-ha₁₁r-á
 CON₁₈-DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-time INC-SM₁PL.REL-live-FV
 'In this time where we are now living...' (ZF_Conv13)

This temporal function of the series II demonstrative is also reflected in the use of the locative demonstrative of class 16, which can be used adverbially meaning '(right) now', as in (203)-(204).

- (203) àbàntù hánù sibàyèndàngàkó 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 ox carts) (NF_Narr17)

- (204) òmwâncè kàrí kàákishùwírè nènjà kònó hànô shàákishùwírè nènjà
 o-mu-áncè ka-rí ka-á-ki_H-shu_Hw-íre nénja konó hanó
 AUG-NP₁-child NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM₁-REFL-feel-STAT well but DEM.II₁₆
 sha-a-ki_H-shu_Hw-íre nénja
 INC-SM₁-REFL-feel-STAT well
 'The child was not feeling well (earlier), but **now** she is feeling well.'
 (ZF_Elic14)

Aside from expressing a temporal adverb, which is restricted to the demonstratives of locative class 16, demonstratives of all three locative classes, 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).

4.3 Nominal modifiers

- (205) bàzyiménè hènà
 ba-zyi_Hmén-e hénà
 SM₂-stand-STAT DEM.IV₁₆
 ‘S/he stands there.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (206) wáshàkê:zyì kùnò kùshàmbà ndishàmbà
 o-ásha-kê:zy-i kúno ku-shamb-a ndí-shám-b-a
 SM₂SG-NEG.SBJV-come-NEG DEM.II₁₇ INF-bath-FV SM₁SG.REL-bath-FV
 ‘You cannot come here, I am bathing.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (207) bàrèrè mwínà
 ba-re_Hre mwínà
 SM₂-sleep-STAT DEM.IV₁₈
 ‘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 yómwáncè
 mi-nwe i-ó= mu-áncè
 head connective dependent
 NP₄-finger PP₄-CON= NP₁-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-a-* or *w-e-*, depending on the augment of the following noun.

4 Nominal morphology

- (209) mùcírà wó'ndávù (< òndávù 'lion')
 mu-círa u-ó=Ø-ndavú
 NP₃-tail PP₃-CON=NP_{1a}-lion
 'the tail of a lion'
- (210) mùbára 'wènjùò (< ènjùò 'house')
 mu-bará u-é=N-júo
 NP₃-color PP₃-CON=NP₉-house
 'the color of the house'
- (211) mùbára 'wámàbùná (< àmàbùná '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) té'ndé 'ryó'ndávù (< òndávù 'lion')
 Ø-téndé ri-ó=Ø-ndavú
 NP₅-leg PP₅-CON=NP_{1a}-lion
 'the leg of the lion'
- (213) cìtúwá cònjùò (< ènjùò 'house')
 ci-tuwá ci-ó=N-júo
 NP₇-roof PP₇-CON=NP₉-house
 'the roof of the house'
- (214) té'ndé 'ryókàzyùnì (< àkàzyùnì 'bird')
 Ø-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)).

4.3 Nominal modifiers

- (215) hànjà rya**Rebecca**
 hanja ri-a=Rebecca
 hand PP₅-CON=Rebecca
 ‘Rebecca’s hand’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (216) èziàmbò zàshûnù nzíci**koró** ‘cámàyùnì
 e-zi-ambo zi-a=shúnu N-zí-ci-koró ci-á=mayuni
 AUG-NP₈-topic PP₈-CON=today COP-PP₈-NP₇-school PP₇-CON=Mayuni
 ‘Today’s topic is Mayuni school.’ (NF_Song17)
- (217) bànyûmbù nèmící**rà yábò**
 ba-nyûmbu ne=mi-círa i-á=bo
 NP₂-wildebeest COM=NP₄-tail PP₄-CON=DEM.III₂
 ‘The wildebeests and their tails.’ (NF_Song17)
- (218) ècintù nècintù cìkwèsì òbùrótù **bwácò** nòbùbbí ‘**bwácò**
 e-ci-ntu ne=ci-ntu ci-kwesi o-bu-rótu bu-a=có
 AUG-NP₇-thing COM=NP₇-thing SM₇-have AUG-NP₁₄-good
 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 **bòkúmùnzi**
 ba-ntu ba-o=kú-mu-nzi
 NP₂-person PP₂-CON=NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘the people of the village’
- (220) zírýó ‘**zómúrùwà**
 zi-ryó zi-o=mú-ru-wa
 NP₈-food PP₈-CON=NP₁₈-NP₁₁-field
 ‘the crops of the field’

4 Nominal morphology

- (221) zírýó zàhámùkítì
 zì-ryó zì-a=há-mu-kitì
 NP₈-food PP₈-CON=NP₁₆-NP₃-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) ndó¹rúfù rùbànyámùzàmbàràrà kúnjòvù
 ndó-ru-fú ru-ø=ba-nyámuzambarara
 COP.DEF₁₁-NP₁₁-death PP₁₁-CON=NP₂-Nyamuzambarara
 kú-ø-njovu
 NP₁₇-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 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

4.3 Nominal modifiers

Table 4.20: Connective clitics

Connective clitics (including pronominal prefix)				
	nouns with an augment /a/; certain augment- less nouns; demon- strative pronouns	in Zambian Fwe; nouns with an aug- ment /o/	nouns with an augment /e/	honorifics
1	wa	o/w	we	u
2	ba	bo	be	ba
1a	wa	o/w	we	u
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

4 Nominal morphology

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 wó¹ndávù
 mu-círa u-ó=ø-ndavù
 NP₃-tail PP₃-CON=NP_{1a}-lion
 ‘tail of a lion’
- (224) ènshùkí ¹zómùkèntù
 e-N-shukí zi-ó=mu-kéntu
 AUG-NP₁₀-hair PP₁₀-CON=NP₁-woman
 ‘the hair of the woman’ (ZF_Elic14)

When the connective is used with a dependent noun that can never take an augment, the connective stem is consistently realized as low-toned, as illustrated with locative-marked nouns in (225)-(226).

- (225) mìnwè yòkúmàànjà
 mi-nwe i-o=kú-ma-anja
 NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=NP₁₇-NP₆-hand
 ‘fingers of the hands’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (226) bàntù bòmúnjùò
 ba-ntu ba-o=mú-N-júo
 NP₂-person PP₂-CON=NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 ‘people of the house’ (NF_Elic15)

Van de Velde (2013) notes that the connective element in Bantu languages generally has an intermediate position between affix and word, and therefore analyzes it as a 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*. H spread never crosses word boundaries (see §3.1.6), thus proving the phonological integration of the connective clitic into the noun.

- (227) èzwáyí ¹ryómúbùsùnsò
 e-ø-zwaí ri-o=mú-bu-sunso
 AUG-NP₅-salt PP₅-CON=NP₁₈-NP₁₄-relish
 ‘the salt of the relish’ (NF_Elic15)

4.3 Nominal modifiers

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) òmùkítí 'wábèná bàntù màní wáràtèndàhàrà
 o-mu-kití u-á=bená ba-ntu mani
 AUG-NP₃-party PP₃-CON=DEM.IV₂ NP₂-person when
 o-ára-tend-ahar-a
 SM₃-REM.FUT-do-NEUT-FV
 'Those people's party, when will it take place?' (NF_Elic17)

- (229) èmísi yècí cìshámù mùshámù
 e-mi-ísi i-e=cí ci-shamú N-mu-shamú
 AUG-NP₄-root PP₄-CON=DEM.I₇ NP₇-tree COP-NP₃-medicine
 'The roots of this tree are medicine.' (ZF_Elic14)

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 *chitenge*, marked for agreement with the class 7 noun *citenge* with class 7 pronominal prefixes.

- (230) a. nòndibónèni ècìtèngé 'cángù
 no-ndi-bón-en-i e-ci-tengé ci-angú
 SM_{2SG}.PST-OM_{1SG}-see-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₇-chitenge PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 'Have you seen my *citenge*?'
 b. cómùshòbònjí cókùsùbìrà cókùsìhà cókùtùbà
 ci-ó=mu-shobo-njí ci-ó=ku-subir-a ci-ó=ku-sih-a
 PP₇-CON=NP₃-type-what PP₇-CON=INF-be_red-FV
 ci-ó=ku-tub-a
 PP₇-CON=INF-be_black-FV PP₇-CON=INF-be_white-FV
 'What kind? A red one, a black one, a white one?' (NF_Elic15)

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).

4 Nominal morphology

- (231) m̀̀ndaré òbàm̀̀r̀̀t̀̀i
 mu-ndaré u-o=ba-mu-rutí
 NP₃-maize PP₃-CON=NP₂-NP₁-teacher
 ‘the maize of the teacher’
- (232) njũò yám̀̀yè'̀̀nzáng̀̀ù
 N-júo i-á=mu-énz-angú
 NP₉-house PP₉-CON=NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘the house of my friend’ (ZF_Elic14)

The relationship expressed by a connective construction may be a relationship of qualification, where the dependent describes some property of the head, as in (233)-(235).

- (233) mwánà ẁ̀c̀̀s̀̀izánì
 mu-ána u-e=ci-sizaní
 NP₁-child PP₁-CON=NP₇-female
 ‘a female child’
- (234) cí'kwá'mé cá'màrí
 cí-kwamé ci-á=marí
 NP₇-man PP₇-CON=polygamy
 ‘a polygamous man’ (NF_Elic15)
- (235) ràpá 'ryókùcè̀̀nà
 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) m̀̀ǹ̀wè yòkù̀̀m̀̀à̀̀ǹ̀jà
 mi-nwe i-o=kú-ma-anja
 NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=NP₁₇-NP₆-hand
 ‘fingers of the hands’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (237) b̀̀à̀̀nt̀̀ù b̀̀ò̀̀m̀̀ú̀̀m̀̀ù̀̀ǹ̀zì
 ba-ntu ba-o=mú-mu-nzi
 NP₂-person PP₂-CON=NP₁₈-NP₃-village
 ‘people from the village’ (NF_Elic17)

4.3 Nominal modifiers

When the connective is used on an infinitive, it may take up 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 màshérêñi ókùkwèrès' é'mótà
 ndi-aazyá ma-sheréñi a-ó=ku-kwer-es-á e-N-motá
 SM_{1SG}-have_not NP₆-money PP₆-CON=INF-board-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-car
 'I don't have money for a taxi.' (NF_Elic15)
- (239) mùròrà ókùtúsànzisà
 mu-rora u-ó=ku-tú-sanz-is-a
 NP₃-soap PP₃-CON=INF-OM₁₃-wash-CAUS-FV
 'soap for washing them (dishes) with' (NF_Elic17)

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) èṅòmbè zònshé: nàzáùrisiwà
 e-N-ṅombe zi-onshé: na-zí-a-ur-is-iw-a
 AUG-NP₁₀-cow PP₁₀-all REM-SM₁₀-PST-buy-CAUS-PASS-FV
 'All the cattle have been sold.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (241) yònshé: èntúsó èyò ndí'ó:rà òkùkùtùsà
 i-onshé: e-N-tusó e-yo ndí-ó:r-a
 PP₉-all AUG-NP₉-help AUG-DEM.III₉ 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)

4 Nominal morphology

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 áshàkà òkúfwà **twènshé**: tùsháká 'búmì
 ku-aazyá o-zyo á-shak-á o-ku-fw-á tu-enshé:
 SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₁ SM₁.REL-want-FV AUG-INF-die-FV PP_{1PL}-all
 tu-shak-á bu-mí
 SM_{1PL}-want-FV NP₁₄-life
 ‘There is no one who wants to die, **we all** want to be alive.’ (NF_Song17)
- (243) tùyéndè **twènshé**:
 tu-énd-e tu-enshé
 SM_{1PL}-walk-PFV.SBJV PP_{1PL}-all
 ‘Shall we walk **together**?’ (NF_Elic15)
- (244) háibà **mwènshé**: mùbèrékà
 háiba mu-enshé: mu-berek-á
 if PP_{2PL}-all SM_{2PL}-work-FV
 ‘If **you all** are working...’ (ZF_Conv13)

The quantifier *ngí*: ‘many; other’ is typically used after the noun it modifies, as in (245)-(246), though a prenominal position is also possible, as in (247).

- (245) zìzyùnì zìngí:
 zi-zyuni zí-ngí:
 NP₈-bird PP₈-many
 ‘many birds’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (246) nàdámwá 'kúbàntù bāngí:
 na-dam-w-á kú-ba-ntu bá-ngí:
 SM₁.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP₂-person PP₂-many
 ‘S/he was beaten by many people.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (247) zìngí: èmbúkà bábàrà bò
 zí-ngí: e-N-búka bá-bar-á bo
 PP₁₀-many AUG-NP₁₀-book SM₂.REL-read-FV DEM.III₂
 ‘S/he reads many books.’ (NF_Elic15)

4.3 Nominal modifiers

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
 PP₁-other NP₁-man
 ‘a certain man’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (249) **kùààzyá kùmwí òkò nèmúkàwánè òbùhárò búmunyà**
 ku-aazyá ku-mwí o-ko ne-mú-ka-wán-e
 SM₁₇-be_not PP₁₇-other AUG-DEM.III₁₇ REM-SM_{2PL}-DIST-find-PFV.SBJV
 o-bu-háro bú-munya
 AUG-NP₁₄-life PP₁₄-other
 ‘There is nowhere where you can find another life.’ (ZF_Conv13)

Used with a pronominal prefix of class 16, as in (250), this quantifier may have a temporal interpretation, e.g. ‘sometimes’.

- (250) **hámùnnyà kàzí'yángà kwàrizàùrì hámùnnyà kàtú'zwángà kwàmakanga**
 tùyá kwàrinyántì
 há-munya ka-zí-y-áng-a kwa-rizáuli há-munya
 PP₁₆-other PST.IPFV-SM₁₀-go-HAB-FV NP₁₇-Lizauli PP₁₆-other
 ka-tú-zw-áng-a kwa-makanga tu-y-á
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-come_out-HAB-FV NP₁₇-Makanga SM_{1PL}-go-FV
 kwa-rinyántì
 NP₁₇-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: bàrwàrà kàmpòrwè**
 ba-onshé: ba-rwá_Hr-a ka-mporwe
 PP₂-all SM₂-be_ill-FV NP₁₂-diarrhea
 ‘They all suffer from diarrhea.’ (NF_Elic17)

4 Nominal morphology

- (252) bàkéntù bòbíré zyúmwi àkùzàrà òmùntù zyúmwi àkùzàrà èṅwàrárà
 ba-kéntu ba-o=biré zyú-mwi á-ku-zár-a
 NP₂-woman PP₂-CON=two PP₁-other PP₁-INF-give_birth-FV
 o-mu-ntu zyú-mwi á-ku-zár-a e-ø-ṅwarará
 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 patterns, in Table 4.21

Table 4.21: Possessive stems

	singular	plural
1	<i>angú</i>	<i>etú</i>
2	<i>akó</i>	<i>enú</i>
3	<i>akwé</i>	(<i>abó</i>)

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 possessive stem *etú* is marked with a pronominal prefix *u-* of class 3, agreeing with the head noun *mùnzí* ‘village’.

- (253) mùnzí 'wétù
 mu-nzí u-etú
 NP₃-village PP₃-POSS_{1PL}
 ‘our village’

Fwe lacks a dedicated possessive stem for the third person plural. Instead, the demonstrative of class 2 (the class for plural human nouns) is used, *abó*, as in (254).

- (254) òmùndaré 'wábò
 o-mu-ndaré u-abó
 AUG-NP₃-maize PP₃-DEM.III₂
 ‘their maize’

4.3 Nominal modifiers

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 *vùmó* ‘stomach’, is realized as *vùmó* when followed by the possessive *ryángù* ‘my’.

- (255) *vùmó* 'ryángù
 ø-vumó ri-angú
 NP₅-stomach PP₅-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘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* *rùtàngò* *ndüfwíhì* *nórò*
 ru-angú ru-tángo N-ru-fwíi no=ró
 PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₁-story COP-NP₁₁-short COM=DEM.III₁₁
 ‘My story is also short.’ (NF_Narr17)

When a possessive is 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* *èṅòmbè* *kúrwízyì* *njáko*
 ndi-a-bón-i e-N-ṅombe kú-ru-ízyi
 SM_{1SG}-PST-see-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-cow NP₁₇-NP₁₁-river
 N-i-akó
 COP-PP₉-POSS_{2SG}
 ‘I saw a cow at the river. Is it yours?’
 b. *íngà* *yángù* *kùmùnzì* *íkèrè*
 ínga i-angú ku-mu-nzi í-ke_Hre
 no PP₉-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₇-NP₃-village SM₉.REL-stay.STAT
 ‘No, mine is at home.’ (ZF_Elic13)

4 Nominal morphology

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) mùyé'nzángù
mu-énz-angú
NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
‘my friend’
- (259) àbá'nénù
a-ba-án-enú
AUG-NP₂-child-POSS_{2PL}
‘your (PL) children’
- (260) béshwétù
ba-ísho-etú
NP₂-father-POSS_{1PL}
‘our father’

Suffixed possessives do not show agreement, but are otherwise very similar to the forms of the independently used possessive stems, except those the second and third person singular, which have been reduced from *akó* and *akwé* in their independent form to *-ó* and *-é* in the suffixed form. 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).

4.3 Nominal modifiers

- (261) mùkúrwê
 mu-kúrw-é
 NP₁-elder_sibling-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘his/her (elder) sister’
- (262) mùkúrù wángù
 mu-kúru u-angú
 NP₁-elder_sibling PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘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	<i>emé / imé</i> ('I')	<i>eswé / iswé</i> ('we')
second person	<i>ewé / iwé</i> ('you')	<i>enwé / inwé</i> ('you')
third person	<i>eyé / iyé</i> ('he/she')	<i>(abó)</i> ('they')

Personal pronouns are only used for human referents; to refer to non-human referents, demonstratives are used (see §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).

5 Minor word categories

- (1) *cwàrè éyè kàzyí: kùñòrà*
cwaré eyé ka-a-zyí: ku-ñór-a
 then PERS_{3SG} NEG-SM₁-know.STAT INF-write-FV
 ‘But she, she doesn’t know how to write.’ (ZF_Conv13)
- (2) *émè kwààzy’ ómò sàké ndimùpángîrè*
émè ku-aazyá o-mo saké ndi-mu-pang-ír-e
 PERS_{1SG} SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₁₈ if SM_{1SG}-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 ’àré:tà èzìbyà mwí’rápà*
ndi-eyé bu-ryó á-re:Ĥt-a e-zi-bya
 COP-PERS_{3SG} NP₁₄-only SM₁.REL-bring-FV AUG-NP₈-item
mú-e-ø-rápá
 NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-courtyard
 ‘She is the only one who can bring items into the courtyard.’ (ZF_Conv13)
- (4) *èyí ènjùò ndimé nìbáyizyà:kírá*
e-í e-N-júo ndi-mé
 AUG-DEM.I₉ AUG-NP₉-house COP-PERS_{1SG}
ni-bá-a-iĤ-zya:Ĥk-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 ’ndízàná néwè*
mbu-ryó ndí-zan-a ne=wé
 only SM_{1SG}-play-FV COM=PERS_{2SG}
 ‘I’m just joking with you.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (6) *ndimé ’Sánèti Cábòrà*
ndi-mé sáneti cábora
 COP-PERS_{1SG} Saneti Chabola
 ‘I am Saneti Chabola.’ (NF_Narr17)

5.2 *Comitatives*

Personal pronouns for the second person are frequently used as term of address, as in (7)-(8).

- (7) iwè cínjí àhò kórà:rì
 iwé ø-ci-njí a-ho ka-ó-rá:r-i
 PERS_{2SG} COP-NP₇-what AUG-DEM.III₁₆ NEG-SM_{2SG}-sleep-NEG
 ‘You! Why are you not sleeping!’ (NF_Narr15)
- (8) iwé òtèèzé ‘kúnù
 iwé o-te_{Hez}-é kunú
 PERS_{2SG} SM_{2SG}-listen-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₇
 ‘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) nòngwèná (< òngwèná ‘crocodile’)
 no=ø-ngwena
 COM=NP_{1a}-crocodile
 ‘and a crocodile’
- (10) nénswì (< énswì ‘fish’)
 ne=N-swí
 COM=NP₉-fish
 ‘and a fish’
- (11) nàkàfùrò (< àkàfùrò ‘knife’)
 na=ka-furo
 COM=NP₁₂-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

5 Minor word categories

assimilates to the augment of the noun to which it prefixes. There are also cases where the comitative in Fwe does not take over the vowel of the augment, as discussed below, but even in these cases, the original vowel /a/ never surfaces.

When the comitative is cliticized to a word that cannot take an augment, it is realized as *na=*, *ne=*, or *ni=*. This is the case with inflected verbs, where the comitative is realized as *na=* in Zambian Fwe, as in (12), and as *ni=*, as in (13) or *ne=*, as in (14), in Namibian Fwe.

- (12) kàndípàkíté mwâncè **nàndikwèsì** nditòmbwèrà
 ka-ndí-pak-íte mw-áncè na=ndi-kwesi
 RPP-SM_{1SG}-carry_on_back-STAT NP₁-child COM=SM_{1SG}-PROG
 ndi-tombwér-a
 SM_{1SG}-weed-FV
 ‘I was carrying my child on my back while I was weeding.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (13) ndàkùrì kùbútùkà **nìndizìmbùrùkà** ègràundi
 ndi-aku-rí ku-bútuk-a ni=ndi-zi_Hmburuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-be INF-run-FV COM=SM_{1SG}-surround-FV
 e-ø-gráundi
 AUG-NP₉-sports_field
 ‘I was running around the sports field.’ [lit.: ‘I was running while surrounding the sportsfield.’] (NF_Elic15)
- (14) ndìzyimáná **nènditóntwèrè**
 ndi-zyi_Hman-á ne=ndi-to_Hntwére
 SM_{1SG}-stand-FV COM=SM_{1SG}-be_cold.STAT
 ‘I stand up quietly.’ [lit. ‘I stand up while I am quiet’] (NF_Elic15)

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 kùrùwà **nèbàmùkéntù** wángù
 ka-tú-re_Hre kú-ru-wa ne=ba-mu-kéntu
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-sleep.STAT NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman
 u-angú
 PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘My wife and I were sleeping at the field.’ (ZF_Elic13)

5.2 Comitatives

- (16) **nàbàmùkèntù** wángù
 na=ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘And also my wife.’ (ZF_Narr15)
- (17) **ndihára nìbàmùkèntù** wángù nàbànàngù
 ndi-ha_{HR}-á ni=ba-mu-kéntu u-angú na=ba-ána-angu
 SM_{1SG}-live-FV COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG} COM=NP₂-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘I live with my wife and children.’ (NF_Elic15)

The same variation in the realization of the comitative is seen with other nouns referring to kinship terms or social relations, even though these nouns do take an augment, such as the noun phrase *mùkèntù wàkwé* ‘his wife’ in (18) and the noun *mwânè* ‘her child’ in (19).

- (18) **káhùpùrà iyé témà nèmùkèntù wàkwé** mómò àkàrà:rè
 ka-á-hupur-á iyé téma ne=mu-kéntu u-akwé
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-think-FV that maybe COM=NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 N-ó-mo a-ka-ra:HR-é
 COP-AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁-DIST-sleep-PFV.SBJV
 ‘He thought that maybe his wife would also be sleeping in there.’
 (NF_Narr15)
- (19) **òmùbèréki kàswàneré 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-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘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) **ndibyârà òmùndàrè nàmàbéré**
 ndi-byâ_{HR}-a o-mu-ndaré na=ma-beré
 SM_{1SG}-plant-FV AUG-NP₃-maize COM=NP₆-millet
 ‘I grow maize and millet.’ (NF_Elic15)

5 Minor word categories

- (21) mùndaré 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 nàkàsè ~ òmbwá nèkàsè
 o-ø-mbwá na/ne=ka-sé
 AUG-NP_{1a}-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 njùò mwàimùshò nòkwásinjèmbèrà
 ndi-kwesí N-júo mwa-imúsho no=kwá-sinjembera
 SM_{1SG}-have NP₉-house NP₁₈-Imusho COM=NP₁₇-Sinjembela
 ‘I have a house in Imusho and in Sinjembela.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (24) nàbàmùkèntù wángù
 na=ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘And also my wife.’ (ZF_Narr15)

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

¹There 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: nòminwè yòbíré*

zi-o=né: no-mi-nwe i-o=biré
 PP₁₀-CON=four COM-NP₄-finger PP₄-CON=two
 ‘six (lit. four and two fingers)’

5.2 *Comitatives*

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 nòwámùkèntù wàkwê*
na-kí-ur-ir-i mu-rora u-akwé
 SM₁-PST-REFL-buy-APPL-NPST.PFV NP₃-soap PP₃-POSS_{3SG}
no=u-á=mu-kéntu u-akwé
 COM=PP₃-CON=NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘He has bought soap for himself and his wife.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Finally, whereas the comitative may attach to any word, including inflected verbs, the connective is limited to nominal elements. These facts suggest that the connective clitic is more closely integrated into the word it attaches to than the comitative, though both can be considered clitics.

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*
ø-ndavú no=ø-njovu
 NP_{1a}-lion COM=NP_{1a}-elephant
 ‘a lion and an elephant’

- (27) *émé nêwè*
emé né=we
 PERS_{1SG} COM=PERS_{2SG}
 ‘you and me’ (ZF_Elic14)

When the comitative is used with a conjunctive function, the comitative usually appears on the second conjunct only. The comitative may also be repeated on both conjuncts to express emphatic coordination, as in (28).

- (28) *nòmwáncè nòmùkèntù kwàázyí’ écò kàbàzyí:*
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)

5 Minor word categories

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' òmùziò
 a-papaur-á no=ku-hind-a o-mu-zío
 SM₁-divide-FV COM=INF-take-FV AUG-NP₃-load
 'He divides the animal into pieces and takes it as a load.' (NF_Narr15)
- (30) ndátó:íri cishámù nòkùdámá zyókà
 ndi-a-tó:r-í ci-shamú no=ku-dam-á ø-zyóka
 SM_{1SG}-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) ndìshúwíré ònjòvù nàjwèngà
 ndi-shu_H-íre o-ø-njovu na=a-jwéng-a
 SM_{1SG}-hear-STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant COM=SM₁-shout-FV
 'I hear an elephant shouting.'
- (32) ndàbóni bâncè nìbàbùtúkà
 ndi-a-bón-i ba-áncè ni=ba-bu_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PST-see-NPST.PFV NP₂-child COM=SM₂-run-FV
 'I saw children running.' (NF_Elic15)

A second major function of the comitative clitic in Fwe is to express comitative meaning, roughly translatable as '(together) with', as in (33)-(35).

- (33) kàbáyèndà nàbàmbwá 'bábò
 ka-bá-énd-a na-ba-mbwá ba-abó
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-go-FV COM=NP₂-dog PP₂-DEM.III₂
 'She was walking with her dogs.' (ZF_Narr15)

5.2 Comitatives

- (34) nènyàzì yákw' 'ákèrè
 ne=N-nyazi i-akwé á-ke_Hre
 COM=NP₉-lover PP₉-POSS_{3SG} SM₁.REL-sit.STAT
 'She is with her lover.' (ZF_Conv13)
- (35) ndìsháká èntí nòmùzírìrì
 ndi-shak-á e-N-tí no=mu-zírìrì
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG-NP₉-tea COM=NP₃-fresh_milk
 'I want tea with fresh milk.' (ZF_Elic14)

Fwe can also use the comitative for a type of conjunction called 'inclusory conjunction' (Haspelmath 2007). This involves 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) mbòtúyèndèrèrè **néwè** kwí'táwúnì
 mbo-tú-end-er-er-é ne=wé ku-é-ø-tawuní
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1PL}-GO-INT-PFV.SBJV COM=PERS_{2SG} NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-town
 'I will walk with you to town.' (NF_Elic15)

Inclusory conjunction involving a full noun rather than a pronoun is illustrated in (37), which describes the speaker and his wife; although *bàmùkèntù wángù* 'my wife', is expressed as a comitative, the agreement on the verb is plural 'we', indicating that both 'I' and 'my wife' are subjects of the verb.

- (37) kàtúrèrè kúrùwà **nèbàmùkèntù wángù**
 ka-tú-re_Hre kú-ru-wa ne=ba-mu-kéntu
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-sleep.STAT NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field COM=NP₂-NP₁-woman
 u-angú
 PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 'My wife and I were sleeping at the field.' (ZF_Narr13)

Inclusory conjunction is also possible when both the conjuncts are full noun phrases. In (38), the noun *bàntù* 'people' is in the plural, and is supplemented by an inclusory conjunct *nòmùshêrè* 'and [his] friend'.

- (38) ònkómbwè nèṅwáràrà kàbàrí bàntù **nòmùshêrè**

5 Minor word categories

o-ø-nkombwe ne=ø-ɲwarará ka-bá-rí ba-ntu
 AUG-NP_{1a}-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) hàcitùngù ndàyèndérèrì **nòmbwá** 'wángù
 ha-ci-túngu ndi-a-end-ér-er-i no=ø-mbwá u-angú
 NP₁₆-NP₇-hut SM_{1SG}-PST-go-INT-NPST.PFV COM=NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘From the hut, I left with my dog.’ (ZF_Narr13)

Crucial in determining whether a nominal marked with the comitative marker *nV=* is treated as an inclusory conjunct is the degree of control by the comitative-marked subject over the action. In the examples of inclusory conjunction in (36) and (37), the subjects expressed by a comitative are human (*ewe* ‘you’, (36), and *bàmùkèntù 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* ‘my dog’.

The comitative can also be used to express an instrumental, as in (40)-(41).

- (40) shibànakàsiri **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 ndí'kánkà ècìkúnì **nàkàtèmu**
 ku-kank-a ndí-kánk-a e-ci-kuní na=ka-tému
 INF-cut-FV SM_{1SG}-cut-FV AUG-NP₇-tree COM=NP₁₂-axe
 ‘I chop the tree with an axe.’ (NF_Elic15)

Another strategy Fwe uses to express an instrumental is the verbal causative suffix (see §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).

5.2 *Comitatives*

- (42) **nèmùkêntù** wángù nàshwénì wâwà
 ne=mu-kéntu u-angú na-shwén-i wâwa
 COM=NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₁.PST-be_tired-NPST.PFV very
 ‘My wife has also become very tired.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (43) **nèshúnù** hánù ndishíní mú'céci yá'péntékòsìtì
 ne=shunú hanú ndi-shi_I-ní mú-ø-céci i-á-pentékositì
 COM=today DEM.II₁₆ SM_{1SG}-PER-be NP₁₈-NP₉-church PP₉-CON=Pentecoste
 ‘Even today/up to this very day, I am still in the Pentecost church.’
 (ZF_Narr15)

Rather than marking the focused noun with a comitative, additive focus can also be expressed by adding a co-referential personal pronoun marked with the comitative, as in (44)-(45).

- (44) **néyè** mùkêntù ákùbú:kà
 ne=yé mu-kéntu á-o-ku-bú:k-a
 COM=PERS_{3SG} NP₁-woman CON₁-AUG-INF-wake-ITR-FV
 ‘The wife also wakes up.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (45) òmú'kwámè **néyè** zàkwé zézìzì
 o-mú-kwamé ne=yé zi-akwé zé-zi-zi
 AUG-NP₁-man COM=PERS_{3SG} PP₁₀-POSS_{3SG} COP.DEF₈-EMPH-DEM.I₈
 ‘The husband, too, his things are this and that.’ (ZF_Conv13)

Another function of the comitative is 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'kwámè **néyè** shìbànàrà:rì
 o-mú-kwamé ne=yé shi-ba-na-rá:r-i
 AUG-NP₁-man COM=PERS_{3SG} INC-SM₂-PST-sleep-NPST.PFV
 ‘The man said: they are asleep now.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (47) **némè** ndùngwè
 ne=mé ndu-ø-ngwe
 COM=PERS_{3SG} COP-NP_{1a}-leopard
 ‘I said: it was a leopard.’ (ZF_Narr14)
- (48) mwáncè **néyè** máyè máyè màshènè
 mu-áncè ne=yé ø-máye ø-máye N-ma-shene
 NP₁-child COM=PERS_{3SG} NP_{1a}-mother NP_{1a}-mother COP-NP₆-worm
 ‘The child said: mother, mother, there are worms.’ (NF_Narr15)

5 Minor word categories

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-NP₁-person COM=NP₁-person
 ‘everyone’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (50) èzyùbà nèzyùbà káyàngà kùrùwà
 e-ø-zyùba ne=ø-zyùba ka-á-y-ang-a ku-ru-wa
 AUG-NP₅-day COM=NP₅-day PST.IPFV-SM₁-go-HAB-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ‘Every day she would go to the field.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (51) ècìntù nècìntù cìkwèsì òbùròtù nòbúbì
 e-ci-ntu ne=ci-ntu ci-kwesi o-bu-rótu no=bu-bbí
 AUG-NP₇-thing COM=NP₇-thing SM₇-have AUG-NP₁₄-good COM=NP₁₄-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).

5.3 Copulatives

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	ø-	ndu-	ndó-
3	mu-	N-	ngó-
4	mi-	N-	njé-
5	ø-	ndi-	ndé-
6	ma-	N-	ngá-
7	ci	ø-	cé-
8	zi-	ø-	zé-
9	N-	nji-	njé-
10	N-	ø-	zé-
11	ru-	N-	ndó-
12	ka-	ø-	ká-
13	tu-	ø-	(n)tó-
14	bu-	N-	mbó-
15	ku-	ø-	kó-
16	ha-	N-	mpá-
17	ku-	ø-	kó-
18	mu-	N-	mó-

(52) muntù
mu-ntu
NP₁-person
'a person'

(53) muntù
N-mu-ntu
COP-NP₁-person
'It is a person.'

5 Minor word categories

- (54) òmùntù
 o-mu-ntu
 AUG-NP₁-person
 ‘a person’ (* ‘It’s a person.’)

When the nominal prefix begins with a voiceless stop, the basic copula is zero, e.g. 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 ndimwáncù wángú 'ndírindîrè

5.3 Copulatives

éni ndi-mu-áncu u-angú ndí-rind-ír-e
 yes COP-NP₁-younger_sibling PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}.REL-wait-APPL-STAT
 ‘Yes, I am waiting for my younger brother.’

- (56) zywin’ ómú’kwámè ndibbâbbà
 zywiná o-mú-kwamé ndi-ø-bbábba
 DEM.IV₁ AUG-NP₁-man COP-NP_{1a}-grandfather
 ‘That man is my grandfather.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (57) ndinyàmà ~ njinyàmà
 ndi-N-nyama ~ nji-N-nyama
 COP₅-NP₉-meat ~ COP₉-NP₉-meat
 ‘It is meat.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (58) ndìnàkw’ é’ncényà bùryò
 ndi-N-nakó e-N-cenyá bu-ryo
 COP-NP₉-time AUG-NP₉-small NP₁₄-only
 ‘Just a short time...’ (ZF_Narr13)

The basic copula *N-* can also be used with nouns or pronouns that are marked with a pronominal prefix, which causes the same phonological changes as the combination of the homorganic nasal with nominal prefixes. With vowel-initial pronominal prefixes, the use of the homorganic nasal causes a velar stop /g/ to surface in the case of class 1, 1a, 3, and 6, resulting in the forms *ngu-* for class 1/1a and 3, and *nga-* for class 6. With the vowel-initial pronominal prefix of class 9, the addition of the homorganic nasal creates an additional /j/, resulting in the form *nji-*.

In addition to the basic copula consisting of a homorganic nasal, Fwe also has a paradigm of definite copulative prefixes. These have a CV shape and are added to the nominal prefix without phonological interaction. 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) ndùtàngò
 N-ru-tángo
 COP-NP₁₁-story
 ‘It’s a story.’

5 Minor word categories

- (60) ndórùtàngò
 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 high tone of (modern) the 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 have frequently been 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 the noun *bàwáyìsì* ‘the vice (leader)’ in (61), followed by the predicate *mbàmùkèntù* ‘wángù’ ‘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 mbàmùkèntù 'wángù
 ba-wáyisi N-ba-mu-kéntu u-angú
 NP₂-vice COP-NP₂-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘The vice is my wife.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (62) òkùhíbà nkúbù
 o-ku-híb-a N-ku-bbí
 AUG-NP₁₅-steal-FV COP-NP₁₅-bad
 ‘Stealing is bad.’

5.3 Copulatives

- (63) àbá mbàrìmì
 a-bá N-ba-rimi
 AUG-DEM.I₂ COP₂-farmer
 ‘They are farmers.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (64) èmé 'ndónjòvù
 emé ndó-ø-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 *njìnénè* ‘(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 kápá ndí-N-cenyá
 AUG-NP₉-house PP₉-POSS_{2SG} COP₉-NP₉-big or COP₅-NP₉-small
 ‘Is your house big or small?’
- b. njìnénè
 nji-N-néne
 COP₉-NP₉-big
 ‘It [=my house] is big.’ (ZF_Elic13)

The 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

5 Minor word categories

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-POSS_{1SG} COP-NP₁₅-sell
 'My job is selling.' (NF_Elic15)
- (69) èyî nswî njî-nênè
 e-í e-N-swí njî-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-NP₁₄-problem COP.DEF₁₄-EMPH-DEM.I₁₄ COP.DEF₁₄-EMPH-DEM.I₁₄
 'The problem is such and such.' (ZF_Conv13)
- (71) àbá 'bámbwà mbángù
 a-bá ba-mbwá N-ba-angú
 AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-dog COP-PP₂-POSS_{1SG}
 'These dogs are mine.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (72) ndínwè èè ndímè
 ndi-nwé ée ndi-mé
 COP-PERS_{2PL} YES COP-PERS_{1SG}
 'Are you the one?' 'Yes, I'm the one!' (ZF_Narr13)

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 njî-N-swí
 NP₉-bream COP₉-NP₉-fish
 'A bream is a fish.' (ZF_Elic14)

To negate a copulative construction, an auxiliary verb *ri* 'be' is required in addition to the copulative prefix. This construction is discussed in Chapter 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 use of an appositive prefix. Table 5.3 gives an overview of appositive prefixes.

Table 5.3: Appositive prefixes

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>nde-</i>	<i>tu-</i>
Second person	<i>we-</i>	<i>mu-</i>

Appositive prefixes are used on a noun, to mark the identity between the referent of the noun and the intended person, as in (74)-(77).

- (74) èmé ndènyòkò
 emé nde-ø-nyoko
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1SG}-NP_{1a}-your.mother
 ‘I, your mother...’
- (75) èwé wèmwá'nángù
 ewé we-mu-án-angú
 PERS_{2SG} APP_{2SG}-NP₁-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘You, my child...’
- (76) èswé tùbàntù
 eswé tu-ba-ntu
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-person
 ‘Us, people...’
- (77) ènwé mùbá'nángù
 enwé mu-ba-án-angú
 PERS_{2PL} APP_{2PL}-NP₂-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘You, my children...’ (NF_Elic17)

Appositive prefixes may be combined with a co-referential personal pronoun, as in (74)-(77), or without a personal pronoun, as in (78)-(79).

- (78) tùbakèntù kàtùnákùtíyàngà cáhà

5 Minor word categories

tu-ba-kéntu ka-tu-náku-tí-ang-a cahá
 APP_{1PL}-NP₂-woman NEG-SM_{1PL}-HAB-FV very
 ‘Us women, we did not used to be afraid often.’ (NF_Narr17)

- (79) nḗwè òshùmékò wènkômbwè
 né=we o-shu_Hm-e=kó we-ø-nkómbwe
 COM=PERS_{2SG} SM_{2SG}-bite-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇ APP_{2SG}-NP_{1a}-tortoise
 ‘And you must also bite, you tortoise.’ (NF_Narr17)

The appositive prefixes are also used on the stem *ini* ‘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 zìgórètè wâwà
 e-zí zi-shamú zi-gor-éte wáwa
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-tree SM₈-become_strong-STAT very
 ‘These trees are very strong.’

- (81) èyí njùò njìndótù wâwà
 e-í N-júo nji-N-dótu wáwa
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-house COP₉-NP₉-nice very
 ‘This house is very nice.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (82) kàré: wâwà ndìnàmanì
 ka-ré: wáwa ndi-na-man-í
 ADV-long very SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-NPST.PFV
 ‘I finished very long ago.’ (ZF_Elic13)

Fwe has a small, closed set of words that typically function as adverbs, listed in (83).

- (83) shùnù ‘today’
 zyônà ‘yesterday/tomorrow’²

²The interpretation of this adverb as either yesterday or tomorrow is dependent on the tense of the verb.

5.5 Adverbs

câhà (Namibian Fwe)	‘very’
wâwà (Zambian Fwe)	‘very’
cwàrè	‘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).

- (84) àbùtùká câhà
a-bu_Htuk-â 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 bàkèntù bàámbà wâwà
a-bená ba-kéntu ba-âmb-a wáwa
AUG-DEM.IV₂ NP₂-woman SM₂-talk-FV very
‘Those women talk **a lot**.’
- (87) kòkwí ‘wâwà nòmùbônì
kokwí wáwa no-mu-bón-i
where very SM₂SG.PST-OM₁-see-NPST.PFV
‘Where **exactly** did you see it?’
- (88) cìcíná cìrìmò ndìnàshînì wâwà
ci-ciná ci-rimo ndi-na-shínj-i wáwa
EMPH₇-DEM.IV₇ NP₇-year SM₁SG-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

5 Minor word categories

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 'ryángù kóbùfwíhì
 njé-kandé rí-angú ká-o-bu-fwíi
 COP.DEF₉-story PP₅-POSS_{1SG} ADV-AUG-NP₁₄-short
 'This is my story, **in short**.' (NF_Narr17)
- (90) kómùtàrà kwínà àbákwámé sò mwànàmibìà
 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) ndifwìrè kànínì ènjàrà
 ndi-fw_H-ire ka-níni e-N-jara
 SM_{1SG}-die-STAT ADV-small AUG-NP₉-hunger
 'I'm a bit hungry.' (NF_Elic15)
- (92) àkó:rà kòkùóngòzà
 a-kó:r-a ka-o-ku-óngoz-a
 SM₁-cough-FV ADV-AUG-INF-shout-FV
 'S/he coughs **loudly**.' (NF_Elic15)
- (93) náàkó:rà kòbíré
 ná-a-a-kó:r-a ka-o=biré
 REM-SM₁-PST-cough-FV ADV-CON=two
 'He coughed **twice**.' (ZF_Elic14)

The adverbial prefix *ka-* can be used to derive adverbs of manner, as in (91)-(93), but also temporal adverbs, as in (94)-(95).

- (94) zyôná nàndínàbú:kà kàfôru
 zyóna na-ndí-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)

5.5 Adverbs

- (95) émè nándàré:tiwà ká'náintínsíkisìtì
 emé ná-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-á bú-cenya bú-cenya
 SM₁-work-FV ADV-small ADV-small
 'S/he works slowly.' (NF_Elic15)
- (97) náàrá:rà bú'tútúmà
 ná-a-a-rá:r-a bú-tutum-á
 REM-SM₁-PST-sleep-FV ADV-shiver-FV
 'She slept shivering.' (NF_Narr15)

Adverbs derived from verbs maintain certain verbal characteristics: melodic tone (for instance, the final high tone on /bú-tutum-á/ in (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 búrigùmbènè
 tu-ke_Hre bú-ri_H-gumbéne
 SM_{1PL}-sit.STAT ADV-REFL-sit_close_to.STAT
 'We sit next to each other.'
- (99) ndikèrè búriyàngítè màkàrà
 ndi-ke_Hre bú-ri_H-ang-íte ma-kará
 SM_{1SG}-sit.STAT ADV-REFL-CROSS-STAT NP₆-leg
 'I sit cross-legged.' (NF_Elic15)

There 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).

5 Minor word categories

- (100) mbòndítèndè búti kántì
 mbo-ndí-ténd-e bu-tí kanti
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-do-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-like_this then
 ‘I will do like this then.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (101) ndìyéndè bùryó ‘kúmùnzi
 ndi-énd-e bu-ryó kú-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘Let me just go home.’ (ZF_Narr14)
- (102) àhà bārèrè bùryáhò
 a-ha bá-re_Hre bu-ryahó
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-sleep.STAT NP₁₄-like_that
 ‘When they were sleeping like that...’ (NF_Narr17)

The prefix *bu-* in these adverbs is not the same as the productive adverbializer prefix *bú-*: it lacks a high tone, and 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 ‘ndí’zánà
 N-bu-ryó ndí-zán-a
 COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1SG}.REL-joke-FV
 ‘I am only joking.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (104) mbóbùryáhó ‘tú’ké:zyà
 mbó-bu-ryahó tú-ké:zy-a
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that SM_{1PL}.REL-come-FV
 ‘It is like that that we are coming.’ (NF_Elic17)

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)

5.5 Adverbs

- (106) èzí zìkúni zìfwánà mbómùshòbò wònké:
 e-zí zi-kúni zi-fwán-a mbó-mu-shobo u-o=nké:
 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 is 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) àzwìsiwâ
 a-zw-is-iw-á
 SM₁-leave-CAUS-PASS-FV
 ‘S/he was fired.’ (Lit.: ‘S/he was made to leave.’) (NF_Elic15)
- (2) ècí cipùrà ndimè nàcápàngìrwà
 e-cí ci-pura ndi-me
 AUG-DEM.I7 NP7-chair COP-PERS_{1SG}
 na-cí-a-pang-ir-w-a
 REM-SM7-PST-make-APPL-PASS-FV<REL>
 ‘The chair, it’s me that it was made for.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Less productive derivational strategies are the neuter, separative, impositive, and pluractional 1 suffixes. These occur in a large number of verbs, some of which also occur in an underived form, some do not occur in an underived form but

6 Verbal derivation

do occur with another derivational suffix, and some only occur in their derived form. These derivational strategies cannot be used to freely derive new verbs, and although they have a clear semantic core, they also occur in verbs which do not seem to fit their basic semantic characterization. The intensive, reciprocal, extensive, tentative, and partial reduplication strategies are completely unproductive: they only occur in a handful of lexicalized verbs, and their semantic function cannot 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 tentative in §6.11, and partial reduplication in §6.12.

6.1 Passive

The passive¹ 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) cishámú cìnàtémìwà

¹In 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.

6.1 *Passive*

ci-shamú ci-na-tém-iw-a
 NP₇-tree SM₇-PST-chop-PASS-FV
 ‘The tree has been chopped.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (4) nzézò zibònwâ
 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:tiwà ~ kùré:twà
 ku-ré:t-w-a
 INF-give_birth-PASS-FV
 ‘to be born’ (NF)

- (8) cìhìkwâ ~ cìhìkiwâ
 ci-hi_Hk-w-á
 SM₇-cook-PASS-FV
 ‘It can be cooked.’ (NF_Elic15)

6 Verbal derivation

- (9) kùnà̀nùǹwà ~ kùnà̀nùǹìwà
 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) ndishéshêtwè
 ndi-she_Hsh-étwe
 SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT.PASS
 ‘I am married (said by a woman).’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (13) ndikòmókètwa
 ndi-komók-etwa
 SM_{1SG}-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 *ndiùrísá* ‘I sell’ is *njúò*, ‘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.

6.1 Passive

- (14) ndìùrìsá njùò
 ndi-ur-is-á N-júo
 SM_{1SG}-buy-CAUS-FV NP₉-house
 ‘I sell the house.’
- (15) ènjúò ihùrìsìwâ
 e-N-júo i-ur-is-iw-á
 AUG-NP₉-house SM₉-buy-CAUS-PASS-FV
 ‘The house is being sold.’ (ZF_Elic13)

As the passive decreases the valency of the verb, the use of the passive with a transitive verb, such as *kwâtà* ‘grab’ in (16), results in an intransitive verb, as in (17).

- (16) ndàmùkwâtì
 nd-a-mu-kwât-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-grab-NPST.PFV
 ‘I caught her/him.’
- (17) òkwàtiwâ
 o-kwa_Ht-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) hà mùkítì hà zàniwâ
 ha-mu-kití ha-zan-iw-á
 NP₁₆-NP₃-party SM₁₆-dance-PASS-FV
 ‘Dancing may take place at the party.’
- (19) kwíná kùkwèsì kùtàkùmìwâ
 kwíná ku-kwesi ku-takum-iw-á_H
 DEM.IV₁₇ SM₁₇-PROG SM₁₇-shout-PASS-FV
 ‘Shouting is taking place there.’ (NF_Elic17)

6 Verbal derivation

- (20) kùkwèsì kùshìbiwâ
 ku-kwesi ku-shi_Hb-iw-á
 SM₁₇-PROG SM₁₇-whistle-PASS-FV
 ‘There is whistling there.’
- (21) kàmùrídàmîn-wà
 ka-mu-rí-dam-ín-w-a
 NEG-SM₁₈-REFL-beat-APPL-FV
 ‘Beating each other is not allowed in here.’ (NF_Elic17)

The use of the passive removes the agent as 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 bàngî:
 na-dam-w-á kú-ba-ntu bá-ngí:
 SM₁.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP₂-person PP₂-many
 ‘S/he was beaten **by many people**.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (23) múnàkó ímwìnyà ònkômbwè nàtéwà kùzìzyùnì zòbíré kùtè
 mu-N-nakó í-mwinya o-ø-nkómbwe na-tá-iw-a
 NP₁₈-NP₉-time PP₉-certain AUG-NP_{1a}-tortoise SM₁-PST-say-PST.PASS-FV
 ku-zi-zyuni zi-o=bíre kute
 NP₁₇-NP₈-bird PP₈-CON=two that
 ‘Once upon a time, a tortoise was told **by two eagles** that...’ (ZF_Narr13)
- (24) sìmatá nàdámíwà kwángù
 simatá na-dam-íw-a kw-angú
 Simata SM₁.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘Simata was beaten **by me**.’ (NF_Elic17)

The agent noun may also be used without the prefix *ku-*: both possibilities are illustrated in (25)-(26).

- (25) Sìmatá nàshúmìwà kúmbwà
 simatá na-shúm-iw-a ku-ø-mbwá
 Simata SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘Simata was bitten by a dog.’

6.1 Passive

- (26) Sìmatá nàshúmìwà **ómbwà**
 simatá na-shúm-iw-a o-ø-mbwá
 Simata SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘Simata was bitten by a dog.’ (NF_Elic17)

The prefix *ku-* is obligatory when the agent noun is a proper name, as in (27), or when the agent is in focus, as in (28).

- (27) a. sìmatá nàdà míwà **kùbányàmbè**
 simatá na-dam-íw-a ku-bá-nyambe
 Simata SM₁.PST-beat-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP₂-Nyambe
 ‘Simata was beaten by Mr. Nyambe.’
 b. *sìmatá nàdà míwà **bányàmbè**
- (28) a. kùnjí nàshúmìwà sìmatá
 ku-njí na-shúm-iw-a simatá
 NP₁₇-what SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV Simata
 ‘Who was Simata bitten by?’
 b. nàshúmìwà **kúmbwà**
 na-shúm-iw-a ku-ø-mbwá
 SM₁.PST-bite-PASS-FV NP₁₇-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘He was bitten by a dog.’
 c. *nàshúmìwà **ómbwà** (NF_Elic17)

The agent-marking function of the class 17 prefix *ku-* is not restricted to verbs overtly marked with a passive, but can occur in any construction where the agent cannot be expressed as a core argument (see §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_Ht-iw-â
 NP₃-handle SM₃-grab-PASS-FV
 ‘The handle can be touched.’ (*The handle is being touched.)

6 Verbal derivation

- (30) évú rìvwíkítwà kúmàbùnà
e-vú ri-vwik-ítwa kú-ma-buna
AUG-ground SM₅-cover-STAT.PASS NP₁₇-NP₆-leaf
‘The ground is covered with leaves.’ (NF_Elic15)

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’
zyùmà	‘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

6.2 Causative

- 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 *bû:k* ‘wake up’ appears to consist of the root *bû* 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 tentative 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

²This verb appears to contain a passive suffix *-w*, suggesting an original verb root *nyeer*, but such a root is currently not attested.

6 Verbal derivation

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’
ᵍlòntà	‘drip’	ᵍlònsà	‘cause to drip’
kwâtà	‘hold, grab’	kwâsà	‘help’
nùnkà	‘smell (intr.)’	nùnsà	‘make (someone) smell (some- thing); imagine to smell (some- thing)’
nyônka	‘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 ~ tùkùtisà	‘warm (some- thing) 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 an- noyed’	nyèèzà	‘annoy (some- one)’

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 ~ kàn-tùkìsà	‘help (someone) cross a river’
ɲàtùrà	‘tear; come up (of the sun)’	ɲàtùzà	‘stay up till sunrise’
ùrùkà	‘fly away’	ùrùsà	‘blow away’
tùmbùkà	‘burn (intr.)’	tùmbùsà	‘burn (tr.)’
zimbùkà	‘go around’	zimbùsà	‘bring around’
zimbùrùkà	‘cross the border illegally, circumvent; spin (intr.)’	zimbùrùsà	‘smuggle (tr.); spin (tr.)’

‘to make visible’

- (33) a. kùsùmbàzà
ku-sùmb-az-a
INF-become_pregnant-EXT.CAUS-FV
‘to impregnate’
b. cf. kùsùmbàrà
ku-sùmb-ar-a
INF-become_pregnant-EXT-FV
‘to become pregnant’

The intensive, which consists of the reduplicated applicative suffix (see §6.8), invariably takes the short causative, as in (34).

- (34) a. kùtùmìnìzà
ku-tùm-iniz-a
INF-send-INT.CAUS-FV
‘to send (someone) incessantly’
b. cf. kùtùmìnìnà
ku-tùm-inin-a
INF-send-INT-FV
‘to send incessantly’

6 Verbal derivation

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; it 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 *cáís* ‘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_Hmbuk-á
AUG-NP₃-fire SM₃-burn-FV
‘The fire burns.’
- (37) nditùmbùs’ òmùrìrò
ndi-tu_Hmbus-á o-mu-riro
SM_{1SG}-burn.CAUS-FV AUG-NP₃-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 nkòkò

6.2 Causative

ndi-ri_H-is-á o-mu-áncé N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁-child NP₉-porridge
 ‘I feed the child porridge.’ (NF_Elic17)

When a causative verb has two objects, both objects display the same syntactic behavior. The order of the objects is free, as in (39)-(40).

(39) ndàtésì òmúkwámé òbùsà
 ndi-a-tá-is-i o-mú-kwamé o-bu-sá
 SM_{1SG}-PST-say-CAUS-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁-man AUG-NP₁₄-thief
 ‘I accused the man of theft.’

(40) ndàtésì òbùsà mú'kwámé
 ndi-a-tá-is-i o-bu-sá o-mú-kwamé
 SM_{1SG}-PST-say-CAUS-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁₄-thief AUG-NP₁-man
 ‘I accused the man of theft.’ (NF_Elic17)

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 nkòkò
 ndi-ri_H-is-á o-mu-áncé N-kóko
 SM_{1SG}-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁-child NP₉-porridge
 ‘I feed the child porridge.’

6 Verbal derivation

- (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-áncè
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-eat-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP₁-child
 'I fed it to the child.' (NF_Elic17)
- (46) ndàbúmùtêsi
 ndi-a-bú-mu-tá-is-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁₄-OM₁-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_Hm-is-á e-N-donga ci-zyabaro
 SM_{1SG}-sew-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-needle NP₇-shirt
 'I sew the shirt with a needle.'
- (48) ndàcìsùmìsì ndòngà
 ndi-a-cí-sum-is-i N-donga
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP₉-needle
 'I've sewn it with a needle.'
- (49) ndàyìsùmìsì cìzyàbàrò
 ndi-a-í-sum-is-i ci-zyabaro
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV NP₇-shirt
 'I've sewn the shirt with it.' (NF_Elic17)
- (50) *ndàyìcìsùmìsì
 ndi-a-í-ci-sum-is-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-OM₇-sew-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 Intended: 'I sew it with it.' (NF_Elic17)

6.2 Causative

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) ndìcènèsà ènjùò
 ndi-cen-es-á e-N-júo
 SM_{1SG}-become_clean-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₉-house
 ‘I clean the house.’ (NF_Elic15)

Moving along the causative continuum, direct causation is bordered by sociative causation, where the causer agent does not cause the causee patient to perform the action, but rather assists the patient in performing the action, by performing the action with her, for instance (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2001). Sociative causation is similar to direct causation, because there is a spatio-temporal overlap between the action of the causer and the action of the causee, but differs from direct causation in that the causee is also an agentive, active participant in the action. The use of the causative for sociative causation in Fwe is illustrated in (52)-(54).

- (52) kàntí ndìkùtòmbwérìsè
 kantí ndi-ku-tombwér-is-e
 then SM_{1SG}-OM_{2SG}-weed-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Let me help you weeding (by weeding with you).’ (NF_Narr15)
- (53) àkwèsì àndiàmbìsà
 a-kwesi a-ndi-amb-is-á
 SM₁-have SM₁-OM_{1SG}-talk-CAUS-FV
 ‘S/he is talking to/with me.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (54) bàkwèsì bàndizyàmbirìsà
 ba-kwesi ba-ndi-zyambir-is-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-OM_{1SG}-gather-CAUS-FV
 ‘They are helping me gather.’ (Explanation: we are all gathering, but the results will go to me.) (NF_Elic17)

6 Verbal derivation

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 òkàmúkàrisè
 o-énd-e o-ka-mú-kar-is-e
 SM_{2SG}-GO-PFV.SBJV SM_{2SG}-DIST-OM₁-sit-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Go and sit with him/keep her/him company.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (56) mùbàfúndúsè bàèndè
 mu-ba_H-fund-ús-e ba-énd-e
 SM_{2PL}-OM₂-leave-SEP.CAUS-PFV.SBJV SM₂-GO-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Escort her/him as/so that s/he goes.’ (NF_Elic15)

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'rê:tà kùtèyè ndikàbíré mùcècì kùrwàràrwàrà há'zíkò ryángù
 e-co ni-cí-a-rê:t-a kutéye ndi-kabir-é
 AUG-DEM.III₇ PST-SM₇-PST-bring-FV<REL> that SM_{1SG}-enter-PFV.SBJV
 mu-ø-céci ø-ku-rwàra-rwar-a há-zíko ri-angú
 NP₁₈-NP₉-church COP-NP₁₅-PL2-be_sick-FV NP₁₆-hearth PP₅-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘What made me go to church, was sickness in my family.’ (ZF_Narr15)

- (59) òzyú mùntù ndéyè nàré:tì bàndizwìsè

6.2 Causative

o-zyú mu-ntu ndi-éye na-ré:t-i
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person COP-PERS_{3SG} SM₁.PST-bring-NPST.PFV
 ba-ndi-zwís-e
 SM₂-OM_{1SG}-fire-PFV.SBJV
 ‘This person, s/he is the one who got me fired.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (60) **kàndisíyì** iyé ndiyàbùré zífùhà
 ka-a-ndi-sí-i iye ndi-yabur-é zi-fúha
 NEG-SM₁-OM_{1SG}-leave-NEG that SM_{1SG}-pick-PFV.SBJV NP₈-bone
 ‘He doesn’t let me pick the bones.’ (NF_Narr17)

The causative suffix can, however, also be used to express indirect causation, in which case it adds a sense of force or urgency. 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** bànàndikúrìsì
 ba-má ba-na-ndi-kur-ís-i
 NP₂-mother SM_{2SG}-PST-OM_{1SG}-sweep-CAUS-NPST.PFV
 ‘My mother made/forced me to sweep.’ (NF_Elic17)

In other cases, examples that may be ambiguous between an indirect reading and a more direct or sociative reading never receive an indirect reading. In (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) **àndikàbìrìsá** ‘mwí’rápà
 a-ndi-kabir-is-á mú-e-ø-rápà
 SM₁-OM_{1SG}-enter-CAUS-FV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-courtyard
 ‘S/he enters the courtyard with me.’
 Not: ‘S/he tells me to enter/makes me enter the courtyard.’ (NF_Elic17)

The preference for an interpretation of direct causation, and the added notion of ‘force’ or ‘urgency’ in indirect causatives, show that the causative derivation in Fwe is mainly used for the expression of direct causation. Indirect causation is more accurately expressed with periphrastic constructions.

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

6 Verbal derivation

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) ndikùmbirákò àkàfùrò **ndikàfùndisèkò** ènyámá 'yángù
 ndi-ku_Hmbir-a=kò ka-furo ndi-ka_H-fùnd-is-e=ko
 SM_{1SG}-request-FV=LOC₁₇ NP₁₂-knife SM_{1SG}-OM₁₂-cut-CAUS-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇
 e-nyámá i-angú
 AUG-meat PP₉-POSS_{1SG}
 'I ask for a knife so that I can cut my meat with it.' (ZF_Elic13)
- (64) kwìn' èsábùrè èryò bánakùshàkà **kùmífùndisàngà**
 ku-iná e-ø-sabùre e-ryo bá-naku-shak-a
 NP₁₇-be_at AUG-NP₅-machete AUG-DEM.III₅ SM₂.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=NP₉-hammer
 'to hit with a hammer'
- (66) kùhòmpwèrèsà nènsàndò
 ku-hompw-er-es-a ne=N-sando
 INF-hammer-CAUS-FV COM=NP₉-hammer
 'to hit with a hammer (not with something else)' (NF_Elic17)

The instrumental meaning of the causative is also found in nouns derived from causative verbs with the suffix *-o* (see also §4.2 on nominal derivation).

6.3 Applicative

- (67) ci-bbùkùrisò 'bellows' kù-bbùkùr-à 'to stoke a fire'
 ci-fwìnkisò 'stopper, seal' kù-fwìnk-à 'to seal'
 ci-kùrisò 'broom' kù-kùr-à 'to sweep'
 cí-àrisò 'latch' kù-àr-à 'to close'

The causative can also be used in combination with the reflexive prefix *ri-/ki-* to indicate an action that someone is pretending to perform, as in (68)-(69).

- (68) ákùrìonèsà búryò
a-óku-rí-on-es-a bu-ryò
SM₁-NPST.IPFV-REFL-snore-CAUS-FV NP₁₄-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' > kùàmbirà 'to tell (someone)'
 kùnyènsà 'to defend' > kùnyènsèrà 'to defend for'
 kùkà:nà 'to refuse' > kùkà: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) kùzwìsirà ~ kùzwìsà ~ kùzwìsikà
ku-zw-is-ir/iz/ikiz-a
INF-come_out-CAUS-APPL-FV
'to take out to/for'

6 Verbal derivation

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 *bù:s* ‘wake up (someone)’.

- (72) *kùbù:sirà*
 ku-bù:-s-ir-a
 INF-wake-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to wake up for/on behalf of’
- (73) *kùbù:sizà*
 ku-bù:-s-iz-a
 INF-wake-CAUS-APPL-FV
 ‘to wake up for/on behalf of’
- (74) *kùbù:sikizà*
 ku-bù:-s-ik-iz-a
 INF-wake-CAUS-?-APPL-FV
 ‘to wake up for/on behalf of’

The form *-(i)s-ir* is the regular combination of the causative *-(i)s* and the applicative *-ir*. The form *-(i)s-iz* can be analyzed as a combination of the causative *-(i)s*, the applicative *-ir*, and the short causative, 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

6.3 Applicative

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’ |
| | kácikìrà | ‘get interrupted’ |
| | kákàtìrà | ‘get stuck’ |
| | ròbèrà | ‘capsize; to eat fast’ |
| | sùbìrà | ‘be red’ |
| | tòmbwèrà | ‘weed’ |
| | zùminà | ‘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) | kùmbìrà ‘beg’ | - kùmbà ‘shout, howl’ |
| | shùminà ‘tie’ | - shùmà ‘bite’ |
| | rà:rìrà ‘eat dinner’ | - rà:rà ‘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) bàkwèsi bàndizyàmbirìrà
 ba-kwesi ba-ndi-zyambir-ir-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-OM₁SG-gather-APPL-FV
 ‘They are gathering for me.’ (NF_Elic17)

6 Verbal derivation

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’ ómwàncè njùò
 tu-zya:_Hk-ir-á o-mu-áncè N-júo
 SM_{1PL}-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₁-child NP₉-house
 ‘...so that we build a house for the child.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (80) náàùrírà èzíryò àbànè
 ná-a-ur-ir-á e-zi-río a-ba-án-e
 PST.SM₁-buy-APPL-FV AUG-NP₈-food AUG-NP₂-child-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘S/he bought food for her/his children.’ (ZF_Elic14)

It is possible for either the applied object to be pronominalized with an object marker on the verb, as in (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) àbàsànzirà òtùsùbà
 a-ba_H-sanz-ir-á o-tu-sùba
 SM₁-OM₂-wash-APPL-FV AUG-NP₁₃-dish
 ‘S/he washes the dishes for her.’
- (82) àtùsànzirà bànyìnà
 a-tu_H-sanz-ir-á ba-nyina
 SM₁-OM₁₃-wash-APPL-FV NP₂-mother
 ‘S/he washes them for her/his mother.’

6.3 *Applicative*

- (83) àtùbàsànzirà
 a-tu_H-ba-sanz-ir-á
 SM₁-OM₁₃-OM₂-wash-APPL-FV
 ‘S/he washes them for her.’
- (84) *àbàtùsànzirà
 a-ba_H-tu_H-sanz-ir-á
 SM₁-OM₂-OM₁₃-wash-APPL-FV
 Intended: ‘S/he washes them for her.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (85) ndàmùkùdámìni
 ndi-a-mu-ku-dam-ín-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-OM_{2SG}-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:kirà mwáncè kàjúò
 a-zya:_Hk-ir-á mu-áncè ka-júò
 SM₁-build-APPL-FV NP₁-child NP₁₂-room
 ‘S/He builds a room for the child.’
- (87) kàjúò kàzyá:kirwà mwáncè
 ka-júò ka-zyá:k-ir-w-a mw-áncè
 NP₁₂-room SM₁₂-build-APPL-PASS-FV NP₁-child
 ‘The room is built for the child.’
- (88) mwáncè àzyà:kirwà kàjúò
 mu-áncè a-zya:_Hk-ir-w-á ka-júò
 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 *òmùkèntù 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. te first person singular in (91), or *bàntù* ‘people’ in (92).

6 Verbal derivation

- (89) nàhúrírì òmùkéntù wàkw' ómùròrà
 na-ur-ír-i o-mu-kéntu u-akwé o-mu-rora
 SM₁.PST-buy-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{3SG} AUG-NP₃-soap
 'He bought soap **for his wife**.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (90) èzìbyá èzò nàá'síyà nààzìsìyìrà àbânè
 e-zi-byá e-zo na-á-sì_H-á
 AUG-NP₈-item AUG-DEM.III₈ REM-SM₁-leave-FV<REL>
 ná-a-zí-sì-ir-a a-ba-án-e
 REM-SM₁-OM₈-leave-APPL-FV AUG-NP₂-child-POSS_{3SG}
 'The items that she left, she left them **for her children**.' (ZF_Conv13)
- (91) shòshák' ókùndìzyónàwìrà màshéshwà ángù
 sha-o-shak-á o-ku-ndi-zyón-a-u-ir-a
 INC-SM_{2SG}-want-FV AUG-INF-OM_{1SG}-destroy-PL1-SEP-APPL-FV
 ma-shéshwa a-ángù
 NP₆-marriage PP₆-POSS_{1SG}
 'You now want to destroy [**for me**] my marriage.' (NF_Narr15)
- (92) kùhíbirà bàntù màshéréñì mbúbùbì
 ku-híb-ir-a ba-ntu ma-sheréñi N-bu-bbí
 INF-steal-APPL-FV NP₂-person NP₆-money COP-NP₁₄-bad
 'Stealing money **from people** is bad.' (NF_Elic16)

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) ndìhítwìrè bùk' éyì kwàòbèt
 ndi-hítur-ir-e ø-buká e-í kwa-obet
 OM_{1SG}-carry-APPL-PFV.SBJV NP₉-book AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₁₇-Orbet
 'Carry this book **for me** to Orbet.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (94) ndàmùká:nìnì
 ndi-a-mu-ká:n-in-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁-refuse-APPL-NPST.PFV
 'I've refused **on his behalf**.' (Context: someone wants to take the belongings of a third person, who is not present. The speaker refuses on behalf of this absent third person.) (NF_Elic17)

The applied object can also be interpreted as the reason of the action, as in (95)-(97).

6.3 Applicative

- (95) mbòndísànzìr' ómùrá:rìrò tùsùbà
 mbo-ndí-sanz-ir-é o-mu-rá:riro tu-súba
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-wash-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₃-dinner NP₁₃-dish
 'I will wash the dishes **for dinner**.'
- (96) ndizya:kìr' ómùndaré 'wángù cìòngò
 ndi-zya:Hk-ir-á o-mu-ndaré u-angú ci-ongo
 SM_{1SG}-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₃-maize PP₃-POSS_{1SG} NP₇-storage
 'I am building a storage **for my maize**.' (NF_Elic17)
- (97) kòó:rì òkùyìbèrèkèrà múmwèzì mbóyìbèrèkèrè èmyézi yòbìrè yòtátwè
 ka-o-ó:r-i o-ku-í-berek-er-a mú-mu-ézi
 NEG-SM_{2SG}-can-NEG AUG-INF-OM₉-work-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-month
 mbo-ó-i_H-berek-er-é e-mi-ézi i-o=biré
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{2SG}-OM₉-work-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₄-month PP₄-CON=two
 i-o=tátwe
 PP₄-CON=three
 'You cannot work **for it** in a month, you will work **for it** for two or three months.' (Context: discussing how long it takes to earn 2000 Namibian dollars.) (ZF_Conv13)

The applicative can also be used to add a locative noun phrase, with two possible functions: either to express a direction or goal, or to express focus on the locative (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 locative expresses a direction, as in (100).

- (98) nàshótòkì àkàyèzì
 na-shótok-i a-ka-yezi
 SM₁.PST-jump-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₁₂-stream
 'S/he jumped over the stream.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (99) ndókùríshòtòkà
 ndi-ó=ku-rí-shotok-a
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₅-jump-FV
 'Then I stepped on it.' (ZF_Narr13)

6 Verbal derivation

- (100) àshòtòkèrá mùmênjì
 a-sho_Htok-er-á mu-ma-ínjì
 SM₁-jump-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-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-NP₆-blood SM₆-come_out-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-wound
 ‘Blood comes from the wound.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (102) ndiyéndè bùryò kùmùnzì
 ndi-énd-e bu-ryo ku-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘Let me just go home.’ (ZF_Narr14)

- (103) ndiyá kwàsèshèkè
 ndi-y-á kwa-sesheke
 SM_{1SG}-go-FV NP₁₇-Sesheke
 ‘I am going to Sesheke.’ (ZF_Elic13)

- (104) nàbàké:zyà kùmùnzí ‘wábò
 na-ba-a-ké:zy-a kú-mu-nzí u-abó
 REM-SM₂-PST-come-FV NP₁₇NP₃-village PP₃-DEM.III₂
 ‘She was coming to her village.’ (ZF_Narr15)

In motion verbs where the direction is not part of the verb’s lexical semantics, the use of a locative noun phrase expressing a direction requires the use of the applicative. This is illustrated with the verb *bútuk* ‘run’ in (105), *shótok* ‘jump’ in (106), and *hít* ‘pass’ in (107).

6.3 *Applicative*

- (105) kùnjúò yàkwé àbùtùkírà
 N-ku-N-júo i-akwé a-bu_Htuk-ir-á
 COP-NP₁₇-NP₉-house PP₉-POSS_{3SG} SM₁-run-APPL-FV
 ‘S/He is running to his house.’
- (106) àshòtòkérà mùmênjì
 a-sho_Htok-er-á mu-ma-ínjì
 SM₁-jump-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-water
 ‘S/He jumps into the water.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (107) bókè:zyà kùhítìrà hámùnzi
 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 kàbàbbòzérà àbá 'bámbwà 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
 ø-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) bàbbónádi kwàsìòmà bábèrèkérà
 ba-bbonádi ø-kwa-sioma bá-berek-er-á
 NP₂-Bonard COP-NP₁₇-Sioma SM₂.REL-work-APPL-FV
 ‘Mr. Bonard, it is in Sioma that he works.’
- (110) ècibàka òkù ásèbèzèrà mùkèntù wángù kùré: ècibàka òkù ndísèbèzèrà

6 Verbal derivation

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 ø-ku-ré: e-ci-baka o-ku
 PP₁-POSS_{1SG} COP-NP₁₇-long AUG-NP₇-place AUG-DEM.I₁₇
 ndí-sebez-er-á
 SM_{1SG}-work-APPL-FV
 ‘The place where my wife works is far from the place where I work.’
 (ZF_Elic13)

- (111) páhà rímàníná èkàndé 'ryángù
 p-áha rí-man-in-á e-ø-kandé ri-angú
 COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆ SM₅-end-APPL-FV AUG-NP₅-story PP₅-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘This is where my story ends.’ (NF_Narr15)

The applicative can also be used to focus morphologically locative noun phrases that refer to a time rather than a place. Locative class 16 can be used in Fwe with both locative and temporal interpretations, and the applicative can also be used to express focus when the temporal interpretation is intended, as in (112).

- (112) páhò náàbàhindirà
 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) ndisháká òmò ázyimbírá
 ndi-shak-á o-mo á-zyi_Hmb-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-sing-APPL-FV
 ‘I like the way s/he sings.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (114) kàbàsùmwìná 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)

6.3 Applicative

- (115) òmò nibáfwîrà àbò bàmùcémberè
 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-cémberè
 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) ndisháká òmw’ áhikírà
 ndi-shak-á o-mo á-hi_Hk-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-COOK-APPL-FV
 ‘I like the way she cooks.’
- (117) ndisháká òmw’ ábàhikírà
 ndi-shak-á o-mo á-ba_H-hi_Hk-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-like-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-OM₂-COOK-APPL-FV
 ‘I like the way she cooks for them.’
- (118) *ndisháká òmw’ ábàhikírà

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 ‘sózù rìritùmbùkírà búryò
 e-rí ø-sozú ri-ri_H-tu_Hmbuk-ir-á bu-ryo
 AUG-DEM.I₅ NP₅-grass SM₅-REFL-burn-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘This grass **burns easily**.’
- (120) èzí zìzwâtò zìcípìtè kònó zìrifwírà búryò
 e-zí zi-zwâto zi-cip-íte konó
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-become_cheap-STAT but
 zi-ri_H-fw-ír-a bu-ryó
 SM₈-REFL-die-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘These clothes are cheap, but they won’t last long (lit. ‘they **will just break**’).’ (NF_Elic15)

6 Verbal derivation

- (121) òmùntù áriàmbìrààmbírà bùryô
 o-mu-ntu á-ri_H-ambira-amb-ir-á bu-ryó
 AUG-NP₁-person SM₁.REL-PL2-talk-APPL-FV NP₁₄-just
 ‘A person who **just** talks...’ (NF_Elic17)

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’ |
| | zyibà ‘get to know’ | zyibàhàrà ‘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 *bôn* ‘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) òcibwèné èni cibònàhàrà
 o-ci_H-bwe_Hne éni ci-bo_Hn-ahar-á
 SM_{2SG}-OM₇-see.STAT yes SM₇-see-NEUT-FV
 ‘Do you see it?’ ‘Yes, it’s visible.’ (NF_Elic15)

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) *nibáwànàhàrà kwángù
 ni-bá-a-wan-ahar-a ku-angú
 REM-SM₂-PST-find-NEUT-FV NP₁₇-POSS_{1SG}
 Intended: ‘S/he was found by me.’ (NF_Elic17)

The neuter presents the event as having no agent. The neuter verb *bónahar* is interpreted as ‘look, be visible’. It does not imply being looked at by an agent,

6.4 Neuter

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) èngùrisó yàkwé mbòyìwànàhàrè
 e-N-gurisó i-akwé mbo-í-wan-ahar-é
 AUG-NP₉-profit PP₉-POSS_{3SG} NEAR.FUT-SM₉-find-NEUT-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Her profit can/will be found.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The neuter suffix *-ahar* in Fwe 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 **-ik* reconstructed with neuter meaning for Proto-Bantu³ (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 *or* ‘can’, as in (127).

³Traces of an earlier neuter(-like) suffix that may have been a reflex of **-ik* are conspicuously absent; no verbs have been recorded which can be analyzed as a combination of a verb stem with a now-petrified neuter-like suffix.

6 Verbal derivation

- (126) kùwànìsikà ~ 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’

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) kùàrùrà
 kù-ar-ur-a
 INF-close-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘to open (tr.)’
- (129) kùàrùkà
 kù-ar-uk-a
 INF-close-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘to open (itr.)’

Verbs with the intransitive separative suffix *-uk* function as change-of-state verbs; they receive a modal interpretation in the present tense (130), and a present reading when used with the stative suffix *-ite* (131).

6.5 Separative

- (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.)’	àrùmúkà	‘roll (intr.)’
bbátùrà	‘separate (tr.)’	bbátúkà	‘separate (intr.), be separated’
kùmbùrà	‘peel, strip’	kùmbúkà	‘come off in strips, be peeled/stripped off’
kúzyùrà	‘peel a <i>mongongo</i> nut’	kúzyúkà	‘be peeled (of a <i>mongongo</i> nut)’
túrùrà	‘pierce’	túrúkà	‘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).

6 Verbal derivation

Table 6.5: Separative verbs from underived verbs

Separative		Underived verb	
ròngòrà	‘unload’	ròngà	‘load’
rwàrùkà	‘become better’	rwàrà	‘become sick’
vwikùrà	‘uncover’	vwikà	‘cover’
zyàrùrà	‘take blankets off the bed’	zyàrà	‘make the bed’
Separative		Other derivational suffix	
cánkùrà	‘remove from the fire’	cánkikà	‘put on the fire’
fúrùmùnà	‘put upright’	fúrùmikà fúrùmànà	‘place upside down’ ‘be initiated (of girls)’
hángùrà	‘remove from a high position’	hánjikà	‘put in a high position’
kámbùrà	‘remove (from on top of each other)’	kámbikà kámbàmà	‘put on top of each other’ ‘be on top of each other’
zyàbùrà	‘undress’	zyàbàrà	‘dress’
làpùrùrà	‘take mud from a wall’	làpikà	‘put mud on a wall’

- (132) bbùkùrà ‘stoke a fire’
 cùncùrà ‘stumble’
 bārùkà ‘taste a crop to test if it’s ripe’
 bûtùkà ‘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*lìntùrà* ‘lie with bent knees’, *shwáhùrà* ‘be disappointed, give up’, *sùkùrà* ‘doze’. There are also verbs with the intransitive separative *-uk* that are not intransitive, such as *cébùkà* ‘look behind at’, *kàntùkà* ‘cross (a road, river)’, *tóròkà* ‘translate, explain’.

The separative suffix also occurs in a reduplicated form. Like its unreduplicated counterpart, the reduplicated separative suffix undergoes both vowel and

6 Verbal derivation

- (134) zàzyángùrìwà
 zì-a-zyáng-ur-iw-a
 SM₈-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 nàkàzì:kì àménò ákwê hàcítwè
 o-ø-ndavú na-ka-zì:k-i a-ma-íno a-akwé
 AUG-NP_{1a}-lion SM₁.PST-DIST-hide-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₆-tooth PP₆-POSS_{3SG}
 ha-ci-twé
 NP₁₆-NP₇-ash
 ‘The lion has hidden his teeth under the ash.’

- (136) ákàzì:kùrà áo mênò
 á-o-ka-zi:k-ur-a a-o ma-íno
 SM₁-AUG-DIST-hide-SEP.TR-FV AUG-DEM.III₆ NP₆-tooth
 ‘She then dug out those teeth there.’ (NF_Narr15)

Many verbs with the separative derivation describe various acts of destruction, such as cutting, tearing or breaking, 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)’
 cà mùnà ‘cut off a small piece’
 cènkùrà ‘cut off half’
 cé rùrà ‘tear’
 kóshòrà ‘cut/pull off’
 kúkùrà ‘cut nails; cut off sides of a grass mat to make it even’
 kùrùrà ‘cut hair’
 ñàtùrà ‘tear’
 ngwénjùrà ‘slash grass (in order to clear a piece of land)’
ⁿlàmbùkà ‘burst (of a mukusi pod)’
 pwàcùrà ‘break’

6.6 Impositive

rùkùrùrà	‘divorce’
tùmbùrà	‘cut and gut a fish’
túrùrà	‘pierce’
làpùrà	‘tear’
làpùtùrà	‘tear’

Verbs referring to various acts of removing also often take a separative suffix, 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 lòngòmònà | ‘hollow out’ |
| ⁿ lòndòrà | ‘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’ |
| lòpòrà | ‘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)’ |
| cànkikà | ‘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).

6 Verbal derivation

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. kùhángàrà
 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.

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-ik-à ‘to bring closer’

6.6 Impositive

Table 6.7: Transitive and intransitive impositive verbs

Transitive impositive -ik/-ek		Intransitive impositive -am	
<i>dàbbikà</i>	‘throw into water’	<i>dàbbàmà</i>	‘jump into water’
<i>hánjikà</i>	‘hang, put in a high position’	<i>hángàmà</i>	‘be put in a hanging/high position’
<i>kúnikà</i>	‘put on a smoking shelf’	<i>kúnàmà</i>	‘be put on a smoking shelf’
<i>nyòngèkà</i>	‘bend (sideways)’	<i>nyòngàmà</i>	‘become bent (sideways)’

Table 6.8: Impositive verbs from extensive / separative verbs

Transitive impositive -ik/-ek		Extensive / separative	
<i>rémèkà</i>	‘injure’	<i>rémànà</i>	‘get injured’
<i>súmbikà</i>	‘impregnate’	<i>súmbàrà</i>	‘become pregnant’
<i>tándàbikà</i>	‘stretch (someone’s legs)’	<i>tándàbàrà</i>	‘stretch (one’s own) legs’
<i>zyàbikà</i>	‘dress (someone)’	<i>zyàbàrà</i>	‘dress (oneself)’
<i>zyímikà</i>	‘put in a standing position’	<i>zyímànà</i>	‘stand up’
<i>cànkikà</i>	‘put on the fire’	<i>cànkùrà</i>	‘remove from the fire’
<i>fùrùmikà</i>	‘put upside down’	<i>fùrùmùnà</i>	‘put upright’
<i>hánjikà</i>	‘hang, put in a high position’	<i>hángùrà</i>	‘remove from a high/hanging position’
<i>kámbikà</i>	‘stack, put on top of each other’	<i>kámbùrà</i>	‘remove from on top of each other’
<i>shémpèkà</i>	‘shoulder a load’	<i>shémpùrà</i>	‘go with a load on one’s shoulders’

6.7 Pluractional

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) zikúni
 zi-ku_Hn-í
 SM₁₀-smoke-IMP.INTR.STAT
 ‘They [the fish] are on the smoking shelf.’
- (149) nínðákún’ík’ énsuì
 gll ní-ndi-a-kún-ik-á e-N-swí
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-smoke-IMP.TR-FV AUG-NP₁₀-fish
 ‘I’ve put the fish on a smoking shelf.’ (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).

6 Verbal derivation

(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 lùmàùnà | ‘uproot’ |
| pwàcàùkà | ‘break (intr.) (of multiple objects)’ |
| túkàùrà | ‘insult (multiple people)’ |
- b. Pluractional a with transitive impositive -ik
- | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|
| dànsàikà | ‘scatter’ |
| hánjàikà | ‘hang up (multiple objects)’ |
| sóndàikà | ‘point (at multiple objects)’ |
| ùràikà | ‘name (multiple people)’ |
- c. Pluractional -a with applicative -ir/-in
- | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| shónjàirà | ‘throw (multiple times)’ |
| sòsàirà | ‘keep on poking a fire’ |
| shúmàinà | ‘tie (multiple knots)’ |
| shwátàirà | ‘keep on whipping’ |
- d. Pluractional -a with separative -ur and applicative -ir
- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| ^g ánàwìnà | ‘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:kàirà
 ku-zyá:k-a-ir-a
 INF-build-PL1-APPL-FV
 ‘to build for (multiple people)’ cf. kùzyá:kirà ‘to build for’, kùzyá:kà ‘to build’

- (152) kùshwátàirà
 ku-shwát-a-ir-a
 INF-whip-PL1-APPL-FV

6.7 Pluractional

‘to keep on whipping’ cf. kùshwàtìrà ‘to whip’; *kùshwâta

- (153) kùshúmàinà
 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

Table 6.9: The combination of the pluractional and separative suffixes

Pluractional	Separative	Underived
bbátàùrà ‘divide (into more than two)’	bbátùrà ‘divide (into two)’	-
ᵍlándàùkà ‘disperse’	ᵍlándùkà ‘disperse’	-
tàràùkà ‘go step by step’	tàràkà ‘take a step’	-
shótàùkà ‘jump up and down’	shótòkà ‘jump’	-
dàmàùrà ‘beat up’	-	dàmà ‘beat’
ᵍlòntàùrà ‘drip continuously’	-	ᵍlòntà ‘drip’
hàràùkà ‘be scratched all over’	-	hàrà ‘scratch’
yèndàùrà ‘walk around’	-	yèndà ‘walk, go’
kózyàùrà ‘pick (fruit)’	-	-
shángàùrà ‘contribute’	-	-
tángàùrà ‘provoke’	-	-
zùkàùrà ‘stir’	-	-

Most pluractional separatives that do not occur without the pluractional lack separative semantics. The separative expresses “movement out of an original position”, and many separative verbs express destruction or removal (see §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.

6 Verbal derivation

(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. ⁿlùmàùrà ‘uproot’, ^glàràùrà ‘divide (food)’, càràùrà ‘divide (food)’. In others, nasal harmony is not maintained and the separative is realized with /r/ instead, e.g. dàràùrà ‘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 alignment is typical for pluractional verbs (see, e.g. Storch & Coly 2017 and other papers in the same volume).

6.7 Pluractional

- (156) māténdè àcò: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 zì-a-pwac-á-uk-i
 AUG-NP₁₀-pot SM₁₀-PST-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV
 ‘The pots are broken’
- (158) mùbònè bèná bàntù bàkwèsì bàdàbbàiká bàntù múmênjì
 mu-bo_Hn-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-ínjì
 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) òshùmàiné màkòtò
 o-shu_Hm-a-in-é ma-kóto
 SM₂SG-tie-PL1-APPL-PFV.SBJV NP₆-knot
 ‘Tie knots.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (160) àyàbúzyà:kàirá 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 àbàhàmbàiká èntàbà
 a-kwesi a-ba_H-ha_Hmb-a-ik-á e-N-tabà
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-OM₂-accuse-PL1-IMP.TR-FV AUG-NP₁₀-case
 ‘S/he is accusing them of many things.’ (NF_Elic17)

Most pluractional verbs are ambiguous between a repeated event reading and a multiple participant reading. The pluractional verb *pwàcàùkà* ‘break’, has a multiple participant reading when used with a plural subject in (162), and a repeated event reading with a singular subject in (163).

- (162) èmpótó zàpwácáùkì

6 Verbal derivation

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 yàpwácàùkì
 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 *shúmàinà* ‘tie (multiple objects)’, which requires a plural object, and is ungrammatical with a singular object.

- (164) a. kùshúmàinà màkôtô
 ku-shúm-a-in-a ma-kóto
 INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV NP₆-knot
 ‘to tie knots’
 b. *kùshúmàinà kôtô
 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 àcókàùkìtè
 ma-ténde a-co:k-á-uk-ite
 NP₆-leg SM₆-break-PL1-SEP.INTR-STAT
 ‘His legs are broken.’
 b. *màténdè àcókètè
 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).

6.7 Pluractional

- (166) ndikàbúbàsùndàikà
 ndi-kabú-ba_H-sund-a-ik-á
 SM₁SG-LOC.PL-OM₂-point-PL1-IMP.TR-FV
 ‘I am going around pointing at them.’
- (167) kùshùmàinà á'ká búshùmàinà màkòtò
 ku-shúm-a-in-a á-kabú-shum-a-in-a ma-kóto
 INF-tie-PL1-APPL-FV SM₁.REL-LOC.PL-tie-PL1-APPL-FV NP₆-knot
 ‘S/he is going around tying knots./ S/he is tying knots in different places.’ (NF_Elic17)

The pluractional *-a* often implies that an action is completed. This is an extension of its pluractional meaning, and not part of its basic meaning, 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 yé'mpótò yàcò:kàùkì
 mi-índi i-é=N-potó i-a-cò:k-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 yòbìrè yé'mpótò yàcò:kàùkì
 mi-índi i-o=biré i-é=N-potó
 NP₄-leg PP₄-CON=two PP₄-CON=NP₉-pot
 i-a-cò:k-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.

6 Verbal derivation

- (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 iyé àkábúyèndàùràyèndàùrà òkábúbônà
 na=ka-y-á iyé a-kabú-enda-ura-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) àbàzimbàùkàzimbàùkà
 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’ |
| | kwàtà ‘touch’ | kwàtàkwàtà ‘touch everywhere’ |
| | shèkà ‘laugh’ | shèkàshèkà ‘laugh a lot’ |

Reduplication is very productive, and appears to be accepted with any verb stem. Most reduplicated verbs also occur in their underived form; a number of

6.7 Pluractional

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	
<i>gábàgàbà</i>	‘talk nonsense’	-	
<i>rúngàrùngà</i>	‘disturb (with noise)’	-	
<i>shàngàshàngà</i>	‘contribute (money)’	-	
<i>cábàcàbà</i>	‘fish by scooping with a bucket (lexicalized meaning); collect (productive meaning)’	<i>càbà</i>	‘fetch, collect (firewood)’
<i>shàkàshàkà</i>	‘look for’	<i>shàkà</i>	‘want, need’

Reduplication targets the entire verb stem, including derivational suffixes, such as the applicative *-ir* 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) *kùríhìndiràhìndirà*
ku-rí-hindira-hind-ir-a
INF-REFL-PL2-take-APPL-FV
‘to keep taking from’ (NF_Elic15)
- (176) *mùrìgórésègòrèsè bùryáho*
mu-rì_H-gorése-gor-es-e
SM_{2PL}-REFL-PL2-become_strong-CAUS-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-like_that
‘Just be strong.’ (NF_Elic17)

6 Verbal derivation

- (177) mbòndíshàkèshàkè
 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) ndàcí'nyúngínyùngì
 ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-PL2-shake-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve shaken it.’ (NF_Elic15)

Although full stem reduplication, including derivational and inflectional suffixes, is the norm, there are certain exceptions. One concerns the negative suffix *-i*. It is possible to negate reduplicated verbs with this suffix, as in (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) tàndishàkíshàkì mwá'nángù
 ta-ndi-shakí-shak-i mu-án-angú
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PL2-search-NEG NP₁-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘I am not looking for my child.’
- (181) ndààzyá kùshàkàshàkà mwá'nángù
 ndi-aazyá ku-shaka-shak-a mu-án-angú
 SM_{1SG}-be_not INF-PL2-search-FV NP₁-child-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘I am not looking for my child.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The second exception to full stem reduplication is that suffixes are occasionally not reduplicated. An example where the applicative suffix may either be maintained or dropped in reduplication is given in (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.

6.7 Pluractional

- (182) kùríhindiràhindirà ~ kùríhindhàhindirà
 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-endáy-end-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-go-NPST.PFV
 ‘I have traveled to many places.’ (NF_Elic15)

There are no limitations on the maximum number of syllables that can be reduplicated; (184) gives two examples of the reduplication of verb stems with four syllables.

- (184) shàkùlàrùmùnàlàrùmùnà shòkùsònsònìsàsònsònìsà
 sha-ku-larumuna-larumun-a sha-o-ku-sónsonisa-sonsonis-a
 INC-INF-PL2-search-FV INC-AUG-INF-PL2-search-FV
 ‘They keep searching through my things, they keep searching carefully.’
 (NF_Song17))

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 root⁴. 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.

- (185) kùkwàtà
 ku-kwát-a
 INF-touch-FV
 ‘to touch’
- (186) kùkwàtàkwàtà
 ku-kwàta-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

⁴More research is needed to study the effect of reduplication on verbs with a floating high tone.

6 Verbal derivation

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) ndàcí'nyúngínyùngì
 ndi-a-cí-nyungí-nyung-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-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.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-NPST.IPFV-talk-FV
 ha-é-ø-foni
 NP₁₆-AUG-NP₅-phone
 ‘I was walking back and forth while I was on the phone.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (190) òsháká 'cáhà kùndihùmpàhùmpà wè
 o-shak-á cáha ku-ndi-humpa-hump-a we
 SM_{2SG}-like-FV very INF-OM_{1SG}-PL2-follow-FV PERS_{2SG}
 ‘You really like following me.’ (said to someone who has followed the speaker on several occasions.)

- (191) cínjì 'áshèkàshékà
 ø-ci-njì á-sheka-shek-á
 COP-NP₇-what SM₁.REL-PL2-laugh-FV
 ‘Why is s/he laughing all the time?’

- (192) ndàyèndáyèndì
 ndi-a-endá-end-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-go-NPST.PFV
 ‘I’ve traveled to many places.’

6.7 Pluractional

- (193) àrírà:rírà'rírà:rírà bùryô
 a-ri_H-ra:_Hrírà-ra:r-ir-á bu-ryó
 SM₁-REFL-PL2-sleep-APPL-FV NP₁₄-just
 'S/he sleeps often.'

To express an action repeated in different locations, reduplication combines with the locative pluractional marker *kabú-/yabú-*, as in (194)-(195).

- (194) kàbúrihíndiràhíndirà 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 'ndíkàbúzishùwàshùwà kúbàntù
 N-bu-ryó ndí-kabú-zi_H-shuwa-shuw-a kú-ba-ntu
 COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1SG}.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-bá-a-ereka-erek-a
 PP₂-all REM-SM₂-PL2-try-FV
 'They have all tried.' (NF_Narr15)
- (197) ènwé sèmùkàcònkòmònàcònkòmónà tùmùtwàré kúcìpàtèrà ámunyà
 màshérènjì kúcikórò
 enwé
 PERS_{2PL}INC-SM_{2PL}-DIST-PL2-press-FV
 se-mu-ka-conkomona-conkomon-á tu-mu-twár-e kú-ci-patéra
 SM_{1PL}-OM₁-bring-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-NP₇-hospital PP₆-other
 á-munya ma-sheréjì kú-ci-kóro
 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)

6 Verbal derivation

The pluractional marked with *-a* and the pluractional marked with stem reduplication are semantically similar. Many verbs may take either pluractional strategy, without a change in meaning, as illustrated in Table 6.11

Table 6.11: Interchangability of pluractional 1 and 2

Pluractional <i>-a</i>	Stem reduplication	
<i>ʒlontàùrà</i>	<i>ʒlontàʒlontà</i>	‘drip continuously’
<i>kwátàùrà</i>	<i>kwátàkwátà</i>	‘touch everywhere’
<i>shàngàùrà</i>	<i>shàngàshàngà</i>	‘contribute’
<i>shótàùkà</i>	<i>shótòkàshótòkà</i>	‘jump up and down’
<i>yèndàùrà</i>	<i>yèndàyèndà</i>	‘walk around’

The difference between these two pluractional strategies is the connotation of completeness or intensity. As discussed in §6.7.1, pluractional *-a* implies completeness. Stem reduplication, on the other hand, implies low intensity: it is used to describe an action that is done only lightly, halfheartedly, or haphazardly. Examples of this use of the pluractional marked with reduplication are given in (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) shibàrà:rì:rà: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 kàníni
 mu-ende-énd-e bu-ryo ka-nini
 SM₂PL-PL2-walk-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just ADV-little
 ‘Just walk a little bit/small distance.’

- (200) màhàmbà 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*.

6.8 Intensive

- (201) mbùryó 'kágàbàgábà
 N-bu-ryó ka-á-ga_Hba-gab-á
 COP-NP₁₄-only PST.IPFV-SM₁-PL2-talk_nonsense-FV
 'S/he is just talking nonsense.' (NF_Elic17)
- (202) àkwèsi ààmbàâmbà
 a-kwesi a-amba-âmb-a
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-PL2-talk-FV
 'S/he talks too much.'
- (203) cìnj' áh' 'òshèkàshékà 'búryò
 ø-ci-njí a-ha ó-sheka-shek-á bu-ryó
 COP-NP₇-what AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{2SG}.REL-PL2-laugh-FV NP₁₄-only
 'Why are you always just laughing (stupidly/annoyingly)?' (NF_Elic15)
- (204) kwàshíààzyà zòkùtèyè ndikàbúzèbùzè
 kwa-shí-aayza zi-o=kutéye ndi-ka-búze-buz-e
 SM₁₇-PER-be_not PP₁₀-CON=that SM_{1SG}-DIST-PL2-ask-PFV.SBJV
 'Now there is no longer anything that I have to keep asking.' (The
 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) cìzyúmîè
 ci-zyu_Hm-îte
 SM₇-become_dry-STAT
 'It is dry.'

6 Verbal derivation

- (206) cìzyúminìnè
 ci-zyu_Hm-ínine
 SM₇-become_{-dry}-INT.STAT
 ‘It is very dry/hard.’ (NF_Elic15)

The core meaning of the this suffix is intensity, 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) kùtòndèrèrà
 ku-tónd-erer-a
 INF-watch-INT-FV
 ‘to stare at’
- (208) kúminìnizà
 kú-min-iniz-a
 INF-tuck_{-in}-INT.CAUS-FV
 ‘to tuck in properly’
- (209) kùáázy’ ézwâyì kwíná àbó bànàké:zyì kùríurìrìrà ryònshê:
 ku-aazyá e-ø-zwâyì ku-iná a-bó
 SM₁₇-be_{-not} AUG-NP₅-salt SM₁₇-be_{-at} AUG-DEM.III₂
 ba-na-ké:zy-i ku-rí-ur-irir-a ry-onshê:
 SM₂-PST-come-NPST.PFV INF-OM₅-buy-INT-FV PP₅-all
 ‘There is no salt, someone has come and **bought it all**.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (210) àhíndírír’ émisèbézi yònshê: àfíyérà àsánz’ ótùsùbà àtèndà zònshê:
 ‘zómùnjùò
 a-hind-irir-á e-mi-sebézi i-onshê: a-fl_Her-á a-sanz-á
 SM₁-take-INT-FV AUG-NP₄-job PP₄-all SM₁-sweep-FV SM₁-wash-FV
 o-tu-súba a-ténd-a zi-onshê: zi-ó=mu-N-júo
 AUG-NP₁₃-dish SM₁-do-FV PP₁₀-all PP₁₀-CON=NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 ‘She **takes all the jobs**. She sweeps, she washes dishes, she does all the things in the house.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (211) bâncè bàtèkèrèrá mènji
 ba-ánce ba-te_Hk-erer-á ma-ínji
 NP₂-child SM₂-fetch-INT-FV NP₆-water
 ‘Children [normally] fetch water.’ (explaining which tasks are usually performed by whom) (ZF_Elic14)

6.8 Intensive

- (212) ndìshàmbìrìrè
 ndi-shamb-ìrìre
 SM_{1SG}-swim-INT-STAT
 ‘I always swim.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (213) àbèngérèrè
 a-be_Hng-érere
 SM₁-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) kùkámbrìrìrà
 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) ndìkwàtìrìrè
 ndi-kwa_Ht-ìrìre
 SM_{1SG}-touch-INT.STAT
 ‘I hold (for a long time/firmly).’
- (217) kàndishàkí muntù ándikwàtàkwátà bùryáhò
 ka-ndi-shak-ì mu-ntu á-ndi-kwata-kwát-a
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-like-NEG NP₁-person SM₁.REL-OM_{1SG}-PL2-touch-FV
 bu-ryahó
 NP₁₄-like_that
 ‘I don’t like it when someone touches me all over like that.’

6 Verbal derivation

- (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 NP₁₈-NP₈-basket
 zi-angú
 PP₈-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 difference 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 kùyìsànzìrìrà bùryô ìcénè
 ndi-shak-á ku-í-sanz-irir-a bu-ryó
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV INF-OM₄-wash-INT-FV NP₁₄-just
 i-cen-é
 SM₄-become_clean-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I just want to wash them thoroughly, so that they become clean.’
- (220) mbùryó 'ndíyìsànzàsànzá bùryô yàràshàmbà nènjà
 N-bu-ryó ndí-i_H-sanza-sanz-á bu-ryó
 COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1SG}.REL-OM₄-PL2-wash-FV NP₁₄-only
 i-ára-shamb-a nènja
 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 *shúwàná* is derived from the verb *shúwà* ‘hear, understand’. The verb *gumban* ‘stand next to

6.9 Reciprocal

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 *múkàná* takes a second-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) zínjǐ 'múkàná
 ø-zi-nǐ mú-ka_Hn-an-á
 COP-NP₈-what SM_{2PL}.REL-argue-REC-FV
 ‘What are you (PL) arguing about?’

- (222) háibà mùkánà
 háiba mu-ka_Hn-an-á
 if SM_{2PL}-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. kùkòpàná
 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. kùkàwùhàná
 ku-kàwuh-an-a
 INF-separate-REC-FV
 ‘to be separated’
 b. *kù-kàwùh-à
 c. borrowed from Lozi ku kauhana ‘to turn apart’ (Burger 1960: 133)

6 Verbal derivation

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) kùbúzàrà
 ku-búz-an-a
 INF-ask-REC-FV
 ‘to ask each other’
- (226) kùbbózàrà
 ku-bbóz-an-a
 INF-bark-REC-FV
 ‘to bark at each other’
- (227) kùtùkàrà
 ku-tuk-an-a
 INF-insult-REC-FV
 ‘to insult each other’ (NF_Elic17)
- (228) kùshótòkàrà
 ku-shótok-an-a
 INF-jump-REC-FV
 ‘to cross each other’ (ZF_Elic13)

With the exception of lexicalized verbs and Lozi borrowings, verbs with reciprocal *-an* were never encountered in spontaneous discourse. 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 reciprocal 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 unproductive. The only attested examples are listed in Table 6.12 None of the verbs

6.10 Extensive

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).

Table 6.12: The extensive suffix *-ar/-an*

<i>àzyàrà</i>	‘think, plan’
<i>fúrùmàrà</i>	‘be initiated (of girls)’
cf. <i>fúrùmikà</i>	‘place upside down’
cf. <i>fúrùmùnà</i>	‘place rightside up’
<i>òmbàrà</i>	‘be quiet, calm’
<i>rémàrà</i>	‘become injured’
cf. <i>rémèkà</i>	‘injure’
<i>shàràngàrà</i>	‘scatter’
<i>súmbàrà</i>	‘become pregnant’
cf. <i>súmbikà</i>	‘impregnate’
<i>tándàbàrà</i>	‘stretch one’s legs’
cf. <i>tándàbikà</i>	‘cause to stretch (another person’s) legs’
<i>tàngàràrà</i>	‘rejoice’
<i>zibàrà</i>	‘forget’
<i>zyàbàrà</i>	‘dress (oneself)’
cf. <i>zyàbikà</i>	‘dress (someone else)’
cf. <i>zyàbùrà</i>	‘undress’
<i>zyímàrà</i>	‘stand up, stop’
cf. <i>zyímikà</i>	‘put in a standing position’

Given the limited number of examples and the suffix’s lack of productivity, little can be said about its syntactic and semantic functions. Considering the verbs in Table 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’, *tándabara* ‘stretch one’s legs’, and *zyíman* ‘stand up’.

6 Verbal derivation

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 unproductive 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’
	kwàtà (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 tentative suffix can be replaced with a different derivational suffix.

(230)	kùzwàtà
	ku-zú-at-a
	INF-dress-TENT-FV
	‘to dress’

(231)	kùzûrà
	ku-zú-ur-a
	INF-dress-SEP.TR-FV
	‘to undress’

The semantics of the tentative derivation in Bantu is described as ‘actively making firm contact’ (Schadeberg & 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

6.12 Partial reduplication

Table 6.13: Partial reduplication

<i>bbábbàtà</i>	‘touch with flat hands’
<i>càncàùsà</i>	‘be fast’
<i>cécèntà</i>	‘winnow’
<i>cúncùnà</i>	‘kiss’
<i>cùncùrà</i>	‘stumble’
<i>fùfùrèrwà</i>	‘sweat’
<i>fwáfwàtirà</i>	‘get crushed, crumpled’
<i>kákàtirà</i>	‘stick (as a burdock)’
<i>mwémwètà</i>	‘smile’
<i>ngóngòtà</i>	‘knock’
<i>nyényèntèzà</i>	‘warn’
<i>ⁿlólòwèzà</i>	‘eat/drink slowly’
<i>pòpòkà</i>	‘pop, explode with a popping sound’
<i>shòshòtà</i>	‘whisper’
<i>sónsònìsà</i>	‘search around’
<i>tùtùmà</i>	‘shiver’
<i>zùzùnyà</i>	‘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 tentative 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 that indicates the noun class of the subject. Table 7.1 gives an overview of the subject markers, 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 cipùrà càcô:kì
 e-cí ci-pura ci-a-có:k-i
 AUG-DEM.I7 NP7-chair SM7-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘The 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 *cìm-bòtwé cinênè* ‘a big frog’, that was introduced in the previous sentence. In (4),

7 Subject, object, and locative marking

Table 7.1: Subject markers

Noun class/ first or second person (singular)	Subject marker	Noun class/ first or second person (plural)	Subject marker
1SG	<i>ndi-</i>	1PL	<i>tu-</i>
2SG	<i>u-</i>	2PL	<i>mu-</i>
1/1a	<i>a-</i>	2	<i>ba-</i>
3	<i>u-</i>	4	<i>i-</i>
5	<i>ri-</i>	6	<i>a-</i>
7	<i>ci-</i>	8	<i>zi-</i>
9	<i>i-</i>	10	<i>zi-</i>
11	<i>ru-</i>		
12	<i>ka-</i>	13	<i>tu-</i>
14	<i>bu-</i>		
15	<i>ku-</i>		
16	<i>ha-</i>		
17	<i>ku-</i>		
18	<i>mu-</i>		

the people that the speaker describes are standing close by and can therefore be inferred from the physical surroundings.

- (3) àkàbônà ècibwàngà cimbòtwé cinênè cìbònàhàrà òbùnénènéne
a-ka-bón-a e-ci-bwángà ci-mbotwé ci-néne ci-bo_Hn-ahar-á
SM₁-DIST-see-FV AUG-NP₇-frog NP₇-frog NP₇-big SM₇-see-NEUT-FV
o-bu-néne-néne
AUG-NP₁₄-big-big
'He saw a frog there, a big frog. It looked very, very big.' (NF_Narr15)
- (4) bàkwèsi bàkòndòr' óbùjwàrà
ba-kwesi ba-kondor-á o-bu-jwara
SM₂-have SM₂-brew-FV AUG-NP₁₄-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, the strategies which determine agreement with coordinated noun phrases, which may be based on (a combination of) syntactic and

7.2 Object marking

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 nàbànkùkù zìzàrà màyî:
 zi-zyuni na=ba-nkúku zì-zár-a ma-yí:
 NP₈-bird COM=NP₂-chicken SM₈-give.birth-FV NP₆-egg
 ‘Birds and chickens lay eggs.’
- (6) mwêzì nèzyûbà mùwírú 'zínà
 mu-ézi ne=ø-zyúba mu-ø-wirú zi-iná
 NP₃-moon COM=NP₅-sun NP₁₈-NP₅-sky SM₈-be_at
 ‘The moon and the sun are in the sky.’ (NF_Elic15)

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. 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) ndàzìhîndì ndikàzìsânzà
 ndi-a-zì-hind-i ndi-ka-zì_H-sânz-a
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁₀-take-NPST.PFV SM_{1SG}-DIST-OM₁₀-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),

¹Traces 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.

7 Subject, object, and locative marking

Table 7.2: Object markers

Noun class/ per-	Object marker	Noun class/ per-	Object marker
son		son	
1SG	<i>ndi</i> ¹	1PL	<i>tú-</i>
2SG	<i>ku-</i>	2PL	<i>mí-</i>
1/1a	<i>mu-</i>	2	<i>bá-</i>
3	<i>ú-</i>	4	<i>yí-</i>
5	<i>rí-</i>	6	<i>á-</i>
7	<i>cí-</i>	8	<i>zí-</i>
9	<i>yí-</i>	10	<i>zí-</i>
11	<i>rú-</i>		
12	<i>ká-</i>	13	<i>tú-</i>
14	<i>bú-</i>		
15	<i>kú-</i>		

where a constituent is moved to the left periphery of a sentence to function as a topic.

- (8) òrú rùzyîmbò kàndirú'shákì
 o-rú ru-zyîmbo ka-ndi-rú-shak-í
 AUG-DEM.I₁₁ NP₁₁-song NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁₁-like-NEG
 'This song, I don't like it.' (NF_Elic15)

Constituents can also be moved out of a clause to the right periphery as a way of definiteness marking. 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-zì_H-shak-á zí N-swi
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁₀-like-FV DEM.I₁₀ NP₁₀-fish
 'I like these fish.'
- (10) ndàyìbàrì èyí mbùkà
 ndi-a-í-bar-i e-í N-buka
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-read-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-book
 'I've read this book.' (NF_Elic15)

7.2 Object marking

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
 SM₁-OM₁₃-OM₂-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 sufficient context in which four or more object markers might be warranted; possibly, given the right context, such constructions might be acceptable.

- (12) cìmùndisúndîrè
 ci_H-mu-ndi-su_Hnd-ír-e
 OM₇-OM₁-OM_{1SG}-show-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 'Show it to her/him for me.' (NF_Elic17)

Multiple object markers are 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) ndizyà:kír' ómùndaré 'wángù cìòngò
 ndi-zya:_Hk-ir-á o-mu-ndaré u-angú ci-ongo
 SM_{1SG}-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₃-maize PP₃-POSS_{1SG} NP₇-storage
 'I am building a storage for my maize.'
- (14) ndicizyà:kír' ómùndaré
 ndi-ci_H-zya:_Hk-ir-á o-mu-ndaré
 SM_{1SG}-OM₇-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₃-maize
 'I am building it for the maize.'

7 Subject, object, and locative marking

- (15) ndiùzyà:kìr' éciòngò
 ndi-u_H-zya:_Hk-ir-á e-ci-ongo
 SM_{1SG}-OM₃-build-APPL-FV AUG-NP₇-storage
 'I am building a storage for it.'
- (16) *ndiùcìzyà:kírà
 ndi-u_H-ci_H-zya:_Hk-ir-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₃-OM₇-build-APPL-FV
 Intended: 'I am building it for it.' (NF_Elic17)

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) àtàtik' 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 *ini*, with the lexical meaning 'owner', and an agreement prefix. *ini* is inflected for number, e.g. class 1 *mw-ini* for singular and class 2 *b-èni* 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) ndirìbwènè ndémwìnì
 ndi-ri_H-bwe_Hne nde-mw-ini
 SM_{1SG}-REFL-see.STAT APP_{1SG}-NP₁-owner
 'I see myself.' (NF_Elic15)

7.3 Reflexive

- (20) nòkíbònì wèmwîni
 no-kí-bon-i we-mu-íni
 SM_{2SG}.PST-REFL-see-NPST.PFV APP_{2SG}-NP₁-owner
 ‘You see yourself.’

- (21) twàkíbònì tùbêni
 tu-a-kí-bon-i tu-ba-íni
 SM_{1PL}.PST-REFL-see-NPST.PFV APP_{1PL}-NP₂-self
 ‘We see ourselves.’ (ZF_Elic13)

When the subject is not a first or second person, the nominal root *íni* is marked for noun class agreement with the subject, and an anaphoric demonstrative is used, as in (22)-(24).

- (22) sibàrikùnkùmúnà kùricènès’ ábò bēni
 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 iwá èyó yîni
 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) màkwátirò ànàcô:kì kònó nkòmòkí èyó ‘yîni kàyâfwì
 ma-kwátiro a-na-cô: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
 SM_{1PL}.REFL-love-FV
 ‘We love each other.’ (NF_Elic15)

7 Subject, object, and locative marking

- (26) tùkishúwîrè
 tu-ki_H-shu_H-íre
 SM_{1PL}-REFL-hear-STAT
 ‘We hear each other.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (27) màμέςàjì bákinòrérà
 N-ma-mésaji bá-ki_H-ŋo_{Hr}-er-á
 COP-NP₆-message SM₂.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 *ini* (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) and (30), 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) kùbàshàkà
 ku-bá-shak-a
 INF-OM₂-love-FV
 ‘to love them’
- (29) ndìbàshákà
 ndi-ba_H-shak-á
 SM_{1SG}-OM₂-love-FV
 ‘I love them.’
- (30) kùrìshàkà
 ku-rí-shak-a
 INF-REFL-love-FV
 ‘to love each other’

7.4 Locative marking

- (31) tùrìshákà
 tu-ri_H-shak-á
 SM_{1PL}-REFL-love-FV
 ‘We love each other.’

Like object markers, the reflexive can be combined with another object marker in ditransitive verbs, as in (32).

- (32) bàcìrìshúmínìtè mwívùmò
 ba-ci_H-ri_H-shumín-in-ite mú-e-ø-vumo
 SM₂-OM₇-REFL-tie-APPL-STAT NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-stomach
 ‘He has tied it around his waist.’ (NF_Narr17)

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) ndìfütàtìrákò
 ndi-fu_Htat-ir-a=kó
 SM_{1SG}-turn_back-APPL-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘I turn my back towards it.’
- (34) kàtùnákùzíbikàngàkò
 ka-tu-náku-zí-bik-ang-a=ko
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-HAB-OM_{1PL}put-HAB-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘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.

7 Subject, object, and locative marking

- (35) ndàyèndíyèndikò
 ndi-a-endí-end-i=ko
 SM_{1SG}-PST-PL2-go-PST=LOC₁₇
 ‘I kept going there.’ (NF_Elic15)

Phonologically, the locative clitic is fully integrated into the verb to which it attaches. 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) show that in determining the penultimate syllable, the locative clitic is also counted.

- (36) ndìngòngótà
 ndi-ngo_Hngot-á
 SM_{1SG}-knock-FV
 ‘I knock.’
- (37) ndìngòngótáhò
 ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=hó
 SM_{1SG}-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 bàkàréhò
 mu-ba_H-ha-é ci-pura ba-kar-e=hó
 SM_{2PL}-OM₂-give-PFV.SBJV NP₇-chair SM₂-sit-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₆
 ‘Give her a chair, so she may sit on it.’ (NF_Elic15)

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) ènzàsì zàkùrí kùlāsàùkàhò
 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.’

7.4 Locative marking

- (40) ndàngóngòtìhò
 ndi-a-ngóngot-i=ho
 SM_{1SG}-PST-knock-PST=LOC₁₆
 ‘I knocked on it.’

- (41) tàbènáhò
 ta-ba-ina=hó
 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) kàtòndikò
 ka-a-tónd-i=ko
 NEG-SM₁-look-NEG=LOC₁₇
 ‘She doesn’t look that way.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (43) kàndíhàràngákò
 ka-ndí-ha₁₇r-ang-a=kó
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-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: ná-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

7 Subject, object, and locative marking

(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) zòbíre bùryó nìndáùrìsáhò
 ø-zi-o=bíre bu-ryó ni-ndí-a-ur-is-a=hò
 COP-PP₁₀-CON=two NP₁₄-only REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-buy-CAUS-FV=LOC₁₆
 ‘It is only two of them that I sold.’ (Answer to: ‘Did you sell all the cattle?’) (NF_Elic15)
- (47) bàshikùhàkó àkàháfù
 ba-shi_H-ku-ha_H-a=kó a-ka-hafú
 SM₂-PER-OM_{2SG}-give-FV=LOC₁₇ AUG-NP₁₂-half
 ‘They still only give you half of it.’ (ZF_Conv13)
- (48) hìndémó kànîni òsìyìrémó
 hind-e=mó ka-níni o-si_H-ir-e=mó
 take-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈ ADV-little SM_{2SG}-leave-APPL-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₈
 bāmwi
 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) ndishàká kùkàrimàkò ècìṇórisó 'cákò
 ndi-shak-á ku-karim-a=ko e-ci-ṇórisó ci-akó
 SM_{1SG}-want-FV INF-borrow-FV=LOC₁₇ AUG-NP₇-pen PP₇-POSS_{2SG}
 ‘I want to borrow your pen, please.’ (NF_Elic15)

The locative clitic of class 17 may also be used on the progressive auxiliary *kwesì*, 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

8 Tense

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 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 that of aspect markers. Constructions that unambiguously express aspect consist of a single affix or auxiliary and generally lack their own melodic tones (with the exception of the stative, see §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 to the nucleus, and the coda the phase following the nucleus. For

8.1 TAM constructions in Fwe

Table 8.1: Lexical aspect

Dynamic	long nucleus	bútùkà ‘run’
Change-of-state	short nucleus	without an onset: nàtùkà ‘break’ with an onset: nùnà ‘be- come 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* ‘be-

8 Tense

come 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, *ɲatuk* '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

¹The 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.

8.1 TAM constructions in Fwe

(segmental and tonal) morphemes that make up a construction, and the semantics of a TAM construction is often not a simple product of the semantic import of its composite morphemes. This poses some challenges in glossing these TAM constructions; the glossing conventions chosen will be justified in the relevant subsections. 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- <i>a</i>	MT 1, 4
Near past perfective	SM- <i>a</i> /na-B- <i>i</i>	MT 3
Remote past perfective	na-SM- <i>a</i> -B- <i>a</i>	MT 2
Near past imperfective	SM- <i>aku</i> -B- <i>a</i>	-
Remote past imperfective	ka-SM-B- <i>a</i>	MT 1, 2, 4
Remote future (Zambian Fwe)	na-SM-na-B- <i>a</i>	MT 2
Remote future (Namibian Fwe)	(ni-)SM-(<i>á</i>)ra-B- <i>a</i>	MT 2
Subjunctive perfective	SM-B- <i>e</i>	MT 1, 4 / MT 3
Subjunctive imperfective	SM- <i>áku</i> -B- <i>a</i>	-
Near future	pre-initial <i>mbo-/mba-</i> + subjunctive	-
Progressive	auxiliary <i>kwesi/iná</i>	-
Stative	final vowel - <i>ite</i>	MT 3
Habitual 1	suffix - <i>ang</i>	-
Habitual 2	SM- <i>náku</i> -B- <i>a</i>	-
Persistent	post-initial <i>shí-</i>	-
Inceptive	pre-initial <i>shi-/she-/sha-</i>	-

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

8 *Tense*

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 constructions 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.

Table 8.3: Tense constructions

Label	Basic meaning	Main uses
Present	nucleus (partially/ completely) in the future	gnomic; generic; future; 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

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_Htuk-á
 SM₂-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) àzyimbà nènjà
 a-zyimb-a nénja
 SM_{1SG}-sing-FV well
 'She sings well.'
- (3) tùtòmbwérà shùnú
 tu-tombwér-a shúnu
 SM_{1PL}-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

8 *Tense*

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.

- (4) ndibùtúkà
 ndi-bu_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-run-FV
 Future/modal/hypothetical: ‘I will/would/can run.’

²A 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).

8.2 Present

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) ndibêngà

ndi-béng-a

SM_{1SG}-become_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 ndisèbèzâ

shunu ndi-sebez-â

today SM_{1SG}-work-FV

‘Today, I am working. / Today, I will work.’

(7) shùnù mbòndisèbèzê

shunu mbo-ndí-sebez-é

today NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV

‘Today, I will work.’ (NF_Elic15)

8 Tense

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 economic analysis; 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	ndisèbèzâ ‘I will work’
modal	dynamic, change-of-state	nditwâ ‘I can pound’ ndibêngâ ‘I would become angry’
conditional	change-of-state	ònúnâ ‘(If X), you’d become fat’
generic	all lexical aspects	zitiizâ ‘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 ‘ry ‘eat’ in (8), and *kánan* ‘argue’ in (9).

- (8) **tùry’** ónkúkù òzyò ndá’yáyì
 tu-ri-á o-ø-nkúku o-zyo ndí-a-ya-í
 SM₁PL-eat-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-chicken AUG-DEM.III₁ SM₁SG-PST-kill-NPST.PFV
 ‘We are eating the chicken that I killed.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (9) zínjí ‘**múkànaná**
 ø-zì-njí mú-ka_Hnan-á
 COP-NP₈-what SM₂PL.REL-argue-FV
 ‘What are you arguing about?’ (asked of a group of people who are currently having an argument) (NF_Elic15)

8.2 Present

The futurate interpretation of dynamic verbs in the present is illustrated in (10)-(11).

- (10) **ndiùtwá shùnù**
 ndi-u_H-tw-á shunu
 SM_{1SG}-OM₃-pound-FV today
 ‘I’ll pound it today.’ (speaking about maize, the speaker is asked if she plans to pound it today) (NF_Elic15)
- (11) **èmwíkí ‘íkê:zyà ndisèbèzâ**
 e-N-mwíki í-kê:zy-a ndi-sebez-á
 AUG-NP₉-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 interchangeability is not reversible, however: whereas present constructions can have remote future reference, remote future constructions were not accepted with present reference.

- (12) **tùkàbòòrá zyôná**
 tu-ka-boor-á zyóna
 SM_{1PL}-DIST-return-FV tomorrow
 ‘We will return tomorrow.’
- (13) **twáràkàbòòrà zyôná**
 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 *zyôná* ‘tomorrow’.

- (14) **ndiyá kùrùwà**
 ndi-y-á ku-ru-wa
 SM_{1SG}-go-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-field
 ‘[Because] I will go to the field.’ (NF_Elic15)

8 *Tense*

Interestingly, interchangeability 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 be counterintuitive, as near future describes event situated closer to the time of speaking than remote future. A possible explanation for the interchangeability of the present and remote future constructions is that the remote future derives from an earlier present construction. The Namibian Fwe remote future is marked by a post-initial prefix (*á*)*ra*-. In two Bantu Botatwe languages, *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 (predicate focus), and zero marks a conjunct (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-ri_H-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
 NP₁₅-smoke SM₁₅-carry-APPL-FV NP₆-disease
 ‘Smoking can cause disease.’

8.2 Present

- (17) mùndàrè ndiùtwâ
 mu-ndaré ndi-u_H-tw-á
 NP₃-maize SM_{1SG}-OM₃-pound-FV
 ‘Maize, I can pound it.’
- (18) ndimùná ènòmbè zíní:
 ndi-mun-á e-N-ɲombe zí-ngí:
 SM_{1SG}-OWN-FV AUG-NP₁₀-COW PP₁₀-many
 ‘I want to own many cattle.’ (NF_Elic15)

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) ndibèngà
 ndi-béng-a
 SM_{1SG}-become_angry-FV
 ‘I would/will become angry.’ *‘I am becoming angry.’
- (20) ndirèmánà
 ndi-reman-á
 SM_{1SG}-become_injured-FV
 ‘I would/will become injured.’
- (21) mwínì ùkwàtiwâ
 mw-íni u-kwa_Ht-iw-á
 NP₃-handle SM₃-grab-PASS-FV
 ‘A handle can be grabbed.’
- (22) èmpótó ìbbámúkà
 e-N-potó i-bbam-uk-á
 AUG-NP₉-pot SM₉-break-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘A pot can/might break.’ (uttered as a warning to someone who is handling a pot carelessly) (NF_Elic15)

Linked to their modal interpretation in main clauses, change-of-state verbs in the present construction are also often used in the apodosis of a factual conditional, expressing an event that will come to pass if certain conditions are met, as in (23)-(25).

8 *Tense*

- (23) òshiryá cáhà ònúná
 o-shi_H-ri-á cáha o-nun-á
 SM_{2SG}-COND-eat-FV very SM_{2SG}-become_{fat}-FV
 ‘When you eat too much, you become fat.’
- (24) òwú mùndaré kùtè tùùhíkè ùbizwâ
 o-ú mu-ndaré kuté tu-u_H-hi_Hk-é u-bizw-á
 AUG-DEM.I₃ NP₃-maize if SM_{1PL}-OM₃-cook-PFV.SBJV SM₃-ripen-FV
 ‘This maize, if we cook it, will it be done?’ (NF_Elic15)
- (25) òshipángá bùtì tùzwírà hábùsò
 o-shi_H-pang-á bu-ti tu-zw-ír-a
 SM_{2SG}-COND-do-FV NP₁₄-like_{this} SM_{1PL}-come_{out}-APPL-FV
 há-bu-so
 NP₁₆-NP₁₄-front
 ‘If you do it like this, we will make a profit.’ (ZF_Conv13)

Change-of-state verbs can be divided into those 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) òmvúra àshishókà èvú ribômbà
 o-ø-mvúra a-shi_H-sho_Hk-á e-ø-vú ri-bômb-a
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM₁-COND-fall-FV AUG-NP₅-ground SM₅-become.wet-FV
 ‘If it rains, the ground becomes wet.’
- (27) ciàzò ciàrukà
 cí-azo ci-ar-uk-á
 NP₇-door SM₇-close-SEP.INTR-FV
 ‘A door can open.’ *A door is opening. (NF_Elic15)

Perception verbs, such as *bón* ‘see’ and *shuw* ‘hear, feel’, also function as change-of-state verbs; the use of the present construction gives them a modal, future, or conditional interpretation, not a present ongoing interpretation, as in (28)-(29); a present interpretation can only be achieved with the stative (see §9.3).

8.2 Present

- (28) ndibónà
 ndi-bo_Hn-á
 SM_{1SG}-see-FV
 ‘I can see.’ *I see.

- (29) ndìshùwâ
 ndi-shu_H-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) kùshàkàhàrà
 ku-shak-ahar-á
 SM₁₅-need-NEUT-FV
 ‘It is necessary.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (31) zìtìyìzâ
 zi-ti_Hiz-á
 SM₈-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) bàkèntù bàzwátà zìkócì
 ba-kéntu ba-zwát-a zi-kocí
 NP₂-woman SM₂-wear-FV NP₈-skirt
 ‘Women wear skirts.’

- (33) òngwè cibàtànà cìtìizâ
 o-ø-ngwe ø-ci-batana ci-ti_Hiz-á
 AUG-NP_{1a}-leopard COP-NP₇-predator SM_{7.REL}-be_fearsome-FV
 ‘A leopard is a fearsome predator.’ (ZF_Elic_13)

8 *Tense*

- (34) cìzyùnì cìntù cìurúkà
 ci-zyuni Ø-ci-ntu cì-uruk-á
 NP₇-bird COP-NP₇-thing SM₇.REL-fly-FV
 ‘A bird is something that flies.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (35) ècìkw'ámè càm'ári cìyéndà mbómwêzì
 e-cí-kwáme ci-á=mári ci-énd-a mbó-mu-ézi
 AUG-NP₇-man PP₇-CON=polygamy SM₇-go-FV ADV-NP₃-moon
 ‘A polygamous man walks like the moon.’ (saying)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_Hm-á
 SM₂-milk-FV
 ‘They are milking. / They will milk.’
- (37) kùkámà 'bákámà
 ku-kám-a bá-ka_Hm-á
 INF-milk-FV SM₂.REL-milk-FV
 ‘They are milking.’
- (38) bàkwèsì bàkámà
 ba-kwesi ba-ka_Hm-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-milk-FV
 ‘They are milking.’ (NF_Elic15)

³This 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.

8.2 Present

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 hàciàzò mbítà muntù shàkàmú'tábè
 a-ngo_Hngot-á ha-cí-azo mbíta mu-ntu shaká
 SM₁-knock-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-door until NP₁-person if
 a-mú-tab-é
 SM₁-OM₁-answer-PFV.SBJV
 'S/he is knocking on the door until someone answers.'
- (40) àkwèsì àngòngòtá hàciàzò mbítà muntù shàk' ámu'tábè
 a-kwesi a-ngo_Hngot-á ha-cí-azo mbíta mu-ntu shaká
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-knock-FV NP₁₆-NP₇-door until NP₁-person if
 a-mú-tab-é
 SM₁-OM₁-answer-PFV.SBJV
 'S/he is knocking on the door until someone answers.' (implies that s/he has been knocking for a long time) (NF_Elic15)

The difference between the 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) múnjúù wèná àsànz' ótùsùbà
 mu-N-júo a-in-á a-sanz-á o-tu-sùba
 NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁-be_at-FV SM₁-wash-FV AUG-NP₁₃-dish
 'S/he is in the house, s/he is washing dishes.' (it is not certain that s/he is washing dishes; s/he is supposed to wash dishes but maybe s/he is currently doing something else)
- (42) múnjúù wèná àkwès' àsànz' ótùsùbà
 mu-N-júo a-iná a-kwesi a-sanz-á o-tu-sùba
 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)

8 Tense

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
 SM_{1SG}-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) ndìshìciàrà
 ndi-shi_H-ci_H-ar-á
 SM_{1SG}-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 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

Table 8.5: Past constructions

	perfective	imperfective
near	SM-a/na-B-i	SM-aku-B-a
	ndàbérêkì	ndàkùbèrèkà
	ndi-a-berék-i	ndi-aku-berek-a
	SM _{1SG} -PST-work-	SM _{1SG} -PST.IPFV-work-
	NPST.PFV	FV
	‘I worked (earlier to-day).’	‘I was working (earlier today).’
remote	na/ni-SM-a-B-a	ka-SM-B-a
	nàndábèrèkà	kàndìbèrèkà
	na-ndí-a-berek-a	ka-ndí-berek-á
	REM-SM _{1SG} -PST-work-	PST.IPFV-SM _{1SG} -work-
	FV	FV
	‘I worked (before to-day).’	‘I was working/used to work (before today).’

out, and make specific reference to the internal structure of the event’s nucleus. These imperfective past constructions may be combined with affixes or constructions that express a specific subtype of imperfective aspect, such as progressive, habitual, stative, or persistent.

A third variable 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)

8 *Tense*

- (45) ndìnàyèndì
 ndi-na-énd-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-walk-NPST.PFV
 ‘I walked.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The prefix *a-/na-* is subject to geographical variation and phonological conditioning. In the northernmost varieties of Fwe, the prefix *na-* is strongly preferred, 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
 ndìnàyèndì
 ndi-na-énd-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-walk-NPST.PFV
 ‘I walked.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (47) Central Zambian Fwe
 ndìnàyèndì ~ ndàyèndì
 ndi-(n)a-énd-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-walk-NPST.PFV
 ‘I walked.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (48) a. Namibian Fwe: *na-* after /a/
 bànhúrí
 ba-na-hur-í
 SM₂-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘They arrived.’
 b. ànàcò:kì
 a-na-có:k-i
 SM₆-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 ‘They broke.’
- (49) a. Namibian Fwe: *a-* elsewhere
 ndàhúrí
 ndi-a-hur-í
 SM_{1SG}-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘I arrived.’

8.3 Past

- b. mwàhùrì
 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) nòhùrì
 no-hur-í
 SM_{2SG}.PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘You arrived.’

- (51) nàhùrì
 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 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 to be 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: zì-zyuni zì-a-zw-ís-iw-a
 PP₈-all NP₈-bird SM₈-PST-leave-CAUS-PASS-FV
 ‘All the birds have been removed.’ (ZF_Elic14)

8 Tense

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 *yenda* ‘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 àyisâ kàkúri ndàábirìsì
 a-ma-ínjì 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 (that 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) cinó cìrimò ndìnàshínjì wáwà
 cinó ci-rimo ndi-na-shínj-i wáwà
 DEM.II₇ NP₇-year SM₁SG-PST-harvest-NPST.PFV very
 ‘This year, I had a good harvest.’ (ZF_Elic14)

8.3 Past

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-í
 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) *nàshèshì*
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 *có’kúyà* ‘and it burnt’. As the NPP presents the event of the lightning striking as perfective, without reference to its internal constituency, the event presented by the consecutive form cannot co-occur with the lightning striking, but is interpreted as occurring after it.

- (60) *òmvràrà nàréngì cìkùnì có’kúyà*
o-ø-mvúra na-réng-i ci-kunì ci-ó=ku-y-á
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM₁.PST-strike-NPST.PFV NP₇-tree PP₇-CON=INF-burn-FV
 ‘The lightning struck the tree, and it burnt.’ (NF_Elic17)

8 *Tense*

The perfective nature of the near past perfective is also seen in its interaction with aspectual markers; the NPP does not co-occur with imperfective aspectual forms such as progressives, habituais, and the persistive, nor with the locative pluractional marker, which indicates an event taking place in different locations (see §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) *ndàkàbúyèndi
 ndi-a-kabú-é-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) ndànjômbi
 nd-a-njómb-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-get_stuck-NPST.PFV
 'I got stuck (and am still stuck).' (NF_Elic17)
- (63) ècí cipurà càcô:kì
 e-cí ci-purá ci-a-cô:k-i
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-chair SM₇-PST-break-NPST.PFV
 'This chair broke (and is still broken).' (ZF_Elic13)
- (64) ndàzísânzi
 ndi-a-zí-sânz-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₈-wash-NPST.PFV
 'I washed them (and they are clean now).' (NF_Elic15)

This is also true of the use of the NPP with a change-of-state verb, where it is usually interpreted as a present state, as in (65)-(67).

- (65) ndàshwêni
 ndi-a-shwén-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-become_tired-NPST.PFV
 'I am tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

8.3 Past

- (66) ndàlôsi
 ndi-a-lós-i
 SM_{1SG}-PST-become_bored-NPST.PFV
 ‘I am bored.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (67) cànýóngâmì
 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-cô: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-cô: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) èzizwátò zìnàbómbì kúmvûrà
 e-zi-zwátò zi-na-bómb-i kú-ø-mvûrà
 AUG-NP₈-cloth SM₈-PST-become_wet-NPST.PFV NP₁₇- NP_{1a}-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

8 *Tense*

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) *níndàrwàrà zyôna nèshùnù ndishìrwàritè*
ní-ndi-a-rwár-a zyóna ne=shúnu ndi-shi_H-rwa_{HR}-íte
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-FV yesterday COM=today SM_{1SG}-PER-be_sick-STAT
 ‘I got sick yesterday, and I am still sick today.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (71) *ndàrwârì mwívùmò*
ndi-a-rwár-i mú-e-ø-vumo
 SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-stomach
 ‘I got sick to my stomach [this evening].’ (NF_Narr17)

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 ryàcókì shùnù
e-ø-ténde ri-angú ri-a-cók-i shúnu
 AUG-NP₅-foot PP₅-POSS_{1SG} SM₅-PST-break-NPST.PFV today
 ‘My leg broke today.’
- (73) Stative
**èténdè ryángù ricókètè shùnù*
 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 *ndàrwârì* ‘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 *ndàzísànzi* ‘I washed them’, namely that the clothes are clean, does not hold at UT.

⁴ An interpretation where the adverb modifies the current state, e.g. ‘my leg is broken today’, was also not accepted.

- (74) ndàrwàri màsíkùsìkù hànú màntêngù shèndìrìshúwìrè nènjà
 ndi-a-rwár-i ma-síkusíku hanú ma-nténgu
 SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-NPST.PFV NP₆-morning DEM.II₆ NP₆-evening
 she-ndi-ri_H-shu_H-íre nénja
 INC-SM_{1SG}-REFL-feel-STAT well
 ‘I got sick this morning, but now in the evening I feel well.’
- (75) ndàzìsànzì èzì zìzwátò shùnù hàpé hánù shìzázyùrì túkútà
 ndi-a-zí-sanz-i e-zí zi-zwátò shúnu hapé
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₈-wash-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth today again
 hánù shi-zì-á-zyur-i ø-túkútà
 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) òmfùmù kwênà nàhúri
 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 shìryàmání
 ndi-a-ur-í ø-zwái konó shi-ri-a-man-í
 SM_{1SG}-PST-buy-NPST.PFV NP₅-salt but INC-SM₅-PST-finished-NPST.PFV
 ‘I bought salt [earlier today], but [now] it’s already finished.’ (NF_Elic17)

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

⁵That 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.

8 *Tense*

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) sinátángì òkùshòkà
 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) *sinátángì òkùshòkà cwàré sànakàbùkì
 si-na-táng-i o-ku-shók-a cwaré
 INC-SM₁.PST-start-NPST.PFV AUG-INF-rain-FV then
 sa-na-kabúk-i
 INC-SM₁.PST-stop_rain-NPST.PFV
 Intended: 'It started to rain [earlier today], but now it stopped.'
- (80) nátángì òkùshòkà cwàré sànakàbùkì
 na-táng-i o-ku-shók-a cwaré
 SM₁.PST-start-NPST.PFV AUG-INF-rain-FV then
 sa-na-kabúk-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-ndí-a-shâmb-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-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) nínàtêmà
 ní-ndi-a-tém-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-chop-FV
 ‘I chopped.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (83) nándàtêkà
 ná-ndi-a-ték-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-fetch-FV
 ‘I fetched.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (84) kàrí ndimé nèndá’yáyà
 ka-rí ndi-mé ne-ndí-a-ya-á
 NEG-be COP-PERS_{1SG} REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-kill-FV<REL>
 ‘It wasn’t me who broke it.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The prefix *na-/ni-/ne-* marks remoteness, selecting a time period that is considered to be far away from the time of speaking. In the case of the remote past perfective, it selects a domain long *before* the time of speaking. The same remoteness prefix is used with the remote future construction, which combines the remoteness prefix with a post-initial prefix *na-* (Zambian Fwe) or *ára-* (Namibian Fwe) (see §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) êní ècò 'círyò ndácìryà
 éni e-có ci-ryó ndí-a-ci-ry-a
 yes AUG-DEM.III₇ NP₇-food SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₇-eat-FV
 ‘Yes, this food, I have eaten it (answer to: ‘Have you ever eaten this food?’).’ (NF_Elic17)
- (86) nóshàngàrà mùkùrù wángù
 nó-shangan-a mu-kúru u-angú
 SM_{2SG}.PST-meet-FV NP₁-brother PP₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘Have you ever met my brother?’ (ZF_Elic13)

8 *Tense*

- (87) kàrí ndáyà mòwín' ómùnzi
 ka-ri ndí-a-y-a mo-winá o-mu-nzi
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV NP₁₈-DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-village
 'I've never been to that village.' (NF_Elic15)

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 (89), 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-SM_{1SG}-PST-jump-FV
 'I have jumped.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (89) nándázibàrà
 na-ndí-a-zibar-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-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 zyónà
 ni-bá-a-hur-a zyóna
 REM-SM₂-PST-arrive-FV yesterday
 'They arrived yesterday.' (NF_Elic15)

8.3 Past

- (91) êmè nándàré:tiwà kánàintinsíkìsiti
 eme nà-ndi-a-ré:t-iw-a ká-naintinsíkìsiti
 PERS_{1SG} REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-give_birth-PASS-FV at-1960
 ‘I was born in 1960.’ (ZF_Narr15)
- (92) mbóbùryâhò nìyápàngàhàrìrà
 mbó-bu-riáho ni-í-a-pang-ahar-ir-á
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that REM-SM₉-PST-do-NEUT-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘That is how it happened.’ (ZF_Narr15)

The RPP may also contrast time units larger than the day of speaking, such as the year; in (93), the speaker is contrasting this year’s farming activities with those of the previous year.

- (93) cìrimò cíkè:zyà nàndínàkúná màyìrà cìrimò nàcámànà mùndaré
 nándá’kúnà
 ci-rimo cí-ké:zy-a na-ndí-na-kun-á ma-ira
 NP₇-year SM₇.REL-come-FV REM-SM_{1SG}-FUT-plant-FV NP₆-sorghum
 ci-rimo na-cí-a-man-a N-mu-ndaré
 NP₇-year REM-SM₇-PST-finish-FV COP-NP₃-maize
 na-ndí-a-kun-á
 REM-SM_{1SG}-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 *kàndírwàrà* ‘I was sick’ provides the background for the RPP verb *nàndákàtà* ‘I became thin’.

- (94) àhà kàndírwàrà nàndákàtà
 a-ha ka-ndí-rwàr-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_sick-FV
 na-ndí-a-kat-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-become-thin-FV
 ‘When I was sick, I became thin.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Because the RPP is perfective, it does not co-occur with imperfective markers such as persistent *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

8 *Tense*

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) *nindákàbúyèndà
 ní-ndí-a-kabú-end-a
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-LOC.PL-walk-FV
 Intended: 'I walked around/walked in different places.' (NF_Elic17)

If the RPP is used with an event that includes a coda phase, 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) nindàrwàrà zyòna kònó shùnù ndirishùwírè nènjà
 ní-ndi-a-rwár-a zyóna konó shúnu
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-become_sick-FV yesterday but today
 ndi-ri_H-shu_H-íre nénja
 SM_{1SG}-REFL-feel-STAT well
 'I got sick yesterday, but today I feel well.'
- (97) nindàrwàrà zyòna nèshùnù ndishìrwàrìtè
 ní-ndi-a-rwár-a zyóna ne=shúnu ndi-shi_H-rwa_Hr-íte
 PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-be_sick-FV yesterday COM=today SM_{1SG}-PER-be_sick-STAT
 'I got sick yesterday, and 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) nindàzyá:k' ènjùò ndókùyílàpàùrà hápè
 ní-ndi-a-zyá:k-a e-N-júo
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-build-FV AUG-NP₉-house
 ndi-ó=ku-í-lap-a-ur-a hápé
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₉-tear-PL1-SEP.TR-FV again
 'I built a house, then I destroyed it again.' (NF_Elic15)

8.3 Past

- (99) ndímè nindàýízyà:kà èyí njûò òmò á'kàrà
 ndí-me ní-ndi-a-yí-zya:k-a e-í N-júo
 COP-PERS_{3SG} REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-build-FV<REL> AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-house
 o-mo á-kar-á
 AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM₁.REL-stay-FV
 'It is me who built the house in which s/he stays.' (NF_Elic17)

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
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-weed
 '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
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-DIST-work-FV
 'I was working there.'
- (102) ndàkùkàbèrèkà
 ndi-aku-ka-berek-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-DIST-work-FV
 'I was working there.' (NF_Elic17)

The NPI also resembles the infinitive in its maintenance of lexical tones, without melodic tone, as illustrated in (103)-(104).

- (103) a. hìkà 'cook'

8 Tense

- b. ndàkùhìkà
 ndi-aku-hík-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-cook-FV
 ‘I was cooking.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (104) a. rìmà ‘cultivate’
 b. ndàkùrìmà
 ndi-aku-rim-a
 SM_{1SG}-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 shùnú
 ndi-aku-tombwer-a shúnu
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-weed-FV today
 ‘I was weeding today.’ (NF_Elic17)

As the NPI expresses imperfectivity, it may express a longer, backgrounded event during which a shorter event is situated. In (108), the NPI verb *ndàkùbútùkà* ‘I was running’ describes the ongoing event which subsumes the shorter event described with the near past perfective verb *ndàdóntì* ‘I got blisters’.

8.3 Past

- (108) ndàdóntì múmáténdè ángù àhà ndákùbútùkà
 ndi-a-dónt-i mú-ma-ténde a-ángù
 SM₁-PST-develop_blister-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-NP₆-foot PP₆-POSS_{1SG}
 a-ha ndí-aku-bútuk-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-NPST.IPFV-run-FV
 ‘I got blisters on my feet when I was running.’ (NF_Elic15)

As an imperfective construction, the NPI can co-occur with other markers of imperfectivity, such as persistent in (109) and stative in (110).

- (109) àkùshínòrà
 a-aku-shí-ṣor-a
 SM₁-NPST.IPFV-PER-write-FV
 ‘S/he was still writing.’
- (110) ndàkùrwáritè
 ndi-aku-rwa_Hr-íte
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-become_sick-STAT
 ‘I was sick.’ (NF_Elic17)

The NPI cannot be combined with an overt progressive construction, such as the progressive auxiliary *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 habituais, as shown for the habitual suffix *-ang* in (113).

- (113) *ndàkùtòmbwèràngà
 ndi-aku-tombwer-ang-a
 SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-weed-HAB-FV
 Intended: ‘I used to weed.’ (NF_Elic17)

8 *Tense*

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) ndàkùrwârîte
 ndi-aku-rwa_{HR}r-îte
 SM_{1SG}-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-ínjì ka-á-to_Hntor-á
 NP₆-water PST.IPFV-SM₆-be_cold-FV
 ‘The water was cold.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (118) kàbáyëndà nàbàmbwá ‘bábò
 ka-bá-é_{nd}-a na=ba-mbwá ba-a=bó
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-go-FV COM=NP₂-dog PP₂-CON=DEM.III₂
 ‘She was walking with her dogs.’ (ZF_Narr15)
- (119) àhá kàbádàmàdámá bùryàhò
 a-há ka-bá-dama-dam-á bu-ryaho
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM₂-PL₂-beat-FV NP₁₄-like_that
 ‘When they were beating [the drum] like that...’ (ZF_Narr13)

The PI construction 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

8 *Tense*

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) kàndírwàritè zyôná
 ka-ndí-rwa_Hr-íte zyóna
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_sick-STAT yesterday
 ‘I was sick yesterday.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (121) èziryó kàzí’ryóhá
 e-zi-ryó ka-zí-ryó_H-á Describing yesterday’s party:
 AUG-NP₈-food PST.IPFV-SM₈-be_tasty-FV
 ‘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) mùndaré kàndí’twá shùnù
 N-mu-ndaré ka-ndí-tw-á shunu
 COP-NP₃-maize PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-pound-FV today
 ‘I was pounding maize today.’
- (123) mùndaré kàndí’twá zyôná
 N-mu-ndaré ka-ndí-tw-á zyóna
 COP-NP₃-maize PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-pound-FV yesterday
 ‘I was pounding maize yesterday.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The RPI 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 *kànditèká* ‘I was fetching’ is followed by the consecutive verb *ndókùsúsà* ‘I dropped’, indicating that the event of dropping the container is situated during the fetching of water.

- (124) àhà kànditèká mênji ndókùsús’ ècìbiyà cángù
 a-ha ka-ndí-te_Hk-á ma-ínji
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-fetch-FV NP₆-water
 ndi-ó=ku-sús-a e-ci-biya ci-angú
 SM_{1SG}-CON=INF-drop-FV AUG-NP₇-container PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘While I was fetching water, I dropped my container.’ (ZF_Elic14)

8.3 Past

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) zyôná kândishwénête
 zyóna ka-ndi-shwen-éte
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-become_tired-STAT
 ‘Yesterday, I was tired.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (126) kárizò:ràngà òndávù kùyà kúkùcâ:nà
 ka-á-ri_H-zo:r-áng-a o-ø-ndavú ku-i-a
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-REFL-turn-HAB-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-lion INF-go-FV
 kú-ku-cá:n-a
 NP₁₇-INF-hunt-FV
 ‘He used to turn himself into a lion to go hunt.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (127) kùshókà ká’shókà
 ku-shók-a ka-á-sho_Hk-á
 INF-rain PST.IPFV-SM_{1a}-rain-FV
 ‘It has been raining.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (128) cìntù cìshàkàhàrà ècì kàtúkwèsì tuàmbàùrà
 ø-ci-ntu cí-shakahar-á e-cí
 COP-NP₇-thing SM₇.REL-be_important-FV AUG-DEM.I₇
 ka-tú-kwesi tu-ambaur-á
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-PROG SM_{1PL}-discuss-FV
 ‘It’s an important thing that we were discussing.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (129) kàshiké:zyà mùrùshàrà ’rwángù
 ka-á-shi_H-ké:zy-a mu-ru-shará ru-angú
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-PER-come-FV NP₁₈-NP₁₁-back PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘He was still coming behind me.’ (ZF_Narr13)

When not used with markers indicating a specific subtype of imperfective aspect, the PI is usually interpreted as a progressive, as in (130), or less commonly, habitual, as in (131).

- (130) kàtúyëndà nòzyú mùyé’nzángù

8 *Tense*

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-zyîmb-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 kàzîrî zîrôtu
 e-zî-río ka-zî-ri zî-rôtu
 AUG-NP₈-food PST.IPFV-SM₈-be NP₈-good
 ‘The food was good.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (134) kàbàrî bànnî
 ka-bá-ri ba-nîni
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-be NP₂-small
 ‘They were small.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (135) kàkwín’ ’ómùnzi òmù kàmwi’ná 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)

8.3 Past

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_Hk-á
 INF-rain-FV PST.IPFV-SM₁-rain-FV
 'It has been raining (but it's not raining now).' (ZF_Elic14)

- (137) kàndítòmbwèràngà
 ka-ndí-tombwer-áng-a
 PST.IPFV-SM₁SG-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) zyónà kàndishwénètè shùnù tàndishwénètè:
 zyóna ka-ndi-shwen-ète shunu
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM₁SG-become_tired-STAT today
 ta-ndi-shwen-ete-í
 NEG-SM₁SG-become_tired-STAT-NEG
 'Yesterday I was tired, today I'm not tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

- (139) kàndibàzyi:
 ka-ndí-ba-zyi:
 PST.IPFV-SM₁SG-OM₂-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).

8 Tense

- (140) ká'núnà kònó hànó shàkábúkàtà
 ka-á-nun-á konó hanó
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-become_fat-FV but DEM.II₁₆
 shi-a-kabú-kat-a
 INC-SM₁-LOC.PL-become_thin-FV
 'She was getting fat, but now she's getting thin again.' (NF_Elic15)

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
 ndibèrèkè
 ndi-berek-é
 SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV
 'I should work.'
- b. Near future perfective
 mbòndíberèkè
 mbo-ndí-berek-é
 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.'

8.4 Future

- b. Near future imperfective
 ndákùbèrèkà
 ndi-áku-berek-a
 SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV
 ‘I should be working.’ (NF_Elic17)

Subjunctive forms maintain their tonal patterns when turned into near future forms with the prefix *mbo-*, 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) mbòndííkùtòròkèrè
 mbo-ndí-ci_H-ku-to_Hròk-er-e
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-OM_{2SG}-explain-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will explain it to you.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (144) mbòndítòròkè
 mbo-ndí-to_Hrok-é
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-explain-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will explain.’
- (145) mbòndícitòròkè
 mbo-ndí-ci_H-to_Hrok-é
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-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) mbàndíyèndè
 mba-ndí-é_{nd}-e
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-go-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will go.’ (*Zambian Fwe*)

8.4 Future

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-SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Today, I will work.’ (said by someone who has not yet started)
 (NF_Elic15)

- (153) mwèndi mbòndíbònè nèrí rìnàsiyàrìrì
 mwendi mbo-ndí-bo_Hn-é ne=rí
 maybe NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-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 shùnù
 mbo-ndí-sebez-é shúnu
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-work-PFV.SBJV today
 ‘I will work today.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (155) mbòndákùbèrèkà èzyúbà nèzyúbà
 mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a e-ø-zyúba ne=ø-zyúba
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-FV AUG-NP₅-day COM=NP₅-day
 ‘I will work every day.’

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-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-wash-HAB-FV
 ‘I will wash regularly.’

8 *Tense*

- (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) èyínó nsùndà mbòndíbù:kángè kàèti
 e-inó N-súnda mbo-ndí-bu:_Hk-áng-e ka-éti
 AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-wake-HAB-PFV.SBJV ADV-eight
 ‘This week, I will wake up at eight.’ (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 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-NP₂-visitor AUG-DEM.III₂ NEAR.FUT-SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV today
 Intended: ‘The visitors who will arrive today...’

- (160) àbàbàrà àbó 'báhùrá shùnù
 a-ba-bara a-bó bá-hur-á shunu
 AUG-NP₂-visitor AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-arrive-FV today
 ‘The visitors who will arrive today...’ (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 ndíkàâmbè
 ka-ri ndí-ka-ámbe-e
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}.REL-DIST-speak-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will not speak there.’ (NF_Elic17)

8.4 Future

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) zyôná nàndínàménèkà
 zyóna na-ndí-na-mének-a
 tomorrow REM-SM_{ISG}-REM.FUT-go_early-FV
 ‘Tomorrow I will go very early.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (163) zyôná nàndínàbù:kà kàfòrù
 zyóna na-ndí-na-bù:k-a ka-fóru
 tomorrow REM-SM_{ISG}-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-óngo-z-a
 REM-SM_{ISG}-REM.FUT-shout-FV
 ‘I will shout.’

8 Tense

- (165) nàndínàshòshòtà (cf. shòshòtà ‘whisper’)
 na-ndí-na-shoshot-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-REM.FUT-whisper -FV
 ‘I will whisper.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The Namibian Fwe remote future has a form (*na-*)_{SM-ára-B-a}, that is with a post-initial prefix *ára-* rather than *na-*, as seen in (166). The remoteness prefix *na-* is optional in Namibian Fwe, and most often left out, as in (167).

- (166) nàndíràcìpàngà zyónà
 na-ndí-ra-cí-pang-a zyóna
 REM-SM_{1SG}-REM.FUT-OM₇-do-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will do it tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (167) ndáràyèndà zyónà
 ndi-ára-end-a zyóna
 SM_{1SG}-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
 SM_{1SG}-REM.FUT-do-FV
 ‘I will do.’ (NF_Elic15)

Like the Zambian form, the Namibian Fwe form of the remote future maintains the lexical tone of the verb stem, as in (169)-(170).

- (169) ndáràzyîmbà (cf. zyîmbà ‘sing’)
 ndi-ára-zyimb-a
 SM_{1SG}-REM.FUT-sing-FV
 ‘I will sing.’

- (170) ndáràtèndà (cf. tèndà ‘do’)
 ndi-ára-tend-a
 SM_{1SG}-REM.FUT-do-FV
 ‘I will do.’ (NF_Elic15)

8.4 Future

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) mùrà:rè twàràzíkàndèkà zyôná
 mu-rá:r-e tu-ára-zí-kandek-a zyóna
 SM_{2PL}-sleep-PFV.SBJV SM_{1PL}-REM.FUT-OM₈-tell-FV tomorrow
 ‘Go to sleep, we’ll discuss it tomorrow.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (172) ènsúndá yikê:zyà nàndínàyà kùbàmàtè
 e-N-sundá i-kê:zy-a na-ndí-na-i-a ku-ba-mate
 AUG-NP₉-week SM₉-come-FV REM-SM_{1SG}-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) yàràdùrà 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 zyôná
 ndi-tw-á zyóna
 SM_{1SG}-pound-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will pound tomorrow.’
- (175) ndàràtwá zyôná
 ndi-ára-tw-á zyóna
 SM_{1SG}-REM.FUT-pound-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will pound tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic15)

8 *Tense*

- (176) ndiyêndà zyôna
 ndi-énd-a zyóna
 SM_{1SG}-go-FV tomorrow
 ‘I will go tomorrow.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The remote future form cannot be used in subordinate clauses. To indicate a remote future event in a subordinate clause, Fwe uses either the present construction, as in (177), or a subjunctive construction with the remoteness prefix *na-*, as in (178).

- (177) ndizyóna ndiyêndà COP-tomorrow SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV
 ndi-zyóna ndi-énd-a
 ‘It’s tomorrow that I will go.’
- (178) ndizyóna nàndiyêndè
 ndi-zyóna na-ndi-énd-e
 COP-tomorrow REM-SM_{1SG}.REL-go-PFV.SBJV
 ‘It’s tomorrow that I will go.’ (NF_Elic15)

The remote future form is also incompatible with negation. Instead, a negated auxiliary *ri* ‘be’ is used followed by a subjunctive verb with the remoteness prefix *na-*, as in (179).

- (179) kàrì nèndìcìpángè zyôna
 ka-ri ne-ndi-ci_H-páng-e zyóna
 NEG-be REM-SM_{1SG}-OM₇-do-PFV.SBJV tomorrow
 ‘I will not do it tomorrow.’ (NF_Elic17)

That the remote future form is not allowed in subordinate clauses, and cannot be negated, is related to its origin as a former marker of verb focus. As already discussed in §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 consec-

8.5 Consecutive

utive 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 preceded 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 kùyídámá ènjókà yókúfwà
 ndi-a-man-í ku-í-dam-á e-N-jóka í-o=ku-fw-á
 SM₁SG-PST-finish-NPST.PFV INF-OM₉-beat-FV AUG-NP₉-snake
 PP₉-CON=INF-die-FV
 ‘I finished beating the snake, and it died.’ (ZF_Narr13)

Instead of the connective clitic, consecutives may also take a comitative clitic *no-* (see also §5.2 on comitatives), as in (181).

- (181) nàháshàmi nòkùkàrisà kùzyimbà
 na-ásham-i no=ku-káris-a ku-zyimb-a
 SM₁-PST-open_mouth-NPST.PFV COM=INF-start-FV INF-sing-FV
 ‘She opens her mouth **and starts** to sing.’ (ZF_Elic14)

As the base of the consecutive verb form is an infinitive verb, it displays the typical properties of infinitive verbs, namely lack of melodic tone (see also §3.3 on melodic tone in TAM constructions), and the replacement of the infinitive prefix *ku-* with the distal prefix *ka-* to express 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 bákàsúk’áhò bókàyèndà kàhùrà kúmùnzi
 a-ha bá-ka-súk-a=hó
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-DIST-disembark-FV=LOC₁₆
 ba-ó=ka-end-a ka-hur-a kú-mu-nzi
 PP₂-CON=INF.DIST-go-FV INF.DIST-arrive-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-village
 ‘When they climbed out of the canoe, **then they walked** and arrived home.’ (NF_Narr15)

8 *Tense*

A consecutive verb can only be used when preceded by another, tense-inflected verb, and the consecutive verb is interpreted as occurring 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 *ndókùyílàpàùrà* ‘I took it apart’.

- (183) *níndàzyá:k’ ènjùò ndókùyílàpàùrà hápè*
 ni-ndí-a-zyá:k-a e-N-júo
 REM-SM₁-PST-build-FV AUG-NP₉-house
 ndi-ó=ku-í-lap-a-ur-a
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₉-destroy-PL1-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘I built a house, then I took it apart again.’ (NF_Elic15)

When the consecutive is preceded by a perfective verb, such as the remote past perfective in (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 *kàndishâmbà* ‘I was swimming’, in (185).

- (184) *zyôná kàndíyèndètè mùtèmwà ndókùshótòkà zyôká*
 zyóna ka-ndí-end-ete mu-témwa ndí-o=ku-shótok-a
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-GO-STAT NP₃-bush PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-jump-FV
 ø-zyóka
 NP₅-snake
 ‘Yesterday I was on a walk in the bush, and I stepped on a snake.’
 (ZF_Narr14)

- (185) *àhà kàndishâmbà ndókùbón’ òngwèná*
 a-ha ka-ndí-shâmb-a ndi-ó=ku-bón-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-SWim-FV PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-see-FV
 o-ø-ngwena
 AUG-NP_{1a}-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.

8.5 Consecutive

- (186) àké:zyà kùmùshàkà bókùmùtòmènà ákùmànà kùróbòrà nòkútéyè
 àhíndè mùkéntù wàkwé cwàré àyèndè
 a-ké:zy-a ku-mu-shak-a ba-ó=ku-mu-tomen-a
 SM₁-come-FV INF-OM₁-propose-FV PP₂-CON=INF-OM₁-charge_dowry-FV
 a-ó=ku-man-a ku-róbor-a no=kú-t-a íye
 PP₁-CON=INF-finish-FV INF-pay_dowry-FV COM=INF-say-FV that
 a-hínd-e mu-kéntu u-akwé cwàré a-énd-e
 SM₁-take-PFV.SBJV NP₁-woman PP₁-POSS_{3SG} then SM₁-go-PFV.SBJV
 ‘He came to propose to her, then they charged him dowry, then he
 finished paying the dowry, then they said he can take his wife and go.’
 (NF_Narr15)

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) àkàròngò kànâgwì nòkúfwà
 a-ka-róngo ka-nâ-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) ndìnàhìndì nsânzù nòkùbí:kà hàzikù
 ndi-na-hínd-i N-sânzu no=ku-bí:k-a ha-ø-ziku
 SM_{1SG}-PST-take-NPST.PFV NP₉-wood COM=INF-put-FV NP₁₆-NP₅-hearth
 ‘I took a piece of wood and put it on the fire.’ (ZF_Elic14)

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 ndíibùkùmá bùrýahò ndókùyídàmà nòkúfwà
 a-ha ndí-i_H-bu_Hkum-â buryaho
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}-OM₅-throw-FV NP₁₄-like_that
 ndi-ó=ku-í-dam-a no=ku-fú-a
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₉-hit-FV COM=INF-die-FV
 ‘When I threw it, I hit the snake and it [=the snake] died.’ (ZF_Narr13)

8 *Tense*

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-ø-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 <i>kwesi</i>	-	progressive; inchoative; repet- itive
Fronted- infinitive	<i>ku-B-a</i> <i>SM-B-a</i>	-	progressive; verb focus
Habitual	<i>-ang</i>	-	habitual
Habitual	<i>náku-</i>	-	habitual
Stative	<i>-ite</i>	3,4	stative; progres- sive
Persistive	<i>shí-</i>	-	persistive
Inceptive	<i>sha-/she-/shi-</i>	-	inchoative; proximative; contrastive; com- pletive

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

9 Aspect

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) òmvùrà àkwèsì àshòkà
 o-ø-mvùra a-kwesi a-shók-a
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM_{1a}-PROG SM_{1a}-rain-FV
 ‘It is raining.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (2) ndìkwèsì ndìrikúkà
 ndi-kwesi ndi-ri_Hkuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-have_hiccups-FV
 ‘I have the hiccups.’ (NF_Elic15)

The progressive auxiliary *kwesi* is also used in Fwe as a lexical verb with the meaning ‘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 àndiàmbisâ
 a-kwesi a-ndi-amb-is-á
 SM₁-PROG SM₁-OM_{1SG}-talk-CAUS-FV
 ‘S/he is talking to me.’ (NF_Elic15)

The same is true for the locative clitic, which may only be used on the second, lexical verb when it has locative reference, as in (4)-(6). A locative clitic of class 17

9.1 Progressive

=*ko*, however, may be used on the auxiliary *kwesi* to focus the progressive aspect, as in (7)-(9).¹

- (4) ndikwèsì ndìngòngòtáhò
 ndi-kwesi ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=hó
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-knock-FV=LOC₁₆
 ‘I am knocking on it.’
- (5) ndikwèsì ndìngòngòtákò
 ndi-kwesi ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=kó
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-knock-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘I am knocking there.’
- (6) bàkwèsì bàrà:rámò
 ba-kwesi ba-ra:ra_Hr-a=mó
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-sleep-FV=LOC₁₈
 ‘S/he is sleeping in there’
- (7) ndikwèsìkó ndìngòngòtá
 ndi-kwesi=kó ndi-ngo_Hngot-a=kó
 SM_{1SG}-PROG=LOC₁₇ SM_{1SG}-knock-FV=LOC₁₇
 ‘I am knocking there (for a long time).’
- (8) bàkwèsìkó bàhíkà
 ba-kwesi=kó ba-hi_Hk-á
 SM₂-PROG=LOC₁₇ SM₂-cook-FV
 ‘They are busy cooking.’ (stresses that they have already started)
- (9) ndishìní òkùmàná ndishìkwèsìkó ndihíkà
 ndi-shi_H-ní o-ku-man-a ndi-shi_H-kwesi=kó ndi-hi_Hk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-be AUG-INF-finish-FV SM_{1SG}-PER-PROG=LOC₁₇ 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*,

¹Though 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).

9 Aspect

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) ndikwèsì ndifwébà
 ndi-kwesi ndi-fwéb-a
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-smoke-FV
 'I am smoking.'

- (11) ndíná ndifwébà
 ndi-iná ndi-fwéb-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) ndíná ndifwébà
 ndi-ina=hó ndi-fwéb-a
 SM_{1SG}-PROG=LOC₁₆ SM_{1SG}-smoke-FV
 'I am smoking.' (NF_Elic17)

The use of progressive *iná* appears to be restricted. I have 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) òmvúra àkwèsì àshókà
 o-ø-mvúra a-kwesi a-sho_Hk-á
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain SM₁-PROG SM₁-fall-FV
 'It's raining (right now).' (ZF_Elic14)

9.1 Progressive

- (14) èfónì yòzyûmwì ìkwès' ìrírà
 e-ø-fónì i-o=zyú-mwì i-kwesi i-rir-á
 AUG-NP₉-phone PP₉-CON=PP₁-other SM₉-PROG SM₉-cry-FV
 'Someone's phone is ringing.' (in a room, you hear a phone ringing)
 (NF_Elic15)

Progressive aspect is most typically used with dynamic verbs (Comrie 1976: 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 bàsèpàhàrà
 ba-kwesi ba-sep-ahar-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-trust-NEUT-FV
 'S/he is becoming important.'
- (16) cìkwèsì cìcénà
 ci-kwesi ci-cen-á
 SM₇-PROG SM₇-become_clean-FV
 'It is becoming clean.' (while you are washing it, you see it getting cleaner) (NF_Elic17)

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 *rà:r* 'sleep/fall asleep' in (18).

- (17) cìkwèsì cìàrúkà
 ci-kwesi ci-ar-uk-á
 SM₇-PROG SM₇-close -SEP.INTR-FV
 'It keeps opening.' (of a door that doesn't close properly)
- (18) bàkwèsì bàrà:rámò
 ba-kwesi ba-ra:ḥr-a-mó
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-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.

9 Aspect

- (19) bàkwèsì bàfwâ
 ba-kwesi ba-fw-á
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-die-FV
 ‘They are dying.’ (NF_Elic17)

The progressive examples seen so far involved present progressives, which present 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 kàtúkwésì tükàndèkà èzìntù nòkùkàrisà kùkákàrà
 a-ha ka-tú-kwesi tu-kandek-á e-zì-ntu
 AUG-DEM₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-PROG SM_{1PL}-tell-FV AUG-NP₈-thing
 no=ku-kàris-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 mùtòmbwè
 ba-kwesi ba-fwéb-a mu-tómbwe
 SM₂-PROG SM₂-smoke-FV NP₃-cigarette
 ‘S/he is smoking a cigarette.’
- (22) wáshàkàbirì múnjúò kwìn’ ózyò ákwèsì àzwàtà
 o-ásha-kabir-i mú-N-júo ku-iná o-zyo
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-enter-NEG NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.III₁
á-kwesi a-zwát-a
 SM₁.REL-PROG SM₁-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

9.1 *Progressive*

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 ndísèbèzà
 shunu ku-sebez-a ndí-sebez-á
 today INF-work-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-work-FV
 ‘Today I am working.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (24) kùshèkà bá’shéka
 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 ndíyèndà
 ø-ku-end-a ndí-énd-a
 [clefted element] [relative clause]
 COP-NP₁₅-walk-FV SM_{1SG}.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) nkùhóm’ á’hómà
 N-ku-hóm-a á-ho_Hm-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).

9 Aspect

- (27) kókùmàná ndí'mána
 kó-ku-man-a ndí-man-á
 COP.DEF₁₅-INF-finish-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-finish-FV
 'I've just finished.' (ZF_Elic14)

Furthermore, 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) ndipàtéhìtè (ò)kùnywá ètiyì
 ndi-patéh-ite (o-)ku-nyw-á e-ø-tiyi
 SM_{1SG}-be_busy-STAT (AUG-)INF-drink AUG-NP₉-tea
 'I'm busy drinking tea.'

- (29) kùnywá 'ndínywà
 N-ku-nyú-a ndí-nyw-á
 COP-INF-drink-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-drink-FV
 'I am drinking.'

- (30) *òkùnywá 'ndínywà (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) màyirà ndí'híbà
 ma-ira ndí-hib-á
 NP₆-sorghum SM_{1SG}.REL-steal-FV
 'the sorghum that I steal'
- (32) kùhíbà ndí'híbà
 N-ku-híb-a ndí-hib-á
 COP-INF-steal-FV SM_{1SG}.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).

9.1 Progressive

- (33) Verb - Object
 kùhòndà ndí'hóndà bùhòbè
 ku-hond-a ndí-hónd-a bu-hobe
 INF-cook-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-cook-FV NP₁₄-porridge
 'I am cooking porridge.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (34) Verb - Locative
 kùyèndà ndí'yéndà mùmùtêmwà
 ku-end-a ndí-énd-a mu-mu-témwa
 INF-walk-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-walk-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-forest
 'I am walking through the forest.' (ZF_Elic13)
- (35) Verb - Subject
 kùshóká 'shókò mvûrà
 ku-shók-a á-shók-a o-ø-mvûra
 INF-fall-FV SM₁.REL-fall-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-rain
 'It is raining.' (ZF_Elic13)

Even when used with a FIC, a subject may be placed before the verb, as in (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) zywín ómùntù kùkúrá 'kúrá
 zwiná o-mu-ntu ku-kúr-a á-ku_{HT}-á
 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 tùnèngà
 ku-neng-a tú-kwesi tu-néng-a
 INF-dance-FV SM_{1PL}.REL-PROG SM_{1PL}-dance-FV
 'We are dancing.' (ZF_Elic14)

9 Aspect

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 ndíkìzìkìtè
 ku-kí-zik-ite ndí-ki_H-zik-íte
 INF-REFL-hide-STAT SM_{1SG}.REL-REFL-hide-STAT
 ‘I am hidden.’
- (39) mùmùtémwà ndíkìzìkìtè
 N-mu-mu-témwa ndí-ki_H-zik-íte
 COP-NP₁₈-NP₃-forest SM_{1SG}.REL-REFL-hide-STAT
 ‘It’s in the forest that I’m hidden.’
- (40) *mùmùtémwà kùkízìkìtè ndíkìzìkìtè (ZF_Elic13)

The analysis of the FIC as a cleft also explains its focus function, as clefts are the most common focus structure used in Fwe. The progressive-marking use of the FIC is likely to have developed out of its focus-marking use, as also argued for Kikongo (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) zyôná kùsébézà kàndisèbèzâ
 zyóna ku-sébez-a ka-ndi-sebez-â
 yesterday INF-work-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-work-FV
 ‘Yesterday, I was working.’
- (42) kùkékèrà kàndíkèkérá shùnù
 ku-kéker-a ka-ndí-ke_Hker-â shunu
 INF-plough-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-plough-FV today
 ‘I was ploughing today.’

9.1 Progressive

- (43) kùpòtā ákàpòtā bàkwâkwè mwànàmìbià
 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 kùkùrà á’kùrà
 o-zyú mu-áncè ku-kùr-a á-ku_Hr-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 mwààngòrà
 a-ba-ntu ku-berek-a bá-ka-berek-á mwa-angora
 AUG-NP₂-person INF-work-FV SM₂.REL-DIST-work-FV NP₁₈-Angola
 ‘The people are working in Angola.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The FIC may combine with the progressive auxiliary *kwesi* to express both progressive aspect and verb focus. This is illustrated in (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 cìzywìzyà
 e-ci-pupé cí-akó ku-zywìzy-a cí-kwesi ci-zywìz-a
 AUG-NP₇-container PP₇-POSS_{2SG} 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).

9 Aspect

- (47) zywìn' ómùntù kùnywá kànywá
 zywiná o-mu-ntu ku-nyú-a ka-a-nyu-á
 DEM.IV₁ AUG-NP₁-person INF-drink-FV PST.IPFV-SM₁-drink-FV
 'That person has been drinking.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (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 nàmùshùmì 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) shùnù àbàncè kùzàná bázânè
 shúnu a-ba-áncè ku-zan-a bá-zân-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 túàmbàùrà kwàmàná nòmífùmù
 ku-amb-a-ur-a tú-amb-a-ur-á kwamana
 INF-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-FV SM_{1PL}.REL-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-FV about
 no=ø-mfúmu
 COM=NP_{1a}-chief
 'We are talking about the chief.' (ZF_Elic13)

9.2 *Habitual*

- (52) kùrís'á rìsò mùcècè
 ku-rí-is-a á-rí_H-is-á o-mu-cece
 INF-eat-CAUS-FV SM₁.REL-eat-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁-child
 'She is feeding the child.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (53) kùzíkìtè ndìkìzíkìtè
 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 persistent prefix in (56), and the distal in (57).
- (54) kùtwìrà ndímùtwìrà
 ku-tw-ír-a ndí-mu-tw-ír-a
 INF-pound-APPL-FV SM_{1SG}.REL-OM₁-pound-APPL-FV
 'I am pounding for someone.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (55) kùzíkìtè ndìkìzíkìtè
 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 íshihórà
 e-N-tí ku-hór-a í-shi_H-ho_Hr-á
 AUG-NP₉-tea INF-cool-FV SM₉.REL-PER-cool-FV
 'The tea is still cooling down.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (57) kùsèbèzà kàndíkàsèbèzà
 ku-sebez-a ka-ndí-ka-sebez-á
 INF-work-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-DIST-work-FV
 'I worked there.' (ZF_Elic13)

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 Aspect

9.2.1 Habitual 1

The habitual suffix *-ang* follows the verb base, and precedes the final vowel suffix, as in (58).

- (58) ndishámângà
 ndi-shamb-áng-a
 SM_{1SG}-swim-HAB-FV
 ‘I swim.’ (NF_Elic15)

The suffix *-ang* is underlyingly toneless, and surfaces as low-toned unless a melodic high tone is assigned or the syllable is affected by H retraction or spread. The suffix formally resembles a derivational suffix (see Chapter 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-áng-a
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-thing NEG-SM₇-eat-PASS-HAB-FV
 ‘This thing, it is not eaten.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (60) tùkìŋòrèrà:ngà àmàŋórò
 tu-ki_H-ŋò_Hr-er-áng-a a-ma-ŋoró
 SM_{1PL}-REFL-write-APPL-HAB-FV AUG-NP₆-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 ùnákùndisùkùrisàngà
 o-ú mu-shámu u-náku-ndi-sukur-is-ang-a
 AUG-DEM.I₃ NP₃-medicine SM₃-HAB-OM_{1SG}-become_dozy-CAUS-HAB-FV
 ‘This medicine makes me sleepy.’ (NF_Elic17)

9.2 *Habitual*

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) èzyùbà nèzyùbà káyàngà kùrùwà
 e-ø-zyùba ne=ø-zyùba 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) mùzyùbà màsikùsikù ndinywângà màsàmbà
 mu-ø-zyùba ma-síkusiiku ndi-nyw-ang-a ma-samba
 NP₁₈-NP₅-day NP₆-morning SM_{1SG}-drink-HAB-FV NP₆-tea
 ‘Every morning I drink tea.’ (ZF_Elic14)

In present habituals, at least some of the intervals that make up a habitual event are situated before the 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) kásikìsì ndíbù:kângà
 ø-ká-sikisi ndi-bu:_Hk-ang-a
 COP-ADV-six SM_{1SG}.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-bbo_{HZ}-ang-a
 AUG-NP₂-dog SM₂-bark-HAB-FV
 ‘Dogs bark.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (66) ènshúkí ‘zábànkàràmbà zítùbângà
 e-N-shukí zi-á=ba-nkarámba zi-tub-ang-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

9 Aspect

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) kànditòmbwèràngà
 ka-ndí-tombwer-àng-a
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-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) òràpèràngè múzyûbà
 o-raper-àng-e mú-ø-zyûba
 SM_{2SG}-pray-HAB-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₅-day
 ‘You should pray every day.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (69) èyìnó nsûndà mbòndíbù:kàngè kàèti
 e-inó N-súnda mbo-ndí-bu:Hk-àng-e ka-éti
 AUG-DEM.II₉ NP₉-week NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-wake-HAB-PFV.SBJV ADV-eight
 ‘This week, I will wake up at eight.’

In Namibian Fwe, 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) inú èmvíkì wákùménèkàngà éwè
 inú e-N-víki o-áku-mének-ang-a éwe
 DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-week SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV PERS_{2SG}
 ‘This week, you should wake up early every day.’
- (71) mbòndákùbèrèkàngà
 mbo-ndi-áku-berek-ang-a
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-work-HAB-FV
 ‘I will work every day.’
- (72) mbòndákùbèrèkà
 mbo-ndi-áku-berek-a
 NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-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' òmùndaré
 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) ànákatòngàùkà ~ 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) nákùrìhindàwìrà 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)

²I am indebted to Sebastian Dom for suggesting this etymology.

9 Aspect

The prefix *náku-* may co-occur on the same verb with the habitual suffix *-ang*, as in (77)-(78).

- (77) *hàhéná ndínákùbú:kàngà iyé màshèné màshèné*
 ha-hená ndi-náku-bú:k-ang-a iyé N-ma-shene
 EMPH-DEM.IV₁₆ SM_{1SG}-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) *túnákùzibònàngà kàrì mbùryó túhàmbà kònó zintù túbwènè zíténdèhèrè*
 tu-náku-zi_H-bo_Hn-àng-a ka-ri N-bu-ryó tú-ám-b-a konó
 SM_{1PL}-HAB-OM₈-see-HAB-FV NEG-be COP-NP₁₄-only SM_{1PL}-speak-FV but
 Ø-zi-ntu tú-bwe_Hne zi-tend-éhere
 COP-NP₈-thing SM_{1PL}.REL-see.STAT SM₈-do-NEUT.STAT
 ‘We usually see these things, we’re not just talking, they’re things that we
 see happening.’ (ZF_Conv13)

No difference in meaning 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) *ndífúmîté*
 ndi-fum-îte
 SM_{1SG}-become_rich-STAT
 ‘I am rich.’
- (80) *zibómbêté*
 zi-bomb-éte
 SM₈-become_wet-STAT
 ‘They are wet.’

9.3 *Stative*

- (81) ndikátîètè
 ndi-kat-îte
 SM_{1SG}-become_thin-STAT
 ‘I am thin.’
- (82) ndîshéshêètè
 ndi-she_Hsh-éte
 SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT
 ‘I am married.’
- (83) ndîtîyîètè
 ndi-ti_H-îte
 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) cîturúkîètè
 ci-tu_Hrú_k-ite
 SM₇-burst-STAT
 ‘It is burst.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (85) ndîpátéhèètè
 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

³Although 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.

9 Aspect

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) cifwìtè
 ci-fw_H-ite
 SM₇-die-STAT
 ‘It has died.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (87) ndikèrè
 ndi-kere
 SM_{1SG}-sit.STAT
 ‘I sit.’
- (88) nditábìtè
 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 (Bostoén 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 section.

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. *ndiríndirè*
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. *cidébêrè*
ci-debér-e
SM₇-dangle-STAT
‘It is dangling.’ (NF_Elic15)

9 Aspect

- (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.

Table 9.3: Imbrication

Verb root	English translation	Stative form
bón	‘see’	bwènè
kar	‘sit down’	kèrè
rár	‘lie down; go to sleep’	rè:rè
rwar	‘become sick’	rwèrè
zyur	‘become full’	zywìrè

9.3 Stative

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. *bàséphèrè* ~ *bàsépàhèrè*
ba-sep-éher-e ~ *ba-sep-áher-e*
SM₂-promise-NEUT-STAT
 ‘S/he is trustworthy.’
- (95) a. *bón-ahar* ‘appear, be visible’
 b. *kùbwénèhèrè*
ku-bwe_Hn-éher-e
SM₁₅-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. *bàrigùmbèmè*
ba-ri_H-gumb-éme
SM₂-REFL-be_next_to-IMP.INTR.STAT
 c. *bàrigùmbámìtè*
ba-ri_H-gumb-ám-ite
SM₂-REFL-be_next_to-IMP.INTR-STAT
 ‘They are next to each other.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (97) a. *rwár* ‘become sick’
 b. *àrwèrè*
a-rwe_Hre
SM₁-become_sick.STAT
 c. *àrwáritè*
a-rwa_Hr-íte
SM₁-become_sick-STAT
 ‘S/he is sick.’ (ZF_Elic14)

9 Aspect

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 (Bostoën 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’	kwèsi ~ kwátîtè
pak	‘carry on one’s back’	pèsi ~ pákîtè
vúrumat	‘close one’s eyes’	vúrumèsi
zwát	‘get dressed’	zwèsi ~ 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 (itr.)’	hánzì
jánàmà	‘open one’s mouth wide’	jánì
kòtàmà	‘bend forward’	kósì
kúnàmà	‘be smoked (of food stuff, ie fish)’	kúnì
nyòngàmà	‘bend (itr.)’	nyónzì
ⁿ lùmpàmà	‘plant’	ⁿ lúmpì
shèndàmà	‘lean’	shéndì
súngàmà	‘bow the head’	súnzì
téngàmà	‘bend (itr.)’	ténzì
tùmpwàmà	‘be thrown in water’ (of an inanimate object)	túmpwì
zyánàmà	‘hang’	zyánì
zyáshàmà	‘open one’s mouth’	zyáshì
zyiàmà	‘lean’	zyéndì

9 Aspect

- b. zikúnì
 zi-ku_Hn-í
 SM₈-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. zìzyáni
 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).

9.3 Stative

- (101) zikúníkitwà
 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) ndishéshêtwè
 ndi-she_Hsh-étwe
 SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT.PASS
 ‘I am married (said by a woman).’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (103) cihàrîtwà
 ci-ar-ítwa
 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’	fwîrè ~ fwîtè
fwîmp	‘become short’	fwíumpèrè
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 kùbómbètè
 ha-N-shí ku-bomb-éte
 NP₁₆-NP₉-ground SM₁₇-become_wet-STAT
 ‘The ground is wet.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (105) òpótó àzywîré bùsù

9 Aspect

o-ø-potó a-zywir-é bu-su
 AUG-NP_{1a}-pot SM₁-become_full-STAT NP₁₄-flour
 ‘The pot is full of flour.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The experiencer verbs *bón* ‘see’ and *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) ndibwèné
 ndi-bwe_Hne
 SM_{1SG}-see-STAT
 ‘I see.’

(107) ndishúwîrè
 ndi-shu_H-îre
 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) *zìtiyìzìtè
 zì-ti_Hiz-íte
 SM₈-be_busy-STAT
 Intended: ‘They are dangerous.’

(109) zìtiyìzâ
 zì-ti_Hiz-â
 SM₈-be_busy-FV
 ‘They are dangerous.’ (NF_Elic15)

Some verbs⁴ 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

⁴More 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.

9.3 Stative

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-á
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-be_clean-FV
 ‘Are these clothes clean?’
- (111) èzí zìzwâtò zìcénètè
 e-zí zi-zwáto zi-cen-ète
 AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-cloth SM₈-become_clean-STAT
 ‘Are these clothes clean?’ (ZF_Elic14)

With verbs that are ambivalent between change-of-state and stative, the use of the stative suffix can give a different interpretation than the use of the present tense form. As discussed in §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
 SM_{1SG}-be_sick-FV
 ‘I am sick/have an illness.’
- (113) ndìrwârîte
 ndi-rwa_Hr-îte
 SM_{1SG}-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.

9 Aspect

- (114) èzí zìshámù zìgórètè 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 zìkikózètè
 e-zí zi-ntu zi-ki_H-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: àbórètè
 a-á ma-yí: a-bor-éte
 AUG-DEM.I₆ NP₆-egg SM₆-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) ciàzò ciàrúkìtè
 cí-azo ci-ar-úk-ite
 NP₇-door SM₇-close-SEP.INTR-STAT
 ‘The door is open.’
- (118) *ciàzò ciàrúkìtè kú’rú:ho
 Intended: ‘The door is opened by the wind.’

9.3 Stative

- (119) ciàzò cáàrùkì kú¹rú:hò
 cí-azo ci-á-ar-uk-i kú-rú:-ho
 NP₇-door SM₇-PST-close-SEP.INTR-NPST.PFV NP₁₇-NP₁₁-wind
 ‘The door is opened by the wind.’ (NF_Elic15)

As the stative does not refer to when or how the current state has come about, temporal adverbs may only describe the time at which the current state holds, as in (120), not the time of the preceding change in state, as the ungrammaticality of (121) shows.

- (120) ndìrwáritè shùnu
 ndi-rwa_{HR}-íte shúnu
 SM_{1SG}-be_sick-STAT
 ‘I am sick today.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (121) *èténdè ryómbwà wángù rìcò:kétè zyôná
 e-tènde rí-o-ø-mbwá u-angú ri-co:k-éte zyóna
 AUG-leg PP₅-AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₅-break-STAT yesterday
 Intended: ‘The leg of my dog broke yesterday.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The near past perfective may also give a present state reading with change-of-state verbs (see §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 (itr.), 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) cànýóngâmì
 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)

9 Aspect

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 context 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 àfwitè
 o-zyû o-ø-mbwá a-fw_H-ite
 AUG-DEM.I₁ AUG-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁-die-STAT
 ‘This dog is dead.’ (ZF_Elic14)

For the sake of comparison, (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 rináfwi
 e-ø-zyôka 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) ànywitè
 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

9.3 Stative

the irrelevance of the change in state, and the focus on the current state, the stative is used.

- (127) èzizwátò zibómbètè èzí zìzyúmìtè
 e-zi-zwáto zi-bomb-ète 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 bànbû:kì
 a-ba-ánce ba-na-bú:k-i
 AUG-NP₂-child SM₂-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
 ‘The children are awake (have woken up).’

- (129) àbâncè bàbú:kî:tè
 a-ba-ánce ba-bu_Hk-íte
 AUG-NP₂-child SM₂-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 rìzimbúrùkítè njùò
 e-ø-rapá ri-zi_Hmbúruk-ite N-júo
 AUG-NP₅-courtyard SM₅-surround-STAT NP₉-house
 ‘The courtyard surrounds the house.’

9 Aspect

- (131) ndìbàrítè èmbúkà 'yémìràhò
 ndi-bar-íte e-N-buká i-é=mi-raho
 SM_{1SG}-read-STAT AUG-NP₉-book PP₉-CON=NP₄-law
 'I've read a law book.' (i.e., I know the law) (NF_Elic15)

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) ndizánìtè
 ndi-zan-íte
 SM_{1SG}-dance-STAT
 'I am busy dancing.' (NF_Elic15)
- (133) zyônà kàndíyèndètè mùmùtèmwà
 zyóna ka-ndí-end-éte mu-mu-témwa
 yesterday PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-GO-STAT NP₁₈-NP₃-bush
 'Yesterday I was walking in the bush.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (134) kwíná òzyù ákàríhìtè
 ku-iná o-zyu á-ka_Hríh-ite
 SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-shout-STAT
 'There's someone who is shouting.' (NF_Elic15)

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:zyètè
 mu-bezyi a-be:zy-éte
 NP₁-carver SM₁-carve-STAT
 'The carver is carving.' *The carver has carved.
- (136) mùbèzyì àbé:zyètè zintù zìngì:

mu-bezyi a-be:zy-éte zi-ntu zi-ngí:
NP₁-carver SM₁-carve-STAT NP₈-thing PP₈-many
'The carver has carved many things.' *The carver is carving many things.
(NF_Elic17)

The progressive use of *-ite* with a dynamic verb usually describes an action with an extended duration, which sets the background for other events. The action described by the stative verb holds for a longer time span, during which several other, shorter actions take place. This is 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 *kàndíyèndête* '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.

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

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 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.

9 Aspect

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) òshìrwárìtè
 o-shi_H-rwa_Hr-íte
 SM₂SG-PER-be_sick-STAT
 ‘Are you still sick?’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (138) ndishibàzyì:
 ndi-shi_H-ba_H-zyi:_H
 SM₁SG-PER-OM₂-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 mùkèntù kànúnìtè kònò hànó shànakàtì
 o-zyú mu-kéntu ka-á-nun-íte kono hanó
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-woman PST.IPFV-SM₁-become_fat-STAT but DEM.II₁₆
 sha-na-kat-í
 INC-SM₁-PST-become_thin-NPST.PFV
 ‘This woman used to be fat, but now she’s thin.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (140) ndàkùrwárìtè
 ndi-aku-rwa_Hr-íte
 SM₁SG-NPST.IPFV-become_sick-STAT
 ‘I was sick (but I am not anymore).’

- (141) kùzwà zyònà àrwárìtè
 ku-zw-a zyóna a-rwa_Hr-íte
 INF-come_out-FV yesterday SM₁-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 dele-

9.4 *Persistentive*

tion 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) èntí ishíhòrà
 e-n-tí i-shí_H-hòr-a
 AUG-NP₉-tea SM₉-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 persistentive marker is common in Bantu, where it is usually a reflex of *kɪ- (Nurse 2008). This is also the case for the Fwe persistentive marker *shí-*.

The persistentive 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 persistentive indicates an event that started before, and is still ongoing at utterance time.

- (144) àshìjórà
 a-shí_H-jò_Hr-á
 SM₁-PER-write-FV
 ‘He is still writing.’ (NF_Elic17)

The persistentive 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-shí_H-bu_Htuk-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-run-FV
 ‘I’ll run again.’ (NF_Elic15)

The persistentive 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).

9 Aspect

- (146) ndìshikàzyámbírà 'zókúryà
 ndi-shi_H-ka-zyambir-á zi-ó-ku-ry-á
 SM_{1SG}-PER-DIST-gather-FV PP₈-CON-INF-eat-FV
 'I still need to go and gather something to eat.' (NF_Elic17)

The persistive may also occur with past constructions, indicating that an event started before, and is still ongoing at the past time interval that is currently discussed. 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) káshiké:zyà mùrùshàrá 'rwángù
 ka-á-shi_H-kè:zy-a mu-ru-shará ru-angú
 PST.IPFV-SM₁-PER-come-FV NP₁₈-NP₁₁-back PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG}
 'It (the elephant) was still coming behind me.' (ZF_Narr13)

- (148) àkùshínòrà
 a-aku-shí-ìjor-a
 SM₁-NPST.IPFV-PER-write-FV
 'S/he was still writing.' (NF_Elic17)

- (149) *ndàshívùrùmàti
 ndi-a-shí-vurumat-i
 SM₁-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 àfwèbà
 a-shi_H-kwesi a-fwé_b-a
 SM₁-PER-PROG SM₁-smoke-FV
 'He is still smoking.'

The persistive can be negated in two ways, giving different interpretations. 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).

9.5 Inceptive

- (151) kàndishikwàngitê:
 ka-ndí-shi_H-kwa_Hng-ite-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PER-tired-STAT-NEG
 ‘I am no longer tired.’
- (152) àbá bàntù kàbáshikìzyî:
 a-bá ba-ntu ka-bá-shi_H-ki_H-zyî_H-í
 AUG-DEM.I₂ NP₂-person NEG-SM₂-PER-REFL-know-STAT-NEG
 ‘The people do not know each other anymore.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (153) àbàmbwá tàbáshìbbózi
 a-ba-mbwá ta-bá-shi_H-bbo_Hz-í
 AUG-NP₂-dog NEG-SM₂-PER-bark-NEG
 ‘The dogs are no longer barking.’ (ZF_Narr14)

The persistive can also be negated with an auxiliary *ní*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) kàndishíní 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)
- (155) kàtùshíní kùríbònà
 ka-tu-shi_H-ní ku-rí-bon-a
 NEG-SM_{1PL}-PER-be INF-REFL-marry-FV
 ‘We have not yet seen each other.’ (NF_Elic17)

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).

⁵This 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 *aazyà*.

9 Aspect

- (156) shirĩjáturà
shi-ri-ŋát-ur-a
INC-SM₅-tear-SEP.TR-FV
'It [the sun] is starting to come up.' (NF_Elic15)
- (157) èzyúbà shèrímínà
e-ø-zyúba she-ri-min-á
AUG-NP₅-sun INC-SM₅-set-FV
'The sun is starting to set.' (NF_Narr15)
- (158) shàndikwàngà
sha-ndi-kwáng-a
INC-SM_{1SG}-become_tired-FV
'I am getting tired.' (ZF_Elic14)

The allomorphs of the inceptive prefix are subject to regional and free variation. The main form used in Namibian Fwe is *shi-*, and the main form in Zambian Fwe is *sha-*, but both varieties have a free allomorph *she-*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/.

Table 9.8: Allomorphs and regional variation in the inceptive prefix

Form	Zambian Fwe	Namibian Fwe
<i>shi-</i>	not attested	default form
<i>she-</i>	free allomorph	free allomorph
<i>sha-</i>	default form	not attested
<i>se-</i>	not attested	inter-speaker variation
<i>si-</i>	not attested	inter-speaker variation

⁶A 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).

9.5 Inceptive

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 kwátútúmà
 sha-a-kwesi kwá-tutumá
 INC-SM₁-have NP₁₇-shiver
 ‘She started shivering.’
- (160) àbó shibàhíkà
 a-bó shi-ba-hi_Hk-á
 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 màzyùbà ndiryá nènjà kòbwéné shèndìnúnà
 hanó ma-zyùba ndi-ri-á nénja ka-o-bwe_Hné
 DEM.II₆ NP₆-day SM_{1SG}-eat-FV well NEG-SM_{2SG}-see.STAT
 she-ndi-nun-á
 INC-SM_{1SG}-become_fat-FV
 ‘These days I’m eating well, don’t you see I’m starting to get fat?’
 (NF_Elic15)

With change-of-state verbs 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 shàrìṇàtúkà
 e-ø-saká sha-ri-ṇatuk-á
 AUG-NP₅-bag INC-SM₅-break-FV
 ‘The bag is about to break.’ (ZF_Elic14)

9 Aspect

- (163) énsuí shàiyífwâ
 e-N-swí sha-i-fw-á
 AUG-NP₉-fish INC-SM₉-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 kàkúrí shàndìnànúkà
 ka-tu-amb-á-ur-i kakúrí sha-ndi-nanuk-á
 NEG-SM_{1PL}-talk-PL1-SEP.TR-NEG because INC-SM_{1SG}-leave-FV
 ‘We cannot talk, I am about to leave.’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (165) shibàkàzwá 'hánjè hàhánò
 shi-ba-ka-zu-á ha-njé ha-hanó
 INC-SM₂-DIST-go_out-FV NP₁₆-outside now
 ‘S/he is about to walk out right now.’

- (166) ín' énjùò shèyíwá 'yínà
 iná e-N-júo she-i-w-á iná
 DEM.IV₉ AUG-NP₉-house INC-SM₉-fall-FV DEM.IV₉
 ‘That house is falling apart/about to fall apart (i.e. in a very bad state).’
 (NF_Elic15)

A contrastive interpretation of the inceptive is obtained with verbs that are conceptualized as unbounded, as without a clear starting point. 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 shítú'hàrà mbàmúwânè màfòní shàbábèrèkísà
 mwá-ino e-N-nako shi-tú-ha₁r-á
 NP₁₈-DEM.II₉ AUG-NP₉-time INC-SM_{1PL}.REL-live-FV

mba-mú-wân-e N-ma-foní
NEAR.FUT-SM₂PL-find-PFV.SBJV COP-NP₆-phone
sha-bâ-berek-is-â
INC-SM₂.REL-work-CAUS-FV
'In this time that **we now live** in, you will find that **they are now using phones.**' (ZF_Conv13)

This contrastive interpretation is also used with change-of-state verbs in a stative construction, as in (168).

- (168) māsikūsikù kàndishùwìrè njàrà hànó **shàndikútítè**
 ma-síkusiku ka-ndí-shu_H-ire N-jàrà hànó
 NP₆-morning PST.IPFV-SM₁SG-feel-STAT NP₉-hunger DEM.II₁₆
 sha-ndi-kut-íte
 INC-SM₁SG-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) cwarè bũryená shìbá'názyibì bá'mú'kwá'mé 'wénù
 cwarè bu-ryená shì-bá-ná-zyib-i bá-mú-kwámé
 then NP₁₄-like_that INC-SM₂-PST-know-NPST.PFV NP₂-NP₁-man
 u-enú
 PP₁-POSS₂PL
 'Then as you see, your husband has now become aware.'
- (170) shàbànbû:kì
 sha-ba-na-bû:k-i
 INC-SM₂-PST-wake-NPST.PFV
 'They are now awake.' (NF_Narr15)
- (171) òzyú mùkèntù kànúnitè kònò hànó shànakàtì

9 Aspect

o-zyú mu-kéntu ka-a-nun-íte kono hanó
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-woman PST.IPFV-SM₁-become_fat-STAT but DEM.II₁₆
 sha-na-kat-í
 INC-SM₁-PST-become_thin-NPST.PFV
 ‘This woman used to be fat, but **now she’s thin.**’ (NF_Elic15)

The inceptive with verbs in the near past perfective may also be interpreted as completive, e.g. it adds a sense of ‘already’, as in (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) shiryámìni zyùbà
 shi-ri-á-min-i ø-zyùba
 INC-SM₅-PST-set-NPST.PFV NP₅-sun
 ‘The sun had already set.’ (ZF_Narr15)

(173) shèt-wà-tàngì 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 shàbànàhúri
 ba-esh-o sha-ba-na-hur-í
 NP₂-father-POSS_{2SG} INC-SM₂-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV
 ‘Has your father arrived yet?’ (ZF_Elic13)

The inceptive can also be prefixed to nouns, interpreted as inchoative, as in (175)-(176), contrastive, as in (177)-(178), or completive, as in (179)-(180).

(175) shórùmwì kàré
 sha-ó-ru-mwí kare
 INC-AUG-NP₁₁-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-NP₂-old_woman INC-AUG-lion
 ‘The old woman immediately turned into a lion.’ (NF_Narr17)

9.5 Inceptive

- (177) òmùndaré 'sómùbîzù
 o-mu-ndaré sí-o-mu-bîzu
 AUG-NP₃-maize INC-AUG-NP₃-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-NP₁₄-easy very AUG-INF.DIST-arrive-FV=LOC₁₇
 'It is now very easy to reach there.' (discussing a place where cattle are watered; in earlier times, it could only be reached with ox carts and sledges, but now, the road is tarred and accessible to cars.) (NF_Narr17)
- (179) shémàsíkù kàré:
 shé-N-ma-síku karé:
 INC-COP-NP₆-night already
 'It's already night.' (NF_Elic15)
- (180) àh' átòndà shécibàkà shicàhítihò
 a-ha á-tònd-a shé-ci-baka
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-watch-FV INC-NP₇-place
 shi-ci-a-hít-i=ho
 INC-SM₇-PST-pass-PST=LOC₁₆
 '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

- (181) a. Putative source construction
 shàrì mwâncè
 shi-a-ri o-mu-áncé
 INC-SM₁-be AUG-NP₁-child
 'S/he is starting to be/is becoming a child.'

⁷This 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.

9 Aspect

- b. Loss of *ri* ‘be’
 shì mwâncè
 shi o-mu-áncè
 INC AUG-NP₁-child
- c. Reanalysis of inceptive as a nominal prefix
 shómwâncè
 shí-o-mu-áncè
 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) ?shèndirwàrà
 she-ndi-rwár-a
 INC-SM_{1SG}-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) òmvùrà shàshàk’ ókùshòkà
 o-ø-rain shi-a-shak-á o-ku-shók-a
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rain INC-SM₁-want-FV AUG-INF-fall-FV
 ‘The rain is about to fall.’

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) yéndè
 énd-e
 go-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Go!’
- (2) zwé hànò hano
 zw-é come_out-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₆
 ‘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 'cáhà
 huw-é cáha
 shout-PFV.SBJV very
 ‘Shout loudly.’

10 Mood

- (4) kàbiré m̀̀n̄jũ̀ò
 kabir-é mu-N-júo
 enter-PFV.SBJV NP₁₈-NP₉-house
 ‘Enter the house.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (5) f̀̀r̀̀umiké kàsúbà kò
 fu_Hrumik-é ka-súba ko
 turn_upside_down-PFV.SBJV NP₁₂-dish DEM.III₁₂
 ‘Turn that dish upside down.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (6) bàtúsè
 ba_Htus-é
 OM₂-help-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Help them.’
- (7) ndiàmbìsè
 ndi-amb-ís-e
 OM_{1SG}-talk-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Talk to me.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (8) ndibèrékèrè
 ndi-berék-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 t̀̀nd-e kunó
 PERS_{2SG} watch-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₇
 ‘You! Look here!’ (NF_Narr15)
- (10) tòntórè
 to_Hntor-é
 be_quiet-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Be quiet!’ (NF_Elic17)

10.2 Perfective subjunctive

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 a 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_Hmbus-é mu-riro
 SM_{2SG}-light-PFV.SBJV NP₃-fire
 ‘You should light a fire.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (12) mùbí:kè òtú'cényà
 mu-bí:k-e o-tú-cenyá
 SM_{2PL}-put-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁₃-small
 ‘You should put a little bit.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (13) tùmùbóózèrè ècìntú 'cákwe
 tu-mu-boó_z-er-e e-ci-ntú cí-akwé
 SM_{1PL}-OM_{1SG}-return-APPL-SBJV AUG-NP₇-thing PP₇-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘We should bring his thing back to him.’ (ZF_Conv13)
- (14) tùzìbbátùrè èzí zìkùni
 tu-zì_H-bba_Ht-úr-e e-zí zì-kúni
 SM_{1PL}-OM₈-separate-SEP.TR-PFV.SBJV AUG-DEM.I₈ NP₈-tree
 ‘Can we separate these trees?’ (NF_Elic15)

The perfective subjunctive describes a 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) ònditùsé
 o-ndi-tus-é
 SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-help-PFV.SBJV
 ‘You should help me (one time only).’

10 Mood

- (16) wákùnditùsà
o-áku-ndi-tus-a
SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-OM_{1SG}-help-FV
'You should help me regularly/be helping me.' (NF_Elic17)

A near future can be derived from the perfective subjunctive by addition of a future prefix *mbo-*, and an additional high tone on the subject marker (see §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-pì_Hcuk-é mu-riro tu-y-é o-ko
SM_{1PL}-escape-PFV.SBJV NP₃-fire SM_{1PL}-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=PERS_{3SG} SM₁-go-PFV.SBJV COM=PERS_{3SG}
'She too wanted to go with her.' (NF_Narr15)
- (19) ndìpátámè
ndi-patam-é
SM_{1SG}-lie_on_stomach-PFV.SBJV
'I want to lie down a bit.' (ZF_Elic14)

When combined with the adverb *nanga*, the perfective subjunctive expresses uncertainty, 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-mwî
even SM₂-come-PFV.SBJV SM₂-OM_{1PL}-do-PFV.SBJV PP₇-other
'He might come and do something else to us.' (NF_Narr15)

10.2 Perfective subjunctive

- (21) wáshàivùkùmì nàngà ifwê
 o-ásha-í-vukum-i nanga i-fw-é
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-OM₉-throw-NEG even SM₉-die-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Don’t throw it, it might break.’
- (22) àndìzìmísìkìzè málàitì ángù nàngà àndìhìsìkìzè ènjùò
 a-ndi-zim-ísikiz-e ma-láiti nanga
 SM₁-OM_{1SG}-go_out-CAUS.APPL-PFV.SBJV NP₆-light even
 a-ndi-his-íkiz-e e-N-júo
 SM₆-OM_{1SG}-CAUS-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₉-house
 ‘S/he must turn off the lights for me, they might burn down my house.’
 (NF_Elic17)

With a first person subject, the perfective subjunctive may express a hortative, as in (23)-(25).

- (23) tùràpéré
 tu-raper-é
 SM_{1PL}-pray-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Let’s pray.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (24) ndìrikòshòrèkó bùryô
 ndi-ri_H-ko_Hsh-ô_r-e=ko bu-ryô
 SM_{1SG}-OM₅-cut-SEP.TR-PFV.SBJV=LOC₁₇ NP₁₄-just
 ‘Let me just cut it.’ (ZF_Narr14)
- (25) kàntí ndikùtòmbwérìsè
 kàntí ndi-ku-tombwér-is-e
 well SM_{1SG}-OM_{2SG}-weed-CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Then let me help you weed.’ (NF_Narr15)

With a second person subject, the subjunctive may express a command, as in (26)-(27).

- (26) òkê:zyè ònditúsè
 o-kê:zy-e o-ndi-tus-é
 SM_{2SG}-come-PFV.SBJV SM_{2SG}-OM_{1SG}-help-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Come and help me.’

10 Mood

- (27) mùtòntórè mùyéndè mùkàrá:rè
 mu-to_Hntor-é mu-énd-e mu-ka-ra:_Hr-é
 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) ngónditúsè kùndikwátirà ècí cìpùpè
 ngá-o-ndi-tus-é 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) bàmbérékérà òkùtáyè àfúmè
 ba-mu-berek-er-á okuteye a-fum-é
 SM₂-OM₁-work-FV that SM₁-become_{_}rich-PFV.SBJV
 ‘They work for him, **so that he becomes rich.**’ (NF_Elic17)
- (30) mbóshàkèsháké àkàshérèni òpàngé àkà-business
 mbo-ó-shake-shak-é a-ka-sherèni
 NEAR.FUT-SM₂SG-PL2-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₁₂-money
 o-pang-é 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

10.2 Perfective subjunctive

is throughout the tense/aspect system of Fwe (see, for instance, the remote past perfective, §8.3.2).

- (31) mbùtí náyiwánè èyí shérènjì
 N-bu-tí na-á-í_H-wan-é e-í ø-sherénjì
 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 há’kàtì
 éwe zyú-munya ndí-we na-ó-b-e
 PERS_{2SG} PP₁-other COP-PERS_{2SG} REM-SM_{2SG}-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) nóyèndè zyônà
 na-ó-énd-e zyóna
 REM-SM_{2SG}-go-PFV.SBJV tomorrow
 ‘Go tomorrow.’
- (34) nìbézyè bàkùbónè
 nì-bá-izy-e ba-ku-bo_Hn-é
 REM-SM_{2SG}-come-PFV.SBJV SM₂-OM_{2SG}-see-PFV.SBJV
 ‘She has to come and take care of you.’ (NF_Narr17)

The remoteness prefix *na-* 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 ndimùcáísè zywínà
 na-ta-é ndi-mu-caís-e zwiná
 REM-say-PFV.SBJV SM_{1SG}-OM₁-bump_into-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₁
 ‘I almost bumped into her/him, that one.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (36) nòbónì cwarè rìn’ èòndè nàté òirè
 no-bón-i cwarè riná e-ø-onde
 SM_{2SG}.PST-see-NPST.PFV then DEM.IV₅ AUG-NP₅-waterlily
 na-ta-é o-ir-é
 REM-say-PFV.SBJV SM_{2SG}-go.APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Did you see that flower that you wanted to go to?’ (Context: a boy wanted to pick a waterlily. A bird warns him not to, picks up the

10 Mood

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 'bá'nángù mwákùkàrà
 enwé bá-na-angú mu-áku-kar-a
 PERS_{2PL} NP₂-child-POSS_{1SG} SM_{2PL}-SBJV.IPFV-stay-FV
 'You, my children, must stay here.' (NF_Elic17)

The second syllable *ku* of the prefix *áku-* derives from an infinitive prefix *ku-*. Two of the characteristics of the imperfective subjunctive point to its origin in an infinitive: the fact that the syllable *ku* may change to *ka* when used with the distal marker (see (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) wákù mùtù sàngà
 o-áku-mu-tus-ang-a
 SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-OM₁-help-HAB-FV
 'You should help her/him regularly.' (NF_Elic17)

Without the habitual suffix *-ang*, both a habitual and a progressive reading are possible, 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) wákù mùtù sà
 o-áku-mu-tus-a
 SM_{2SG}-SBJV.IPFV-OM₁-help-FV
 'You should be helping her/him.' / 'You should help her/him regularly.'

10.3 Imperfective subjunctive

- (40) wákù mùtù sà ngà
 o-áku-mu-tus-ang-a
 SM₂SG-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) mwákù rítè è zà
 mu-áku-rí-teez-a
 SM₂-SBJV.IPFV-REFL-listen-FV
 ‘You have to listen to each other.’
- (42) ndákù mènè kàngà
 ndi-áku-menek-ang-a
 SM₁SG-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV
 ‘I should regularly wake up early.’ (NF_Elic17)

Like the perfective subjunctive, the imperfective subjunctive may combine with the adverb *nanga* ‘even’, but not to express uncertainty, as is the case for the perfective subjunctive, but to express immediate future, as in (43)-(45).

- (43) nàngà ndákà yà
 nanga ndi-áka-y-a
 even SM₁SG-SBJV.IPFV.DIST-go-FV
 ‘I am about to leave.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (44) òmùndaré nàngà wákù bîzwà
 o-mu-ndaré nanga u-áku-bîzw-a
 AUG-NP₃-maize even SM₃-SBJV.IPFV-ripen-FV
 ‘The maize is almost ripe/is about to ripen.’
- (45) nàngà bákù hùrà ndikàré: ‘bákà nà nùkà
 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 plural-actional, 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) kùnjùò ndikàzwâ
ku-N-júo ndi-ka-zw-á
NP₁₇-NP₉-house SM_{1SG}-DIST-come_out-FV
'I came from home.' (NF_Elic15)
- (2) mwákàrí kwànàmíbyá kàndikàsèbèzâ
mu-ákàrí kwa-namíbyá ka-ndi-ka-sebez-á
NP₃-last_year NP₁₇-Namibia PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-DIST-work-FV
'Last year I worked in Namibia.' (ZF_Elic14)

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.

11 Space

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-ndĩ-a-man-a ka-tém-a e-mi-sumo
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-finish-FV INF.DIST-chop-FV AUG-NP₄-pole
 ‘I finished chopping poles there.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The distal can also be used with verbs in the imperative, as in (4)-(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) yèndè kàtèkè mènji
 énd-e ka-ték-e ma-ínji
 go-PFV.SBJV DIST-fetch-PFV.SBJV NP₆-water
 ‘Go and fetch water.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (5) kàsúmwinè bànyòkò
 ka-sumwin-é ba-nyoko
 DIST-tell-PFV.SBJV NP₂-mother
 ‘Go tell your mother.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (6) kùtèyè ndikàkùmbùrè rùkùmbà
 kuteye ndi-ka-kumbur-é ru-kumba
 that SM_{1SG}-DIST-strip-PFV.SBJV NP₁₁-fibre
 ‘... in order to cut strips of fibre there.’ (ZF_Narr14)

In many Bantu languages, the distal *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

¹The 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.

11.1 Distal

the distal marker and an itive interpretation is not seen in all languages, however; 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 ndíkàhùrà kùrwâmbà
 a-ha ndí-ka-hur-á ku-ru-ámba
 DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1SG}.REL-DIST-arrive-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₁.middle_of_field
 ‘(...) when I reached the middle of the field...’
- (8) ndishùwìrè bàklàùdiyà bàndikûwà
 ndi-shu_H-ìre ba-klaudia ba-ndi-kú-a
 SM_{1SG}-hear-STAT NP₂-Claudia SM₂-OM_{1SG}-call
 ‘I heard Mrs. Claudia calling me.’ (ZF_Narr13)

These examples suggest that motion is a necessary component of the interpretation of the distal prefix *ka-*. More specifically, it encodes motion away from the deictic center, and is not used for motion towards the deictic center. In (9), the verb *bàhùrè* ‘he will arrive’ is used without the distal because the place of the expected arrival is the same place as the place of speaking. In (10), the verb *kàndíkè:zyà* ‘I was coming’ is used without the distal because it describes a journey that ends at the place of speaking.

- (9) èni òbùròtù mbòkú'té bàhùrè tùrà:rè
 éni o-bu-rótu N-bo-kúteyé ba-hur-é
 yes AUG-NP₁₄-good COP-NP₁₄-that SM₂-arrive-PFV.SBJV
 tu-rá:r-e
 SM_{1PL}-sleep-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Yes, it’s good that he comes back and we spend the night here.’
 (NF_Narr15)

11 Space

- (10) àhá kàndíkê:zyà ndàhîti òcèci
 a-ha ka-ndí-ké:zy-a ndi-a-hít-i
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-come-FV SM_{1SG}-PST-pass-NPST.PFV
 o-ø-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) cikàbúkùkà ~ cìyàbúkùkà
 ci-kabú/yabú-kuk-a
 SM₇-LOC.PL-float-FV
 ‘It floats, it goes by floating.’ (NF_Elic17)

The locative pluractional indicates an event taking place in different places: 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) ndikwèsì ndirî:zyà
 ndi-kwesi ndi-rí:zy-a
 SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-climb-FV
 ‘I am climbing.’
- (13) ndikàbùrì: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

11.2 Locative pluractional

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)
 ndikàbúbàsùndàikà
 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 'ábàntù
 a-kabú-kabira-kabir-a mú-ma-rapá a-á=ba-ntu
 SM₁-LOC.PL-PL2-enter-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-courtyard PP₆-CON=NP₂-person
 'S/he keeps going round entering peoples courtyards.' (NF_Elic17)
- (16) Locative pluractional + Pluractional I + Pluractional II
 nàkàyâ iyé àkábúyèndàùràyèndàùrà òkábúbônà
 na=ka-y-á iyé a-kabú-enda-ura-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) àkábú'shíbà
 a-kabú-shib-á
 SM₁-LOC.PL-whistle-FV
 'S/he whistles while walking.' (NF_Elic17)

11 *Space*

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) àkàbútiyà
 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) mbùryáhó kàbákábúpàngà bùyáhò
 N-bu-ryahó ka-bá-kabú-pang-a bu-ryahó
 COP-NP₁₄-like_that PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC.PL-do-FV NP₁₄-like_that
 ‘That is how he used to do in different places.’ (NF_Narr17)

Whether the locative pluractional with dynamic verbs is interpreted as associated motion or distributive, depends on the lexical semantics of the verb, as well as the wider context. The associated motion interpretation is typically limited to events that may logically co-occur with motion, such as motion verbs, as in (20)-(22).

- (20) ndiyàbúyèndà bùyáhò ndókùryàt’ énjòkà
 ndi-yabú-end-a bu-ryahó ndí-o-ku-ryat-á
 SM_{1SG}-LOC.PL-walk-FV NP₁₄-like_that CON_{1SG}-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’shàmbà
 ku-shamb-a ndí-kabú-shàmb-a
 INF-swim-FV SM_{1SG}.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)

11.2 Locative pluractional

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) cikàbúwà
 ci-kabú-w-a
 SM₇-LOC.PL-fall-FV
 ‘It keeps falling (while traveling; the item keeps falling out of your pocket in different places).’ (NF_Elic17)

Change-of-state verbs 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) kàníni kàníni kùfùmà bákàbúfùmà bènà
 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) cikàbùrèmà
 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) shèkùkàbùhìsà
 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* derives 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.

11 *Space*

- (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
preinitial	<i>ka-</i> (Namibian Fwe) <i>ta-</i> (Zambian Fwe)	present, near past perfective, stative
postinitial	<i>(á)sha-</i> / <i>(á)sa-</i> <i>shá-</i> / <i>sá-</i>	subjunctive/imperative infinitive
final vowel suffix	<i>-i</i>	present, subjunctive
auxiliary	<i>aazyá</i>	stative, FIC
auxiliary	<i>ka-/ta-ri</i>	remote past, future, past progressive, past imperfective, nominal predicates

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).

12 Negation

- (1) ndiúra
 ndi-ur-á
 SM_{1SG}-buy-FV
 ‘I buy.’
- (2) kàndiúri
 ka-ndi-ur-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-buy-NEG
 ‘I don’t buy.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (3) tàndiúri
 ta-ndi-ur-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-buy-NEG
 ‘I don’t buy.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Present tense verbs also change their tone pattern when negated. Affirmative present verbs take MT 1 and 4 (see §3.3), but negated present verbs take only MT 3. The tonal difference between the affirmative and negative present is illustrated in (4).

- (4) kàndizíbàrì (cf. ndizibàrà ‘I forget’)
 ka-ndi-zibár-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-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) kàcihíkwa
 ka-ci-hík-w-a
 NEG-SM₇-cook-PASS-FV
 ‘It cannot be cooked.’ (NF_Elic15)

¹There 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.

12.1 Negation of indicative verb forms

- (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) tàndibútùkì (cf. ndibútúkà ‘I run’)
 ta-ndi-bútuk-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-run-NEG
 ‘I don’t run.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The prefix *ka-/ta-* is also used to negate the near past perfective. This tense uses a past suffix *-i* which is homophonous with the negative suffix *-i*. Negated verbs in the near past perfective have the same tonal pattern as their affirmative counterparts, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) kàndàzibònì (cf. ndàzibònì ‘I’ve seen them’)
 ka-ndi-a-zí-bon-i
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₁₀-see-NPST.PFV
 ‘I haven’t seen them.’ (NF_Elic15)

12 Negation

Verbs in the stative construction are also negated with 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) kàibòrètê: (cf. ìbórètê ‘it is rotten’)
 ka-i-bor-ete-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-rot-STAT-NEG
 ‘It is not rotten.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (10) kàndiyìzyî: (cf. ndiyìzyì ‘I know it’)
 ka-ndi-i_H-zyi-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₉-know-STAT-NEG
 ‘I don’t know it.’ (NF_Elic15)

The negation of stative verbs also involves a change in tone pattern. Affirmative stative verbs take a 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) tàndishèshètê: (cf. ndishéshètê ‘I am married’)
 ta-ndi-she_Hsh-ete-í
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-marry-STAT-NEG
 ‘I am not married.’
- (12) tàtùkàtîtê: (cf. tùkátîtê ‘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

12.3 Negation of infinitive verb forms

has a free variant *ása-*, as in (16) (see §2.2 on the free variation between /s/ and /sh/ in grammatical prefixes).

- (13) wáshàyáshàmi òkímúmé bùryò
 o-ásha-yásham-i o-ki_H-mum-é bu-ryo
 SM_{2SG}-NEG.SBJV-open_mouth-NEG SM_{2SG}-REFL-close-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-only
 ‘Don’t open your mouth, just close like that.’ (ZF_Narr13)
- (14) mwáshàbútùki cáhà
 mu-ásha-bútuk-i cáha
 SM_{2PL}-NEG.SBJV-run-NEG very
 ‘Don’t go too fast.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (15) ndíryá bùryó kàníni òkùtèyè ndáshànúni
 ndi-ry-á bu-ryó ka-níni okutéye
 SM_{1SG}-eat-FV NP₁₄-only ADV-little that
 ndi-ásha-nun-í
 SM_{1SG}-NEG.SBJV-become_fat-NEG
 ‘I only eat a little, so that I do not become fat.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (16) kónó náàryá òkùtèyè ásàrémuhi
 konó ná-a-a-ry-á okutéye á-sa-rémuh-i
 but REM-SM₁-PST-eat-FV that SM₁-NEG.SBJV-find_out-NEG
 ‘But she ate, so that he wouldn’t find out.’ (NF_Narr17)

The negative subjunctive/imperative prefix may be realized as *ásha-/ása-* or *sha-/sa-*. When the first vowel /a/ is dropped, the high tone of the suffix is realized on the subject marker, as in (17).

- (17) músànditáfùni
 mú-sa-ndi-táfun-i
 SM_{2PL}-NEG.SBJV-OM_{1SG}-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).

12 Negation

- (18) kùshátèèzà mbùká'babù
 ku-shá-teez-a N-bu-kábabú
 INF-NEG.INF-listen-FV COP-NP₁₄-problem
 'Not listening is a problem.' (NF_Elic17)
- (19) nàngá mwínàkò yóbùkòbà mbàngí: bànàdàmwá kókùsházyibà òkùbàrà
 ècìpurá nècìòrétwà iyé camàkúwà èwé mpàhó àkè:zyà kúkàrà nòrì
 mùntù ókùsihà
 nangá mú-e-N-nako i-ó=bu-koba N-ba-ngí:
 even NP₁₈-AUG-NP₉-time PP₉-CON=NP₁₄-apartheid COP-PP₂-many
 ba-na-dam-w-á kó-ku-shá-zyib-a o-ku-bar-a
 SM₂-PST-beat-PASS-FV ADV-INF-NEG.INF-know-FV AUG-INF-read-FV
 e-ci-purá ne-ci-ŋo_Hr-étwa iyé ci-á-ma-kuwá
 AUG-NP₇-chair REM-SM₇-write-STAT-PASS that PP₇-CON=NP₆-white
 ewe N-pa-hó a-ke:zy-a kú-kar-a na=o-ri
 PERS_{2SG} COP-NP₁₆-DEM.III₁₆ SM₁-come-FV INF-sit-FV COM=SM_{2SG}-be
 mu-ntu u-ó=ku-sih-a
 NP₁-person PP₁-CON=INF-be_black-FV
 'Even in the time of apartheid, many were beaten because of **not**
knowing how to read. On a bench, it is written, whites only. You, that is
 where you sit, while you are a black person.' (NF_Song17)
- (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 ndáyibònà

12.4 Negation with auxiliaries

ka-ri ndi-á-i-bon-a
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₉-see-FV
 ‘I did not see it.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (22) kàrì kátòmbwèr’ é’sózù
 ka-ri ka-á-tombwer-á e-ø-sozú
 NEG-be PST.IPFV-SM₁-weed-FV AUG-NP₅-grass
 ‘He was not weeding grass.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (23) kàrì ndákùhíkà
 ka-ri ndí-aku-hík-a
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-NPST.IPFV-cook-FV
 ‘I was not cooking.’ (NF_Elic17)

The auxiliary *ri* ‘be’ with a negative prefix is also used to negate nominal predicates. Affirmative nominal predicates 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) mbùròtù kònó kàrì mbùrótù nènjà
 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 kàrì ‘ngómùnzí’ wángù
 o-ú ka-rí ngó-mu-nzí u-angú
 AUG-DEM.I₃ NEG-be COP.DEF₃-NP₃-village PP₃-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘This is not my village.’ (ZF_Elic13)

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 zyùbà kàrì nèmúbù:‘ké nwè
 rí-mwi ø-zyùba ka-ri ne-mú-bú:k-e enwé
 PP₅-other NP₅-day NEG-be REM-SM_{2PL}-wake.INTR-PFV.SBJV PERS_{2PL}
 ‘One day, you are not going to wake up.’ (NF_Narr15)

12 Negation

- (27) kàrì nándisépè
 ka-ri na-á-ndi-sep-é
 NEG-be REM-SM₁-OM_{1SG}-trust-PFV.SBJV
 ‘He will not trust me.’ (ZF_Conv13)
- (28) kàrì ndífiyérè
 ka-ri ndí-fi_Hyer-é
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-sweep-PFV.SBJV
 ‘I will not sweep.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (29) kàrì ndícipángè shùnu
 ka-ri ndí-ci_Hpáng-e shúnu
 NEG-be SM_{1SG}-OM₇-do-PFV.SBJV today
 ‘I will not do it today.’ (NF_Elic17)

The auxiliary *aazyá* ‘be/have not’ is also used to negate the verb *iná* ‘be at/have’, as in (30)-(31).

- (30) kwìn’ écò ndíbwènè
 ku-iná e-co ndí-bwe_Hne
 SM₁₇-be_at AUG-DEM.III₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 ‘There is something that I see. / I see something.’
- (31) kùààzy’ écò ndíbwènè
 ku-aazyá e-co ndí-bwe_Hne
 SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 ‘There is not something that I see. / I see nothing.’ (NF_Elic15)

Where the auxiliary *iná* with a locative subject marker is used to express ‘something’, ‘someone’, or ‘somewhere’, its negated counterpart *aazyá* is used to express ‘nothing’, ‘no one’, or ‘nowhere’. Subject markers of all three locative classes can be used with the verb *aazyá*, e.g. class 16, as in (32), class 17, as in (33)-(34), and class 18, as in (35).

- (32) ákè:zyà kùwànà iyé hààzyá bàntù
 á-ke:zy-a ku-wan-a iyé ha-aazyá ba-ntu
 SM₁.REL-come-FV INF-find-FV that SM₁₆-be_not NP₂-person
 ‘When he came to find that there were no people there...’ (NF_Narr15)

12.4 Negation with auxiliaries

- (33) kwààzyá muntù
 ku-aazyá mu-ntu
 SM₁₇-be_not NP₁-person
 ‘There is no one.’ (ZF_Elic13)
- (34) kwààzyó kò nìbáwânè ménò
 ku-aazyá o-kó ni-bá-wân-e ma-inó
 SM₁₇-be_not AUG-DEM.III₁₇ REM-SM₂-find-PFV.SBJV NP₆-tooth
 ‘There’s nowhere where he can get the teeth.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (35) òbú bùsùnsò mwáázyé zwàyi
 o-bú bu-sunso mu-aazyá e-zwai
 AUG-DEM.I₁₄ NP₁₄-relish SM₁₈-be_not AUG-salt
 ‘This relish, there is no salt in it.’ (ZF_Elic14)

The auxiliary *aazyá* can also be used to negate a fronted infinitive construction. The fronted infinitive construction, which consists of an inflected verb preceded by an infinitive copy of the same verb stem (see §9.1.1), as 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’hóndi (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).

12 Negation

- (39) ndító:rátô:rà
 ndi-to:ra-tó:r-a
 SM_{1SG}-PL2-pick-FV
 ‘I pick.’
- (40) kàndító:ritò:rì
 ka-ndi-tó: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) èciyângò cààzyà kùbórètè
 e-ci-àngo ci-aazyá ku-bor-éte
 AUG-NP₇-fruit SM₇-be_not INF-rot-STAT
 ‘The fruit is not rotten.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (43) cààzy’ ókùhárítwà
 ci-aazyá o-ku-ar-ít-w-a
 SM₇-be_not AUG-INF-close-STAT-PASS-FV
 ‘It is not closed.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (44) ndààzyà kùshàkà kùrìhà òmùràndù
 ndi-aazyá ku-shak-a ku-rih-a o-mu-randú
 SM_{1SG}-be_not INF-want-FV INF-pay-FV AUG-NP₃-fine
 ‘I don’t want to pay a fine.’ (NF_Elic15)

The lexical verb *síy* ‘leave, let go, stop’, is used in the imperative form and followed by an infinitive to express a prohibitive, as in (45)-(46).

12.4 Negation with auxiliaries

- (45) sìy' ókùndikwâtà
 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 behaviour 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 be elicited, in actual discourse it is likely for the subject, the object, or both to be expressed pronominally rather than as nominal constituents.

- (1) òmùsá nàhíbí ènjìngà yángù
 o-mu-sá na-hib-í e-N-jinga i-angú
 AUG-NP₁-thief SM₁.PST-steal-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-bicycle PP₉-POSS_{1SG}
 [Subject] [Verb] [Object]
 ‘A thief has stolen my bicycle.’ (NF_Elic15)

SVO order is used for sentences that are unmarked with respect to information structure; neither of the constituents in a sentence with SVO order is overtly marked for either topic or focus. Constituents may move out of their canonical

13 Syntax and information structure

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: àbórètè

a-á ma-yí: a-bor-éte
AUG-DEM.I₆ NP₆-egg SM₆-rot-STAT
'These eggs, they're rotten.'

- (3) òzyú mú'kwámè kàndimùzyî:

o-zyú mú-kwamé ka-ndi-mu-zyi_H-í
AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-man NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁-know.STAT-NEG
'This man, I don't know him.'

- (4) mòwí'n' ómùnzi ndáy'ámò

mu-o-winá o-mu-nzi ndi-á-y-a=mó
NP₁₈-AUG-DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-village SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV=LOC₁₈
'That village, I've been there.' (NF_Elic15)

As the canonical position for the subject can be the preverbal position, not all subjects appearing before a verb are dislocated. This is only the case when a subject constituent at the left edge of a sentence is affected by phrase-final tone rules. Pre-verbal subjects that are not affected by these phrase-final processes are not left-dislocated, but in situ; this is illustrated in (5), where the subject constituent *bàmùrúí* 'teachers' is not affected by the phrase-final tone process

13.2 Left dislocation

of H retraction, showing that it is not dislocated. Compare with (2) above, where phrase-final processes do affect the left-dislocated subject constituent *àà mà̀yì*: ‘these eggs’.

- (5) *bàmùrútí bà̀bùtúkà*
 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 mù̀mùtwàrè kù̀cìpátèrà*
 o-zyú mu-áncè 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 *òmfùmù* ‘a rich man’ is introduced. In the second, this same referent is marked as a topic by left-dislocation; it serves as the old information to which the sentences contributes new facts.

- (7) *kà̀rè kà̀kwín’ ’òmfùmù*
 ka-ré: ka-ku-iná o-ø-mfúmu
 ADV-long PST.IPFV-be_at AUG-NP_{1a}-rich_man
 ‘Long ago, there was a rich man.’
- (8) *òmfùmù bà̀mùkúwè mù̀rè̀nà*
 o-ø-mfúmu ba-mu-kú-e mu-rena
 AUG-NP_{1a}-rich_man SM₂-OM₁-call-PFV.SBJV NP₁-chief
 ‘The rich man, they would call him chief.’ (NF_Narr15)

Left-dislocation can be used to mark a contrastive topic; when various referents are accessible, the speaker can choose to pick out a single referent to the

13 Syntax and information structure

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) ndibwènè mbóbùmángò òkùshéshà òmùkèntù òzyú tàkìtùtìtè:
 ndi-bwene mbó-bu-mángo o-ku-shésh-a o-mu-kéntu
 SM_{1SG}-see.STAT COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-bad AUG-INF-marry-FV AUG-NP₁-woman
 o-zyú ta-a-kitut-ite-í
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NEG.SM₁-be_educated-STAT.NEG
 ‘I think that it is bad to marry an uneducated woman.’
- (10) kònó mè òbùrótù òbò ndibwènè òkùshéshà òmùkèntù zyù tàkìtùtìtè:
 konó mè o-bu-rótu o-bo ndí-bwene
 but PERS_{1SG} AUG-NP₁₄-good AUG-DEM.III₁₄ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 o-ku-shésh-a o-mu-kéntu zyù
 AUG-INF-marry-FV AUG-NP₁-woman DEM.I₁
 ta-a-kitut-ite-í
 NEG.SM₁-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) ndirùshákà òrú rùzyîmbò
 ndi-ru_H-shak-â o-rú ru-zyîmbo
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁₁-like-FV AUG-DEM.I₁₁ NP₁₁-song
 ‘I like this song.’
- (12) ndá’yámò mòwín’ ’ómùnzi
 ndí-a-ya=mó mo-winá o-mu-nzi
 SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV=LOC₁₈ NP₁₈-DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-village
 ‘I’ve been to that village.’ (NF_Elic15)

13.3 Right dislocation

- (13) shibá'názyibì 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 rùzyímbo
 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 *mùnjirà kwéci cìkúni* 'along the path, at the tree', which occurs in the sentence-initial

13 Syntax and information structure

topic position. The object noun *ménò énú* ‘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) múnjìrà kwécì cìkúnì kókò ndàázìkì ménò énú
 mu-N-jira kú-e-ci ci-kuní kó-ko
 NP₁₈-NP₉-path NP₁₇-AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-tree COP.DEF₁₇-DEM.III₁₇
 ndi-a-á-zik-i ma-íno a-enú
 SM_{1SG}-PST-OM₆-hide-NPST.PFV NP₆-tooth PP₆-POSS_{2PL}
 ‘Along the path, at the tree, that’s where I’ve hidden your teeth.’
 (NF_Narr15)

Subjects can be moved to the post-verbal position to be marked for definiteness. 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) shànakàkàríhì òndávù
 sha-na-ka-kárih-i o-ø-ndavú
 INC-SM₁.PST-DIST-be_angry-NPST.PFV AUG-NP_{1a}-lion
 ‘The lion was now very angry.’ (NF_Narr15)

Right-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 zyúbà kàrì nèmúbù:k’ ’énwè
 rí-mwi ø-zyúba ka-ri ne-mú-bù:k-e enwé
 PP₅-other NP₅-day NEG-be REM-SM_{2PL}-wake-PFV.SBJV PERS_{2PL}
 ‘One day you are not going to wake up.’ (NF_Narr15)
- (18) èyí nyàmà kàtwíyírí swè
 e-í N-nyama ka-tu-í-ri-i eswé
 AUG-DEM.I₉ NP₉-meat NEG-SM_{1PL}-OM₉-eat-NEG PERS_{1PL}
 ‘This meat, we don’t eat it.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (19) ndókùrìdàmà èryó zyòkà
 ndi-ó=ku-rí-dam-a e-ryó ø-zyòka
 PP_{1SG}-CON=INF-OM₅-beat-FV AUG-DEM.III₅ NP₅-snake
 ‘Then I beat that snake.’ (ZF_Narr13)

13.4 Locative inversion

- (20) mbàndìbà_Hánúnè bàhèni
 mba-ndí_H-ba_H-nanún-e ba-heni
 NEAR.FUT-SM₁SG-OM₂-lift-PFV.SBJV NP₂-Hennie
 ‘I will lift up Mr. Hennie.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Although right-dislocated constituents are always definite, a constituent that is not right-dislocated is not necessarily indefinite. An examples of a definite noun phrase used in the pre-verbal position is given in (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 cikùnì cìribórérá bùyô
 e-cí ci-kuni ci-ri_H-bor-er-á bu-ryó
 AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-tree SM₇-REFL-ROT-APPL-FV NP₁₄-only
 ‘This wood rots easily.’ (NF_Elic15)

- (22) kàshùrwè ákùdànsiká èhàmbà
 ka-shurwe a-ó=ku-dànsik-á e-ø-amba
 NP₁₂-rabbit PP₁-CON=INF-drop-FV AUG-NP₅-hoe
 ‘The rabbit drops the hoe.’ (NF_Narr15)

Human or humanized referents that are definite are more likely to be overtly marked for definiteness by right-dislocation than non-human and inanimate referents. This is a tendency that is also observed in many other Bantu languages (Riedel 2009).

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 and van der 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 *mwinjúò* ‘in the house’ is the grammatical subject, and the logical subject *rùkúngwè* ‘snake’ is expressed postverbally.

13 Syntax and information structure

- (23) rùkúngwè nàkàbíri mwínjúò
 ø-rukúngwe na-kabír-i mú-e-N-júo
 NP_{1a}-snake SM₁-PST-enter-NPST.PFV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₉-house
 ‘The/a snake entered the house.’
- (24) mwínjúò mwàkàbíri rùkúngwè
 mu-e-N-júo mu-a-kabír-i ø-rukúngwe
 NP₁₈-AUG-NP₉-house SM₁₈-PST-enter-NPST.PFV NP_{1a}-snake
 ‘A snake entered the house.’ (NF_Elic17)

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 *mwínjúò* ‘in the house’, which is marked with a nominal prefix of class 18. The pre-verbal locative constituent may not be cross-referenced on the verb with a locative clitic, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (25).

- (25) *mùnjúò mwàkàbírimò mùsà
 mu-N-júo mu-a-kabír-i=mo mu-sá
 NP₁₈-NP₉-house SM₁₈-PST-enter-PST=LOC₁₈ NP₁-thief
 Intended: ‘Into the house entered a thief.’ (NF_Elic17)

As is typical for Bantu languages, there is no prosodic boundary between the verb and the post-verbal constituent in locative inversion constructions. This is seen in the locative inversion construction in (26), where the verb *kwàhúrí* does not undergo high tone retraction, showing that there is no prosodic boundary between the verb and the post-verbal constituent, and both are phrased together.

- (26) kùmùnzì kwàhúrí bàbàrà
 ku-mu-nzi ku-a-hur-í ba-bara
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village SM₁₇-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV NP₂-visitor
 ‘Some visitors arrived in the village.’ (NF_Elic17)

Locative inversion focuses the post-verbal constituent, and presents the pre-verbal locative constituent as discourse-old. 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.

13.5 *Dependent clauses*

- (27) múbwèné èrí 'rápà mwàkàbíri rùkúngwè
 mu-bwene e-rí ø-rápá mu-a-kabír-i
 SM_{2PL}-see.STAT AUG-DEM.I₅ NP₅-courtyard SM₁₈-PST-enter-NPST.PFV
 ø-rukúngwe
 NP_{1a}-snake
 'Do you see this courtyard? A snake entered in it.' (NF_Elic17)

As the post-verbal constituent is discourse-new, it cannot be combined with an anaphoric demonstrative, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (28).

- (28) *mwirápá mwàkàbíri òzyó rùkúngwè
 Int.: 'This (aforementioned) snake entered into the courtyard.' (NF_Elic17)

Locative inversion may also be interpreted asthetic focus, e.g. all the information is presented 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.

13 Syntax and information structure

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_Hmbuk-á
NP₃-fire SM₃-burn-FV
'The fire burns.'
- b. mùrìró òwò útùmbúkà
mu-riró o-o ú-tu_Hmbuk-á
NP₃-fire AUG-DEM.III₃ SM₃.REL-burn-FV
'the fire that burns'
- (31) a. bànjòvù bàkùjwèngà
ba-njovu ba-aku-jwéng-a
NP₂-elephant SM₂-NPST.IPFV-shout-FV
'The elephants were shouting.'
- b. bànjòvù bàkùjwèngà
ba-njovu bá-aku-jwéng-a
NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-NPST.IPFV-shout-FV
'the elephants who were shouting'
- (32) a. ènyàmà ìbórètè
e-nyama i-bor-éte
AUG-meat SM₉-rot-STAT
'The meat is rotten.'
- b. ènyàm' èyò ìbòrètè
e-nyamá e-yo í-bor-éte
AUG-meat AUG-DEM.III₉ SM₉.REL-rot-STAT
'meat that is rotten'
- (33) a. àbàntù bàhùpùrè
a-ba-ntu ba-hupur-é
AUG-NP₂-person SM₂-think-PFV.SBJV
'People should think.'

13.5 *Dependent clauses*

- b. àbàntw' ábò báhùpùrè
 a-ba-ntú a-bo bá-hupur-é
 AUG-NP₂-person AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-think-PFV.SBJV
 'people who should think' (NF_Elic17)

The remote past perfective uses melodic tone 2 in its main clause form, which is maintained in the relative clause form. In addition, the relative clause form of the RPP makes use of melodic tone 4 (the loss of underlying tones), which is not seen in the main clause form of the RPP (see also §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. nìndádàrà
 ni-ndí-a-dam-a
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-beat-FV
 'I beat.'
 b. òmùntú zyo nìndá'dámà
 o-mu-ntú zyo ni-ndí-a-dam-á
 AUG-NP₁-person DEM.III₁ REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-beat-FV<REL>
 'the person that I beat' (NF_Elic17)

The remote past imperfective has a high tone on the subject marker in the main clause, 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-ndí-shak-á
 PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-want-FV
 'I used to like/want.'
 (36) cìntw' ícò kàndí'shákà
 ci-ntú e-co ka-ndí-shak-á
 NP₇-thing AUG-DEM.III₇ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-want-FV
 'the thing that I used to like/want' (NF_Elic17)

In the 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

13 Syntax and information structure

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 bàjàjwèngì
 ba-njovu ba-na-jwéng-i
 NP₂-elephant SM₂-PST-shout-NPST.PFV
 ‘The elephants shouted.’
 b. bànjòvù bánàjwèngì
 ba-njovu bá-na-jwéng-i
 NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-PST-shout-NPST.PFV
 ‘the elephants who shouted’
- (38) a. ècintù càhíkìwà
 e-ci-ntu ci-a-hík-iw-a
 AUG-NP₇-thing SM₇-PST-cook-PASS-FV
 ‘The thing is cooked.’
 b. ècintú 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 as well.

- (39) ènjòmbé zò nèndí'úrè
 e-N-jombé 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 'cípàngàhàrè hànù
 e-co shàké cí-pang-ahar-é hánù
 AUG-DEM.III₇ when SM₇-do-NEUT-PFV.SBJV DEM₁₆
 ‘That which will happen now...’ (NF_Narr17)

13.5 Dependent clauses

- (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-wân-e kwa-zyú-munya
 REM-SM_{2SG}-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 mùkázàná* ‘this girl’; both constituents occur after the relative clause verb.

13 Syntax and information structure

- (43) mbóbùryàhó nààshèshá kàshùrwè òzyú mùkázàà
 mbó-bu-ryahó na-á-shesh-á ka-shurwe
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that PST-SM₁-PST-marry-FV<REL> NP₁₂-rabbit
 o-zyú mu-kázana
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-girl
 ‘That is how the rabbit married this girl.’ (NF_Narr15)

Relative clauses may be headed by a demonstrative that functions as a relativizer. With subject relatives, where the antecedent is the subject of the relative clause, the demonstrative as a relativizer is optional. This is illustrated in (44)-(45), where the demonstrative *abo* can be used, as in (44), or left out, as in (45).

- (44) bànjòvw’ ábò bájwèngà
 ba-njovú a-bo bá-jwéng-a
 NP₂-elephant AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-shout-FV
 ‘The elephants who shout...’
- (45) bànjòvù bájwèngà
 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 ndíbwèné
 ba-ntú a-bo ndí-bwe_Hne
 NP₂-person AUG-DEM.III₂ SM_{1SG}.REL-see.STAT
 ‘The people that I see...’
- (47) *bàntù ndíbwèné
 ba-ntu ndí-bwe_Hne
 NP₂-person SM_{1SG}.REL-see-STAT
 Intended: ‘The people that I see...’ (NF_Elic17)

When the antecedent is a locative, a demonstrative 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 use of a locative clitic, is not possible, as in (49).

13.5 Dependent clauses

- (48) kùmùnzí òkò ndíyà kwámàkângà
 ku-mu-nzí o-ko ndí-i-a ø-kwá-makánga
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV COP-NP₁₇-Makanga
 ‘The village that I go to is Makanga.’
- (49) *kùmùnzí òkò ndíyàkò kwámàkângà
 ku-mu-nzí o-ko ndí-i-a=ko
 NP₁₇-NP₃-village AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV=LOC₁₇
 ø-kwá-makánga
 COP-NP₁₇-Makanga
 Intended: ‘The village that I go to is Makanga.’

The demonstratives of the locative classes are also used with non-locative antecedents which only have a locative use in the relative clause, as in (50): the antecedent *mùsébézi* ‘a job’ is not locative, but has a locative use in the following relative clause, which is headed by the class 17 demonstrative *òkò*.

- (50) kùbònàhàrá yé òkwésí mùsébézi òkò kòshákí nòkùàmbà nàbàntù
 ku-bon-ahar-á yé o-kwesí mu-sebézi o-ko
 INF-see-NEUT-FV that SM_{2SG}-have NP₃-job AUG-DEM.III₁₇
 ka-o-shak-í no=ku-amb-a na=ba-ntu
 NEG-SM_{2SG}-want-NEG COM=INF-talk-FV COM=NP₂-person
 ‘It seems you have a job where you don’t want to talk to people.’
 (NF_Narr15)

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 ndí’dámà
 N-ba-ntu ndí-dam-á
 COP-NP₂-person SM_{1SG}.REL-beat-FV
 ‘It’s people that I beat.’ (NF_Elic15)

Of the four demonstrative series used in Fwe (see §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).

13 Syntax and information structure

- (52) àkàfùró àkà / àkànò / àkò / àkènà ndíbèrèkìsà
 a-ka-furó a-ka / a-kano / a-ko / a-kena
 AUG-NP₁₂-knife AUG-DEM.I₁₂ /AUG-DEM.II₁₂ /AUG-DEM.III₁₂ /AUG-DEM.IV₁₂
 ndí-berek-is-à
 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) bànjòvù àbò bánùnìtè
 ba-njovú a-bo bá-nun-íte
 NP₂-elephant AUG-DEM.III₂ SM₂.REL-become_fat-STAT
 ‘Elephants who are fat...’ (NF_Elic17)

This high tone only occurs on the antecedent noun when a demonstrative used as relativizer is present. When the demonstrative is absent, as it may be in subject relatives, no high tone is assigned to the last syllable of the antecedent, as in (54).

- (54) bànjòvù bánùnìtè
 ba-njovu bá-nun-íte
 NP₂-elephant SM₂.REL-become_fat-STAT
 ‘Elephants who are fat...’ (NF_Elic17)

The high tone of the demonstrative’s augment does appear, however, when the 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 *ònjòvù* ‘elephant’.

- (55) ònjòvù zyo ndíbwe_Hnè
 o-ø-njovú zyo ndí-bwe_Hne
 AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant DEM.III₁ SM_{1SG}.REL-see-STAT
 ‘The elephant that I see...’ (NF_Elic17)

13.5 Dependent clauses

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' ázizyì: òzyw' ázishúwîrè òzyw' ázìbwènè
 o-zyu á-zì_H-zyì: _H o-zyu á-zì_H-shu_H-íre
 AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-OM₈-know.STAT AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-OM₈-hear-STAT
 o-zyu á-zì_H-bwe_Hne
 AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-OM₈-see.STAT
 'The one who knows them, the one who hears them, the one who sees them.' (NF_Song17)

Headless relative clauses introduced by a class 16 demonstrative, *àhà*, express a temporal clause, translated as 'when', 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-átò
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₂.REL-COME-FV INF-call-FV AUG-NP₁₄-canoe
 'When they came to call the canoe...' (NF_Narr15)
- (58) àhà kàndírwârà nàndákàtà
 a-ha ka-ndí-rwâr-a na-ndí-a-kat-a
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-be_sick-FV PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-become_thin-FV
 'When I was sick, I was very thin.' (ZF_Elic14)

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* / *iyé* 'that, so that, if' is realized as *kùtí* in Zambian Fwe, as *iyé* in Namibian Fwe, and *kùtêyè* can be used in both varieties.

13 Syntax and information structure

Table 13.2: Markers of dependent clauses

<i>kùtí</i> / <i>kùtêyè</i> / <i>iyé</i>	- complement ‘that’ - quotative ‘that’ - purpose ‘(so) that’ - conditional ‘if’
<i>háibà</i>	- conditional
<i>shàké</i>	- conditional ‘if’ - temporal ‘when’
<i>nàrì</i>	- counterfactual ‘if, if not for’
<i>shi-</i>	- conditional ‘if’

The forms *kùtí* and *kùtêyè* are contractions of the verb *kùtá* ‘to say’, with the complementizer *iyé* ‘that’.

kùtí / *kùtêyè* / *iyé* can introduce various types of dependent clauses. It can be used to introduce a complement clause, as in (59), where *iyé* 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 iyé shàkwèsí òmúkwàmé 'kwímbari*
kapá sha-o-shu_H-íre iyé sha-a-kwesi o-mú-kwamé
 or INC-SM_{2SG}-hear-STAT COMP INC-SM₁-have AUG-NP₁-man
kú-e-N-bari
 NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-side
 ‘Or you hear that she now has a man on the side.’ (ZF_Conv13)

- (60) *mbábònè kùtí cipèpà bùryó cibámùdàrà*
mbo-á-bo_Hn-é kutí ø-ci-pepa bu-ryó
 NEAR.FUT-SM₁-see-PFV.SBJV COMP COP-NP₇-paper NP₁₄-only
ci-bá-mu-dara
 PP₇-NP₂-NP₁-old_man
 ‘She will see that it is just a paper of her husband.’ (ZF_Conv13)

- (61) *ndiké:zyà kùtòndà kùtêyè ndùngwè*
ndi-ké:zy-a ku-tónd-a kutêye ndu-ø-ngwe
 SM_{1SG}-come-FV INF-see-FV COMP COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-leopard
 ‘I came and saw that it is a leopard.’ (ZF_Narr14)

13.5 Dependent clauses

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 iyé mùyé¹nzángù ndikùfwirà ènshê:
 ø-rukúngwe a-ké:zy-a ku-mu-tórok-er-a iyé
 NP_{1a}-snake SM₁-come-FV INF-OM₁-explain-APPL-FV COMP
 mu-énz-angú ndi-ku-fw-ír-a e-nshê:
 NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}-OM_{2SG}-die-APPL-FV AUG-pity
 ‘Snake came to tell him: my friend, I feel pity for you.’ (NF_Narr17)

- (63) nàndisúmwinì iyé ndákùménèkàngà
 na-ndi-súmwin-i iyé ndi-áku-méne-ang-a
 SM₁.PST-OM_{1SG}-tell-NPST.PFV COMP SM_{1SG}-SBJV.IPFV-wake_early-HAB-FV
 ‘S/he told me that I should regularly wake up early.’ (NF_Elic17)

iyé can also be used as a quotative without an overt speech verb in the main clause, as in (64)-(65), where the quotative *iyé* is directly followed by the quoted speech.

- (64) òmbwá 'ákùshwáhùrà iyé hmm òzyú mùntù kàndíhì ècí cífùhà
 o-mbwá á-ku-shwáhur-a iyé hmm o-zyú mu-ntu
 AUG-dog CON₁-INF-give_up-FV COMP hmm AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
 ka-ndí-ha-i e-cí ci-fúha
 NEG-SM_{1SG}-give-NEG AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-bone
 ‘The dog then gave up. [He said] that, hmm, this person, he will not give me this bone.’ (NF_Narr17)

- (65) iyé njinyàmà njinyàmà indìrwárikà
 iyé nji-N-nyama nji-N-nyama í-ndi-rwa_Hr-ik-á
 COMP COP₉-NP₉-meat COP₉-NP₉-meat SM₉.REL-OM_{1SG}-be_sick-IMP.TR-FV
 ‘[She said] that, it’s meat. It’s meat that makes me sick.’ (NF_Narr17)

kùtí / *kùtêyè* / *iyé* 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 kwíjwàràrà iyé àyéndè kózywìnà òmùntù

13 Syntax and information structure

á-ku-há-a o-mu-oya kú-e-ø-ɲwarará 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 shérèṇì òkùtèyè àyè ndibòózèrè
 N-bu-tí na-í-wan-é e-í ø-sherénjì
 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 OM_{1SG}-return-APPL-PFV.SBJV
 ‘How will he get this money, **so that** he brings it back to me?’
 (ZF_Conv13)

kùtí / *kùtèyè* / *iyé* may also introduce a dependent clause that functions as a conditional, as in (68)-(69).

- (68) mùzyì: òmfúmù kùtèè àkwèsí bàná bèná bàná bàsépáhàrá 'càhá
 mu-zyi: o-ø-mfumu kuteye a-kwesí ba-ána bená
 SM_{2PL}-know.STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-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 òkùtèyè tùshúwé bùryáhò ryètú èfùfá rihítirizè
 eswé tu-bá-kwamé o-kutéye tu-shu_H-é bu-ryahó
 PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-man AUG-COMP SM_{1PL}-hear-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-like_that
 ri-etú e-ø-fufá ri-hi_Ht-íríz-e
 PP₅-POSS_{1PL} AUG-NP₅-jealousy SM₅-pass-INT.CAUS-PFV.SBJV
 ‘Us men, if we hear like that, our jealousy is very big.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The free morpheme *háibà* ‘if, when’ can be used to introduce a conditional clause (‘if...’), as in (70)-(71), or a temporal clause (‘when...’), as in (72).

- (70) háibà mbwáshòk' ómvûrà kàndiyèndì
 háiba mbo-á-sho_Hk-é o-ø-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) háibà ènyázi yàkàkùṅòrèrì ṛóró
háiba e-N-nyázi i-a-ka-ku-ṛór-er-i
if AUG-NP₉-mistress SM₉-PST-DIST-OM_{2SG}-write-APPL-NPST.PFV
ø-ṛóró
NP₅-letter
'If your mistress has written you a letter...' (ZF_Conv13)
- (72) èfoni háibà mbòí'írìé òitábé
e-ø-foni háiba mbo-í-rir-é
AUG-NP₉-phone if NEAR.FUT-SM₉-cry-PFV.SBJV
o-i_H-tab-é
SM_{2SG}-OM₉-answer-PFV.SBJV
'The phone, when it rings, you must answer it.' (NF_Elic17)

háibà 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) **háiba kùtáyè siànàmaní mēnji kàzǐ'yángà kúmìrākà**
háiba kutéye si-a-na-man-í **ma-ínji**
 when COMP INC-SM₆-PST-finish-NPST.PFV NP₆-water
ka-zǐ-ya-áng-a **kú-mi-ráka**
 PST.IPFV-SM₁₀-go-HAB-FV NP₁₇-NP₄-kraal
 'When the water is finished, they would go to the kraals.' (NF_Narr17)

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 **sháká** ndimùshêshê ndimùkwànìsá kàpá kàndimùkwànìsì
 o-zyú mu-ntu shaká ndi-mu-shêsh-e
 AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person if SM_{1SG}-OM₁-marry-PFV.SBJV
 ndi-mu-kwan-is-á kápá ka-ndi-mu-kwan-ís-i
 SM_{1SG}-OM₁-fit-CAUS-FV or NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁-fit-CAUS-FV
 ‘This person, if I marry her, will I manage her, or will I not manage her?’
 (ZF Conv13)

13 Syntax and information structure

- (75) **shàké** bàké:zyè bàtùbùrè hànò mbòbátùcìrìrè
 shaké ba-ké:zy-e ba-tu_H-bur-é hano
 if SM₂-come-PFV.SBJV SM₂-OM_{1PL}-miss-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₆
 mbo-bá-tu_H-cìrìr-é
 NEAR.FUT-SM₂-OM_{1PL}-follow-PFV.SBJV
 ‘If he comes and does not find us here, he will follow us.’ (NF_Narr15)

- (76) **shàké** ndíkàhùré ‘kúnjùò ndikàrá:rà bùryô
 shaké ndí-ka-hur-é kú-N-júo
 when SM_{1SG}.REL-DIST-arrive-PFV.SBJV NP₁₇-NP₉-house
 ndi-ka-rá:r-a bu-ryô
 SM_{1SG}-DIST-sleep-FV NP₁₄-just
 ‘When I arrive home, I will just sleep.’ (NF_Elic17)

- (77) winá òmùndàrè **sàké** mùwânè mùkàcìncìsà ènjòmbè
 winá o-mu-ndaré saké mu-wân-e
 DEM.IV₃ AUG-NP₃-maize when SM_{2PL}-find-PFV.SBJV
 mu-ka-cinc-is-á e-N-ñombe
 SM_{2PL}-DIST-change-CAUS-FV AUG-NP₁₀-cattle
 ‘That maize, when you get it, you exchange for cattle.’ (ZF_Conv13)

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) òshishónj’ ónjòvù òkwàtiwâ
 o-shi-sho_Hnj-á o-ø-njovu o-kwat-iw-á
 SM_{2SG}-COND-shoot-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-elephant SM₁-catch-PASS-FV
 ‘If you shoot an elephant, you will be caught.’ (NF_Elic15)
- (79) òshipángà búti tùzwírà hábùsò
 o-shi-páng-a bu-tí tu-zw-ír-a há-bu-so
 SM_{2SG}-COND-do-FV NP₁₄-SO SM_{1PL}-come_out-APPL-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₄-front
 ‘If you do like this, we will make a profit.’ (ZF_Conv13)

The 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

13.5 Dependent clauses

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 *nári*, while the main clause verb is marked with the remoteness prefix *na-/ne-/ni-*, as in (80)-(81).

- (80) *nári nónditúsì nìndàkùríhì*
nári nó-ndi-tus-i
 if SM_{2SG}.PST-OM_{1SG}-help-NPST.PFV
ni-ndi-a-ku-rih-í
 REM-SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{2SG}-pay-NPST.PFV
 ‘If you had helped me [but you did not], I would have paid you.’
 (NF_Elic17)
- (81) *nári nómutúkì nánàkùkùtì*
nári nó-mu-tuk-í *ná-na-ku-kut-i*
 if SM_{2SG}.PST-OM₁-insult-NPST.PFV REM-SM₁.PST-OM_{2SG}-curse-NPST.PFV
 ‘If you had insulted her/him, s/he would have cursed you.’ (NF_Elic17)

The remoteness prefix used 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) *nári nìmwákê:zyà zyónà nìnìmwákê:zyà kùshàngànà mùyé'nzàngù*
nári ni-mú-a-ké:zy-a zyónà ni-ni-mú-a-ké: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 NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘If you had come yesterday [but you did not], you would have met my friend.’ (NF_Elic15)

13 Syntax and information structure

The use of the remoteness prefix to mark temporal remoteness as well as counterfactual 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 separate cognitive “worlds” or domains, which can be associated, i.e. close to the here and now, or dissociated. The remoteness prefix *na-/ne-/ni-* in Fwe could be analyzed as a marker of the dissociated domain, marking temporal remoteness in the case of the remote past perfective or remote future, and marking irrealis in the case of the counterfactual.

Counterfactuals may also contain a conditional clause that lacks a verb, in which case they are introduced by the marker *shári*, as in (83)-(84).

- (83) *shári òmwèzì nèkùsìhà*
shári o-mu-ézi ne-ku-sih-á
 if AUG-NP₃-moon REM-SM₁₇-be_dark-FV
 ‘If not for the moon, it would be dark.’ (NF_Elic17)
- (84) *ákùbá'téyè shári zyùzyú mwâncè nìndá'yéndà néyè nìnìndámàn' ó'káfwa*
á-ku-bá-téye shári zyu-zyú mu-ánce
 CON₁-INF-OM₂-say_that if EMPH₁-DEM.I₁ NP₁-child
ni-ndí-a-énd-a ne=ye ni-ni-ndí-a-man-á
 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*

13.6 Cleft constructions

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

Even though a focus interpretation is available outside a cleft construction, clefts are extremely common in Fwe, especially in Zambian Fwe. A cleft construction consists of two clauses, a main clause and a relative clause. The main clause consists of a copulative prefix and a nominal, and the relative clause, which modifies the constituent in the main clause. An example of a cleft construction is given in (86), consisting of the clefted element *ndìjòmbè* ‘it’s a cow’ and the relative clause *ndí’shákà* ‘that I want’.

- (86) ndìjòmbè ndí’shákà
 ndi-N-jombe ndí-shak-á
 clefted element relative clause
 COP-NP₉-COW SM_{1SG}.REL-want-FV
 ‘It’s a cow that I want.’ (NF_Elic15)

The copulative prefix on the clefted element can be the basic 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’ ákìtùtìtè
 konó mbó-bu-rótu ndí-bwe_Hne bu-ó=ku-shésh-a
 but COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-good SM_{1SG}.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.

13 Syntax and information structure

- (88) **ndìwá** 'ryángù kàndíkèkérà
 ndi-ø-wá ri-angú ka-ndí-ke_Hker-á
 COP₅-NP₅-field PP₅-POSS_{1SG} PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-plough-FV
 'It was my field that I was ploughing.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (89) **njicéci yònké:** túkàbírà
 nji-ø-céci i-onké tú-kabir-á
 COP₉-NP₉-church PP₅-one SM_{1PL}.REL-enter-FV
 'It's the same church that we go to.' (ZF_Narr15)

The clefted element does not need to consist of a full noun, but can also consist of a demonstrative, as in (90), or a personal pronoun, as in (91)

- (90) **mómò** nìbákitòbòhéra
 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'** ózyâ:kà
 ndi-wé ó-zyâ:k-a
 COP-PERS_{2SG} SM_{2SG}.REL-build-FV
 'It is you who builds.' (NF_Elic15)

The clefted element is modified by a relative clause, 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-ø-mbwá á-bbo_HZ-á
 COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁.REL-bark-FV
 'It's a dog who barks.' (ZF_Elic14)
- (93) **hàpé ndigámbùtì** ndízyàbèrè
 hapé ndi-ø-gámbuti ndí-zyabere
 again COP₅-NP₅-boot SM_{1SG}.REL-wear.STAT
 'Again, it's boots that I am wearing.' (ZF_Narr13)

13.6 Cleft constructions

- (94) shùnù kùmùnzi ndíyà
 shunu ø-ku-mu-nzi ndí-y-a
 today COP-NP₁₇-NP₃-village SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV
 ‘Today, it is to home that I go.’ (ZF_Elic14)
- (95) mbóbùryáhò niyápàngàhàrírà
 mbó-bu-ryáho ni-í-a-pang-ahar-ir-á
 COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that PST-SM₉-PST-do-NEUT-APPL-FV<REL>
 ‘That is how it happened.’ (ZF_Narr15)
- (96) ndishúnù ndátàtikì kè:zyà kùnù
 ndi-shúnu ndi-a-tàtik-i ke:zy-a kunu
 COP-today SM_{1SG}-PST-start-NPST.PFV come-FV DEM.II₁₇
 ‘It’s today that I started to come here.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions can be embedded into longer sentences, where a constituent can be moved to the position before the clefted element (see also §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 extracausal, i.e. it is affected by phrase-final tonal processes such as high tones realized as falling, as in the left-dislocated constituent *òbùcì* in (97).

- (97) òbù:cì ndìmpùká názàbúpàngà
 o-bù:ci ndi-N-puká ná-zi-a-bú-pang-a
 AUG-NP₁₄-honey COP-NP₁₀-bee PST-SM₁₀-PST-OM₁₄-make-FV<REL>
 ‘Honey, it’s bees who make it.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions are used to mark focus on the clefted element, 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 nàndàrwârà
 ndi-zyóna na-ndí-a-rwâr-a
 COP-yesterday PST-SM_{1SG}-PST-become_sick-FV<REL>
 ‘It was yesterday that I became sick.’ (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions are not only used to mark information as new, but also to mark information as contradicting the beliefs of the hearer (or rather, the beliefs that the speaker assumes the hearer has), called ‘counter-presuppositional focus’

13 Syntax and information structure

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 'bàrimàngà
 ndi-ø-sozú bá-rim-àng-a
 COP₅-NP₅-grass SM₂.REL-weed-HAB-FV
 'It's grass that people usually weed.' (NF_Narr15)

Another example where a cleft construction marks counter-presuppositional focus is given in (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) njí'nítì 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) màbére bùryò ndíbyàrà
 N-ma-beré bu-ryo ndí-byàr-a
 COP-NP₆-millet NP₁₄-only SM₁SG.REL-plant-FV
 'It's only millet that I plant.' (ZF_Elic14)

Cleft constructions can also markthetic 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.

13.6 Cleft constructions

- (102) njìnkómókí yàpwàcùkí
 nji-N-komokí i-a-pwacùk-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=hó N-ma-inji bá-te_Hk-á
 NEG-SM₂-be=LOC₁₆ COP-NP₆-water SM₂.REL-fetch-FV
 ‘She’s not here, she’s fetching water.’ (ZF_Elic14)

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'shéka
 ø-ku-shek-a bá-shek-á
 COP-NP₁₅-laugh-FV SM₂. REL-laugh-FV
 ‘They laugh.’
- (105) kókùmanà ndí'maná
 kó-ku-man-a ndí-man-á
 COP.DEF-NP₁₅-finish-FV SM_{1SG}.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.

13 Syntax and information structure

- (106) ènti: kùhórà í'hórà
 e-N-tí: ku-hór-a í-ho_Hr-á
 AUG-NP₉-tea INF-cool-FV SM₉.REL-cool-FV
 'The tea is cooling down.' (ZF_Elic14)

Another example of the use of the FIC to express focus on the verb is given in (107), which is the answer to the question 'what did you do today?'.

- (107) kùkékèrà kàndíkèkèrà
 ku-kéker-a ka-ndí-ke_Hker-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-áncè 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) *ndishékà
 (110) kùshékà ndí'shékà
 ku-shek-a ndí-shek-á
 INF-live-FV SM₁SG.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

13.6 Cleft constructions

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) ndíní náàṅánk’ òndòngò
 ndi-ní ná-a-ṅánk-a o-ø-ndóngo
 COP-who SM₁-PST-peel-FV<REL> AUG-NP_{1a}-groundnut
 ‘Who has peeled the groundnuts?’ (ZF_Elic14)

- (112) cínjí bátêndà
 ø-ci-njí bá-ténd-a
 COP-NP₇-what SM₂.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-bû:k-i
 COP-NP₁₄-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.

mbòndímikàndékéré èkàndè
mbo-ndí-mi_H-kandek-er-é e-ø-kande
NEAR.FUT-SM_{1SG}-OM_{2PL}-tell-APPL-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP₅-story
‘I will tell you a story.’

òrùtàngù rwángù rwá'bákwámé bóbíré
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.’

ábó 'bákwámé bóbíré kábàrí bàntù nòmùshêré
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.’

bànàhàri 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-ø-mbwá
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
‘They lived. One of them had a dog.’

òzyù zyúmùnyà kàrí 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.’

A 'A man who does not like dogs'

mbóbùryáhò kàbàhàrà mùmùnzi mùmò bànhàhàrì bànhàhàrì
 mbó-bu-ryáho ka-bá-ha_Hr-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 òkùtèyè bókùhìnd' ómùsípìrì ìyè bàkàpóté kúcibàkà címùnyà
 kó-ku-wan-isik-a okutèye ba-ó=ku-hind-á o-mu-sipìrì 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.'

bànhàhìndì òwó mùsípìrì bànanánùkì múnjìrà mùmò nèrà tùyèndè
 ba-na-hìnd-i o-wó mu-sipìrì 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 SM_{1PL}-GO-PFV.SBJV
 'They took that journey. They left on their way: "Let's go!"'

nìbàhìndà nèzíryò 'zábò zó'kábúryà 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 kàbàkàbúrâ:rà bùyáho
 a-ho ka-bá-kabú-râ: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 bàrìhìndîrè
 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 zyùmùnyà nàáyèndà nòmbwá wàkwé bùyáho

o-zyu zyú-munya na-á-a-end-a no=ø-mbwá u-akwé
 AUG-DEM.I₁ PP₁-other REM-SM₁-PST-go-FV COM=NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{3SG}
 bu-ryahó
 NP₁₄-like.that
 ‘One of them went with his dog like that.’

bákábúyèndà nòmbwá 'wábò bùyáhò
 ba-kabú-end-a no=ø-mbwá u-abó bu-ryahó
 SM₂-LOC.PL-go-FV COM=NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-AUG-DEM.III₂ NP₁₄-like_that
 ‘They were going with their dog like that.’

básihúrà àhò bánàhúri kùzyímànà òkùtèyè bàryê
 bá-si_H-hur-á a-ho bá-na-hur-í ku-zyíman-a okutéye
 SM₂.REL- PER-arrive-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₆ SM₂-PST-arrive-NPST.PFV INF-stop-FV
 ba-ry-é
 that SM₂-eat-SBJV
 ‘When they arrived where they arrived, to stop so that they can eat...’

ín' ényàmà yézifùhà
 iná e-N-nyama i-é=zi-fúha
 DEM.IV₉ AUG-NP₉-meat PP₉-CON=NP₈-bone
 ‘That meat with bones...’

òzyó káshàkà cáhà kùyàbùr' èzifùhà ènyàmà yézifùhà
 o-zyó ka-á-shak-á cáha ku-yabur-a e-zi-fúha
 AUG-DEM.III₁ PST.IPFV-SM₁-like-FV very INF-take-FV AUG-NP₈-bone
 e-N-nyama i-é=zi-fúha
 AUG-NP₉-meat PP₉-CON=NP₈-bone
 ‘The one who liked to take bones, meat with bones...’

sìkwàsíyàrìrì èzifùhà
 si-kw-a-síyar-ir-i e-zi-fúha
 INC-SM₁₇-PST-leave-APPL-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₈-bone
 ‘Now the bones remain.’

ndózywìn' áàzy' ómbwà
 ndó-zywiná á-azyá o-ø-mbwá
 COP.DEF₁-DEM.IV₁ SM₁.REL-have_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘It's the one who doesn't have a dog.’

A 'A man who does not like dogs'

ècò kápàngírà kùtèyè òzyw' ákwès' ûmbwà

e-co ka-á-pang-ir-á kutéye o-zyu á-kwesí
AUG-DEM.III₇ PST.IPFV-SM₁-do-APPL-FV that AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁-have
o-mbwá

AUG-NP_{1a}-dog

'He was doing that so that the one who has a dog...'

òmbwá wàkwê nàngà àryè zìn' ézìfùhà

o-ø-mbwá u-akwé nanga a-ry-é ziná e-zi-fúha
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} even SM₁-eat-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₈ AUG-NP₈-bone

'...his dog might eat those bones.'

mbùryáhó kábápàngàngà bú'ryáhò

N-bu-ryahó ka-bá-pang-áng-a bú-ryahó
COP-NP₁₄-like.that PST.IPFV-SM₂-do-HAB-FV NP₁₄-like.that

'That's how he did.'

àsìmanà òkùyàbùrà zywinà ààzy' ómbwà èzìfùhà

a-si-man-á o-ku-yabur-a zywina á-azyá o-ø-mbwá
SM₁-COND-finish-FV AUG-INF-pick-FV DEM.IV₁ SM₁.REL-have_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
e-zi-fúha

AUG-NP₈-bone

'When he finishes picking the bones, that one without a dog...'

àsìmaná 'kúrya kúzìfùhà ákùzìhìndà kùzìzikà mwívù

a-si-man-á ku-ry-á kú-zi-fúha á-ku-zí-hind-a
SM₁-COND-finish-FV INF-eat-FV NP₁₇-NP₈-bone PP₁-INF-OM₈-take-FV

ku-zí-zik-a mu-e-ø-vú

INF-OM₈-bury-FV NP₁₈-AUG-NP₅-ground

'When he finishes eating from the bones, he takes them to bury them in the ground.'

òkùtè òmbwá 'wózywiná mùyènzè àswábè

okuté o-ø-mbwá u-ó=zywiná mu-yénz-e a-swab-é
that AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-CON=DEM.IV₁ NP₁-friend-POSS_{3SG} SM₁-be_sad-PFV.SBJV

'So that the dog of that friend of his would be sad.'

kàrì náàrìshùwìsìsìsá nènjà òzyú 'sìmbwà

ka-ri ná-a-a-ri_H-shu_H-isis-á nénja o-zyú sí-ø-mbwá
 NEG-be REM-SM₁-PST-REFL-feel-INT-FV<REL> well AUG-DEM.I₁ AS-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘He did not feel good, the one with the dog.’

àhà òzyú mùshéré wángù mbùtí àh’ átëndà
 aha o-zyú mu-shére u-angú N-bu-tí a-ha
 oh AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-friend PP₁-POSS_{1SG} COP-NP₁₄-how AUG-DEM.I₁₆
 á-ténd-a
 SM₁.REL-do-FV
 “Oh, this friend of mine, why is he doing this?”

mòns’h’ ómò túyàbwírà èyé àpìhènérá òkùyàbùrà èzìfùhà hàpé èyé ààzy’
 òmbwà
 mo-nshé: o-mo tú-yabw-ír-a eyé a-pihener-á
 NP₁₈-all AUG-DEM.III₁₈ SM_{1PL}.REL-pick-APPL-FV PERS_{3SG} SM₁-insist-FV
 o-ku-yabur-a e-zi-fúha hapé eyé a-azyá o-ø-mbwá
 AUG-INF-pick-FV AUG-NP₈-bone again PERS_{3SG} SM₁-lack AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 “Whenever we pick, he insists on picking the bones, he doesn’t even have a dog.”

émé ‘ndímùnit’ òmbwà hàpé kàndisîyì iyé ndiyàbùré zìfùhà
 emé ndí-mun-íte o-ø-mbwá hapé ka-a-ndi-sí-i
 PERS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}.REL-OWN-STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-dog again NEG-SM₁-OM_{1SG}-leave-NEG
 iyé ndi-yabur-é zi-fúha
 that SM_{1SG}-pick-PFV.SBJV NP₈-bone
 “Me, who owns a dog, he doesn’t let me pick the bones.”

áu nìyámùryàngànìsà
 aú ni-i-á-mu-ryànganis-a
 oh REM-SM₉-PST-OM₁-disturb-FV
 ‘It disturbed him.’

kàkùbíràèzì
 ka-ku-bíraez-i
 NEG-SM₁₅-matter-NEG
 “It doesn’t matter.”

mbùryáhó kàbákàbúpàngà bùyáhò àhò kàbákàbùrá:rà bùyáhó

A ‘A man who does not like dogs’

N-bu-ryaho ka-bá-kabú-páng-a bu-ryahó a-ho
 COP-NP₁₄-like.that PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC.PL-do-FV NP₁₄-like.that AUG-DEM.III₁₆
 ka-bá-kabú-rá:r-a bu-ryaho
 PST.IPFV-SM₂-LOC.PL-sleep-FV NP₁₄-like.that
 ‘That is how he used to do, when they were spending the night in different places.’

èni àkàbúyàbùrà èzifùhà zyúzyò ààzy’ ómbwà
 éni a-kabú-yabur-a e-zi-fúha zyú-zyo á-azyá
 yes SM₁-LOC.PL-pick-FV AUG-NP₈-bone EMPH-DEM.III₁ SM₁.REL-have_not
 o-ø-mbwá
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog

‘In each place he takes the bones, the one who doesn’t have a dog.’

màmànikizò àhò bákàrá:rà hápè nàyábùrì hápè citùnùrà cécifùhà
 ma-manikizo a-ho bá-ka-rá:r-a hápè na-yabúr-i
 NP₆-end AUG-DEM.III₁₆ SM₂-DIST-sleep-FV again SM₁.PST-pick-NPST.PFV
 hápè ci-tunura ci-é=ci-fúha
 again NP₇-big_piece_of_meat PP₇-CON=NP₇-bone
 ‘In the end, when they slept again, he has taken a big piece of meat with a bone in it.’

shànàhíndì cícò cífùhà zyúzyò ààzy’ ómbwà
 shi-a-na-hínd-i cí-co ci-fúha zyú-zyo
 INC-SM₁-PST-take-NPST.PFV EMPH-DEM.III₇ NP₇-bone EMPH-DEM.III₁
 á-azyá o-ø-mbwá
 SM₁.REL-have_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘He has now taken that bone, that one who doesn’t have a dog.’

tùyèndè ákùhìndà kùcìshùminìnà kùmùzìò
 tu-énd-e á-ku-hind-a ku-cí-shumin-in-a ku-mu-zío
 SM₁PL-go-PFV.SBJV PP₁-INF-take-FV INF-OM₇-tie-APPL-FV NP₁₇-NP₃-load
 ‘“Let’s go.” He then takes it and ties it on his luggage.’

kókw’ àcìshùminínà cícò cífùhà càkwê
 kókwi a-ci_H-shu_Hmin-in-á cí-co ci-fúha ci-akwé
 where SM₁-OM₇-tie-APPL-FV EMPH-DEM.III₇ NP₇-bone PP₇-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘That is where he ties it, that bone of his.’

nìbàkàyâ bàkàbúyèndà bàkàbúyèndà
 ní=ba-ka-y-á ba-kabú-end-a ba-kabú-end-a
 COM=SM₂-DIST-go-FV SM₂-LOC.PL-go-FV SM₂-LOC.PL-go-FV
 ‘And they went. They were walking, walking.’

ómbwà kébàkà ryécífúhà cínà sàpìhénèrè kúmàshàrà òmùzìò zywin’ ákùrikìtè
 o-ø-mbwá ø-kébaka ri-é=ci-fúha ciná si-a-pìhénere
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog NP₅-because PP₅-CON=NP₇-bone DEM.IV₇ INC-SM₁-insist.STAT
 kú-ma-shára o-mu-zío zywiná á-ku_Hrík-ite
 NP₁₇-NP₆-back AUG-NP₃-load DEM.IV₁ SM₁.REL-carry-STAT
 ‘The dog, because of that bone, he is now behind the load, the one who is carrying.’

àtòndèrèrè kúcífúhà iyé témà zywin’ ómùntù mbwámùdànsìkirè cìn’ écífúhà
 a-to_Hnd-érer-e kú-ci-fúha iyé téma zywiná o-mu-ntu
 SM₁-watch-INT-STAT NP₁₇-NP₇-bone that maybe DEM.IV₁ AUG-NP₁-person
 mbo-á-mu-da_Hnsík-ir-e ciná e-ci-fúha
 NEAR.FUT-SM₁-OM₁-drop-APPL-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₇ AUG-NP₇-bone
 ‘He is staring at the bone, so that maybe that person will drop the bone for him.’

ècífúhà cìpará òkùcìshùmùnùnà iyé àcìh’ ómbwà
 e-ci-fúha ci-par-á o-ku-cí-shum-unun-a iyé
 AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-fail-FV AUG-INF-OM₇-tie-SEP.TR-FV that
 a-ci_H-h-é o-ø-mbwa
 SM₁-OM₇-give-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
 ‘The bone failed to become untied, so that he would give it to the dog.’

bànyéndì bùyàhò ècífúhà cìpará òkùcìshùmùnùnà
 ba-na-énd-i bu-ryaho e-ci-fúha ci-par-á
 SM₂-PST-go-NPST.PFV NP₁₄-like.that AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-fail-FV
 o-ku-cí-shum-unun-a
 AUG-INF-OM₇-tie-SEP.TR-FV
 ‘They went like that. The bone did not become untied.’

òmbwá àrí kùtòndèrèrè kúcífúhà kúmùzìò
 o-ø-mbwá a-rí ku-tònd-erer-a kú-ci-fúha kú-mu-zío
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁-be INF-look-INT-FV NP₁₇-NP₇-bone NP₁₇-NP₃-load
 ‘The dog was just looking at the bone on the load.’

A 'A man who does not like dogs'

bàkàbúyèndà bùryáhò
ba-kabú-end-a bu-ryahó
SM₂-LOC.PL-go-FV like.that
'They went like that.'

òmbwá àkùshwáhùrà iyé hm òzyó mùntù kàndíhì ècí cífùhà
o-ø-mbwa á-ku-shwáhur-a iyé hm o-zyú mu-ntu
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-INF-give.up-FV that hm AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-person
ka-a-ndí-h-i e-cí ci-fúha
NEG-SM₁-OM_{1SG}-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 kù'búsò nàkàbúricàninàcàninà zìngì:
á-ku-shwáhur-a ku-hít-a kù-bu-só
PP₁-INF-give_up-FV INF-pass-FV NP₁₇-NP₁₄-front
na=a-kabú-ri_H-canina-can-ín-a zì-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 'cáhà èzífùhà
o-ø-mbwá a-shak-á cáha e-zi-fúha
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog SM₁-like-FV very AUG-NP₈-bone
'The dog, he likes bones very much.'

témà mbwákàcìndìhé zywîná
téma mbo-á-ka-ci_H-ndi-h-é zywîna
maybe NEAR.FUT-SM₁-DIST-OM₇-OM_{1SG}-give-PFV.SBJV DEM.IV₁
'"Maybe he will give it to me, that one."'

shókùbòòrà hàpé kùmuzìò kàtòndàkò kùwàn' ècífùhà sìcákùàázyà
shi-ó-ku-boor-a hapé ku-mu-zío ka-tónd-a=ko
INC-AUG-INF-return-FV again NP₁₇-NP₃-load DIST-INF-look-FV=LOC₁₇
ku-wan-a e-ci-fúha si-ci-áku-aazyá
INF-find-FV AUG-NP₇-bone INC-SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be_not
'He returned again to the load to look at it, to find that the bone is no longer there.'

sìcákùàázyà ècífùhà sìcákùàázyà

si-ci-áku-aazyá e-ci-fúha si-ci-áku-aazyá
 INC-SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be_not AUG-NP₇-bone INC-SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be.not
 ‘It’s not there anymore, the bone is no longer there.’

kàntì háhò mwéyò ènakò zyúzyò sícífùhà, zyúzyò muntù ákùcìhìndà
 kùcìshònjèrà mùmùtémwà cókùwà
 kanti há-ho mú-e-yo e-N-nako zyú-zyo
 then EMPH-DEM.III₁₆ NP₁₈-AUG-DEM.III₉ AUG-NP₉-time EMPH-DEM.III₁
 sí-ci-fúha zyú-zyo mu-ntu á-ku-cí-hind-a
 AS-NP₇-bone EMPH-DEM.III₁ NP₁-person PP₁-INF-OM₇-take-FV
 ku-cí-shonj-er-a mú-mu-témwa ci-ó=ku-w-a
 INF-OM₇-throw-APPL-FV NP₁₈-NP₃-forest PP₇-CON=INF-fall-FV
 ‘And in that time, that one with the bone, that person, he takes it and throws it
 into the forest, and it falls.’

àhà shècìkàwà kàntì cìkàwírà hámfùmò
 a-ha she-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-ø-mfumo
 NP₁₆-NP_{1a}-rhino
 ‘When it fell, it fell onto a rhino.’

ómbwà ècífùhà càkùààzy’ òkò, kúmùzìò
 o-ø-mbwá e-ci-fúha ci-aku-aazyá o-ko
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-NPST.IPFV-be_not AUG-DEM.III₁₇
 kú-mu-zío
 NP₁₇-NP₃-load
 ‘The dog [thought]: “the bone is not on the load”.’

ákùbòòrà mùmàshàrà kàbúnùnkizànùnkizà ècò cífùhà
 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.’

màni nákáciwánè ómbwà

A ‘A man who does not like dogs’

mani na-á-ka-ci_H-wán-e o-ø-mbwá
until REM-SM₁-DIST-OM₇-find-PFV.SBJV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog
‘Until the dog finds it.’

àh’ ákàtòndà ndùmfùmò páhà náàfwirà
a-ha á-ka-tònd-a ndu-ø-mfumo pá-ha
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₁.REL-DIST-look-FV COP_{1a}-NP_{1a}-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 ákùtángisà òkùbbòòzà
o-ø-mbwá á-ku-tángis-a o-ku-bbóoz-a
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-INF-start-FV AUG-INF-bark-FV
‘The dog starts to bark.’

bèn’ ábò bàñètì múmùsípìrì
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 ‘sím bwà àhà sákàbóná bùryáhò òmbwá ‘wángù àhà kàndisimùbwènè
mbùtí
zywiná sí-ø-mbwá a-ha si-á-ka-bo_Hn-á bu-ryahó
DEM.IV₁ AS-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM₁.REL-DIST-see-FV NP₁₄-like.that
o-ø-mbwá u-angú a-ha ka-ndi-si_H-mu-bwe_Hne
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} AUG-DEM.I₁₆ NEG-SM_{1SG}-PER-OM₁-see.STAT
N-bu-tí
COP-NP₁₄-how
‘The one with the dog, when he starts to look around like that: “My dog, why don’t I see it anymore?”’

òmbwà òmbw’ éyè ákwèsì àbbòòzá kúkò
o-ø-mbwá o-ø-mbwá éye a-kwesi a-bbo_Hoz-á ku-kó
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PERS_{3SG} SM₁.REL-PROG SM₁-bark-FV EMPH-DEM.III₁₇
‘The dog, the dog who is barking there.’

òmbwá ‘wángù îwè acho kàndimùbwènè

o-ø-mbwá u-angú íwe acho ka-ndi-mu-bwéne
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} PERS_{2SG} please NEG-SM_{1SG}-OM₁-see.STAT
 “My dog, you, please, I don’t see it.”

tùyéndè bùyô ècibbwà ncènjí
 tu-énd-e bu-ryó e-ci-bbwá N-ci-e=njí
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just AUG-NP₇-dog COP-PP₇-CON=what
 “Let’s just go. What about the stupid dog?”

mùntù káshàkí 'bámbwà
 N-mu-ntu ka-á-shak-í ba-mbwá
 COP-NP₁-person NEG-SM₁.REL-like-NEG NP₂-dog
 ‘He is a person who does not like dogs.’

tùyéndè bùyô cààzy’ éntàbà cíbbwà ncènjí
 tu-énd-e bu-ryó ci-aazyá e-N-tabà ci-bbwá
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just SM₇-be_not AUG-NP₉-issue NP₇-dog
 N-ci-e=njí
 COP-PP₇-CON=what
 “Let’s just go. Why should you care about the stupid dog?”

ènkàni èmé sèndibòórà ndisítònd’ òmbwá 'wángù múmàshàrà
 e-N-káni emé se-ndi-boor-á ndi-si_H-tònd-a
 AUG-NP₁₀-argument PERS_{1SG} INC-SM_{1SG}-return-FV SM_{1SG}-PER-look-FV
 o-ø-mbwá u-angú mú-ma-shàrà
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 ‘An argument. “Me, I’m going back to look for my dog.”’

tùyéndè á’á sèndibòórà émè nditòndé òmbwá 'wángù múmàshàrà
 tu-énd-e á’a se-ndi-boor-á emé ndi-to_Hnd-é
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV no INC-SM_{1SG}-return-FV PERS_{1SG} SM_{1SG}-look-PFV.SBJV
 o-ø-mbwá u-angú mú-ma-shàrà
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 “Lets go!” “No. I am going back to look for my dog.”

bókùfútùmùkà kùbòòrà
 ba-ó=ku-futumuk-a ku-boor-a
 PP₂-CON=INF-turn_around-FV INF-return-FV
 ‘He turns around and goes back.’

A ‘A man who does not like dogs’

òzù ábòòrà ndózwìnà símbwà

o-zyu á-boor-á ndó-zywina sí-ø-mbwá
AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-return-FV COP.DEF₁-DEM.IV₁ AS-NP_{1a}-dog

‘The one who returns is the one with the dog.’

òzyù áàzy’ ómbwà kàbòòrì iyé bòóré wê

o-zyu á-azyá o-ø-mbwá ka-a-boór-i iyé
AUG-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-be_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog NEG-SM₁-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 kàkúrí òmwínì wómùsípìrì òzyù ázyì òkò báya ndóòzyù mwini
wómbwà

nì-kú-a-par-a kakúrí o-mw-íni u-ó=mu-sipíri o-zyu
PST-SM₁₅-PST-fail-FV because AUG-NP₁-owner PP₁-CON=NP₃-journey AUG-DEM.I₁

á-zyì_H o-ko bá-y-a ndó-o-zyù mu-íni
SM₁.REL-know.STAT AUG-DEM.III₁₇ SM₂.REL-go-FV COP-AUG-DEM.I₁ NP₁-owner

u-o-ø=mbwá

PP₁-CON=NP_{1a}-dog

‘It became difficult, because the owner of the journey, the one who knows where they are going, is that owner of the dog.’

mùshéré sànbòòrì mbùtí sàké ndipàngè

mu-shére si-a-na-boór-i N-bu-tí sàké ndi-pang-é
NP₁-friend INC-SM₁-PST-return-NPST.PFV COP-NP₁₄-how if SM_{1SG}-do-PFV.SBJV

“My friend has gone back. What can I do?”

nòkùmúcirirà kùbòòrà múmàshàrà

no=ku-mú-cirir-a ku-boor-a mú-ma-shára
COM=INF-OM₁-follow-FV INF-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back

‘He follows him going back.’

ómbwà éyè àkwèsì àbbòòzá òkó

o-mbwà eye a-kwesi a-bbo_Hoz-á o-kó
AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PERS_{3SG} SM₁-PROG SM₁-bark-FV AUG-DEM.III₁₇

‘The dog is barking far away!’

sàkàshúwîrè òmbwá wàkwê àbbòòzá

si-a-ka-shu_H-íre o-ø-mbwá u-akwé a-bbo_Hoz-á
 INC-SM₁-DIST-hear-STAT AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} SM₁-bark-FV
 ‘He now hears his dog barking.’

òh ndómbwà wángù zyùnù sàbbòòzâ
 oh ndó-ø-mbwá u-angú zyùnù si-a-bbo_Hoz-á
 oh COP.DEF₁-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} DEM.II₁ INC-SM₁.REL-bark-FV
 “Oh! That is my dog that is barking there!”

kùbòòrà kàmùwán' 'ómbwà òzyú kùtòndà hárùbbâri cipàù cìtùúmènè
 ku-boor-a ka-mu-wan-á o-ø-mbwá o-zyú ku-tónd-a
 INF-return-FV DIST.INF-OM₁-find-FV AUG-NP_{1a}-dog AUG-DEM.I₁ INF-look-FV
 há-ru-bbâri ø-ci-páu ci-tuúmen-e
 NP₁₆-NP₁₁-side COP-NP₇-animal SM₇-lie-STAT
 ‘They went and got the dog there. When they look to the side, it’s a wild animal.
 It’s lying there.’

ómbwà kútà ndùmbwá 'wángù sànwáwání cipàù njìnyàmà nyàmà nyàmà
 o-ø-mbwá kutá ndu-ø-mbwá u-angú si-a-na-wan-í
 AUG-NP_{1a}-dog true COP-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} INC-SM₁-PST-find-NPST.PFV
 ci-páu nji-N-nyama N-nyama N-nyama
 NP₇-animal
 COP₉-NP₉-meat NP₉-meat NP₉-meat
 “It’s true! It’s my dog. It has got an animal. It’s meat, meat, meat.”

ákàbòòrà nêyè zywinà zywiná 'kàshàkí 'bámbwà kùtòndà nêyè óh
 á-ka-boor-a né=ye zywiná zywiná ka-á-shak-í
 PP₁-DIST.INF-return-FV COM=PERS_{3SG} DEM.IV₁ DEM.IV₁ NEG.SM₁.REL-like-NEG
 ba-mbwá ku-tónd-a né=ye óh
 NP₂-dog INF-look-FV COM=PERS_{3SG} oh
 ‘He also came back, that one, the one who doesn’t like dogs, when he looks, he
 says, “oh!”’

òzyú mbwà sànwáwání ènyàmà
 o-zyú o-ø-mbwá si-a-na-wan-í e-N-nyama
 AUG-DEM.I₁ AUG-NP_{1a}-dog INC-SM₁-PST-find-NPST.PFV AUG-NP₉-meat
 “This dog found some meat.”

nìkwáwàn' ènkânì cwàré

A ‘A man who does not like dogs’

ni-kú-a-wan-a e-N-káni cwaré
 PST-SM₁₅-PST-find-FV AUG-NP₉-argument then
 ‘There broke out an argument.’

zyúzyò áàzy’ ómbwà sàpìhénèrè nêyè ècìpàù ncángù ncángù cìpàù
 zyú-zyo á-azyá o-ø-mbwá si-a-pìhénèr-e né=ye
 EMPH-DEM.I₁ SM₁.REL-be.not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog INC-SM₁-insist-STAT COM=PERS_{3SG}
 e-ci-páu N-ci-angú N-ci-angú ci-páu
 AUG-NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG} COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG} NP₇-animal
 ‘The one who doesn’t have a dog, he is now insisting: “the animal is mine, it’s my animal”’

òzyú ‘sím bwà nêyè nè kàkùò:résèkì ècìpàù ncángù
 o-zyú sí-ø-mbwá né=ye ne ka-ku-o:r-ések-i
 AUG-DEM.I₁ AS-NP_{1a}-dog COM=PERS_{3SG} no NEG-SM₁₅-can-NEUT-NEG
 e-ci-páu N-ci-angú
 AUG-NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘The one with the dog says “no, it’s not possible, the animal is mine.”’

òzyú iyé ncángù
 o-zyú iyé N-ci-angú
 AUG-DEM.I₁ that COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘This one says, “it’s mine.”’

nikwáwàn’ ènkâni kàbàsí’shúwâni
 ni-kú-a-wan-a e-N-káni ka-ba-sí-shuwân-i
 REM-SM₁₅-PST-find-FV AUG-NP₉-argument NEG-SM₂-PER-get_along-NEG
 ‘There was an argument. They did not get along anymore.’

tùyéndè bùryó kànti tùhíndè
 tu-énd-e bu-ryó kanti tu-hínd-e
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV NP₁₄-just then SM_{1PL}-take-PFV.SBJV
 ‘“Let’s just go and take [it].”’

kùyá kùzyùnà cìn’ ècìpàù kùkùrikà ábò nòmùsípìrì kàbàshúwâni

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 núbàríbbàtwìrà 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 mùsípíri kàbàshúwènè
 ní=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=PERS_{3SG} no NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG}
 ‘He says “no, the animal is mine.”’

tùyéndè kàntì mbòtúkàbûzè hówù mùnzì kúbàntù àbò báýèndèsá òmùnzì
 tu-énd-e kanti mbo-tú-ka-búz-e há-o-wu
 SM_{1PL}-go-PFV.SBJV then NEAR.FUT-SM_{1PL}-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 kàbàrùmerènè 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.’

A 'A man who does not like dogs'

kàhùrà kàsùsà kùbàrùmèrèsàrùmèrèsà bànákàrì

ka-hur-a ka-sús-a ku-bá-rumeresa-rumeres-a

DIST.INF-arrive-FV DIST.INF-put_down-FV INF-OM₂-PL2-greet-FV

ba-ná-kar-i

SM₂-PST-sit-NPST.PFV

'They arrived and put down [their loads] and they greeted them. They sat down.'

mbàní bàìndùná hânù hámùnzi

N-ba-ní ba-induná hānu há-mu-nzi

COP-NP₂-who NP₂-headman DEM.II₁₆ NP₁₆-NP₃-village

"Who is the headman of this village?"

nábò iyé mbá'babà kwirápá 'ryábò kó 'kwínà

ná=bo iyé mbába-bá ku-e-ø-rapá ri-abó

COM=DEM.III₂ that COP.DEF₂-DEM.I₂ NP₁₇-AUG-NP₅-courtyard PP₅-DEM.III₂

kó ku-iná

DEM.III₁₇ SM₁₇-be_at

'They said, "it's this one. His courtyard is that one."

nìbàyákò

ni=ba-y-a=kó

COM=SM₂-go-FV=LOC₁₇

'And they went there.'

hàpé mbùtí kùyá kùbásùkùrwirà zòns hé: zómùsípírì wábò

hapé N-bu-ti ku-y-á ku-bá-sukurw-ir-a zi-onshé:

again COP-NP₁₄-how INF-go-FV INF-OM₂-report-APPL-FV PP₈-all

zi-ó=mu-sipíri u-abó

PP₈-CON=NP₃-journey PP₃-DEM.III₂

'And what? They go and tell him all about their journey.'

nèrà nìtwákè:zyà nètùrùmérèné

nera ni-tú-a-ke:zy-a ne=tu-rumérene

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
 SM₁PL-be NP₂-person COM=NP₁-friend
 “We are friends.”

cwàré àhà tú'ké:zyà kùhùrà há'kàtì zyúzy' òmbwá 'wángù nèrà nàábòòrà
 múmàshàrà
 cwaré a-ha tú-ké:zy-a ku-hur-a há-ka-tí
 then AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM₁PL.REL-come-FV INF-arrive-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₂-middle
 zyú-zyu o-mbwa u-angú nera na-á-a-boor-a mú-ma-shára
 EMPH-DEM.I₁ AUG-NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-POSS_{1SG} then PST-SM₁-return-FV NP₁₈-NP₆-back
 “Then when we reached halfway, this dog of mine, he went back.”

ákàwàn' écifùhà cìdànsì
 á-ka-wan-á e-ci-fúha ci-dans-í
 PP₁-DIST.INF-find-FV AUG-NP₇-bone SM₇-put_down-IMP.INTR.STAT
 “He found a bone lying there.”

àhà sákàwàná cìfùhà ákàwàn' écìpàù
 a-ha si-á-ka-wan-á ci-fúha á-ka-wan-á
 AUG-DEM.I₁₆ INC-SM₁.REL-DIST-find-FV NP₇-bone PP₁-DIST.INF-find-FV
 e-ci-páu
 AUG-NP₇-animal
 “After getting the bone, he got an animal.”

shànàwàní ècò cìpàù páhà nìhá'zwírà ènkàní zétù twèbìré
 shi-a-na-wan-í e-có ci-páu pá-ha
 INC-SM₁-PST-find-NPST.PFV AUG-DEM.III₇ NP₇-animal COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆
 nì-há-a-zw-ír-a e-N-káni zi-etú twe-biré
 REM-SM₁₆-PST-come_out-APPL-FV AUG-NP₁₀-argument PP₁₀-POSS_{1PL} CON_{1PL}-two
 “When he got this animal, that is when our argument started, the two of us.”

néyè zyúzyò ààzy' òmbwà néyè ákàsùkùrùrà zàkwê
 ne=ye zyú-zyo á-azya o-ø-mbwá né=ye
 COM=PERS_{3SG} EMPH-DEM₁ SM₁.REL-be_not AUG-NP_{1a}-dog COM=PERS_{3SG}
 á-ka-sukurur-a zi-akwé
 PP₁-DIST.INF-report-FV PP₈-POSS_{3SG}
 ‘And the one who does not have a dog, he too reports his side of the story.’

kátúyèndà nózyù mùyé'nzángù

A ‘A man who does not like dogs’

ka-tú-énd-a nó=zyu mu-yénz-angú
PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-GO-FV COM=DEM.I₁ NP₁-friend-POSS_{1SG}
“I was walking with this friend of mine.”

àhà túhùrá 'há'káti èmé kándishùminínè ècífúhà kúmùzìò
a-ha tú-hur-á há-ka-tí emé
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{1PL}.REL-arrive-FV NP₁₆-NP₁₂-middle PERS_{1SG}
ka-ndí-shu_Hmin-ín-e e-ci-fúha kú-mu-zío
PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-tie-APPL-STAT AUG-NP₇-bone NP₁₇-NP₃-load
“When we were halfway, me, I had the bone tied to my luggage.”

àhà kándishùminínè bùyáhò páhà sèndícìhìndà kùcìshònjèrà múmùtèmwà
kùcìbùkùmùnà
a-ha ka-ndí-shumin-ín-e buryahó pá-ha
AUG-DEM.I₁₆ PST.IPFV-SM_{1SG}-tie-APPL-STAT NP₁₄-like.that COP₁₆-DEM.I₁₆
se-ndí-ci_H-hìnd-a ku-cí-shonj-er-a mú-mu-témwa
INC-SM_{1SG}.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 sècìkàwâ kàntì cìkàwírà háciipâu
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.”

càkàwíri hécìpâu
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 wòzyò mpáhà sIkábòòrá múmàshàrà ákàwàn' ècò cìpâu
cwaré o-zyú ø-mbwá u-ó=zyo mpá-ha
then AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-CON=DEM.III₁ COP₁₆-DEM₁₆
si-ka-á-boor-á mú-ma-shàrà 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.”

sànakàcí'wàni mpáhà nézàzwírà ènkàni iyé ècìpàù 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 ø-ci-akwê

AUG-NP₇-animal COP-PP₇-POSS_{3SG}

“When he had found it, that is when the argument broke out, that the animal is his.”

kàntí mé ncángù ècìpàù

kantí mé N-ci-angú e-ci-páu

then PERS_{1SG} COP-PP₇-POSS_{1SG} AUG-NP₇-animal

“But the animal is mine.”

cwàré mbóbùryáhó 'tú'ké:zyà kàtùsirùmèrèné:

cwaré mbó-bu-ryaho tú-ké:zy-a

then COP.DEF₁₄-NP₁₄-like_that SM_{1PL}.REL-come-FV

ka-tu-si_H-rumerené:

NEG-SM_{1PL}-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 tubàsí'nkútà mbòtúmiààtùrè

eswé tu-ba-sí-N-kutá mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é

PERS_{1PL} APP_{1PL}-NP₂-AS-NP₉-court NEAR.FUT-SM_{1PL}-OM_{2PL}-judge-PFV.SBJV

“Then us, the people of the court, we will judge you.”

mbòtúmiààtùr' èswè

A 'A man who does not like dogs'

mbo-tú-mi_H-a_Hatur-é eswé
NEAR.FUT-SM_{1PL}-OM_{2PL}-judge-PFV.SBJV PERS_{1PL}
“We will judge you.”

ècò shàké cìpàngàhàré hànù
e-co shaké ci-pang-ahar-é hánu
AUG-DEM.III₇ if SM₇-do-NEUT-PFV.SBJV DEM.II₁₆
“What will happen now...”

éwè wèmwìni wómbwà ècí cìpàù ncákò
ewé we-mw-íni u-ó=mbwá e-cí ci-páu
PERS_{2SG} APP_{2SG}-NP₁-owner PP₁-CON=NP_{1a}-dog AUG-DEM.I₇ NP₇-animal
N-ci-akó
COP-PP₇-POSS_{2SG}
“You, the owner of the dog, this animal is yours.”

kàkúri kùbònàhàrá òkùtèyè 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.”

kàshàkí '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.”

kùbònàhàrá òkùtèyè éwè ècò ó'ké:zyà kùzèkàkw' éwè
ku-bon-ahar-á okutéye ewé e-co ó-ké:zy-a
SM₁₅-see-NEUT-FV that PERS_{2SG} AUG-DEM.III₇ SM_{2SG}.REL-come-FV
ku-zek-a=ko ewé
INF-sue-FV=LOC₁₇ PERS_{2SG}
“It seems that you, what are you coming to sue for?”

ncífúhà cákò ècò nówàshònjérà múmùtèmwà, ècò nicákàwáníwà kó'zyú mbwà
wôzyù
N-ci-fúha ci-akó e-co nó-w-a-sho_Hnj-er-á
COP-NP₇-bone PP₇-POSS_{2SG} AUG-DEM.III₇ REM-SM_{2SG}-PST-throw-APPL-FV<REL
mú-mu-témwà e-co ni-c-á-ka-wan-iw-á
NP₁₈-NP₃-bush AUG-DEM.III₇ REM-SM₇-PST-DIST-find-PASS-FV<REL>

kú-o-zyú ø-mbwá u-ó=zyu

NP₁₇-AUG-DEM.I₁ NP_{1a}-dog PP₁-CON=DEM.I₁

“It is your bone that you threw into the forest, and that was found by this one’s dog.”

cwàré éwè wèmwíni wômbwà kùtí nòmàní kúryà kwényàmà kùryá ènyàmà inà

cwaré ewé we-mu-íni u-ó=ø-mbwá kutí

then PERS_{2SG} APP_{2SG}-NP₁-owner PP₁-CON=NP_{1a}-dog if

no-man-í ku-ry-á kú-e-N-nyama ku-ry-á

SM_{2SG}.PST-finish-NPST.PFV INF-eat-FV NP₁₇-AUG-NP₉-meat INF-eat-FV

e-N-nyama inà

AUG-NP₉-meat DEM.IV₉

“Then you, the owner of the dog, when you have finished eating from the meat, eating that meat...”

wókùhindá èzifùhà kùzìhà zyúzyù

u-ó=ku-hind-á e-zi-fúha ku-zí-ha-a zyu-zyú

PP_{2SG}-CON=INF-take-FV AUG-NP₈-bone INF-OM₈-give-FV EMPH-DEM.I₁

“...then you take the bones and give them to this one.”

kàkùrì kùbònàhàrá iyé nzifùhà á'ké:zyà kùzèk' ôzyù

kakùri ku-bon-ahar-á iyé N-zi-fúha á-ké:zy-a ku-zek-a

because SM₁₅-see-NEUT-FV that COP-NP₇-bone SM₁.REL-come-FV INF-sue-FV

o-zyú

AUG-DEM.I₁

“Because it seems that it’s bones that he comes to sue about, this one.”

mùshúwîrè iyé twàshûwì

mu-shu_H-íre iyé tu-a-shú-i

SM_{2PL}-hear-STAT that SM_{1PL}-PST-hear-FV

“Do you understand?” They say, “we understand.”

njénkàtùrò yàmàni

njé-N-katuró i-a-man-í

COP.DEF₉-NP₉-judgment SM₉-PST-finish-NPST.PFV

“That’s the judgment. It is finished.”

kàkùrì wé kòshákí zìmùnântù

A ‘A man who does not like dogs’

kakúri wé ka-o-shak-í zi-munántu
because PERS_{2SG} NEG-SM_{2SG}-like-NEG NP₈-pet
“Because you don’t like pets.”

kózyi òkùtèyè àh’ óshônjà cìn’ écìfùhà ócìbùkùmúnà kózyi iyé hèn’ écìpàù
ka-ó-zyi_H okutéye a-ha ó-shónj-a ciná
PST.IPFV-SM_{2SG}-know.STAT that AUG-DEM.I₁₆ SM_{2SG}.REL-throw-FV DEM.IV₇
e-ci-fúha ó-ci_H-bukum-un-á ka-ó-zyi_H iyé
AUG-NP₇-bone SM_{2SG}.REL-OM₇-throw-SEP.TR-FV PST.IPFV-SM_{2SG}-know.STAT that
ha-iná e-ci-páu
SM₁₆-be_at AUG-NP₇-animal
“Did you know that when you threw that bone, when you threw it, did you know there was an animal there?”

nêyè kàrì kàndízyi kàrì kózyi
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.”’

cwarè ènyàmà njôzyù
cwaré e-N-nyama nji-ó=zyu
then AUG-NP₉-meat COP₉-CON=DEM.I₁
“Then the meat is his.”

éwè mbwákùkúhà bùryó èzìfùhà
ewe mbo-a-áku-ku-h-á bu-ryó e-zi-fúha
PERS_{2SG} NEAR.FUT-SM₁-SBJV.IPFV-OM_{2SG}-give-FV NP₁₄-only AUG-NP₈-bone
“He will give you bones only.”

ndibwènè mpáhò ñikwámànínà ènkàtùró 'yínù
ndi-bwe_Hne mpá-ho ni-kú-a-man-in-á
SM_{1SG}-see.STAT COP₁₆-DEM.III₁₆ REM-SM₁₅-PST-finish-APPL-FV<REL>
e-N-katuró inú
AUG-NP₉-judgment DEM.IV₉
‘I see that that is where the judgment has ended.’

nâbò kókùmàná bókùshúwàná nénjà nénjà hápè

ná=bo kó-ku-man-a ba-ó=ku-shuwan-a nénja nénja
COM=DEM.III₂ COP₁₅-INF-finish-FV PP₂-CON=INF-get_along-FV well well
hapé
again
'It ended there. They are good friends again.'

ndibwèné ndórùtángò rwángù rúrò
ndi-bwe_Hne ndó-ru-tángu ru-angú ru-ró
SM_{1SG}-see.STAT COP.DEF₁₁-NP₁₁-story PP₁₁-POSS_{1SG} EMPH-DEM.III₁₁
'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-NP₁₄-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 *twàbû:kì nènjà*, literally 'we woke up well', comparable to English good morning. It can be shortened to *twàbû:kì*, or to *nènjà*.

- (3) *twàbû:kì nènjà*
 tu-a-bú:k-i nènja
 SM_{1PL}-PST-wake-NPST.PFV well
 'Good morning.' (Lit. 'We woke up well.')

B Useful phrases

- (4) twàbû:kì
tu-a-bú:k-i
SM_{1PL}-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'shàrí*, 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'shàrí
N-bu-tí mu-a-rí-shar-í
COP-NP₁₄-how SM_{2PL}-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
'Good afternoon.' (Lit. 'How have you stayed?')
- (7) mwàrí'shàrí
mu-a-rí-shar-í
SM_{2PL}-PST-stay-NPST.PFV
'Good afternoon.' (Lit. 'Have you stayed?')

The answer to the afternoon greeting is *twàríshàrí nênjà*, which can be shortened to *twàrí'shàrí*. A correct response to the afternoon greeting is also *nênjà*.

- (8) twàríshàrí nênjà
tu-a-rí-shar-í nénja
SM_{1PL}-PST-stay-NPST.PFV well
'Good afternoon.' (Lit. 'We've stayed well.')
- (9) twàrí'shàrí
tu-a-rí-shar-í
SM_{1PL}-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
twàritùmêrì
tu-a-rí-tumér-i
SM₁PL-PST-REFL-thank-NPST.PFV
 ‘Thank you.’

- (12) Zambian Fwe
twàkítùmêrì
tu-a-kí-tumér-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, *ndàritùmêrì* / *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’.

B Useful phrases

- (13) mùyéndè nènjà
mu-énd-e nènja
SM_{2PL}-go-PFV.SBJV well
'Goodbye (said to someone who leaves).'
- (14) mùsiyàré nènjà
mu-siar-é nènja
SM_{2PL}-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.

Singular Part of speech Translation Noun class Plural Other

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-àmbântù 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

ândà v freeze

cì-ândè n frost 7

àngà v tie

mw-âni n mopane tree 3,4 *mì-yâni*

ànjà n hand 5,6 *mà-ànjà*

mà-ànò n knowledge 6

C Word list

ányìsì n onion 9 English
ʼàrà 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*
ʼàrùkà v open (intr.)
àrùkà v go back
àrùmùkà v roll (intr.)
àrùmùnà v roll (tr.)
àrùrà v open
rw-àtà 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-bàngà n tree (*Combretum imberbe*; *Acacia sieberiana*) 3,4 *mì-bàngà*
bàzyì n *Euphorbia ingens* 5,6 *màbàzyì*
bàbà v itch; be bitter
bàbàrèrà 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-bàrà 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-bàrè n palm leaves 11
rù-bàrè n seed, pip 11,10 *m-bàrè*
mù-bàrì n reader 1,2 *bà-bàrì*
mù-bàrù n *Calodendrum capense* 3,4 *mì-bàrù*
bàrùkà 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-bàtà n scar 7,8 *zì-bàtà*

cì-bàtàná n predator, carnivore 7,8 *zì-bàtàná*
cì-bàzù n body part 7,8 *zì-bàzù*
bbâbbâ n grandfather 1a,2 *bâ-bbâbbâ*
bbâbbàtà 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.)
bbàryàntà v burn across a stretch of land
bbàtàùrà v divide
bbàtùkà v separate (intr.)
bbàtùrà v separate (tr.)
´-bbì adj bad
bbìhà v become bad
bbìmbìrìrò n rubbish heap to be set on fire 5,6 *mà-bbìmbìrìrò*
bbìsà 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
bèngà v become angry
béngèrèrà v be always angry
bù-bèngì n anger 14
rù-bènzwà n pancreas 11,6 *mà-bènzwà*
mà-béré n millet 6
kà-bérébèrè n centipede 12,13 *tù-bérébèrè*
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*
bibèrè n bible 9,6 *mà-bibèrè*
bikà v prepare for a fight
m-bìngwà n leprosy 9

C Word list

bînzwà v ripen
bîrà v boil (intr.)
bîràèrà v complain
bîrè num two
mù-bìrì n body 3,4 *mì-bìrì*
m-bìrìmbìrì n pepper 9,10 *m-bìrìmbìrì*
bìrisà v boil (tr.)
cì-bîshì n something unripe 7
mù-bìsì n root 3,4 *mì-bìsì*
mà-bìsì n sour milk 6
bità n grave 5,6 *mà-bità*
cì-bízù n something ripe 7
bízyù n Baobab tree 5,6 *mà-bízyù*
bî:kà v put
bòkò ~ *kù-bòkò* n arm 15/5,6 *mà-bòkò*
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
bòtèlà n bottle 5,6 *mà-bòtèlà* 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*
búkà 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-búkùtà n cattle skin used for sharpening axes 6

bùkùtà v sharpen (an axe)
bùmbà v make a pot; create
mù-bùmbì n potter; creator (God) 1,2 *bà-bùmbì*
zì-bùmbwàntù n creatures (people) 8
bùnà n leaf 5,6 *mà-bùnà*
kà-bùndù n mist 12
m-bùndù n dew 9
bùnìnikizà v be stingy
bùpùrà v beat
bùrà v not find, miss, fail
cì-bùrù n Afrikaans 7
mù-bùrù n Afrikaner 1,6 *mà-bùrù*
bùrùkà v remember
bùsà v wake up (tr.); greet
m-bútò n seed 9,6 *mà-mbútò*
bútùkà v run
bútùkisà v drive
mù-bútùkisirò n driving 3
bútùrà v clear a field (from small shrubs)
bùzà v ask
bù-bùzì n poverty
m-bùzì n lie (ZF); information (NF) 9
cì-bwàngà n frog 7,8 *zì-bwàngà*
bwè n stone 5,6 *mà-bwè*
bw-ìrì n *Grielum humifusum* 14
cì-byà n household item 7,8 *zì-byà*
cì-byàràntù n cultivated plant 7,8 *zì-byàràntù*
byà:rà v plant
càbà v fetch, collect (firewood)
cábàcàbà v fish by scooping with a bucket
càhà adv very
càisà v collide; knock off (work)
n-càkà n rattle 9,10 *n-càkà*
càkànizà v rattle
càkànsà v shake (a liquid)
càmàùnà v divide food
càmùnà v cut off a piece; take (food)
càncàùsà v be fast
rù-càncì n lavender croton (*Croton gratissimus*) 11

C Word list

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
cànkikà 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-cârò 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-cèngè n bushwillow 3,4 *mì-cèngè*
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
¹cényà adj small
bú-¹cényà n smallness 14
ká-¹cényàcènyà n sth. very small 12
cényèhèsà v make small
cèrà v wound, injure
rù-cère n grass sp., used for mats 11, 10 *n-cère*
cérùkà v become torn
cérùrà v tear
bû-cì n honey 14
cikàrìrà adv always
cimbùrà v lift up, improve
cìncà v change
cìncànà v be different; exchange
cíndù n wild date palm 5,6 *mà-cíndù*
cìnkà n tree sp. 5,6 *mà-cìnkà*

mù-cîrà n tail 3,4 *mì-cîrà*
cîrîrà ~ *'cîrîrà* v follow
cîrùkà v jump
kà-cíyó'cíyò n chick 12,13 *tù-cíyó'cíyò*
còbà v cycle
còkàmà v spy, hide in order to spy
còkòkà v come off (of chaff)
còkòrà v remove chaff
còmپòrà 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
cwàrè adv then
cwè n stone 5,6 *mà-cwè*
n-dàànò n message 9,10 *n-dàànò*
dàbbàmà v jump into water
dàbbikà 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
dànà adj small
mù-dànà n child 1,2 *bà-dànà*
dànkàmà v be put down
dànsàikà v scatter (tr.)
dànsìkà v drop
dèbà v hang loose

C Word list

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-dòrò n back of the knee 3,4 *mì-dòrò*
drámù n drum 5 English
cì-dùdì n fat person 7
dùdùsà ~ *dùdùsà* n dust, dried black clay 5
cì-dùkùtùrì n owl, hawk 7,8 *zì-dùkùtùrì*
dùnà v stare round-eyed
dùnàminà 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-èhò 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-èzì n moon, month 3,4 *mì-èzì*
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*
fòni n phone 5,6 *mà-fòni* 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-fùhà n bone 7,8 *zì-fùhà*
fùkêrà n fever 9
fùmà v become rich
mù-fùmbò n Cheesewood tree (*Pittosporum viridiflorum*) 3,4 *mì-fùmbò*
mù-fùmi n rich person 1,2 *bà-fùmi*
fùndà v carve meat
fùndùkà v leave, start off (on a journey)
fùndùsà v escort out
cì-fùpì n lid 7,8 *zì-fùpì*
fùrà v sharpen, weld
fùrà v pick (fruit)
fùràyì n airplane 9,6 *mà-fùràyì* English
m-fùrèmfùrè n small insect that walks backwards 9,10 *m-fùrèmfùrè*
cì-fùrì n duck 7,8 *zì-fùrì*
mù-fùrì n blacksmith 1,2 *bà-fùrì*
kà-fùrò n knife 12,13 *tù-fùrò*
cì-fùròfùrò n aloe 7,8 *zì-fùròfùrò*
fùrùmàrà v become adult (of girls)
fùrùmikà v place upside down
fùrùmùrà v remove a lid; put upright
mà-fùtà n oil (for putting on skin) 6
fùtàtirà v stand with one's back to s.o.; quit a job
fùtùmùkà v turn around
fùtùrùkà v turn to face s.o.
mù-fùzì n blacksmith 1,2 *bà-fùzì*
fùzìrà v blow on a fire to get it going
fùzìrìrà v blow on a fire
'fwà v die; break
fwáfwàtirà v get crushed

C Word list

fwáfwàtìzà v crush
mù-fwákàzì n co-wife (said by co-wife) 1,2 *bà-fwákàzì*
fwánìkìzà v be better
¹*fwányà* 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*
fwíikà v park
fwùmpisà v make short
fwìnkà v seal a hole
cì-fwìnkisò ~
cì-fwìnsò n stopper, seal 7,8 *zì-fwìnkisò* ~ *zì-fwìnsò*
mù-fwírà n widow, widower 1,2 *bà-fwírà*
fwíyàùrà v be blessed with sth.
fwíyì adj short
bù-fwíyì n shortness 14
fwíyìmpà v become short
fwízyà v curse
gàbà 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
gàngìrà v freeze
gàrà v dig (with hands)
gàyà v sew
gáyìrà v fence in
n-gè n scorpion 9,10 *n-gè*
n-gèrè n part between bones 9,10 *n-gèrè*
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-gó'ngórézà n resin 9,10 *n-gó'ngórézà*

gòrà v become strong
n-gòrò n curse 9,10 *n-gòrò*
cì-gòrògòrò n puddle; well 7,8 *zì-gòrògòrò*
mà-gràzì n glasses 6 English
n-gù n sheep 9,10 *n-gù*
gùmbàmà ~ *gùmbànà* v stand next to e.a.
gùmbikà v put next to e.a.
rù-gú'ngúra n dead tree 11,6 *mà-gú'ngúra*
gùnkà v bump/lean into
gùnkàmà v kneel
n-gúri n namegiver 9,10 *n-gúri*
n-gúrò n business 9,10 *n-gúrò*
gwà (ZF) ~ *wà* (NF) v fall
gwàgùrà v brush (teeth); remove callous
rù-gwàràrà n grass (*Juncus kraussii*) 11
n-gwè n leopard 9/1a,2 *bà-ngwè*
mù-gwégwèsi n ankle bone 3,4 *mì-gwégwèsi*
n-gwèshi n tigerfish 9,10 *n-gwèshi*
gwisà (ZF) ~ *wisà* (NF) v drop
^g/*ábùrùrà* v stick on clothes (thorns)
^g/*ákàminà* 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/*àrùmùsà* v warm oneself
^g/*àzà* v shiver, be startled
^g/*èné* ~ *gèné* adj thin
^g/*ìimà* n small fish sp. 5,6 *mà* ^g/*ìimà*
^g/*òntà* v drip
^g/*òntàùrà* v drip continuously
^g/*òtòmònà* v scrub; wash s.o.'s back
^g/*úkùmù* n fruit sp. 5,6 *mà* ^g/*úkùmù*
^g/*úkùmùnà* v scrub
^g/*àpùrà* v spread one's legs or arms
^g/*àrùmùkà* v shout loudly
cì-^g/ìnjò n tree sp. 7,8 *zì-^g/ìnjò*
^g/*ínkità* v pound with short, sharp movements

C Word list

ḡ/ônsà v make drip
ḡ/ôpòkà v widen (intr.)
ḡ/ôpòrà v widen (tr.); remove flesh, an eye
háfù n lung 5,6 *mà-háfù*
háfukà v be not normal; be half full
háfùrà v make half full
háìbà con if Lozi
hâkà v not feel, hear, understand
cì-hámbà kùfùrà n duck sp., with a beak shaped like a hoe 7,8 *zì-hámbà kùfùrà*
hámbàùkà v walk this way and that
mù-àmbì n speaker 1,2 *bà-àmbì*
hámbikà v accuse
hámbirizà 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
hánjikà v hang (tr.), put in a high position
hápè adv again Lozi
hápù n watermelon 5,6 *mà-hápù*
hàrà v live, survive
hàrà v scrape, rake
kà-hará' hárà n African finger millet 12
hàrànténè n cockroach 5,6 *mà-hàrànténè*
hàràùkà v be completely scratched
háribikà v try hard, apply oneself
hàrikà v fry
bù-hàrò n life 14
hàsàná v scatter
rù-hátì n rib 11,10 *m-pátì*
hátò n amaranth (*Amaranthus hybridus*) 5
hâwà adv very NF
hâzà v save
hêmbà v blow one's nose
hêmêrè n bucket 5,6 *mà-hêmêrè* Afrikaans, via Lozi
hênjà v look secretly, spy
hè:rà ~ hwèrà v hurry
hîbà v steal
hìkà v cook (relish)

mù-hìkì n cook 1,2 *bà-hìkì*
cì-hìkìsò n cooking utensil 7,8 *zì-hìkìsò*
hìminìnà v sink, go down
hìnà v disagree (by saying ‘hm’)
hìndà v take
hìndirirà v take all, take and take
hìngisà v put more, make full
mà-hìrà n sorghum 6
hìtà v pass by
hìtùrà v carry
rû:-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-hòmò n disease with symptoms similar to AIDS 12
hòmpwèrà v hammer
hòndà v cook (porridge)
mà-hòndèrò n kitchen 6
hó'ngórò n millipede 5,6 *mà-hó'ngórò*
hòrà v be paid
hòrà v cool down, recover
cì-hòrè n disabled person (from an injury) 7,8 *zì-hòrè*
hóròngàrà v become worn, broken
hòshà v plait; twist a rope
hòshòròrà v take out plaits
hósòkà v slip out
hótòkà v break off (of a branch)
hòzà v heal
mù-hòzì n healer 1,2 *bà-hòzì*
bù-hùbà n lightness 14
hùbà adj light
mù-hùkò n lid 3,4 *mì-hùkò*
hùkò n water snake sp. 5,6 *mà-hùkò*
hùmbwà n cheetah 5,6 *mà-hùmbwà*
hùmpà v follow
hùmpirirà v follow excessively
mù-hùngà n tree sp. 3,4 *mì-hùngà*
hùpùrà v remember, think Lozi
hùrà v arrive

C Word list

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
hûzyà v breathe
hù:tà v sip
mw-ikà n slave 1,2 *b-èkà*
mw-í'kánà n slave 1,2 *b-é'kánà*
ímè pp I NF
mw-ìndì n leg of a pot 3,4 *m-ìndì*
ìndúnà n induna (political figure) 1a,6 *mà-ìndúnà* Lozi
kà-ìngà n clay bowl; spot on the skin 12,13 *tù-ìngà*
mw-ìngà n thorn 3,4 *m-ìngà*
mw-ìní n handle of a tool 3,4 *m-ìní*
r-ínò n tooth 5,6 *m-énò*
mw-ìnshì n pestle 3,4 *m-ìnshì*
r-ìnshò n eye 5,6 *m-ènshò*
ínwè pp you (plural) NF
îsà v burn, be hot
mw-îsì n thorn 3,4 *m-îsì*
îswè pp we NF
íwè pp you (singular) NF
íyè pp he, she NF
rw-ízýì n river 11
jàjùrà v shell groundnuts
jànà v gape
jànàmà 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
jìkità 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-jòkà ~ *zyòkà* n snake 9/5,6 *mà-zyòkà*
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-jùò n house 9,6 *mà-zyùò*
cì-jùò n nest 7,8 *zì-jùò*
rù-jùù n pea, jugo bean 11,10 *n-jùù*
jwêngà v shout (of an elephant)
bú-kà n black ant 14
bù-ká'ábù n problem 14
cì-kàbì n skins 7,8 *zì-kàbì*
kábùhàrà v be difficult
kàbùà v stop raining
kácikìrà v be interrupted
kácikìzà v interrupt
cì-kàhù n flat tray-like basket used for winnowing 7,8 *zì-kàhù*
kákàná v argue
rù-kákàtìrà n burdock 11
kákàtìrà v become stuck
kàmà v milk
n-kàmà n comb 9,10 *n-kàmà*
kámàtà v scoop
kàmbà n river bank 5,6 *mà-kàmbà*
kàmbà v clap (once)
kàmbàmà v be on top of e.a.
n-ká'mbámò n upward slope 9,6 *mà-nká'mbámò*
kàmbikà v put on top of e.a.
n-kàmbikìrò n profit 9
n-kàmbikwà n profit 9
kàmbìrìzà v applaud
kàmbùrà v remove from on top of e.a.

C Word list

mù-kámìsò n squeezing tool 3,4 *mì-kámìsò*
kàmùnà v comb
kànàmà v lay down while facing up
kànànà v argue
n-kândà n plain, valley 9,6 *mà-nkândà*
kândà v massage
kândánjòmbè 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-kànì n jaw 11,10 *n-kànì*
kànkà v hack
kànkàùrà v destroy crops by cutting
kàntì adv then
kàntùkà v cross (a river, road)
kàntùsà v help s.o. cross (a river, road)
n-kànzà n central village square 9
kàpà con or Lozi
kàpàsò n policeman 1a,2 *bà-kàpàsò* Lozi
kàrà n charcoal 5,6 *mà-kàrà*
ʔàrà v sit, stay
kàràmindwà n crab 5,6 *mà-kàràmindwà*
zí-kàràntù n problems 8
kàrihà v shout, scold
kàrikà v put down
kàrimà v borrow
ʔàrisà v keep s.o. company
má-kàrò n place 6
n-kàrúró n share 9,6 *n-kàrúró*
kàtà v become thin
bù-kàtà n weakness 14
kàtàzà v be naughty
kà-tì n middle 12
n-kàtúró n judgment 9,10 *n-kàtúró*
mà-kàtúró n shoes 6 Lozi
kàwùhànà v be separated Lozi
n-kàwùhànò n divorce 9,10 *n-kàwùhànò*
kàwùhànyà v separate Lozi
kàyà v tie with rope; tie a cow while milking

mù-kázàná n girl
cì-kâzì n sp. of women's disease 7
kâ:nà 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-kéré n scissors 7,8 *zì-kéré*
n-kèrékè n church 9,10 *n-kèrékè* Afrikaans
n-kèrézò n advice 9,10 *n-kèrézò*
rù-késhà n foxtail millet 11
cì-kèsi n eyebrow 7,8 *zì-kèsi*
kè:zyà v come
kíkòzà v be the same
kimà adj fat
bù-kimà n fatness 14
kímùmà v close one's mouth
mù-kítì n party 3,4 *mì-kítì*
kítùkisèzà v get ready
kítùtà (ZF) ~ *ritùtà* (NF) v learn
kìyà v lock
kíyùrùrà v unlock
kízìmà (ZF) ~ *rízìmà* (NF) v close one's eyes
mù-kô: n lid 3,4 *mì-kô:*
bù-kòbà n apartheid 14 Lozi
kòbòcà v drive
kóbúmàyi adv unfortunately
cì-kòcì n skirt 7,8 *zì-kòcì*
kûhà v wink, blink
n-kòhè n eyelid 9,10 *n-kòhè*
kòkà v pull, suck
kókiṇà v cock a gun
n-kòkò n porridge 9,6 *mà-kòkò*
kókòbà v crawl

C Word list

rù-kó'kónà n elbow 11,10 *n-kó'kónà*
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-kômbwè n rooster 3,4 *mì-kômbwè*
n-kòmóki n cup 1a/9, 10 *n-kòmóki*
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
kó'ngórò n flower sp. 5,6 *mà-kó'ngórò*
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-kòpèzò n button 9,10 *n-kòpèrò* ~ *n-kòpèzò*
kôrà v irritate
kórèkà v carry on the shoulders
¹*n-kóri* n walking stick 9,10 ¹*n-kóri*
kòròtà v borrow
mù-kòròtèrà n pod 3,4 *mì-kòròtèrà*
kòshà 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
kòtàrà v bend over
mù-kòtànà n bag 3,4 *mì-kòtànà*

cì-kòtè n basket 7,8 *zì-kòtè*
kòtèkà v delegate
kòtò n knot 5,6 *mà-kòtò*
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*
kôwà 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
kùbàzà v hurt
kùbì n vulture 5,6 *mà-kùbì*
cì-kùbò n time 7
kùbùrà v pluck (a chicken)
kùkà v float away
kùkùrà 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*
kùmbàtà v hug
kùmbirà v beg
kùmbùkà v come out (fibres from a tree)
kùmbùrà v cut fibres from a tree
kà-kùmbwàtiti n laughing dove 12,13 *tù-kùmbwàtiti*
kùnà 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*
kùngùrà v clean up after a meal
cì-kùni n tree 7,8 *zì-kùni*
n-kùnjù n mortar 9,6 *mà-nkùnjù*
kùnikà v smoke (food stuff)
mù-kùnkù n tree sp., roots are used as medicine 3,4 *mì-kùnkù*
kùrà v grow
kùrà v sweep
cì-kùrikùri n shrub (*Euclea undulata*) 7,4 *mì-kùrikùri*
kùrìrà v infect, be infectious
cì-kùrisò n broom 7,8 *zì-kùrisò*

C Word list

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-kúrùàà n young man 1,2 *bà-kúrùàà*
cì-kùrùbè ~
cì-gùrùbè n pig 7,8 *zì-kùrùbè*
cì-kùrùkùrù n padlock 7,8 *zì-kùrùkùrù*
kùrùmpàrà v become old
kùrùrà v cut hair
mù-kùsì n Zambezi teak 3,4 *mì-kùsì*
n-kùtà n courtroom 9,10 *n-kùtà*
'kùtà v become satiated
kùtà v curse
kùtàzà v preach
tékèhà v be respectable
kùtikà 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*
kúzìkizà v infect
kúzyà n outer cover of a *mongongo* nut 5,6 *mà-kúzyà*
kúzyùkà v come out (of the outer shell of a *mongongo* nut)
kúzyùrà v take off the outer shell of a *mongongo* nut
kù:rà v shift, move
kwàcàmà n watermelon 5,6 *mà-kwàcàmà*
rù-kwàkwà n fence 11
mù-kwàkwà ~
mù-gwàgwà n road 3,4 *mì-kwàkwà* ~ *mì-gwàgwà*
mú-'kwámè n man, husband 1,2 *bá-'kwámè*
bú-'kwámè n male genitals 14
ká-'kwáméàà n boy 12,13 *tú-'kwáméàà*
kwàà v fit, be normal
n-kwàà n pot for beer or water 9,6 *mà-nkwàà*
kwângà v become tired, weak
kwàngìsà v be tiresome
kwângwà v fail
n-kwàni n hat 9,10 *n-kwàni*

n-kwàràkwàsì n trouble 9
mù-kwàrèzò n sticks that close a kraal 3,4 *mì-kwàrèzò*
cì-kwàrò n door 7,8 *zì-kwàrò*
kwàsà v help
kwàtà v catch
kwátàkwàtà v touch everywhere
kwátàùrà v touch everywhere
mà-kwátirò n handle 6
cì-kwàyéžò n lid 7,8 *zì-kwàyéžò*
rù-kwê: n reed sp. 11
kwèrà v board a vehicle
cì-kwèrèsò n money for a taxi 7,8 *zì-kwèrèsò*
kà-kwíkwíndè n ebony 12,13 *tù-kwíkwíndè*
rù-kwîrà n cyphia sp. 11,10 *n-kwîrà*
bù-kwízyù n sycamore fig 14,6 *mà-kwízyù*
kyèrà v cut with scissors
máirûmè n maternal uncle 1a,2 *bà-máirûmè*
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-mànikizò 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*
màyi'wúyè n wild duck sp. 1a
màzùkà n squirrel 1a,2 *bà-màzùkà*
mbàràmànyà n dragon fly 1a,2 *bà-mbàràmànyà*
kà-mbàryàmbàryà n lizard sp. 12,13 *tù-mbàryàmbàryà*

C Word list

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
mbìzyì n zebra 1a,2 *bà-mbìzyì*
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-mbwànà n puppy 12,13 *tù-mbwànà*
mbwèshì n giraffe 1a,2 *bà-mbwèshì*
mbwìtì n horned melon 1a,2 *bà-mbwìtì*
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*
mfùmù n chief, king 1a,2 *bà-mfùmù*
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
míró yóngùrù n sweet potato stalks 4
cì-'mónshò n left 7 *zí-'mónshò*
mótà n car 9,6 *mà-mótà* English
ká-'mpáfwa ~
ká-mpáfwa n bat sp. 12,13 *tú-'mpáfwa* ~ *tú-mpáfwa*
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
mùná v own
cì-múnântù n domesticated animal 7,8 *zì-múnântù*
mù-mùni n lightning, light 3,4 *mì-mùni*
mùnikà v shine
mùn/ápi n frog sp. 1a,2 *bà-mùn/ápi*
mû-zyà n steam 3
mvùmbè n snake sp. 1a,2 *bà-mvùmbè*
mvùrà n rain 1a
mvúù n hippopotamus 1a,2 *bà-mvúù*
rú-mvwi n grey hair 11,10 ' *mvwi*
mvwi n kudu 1a,2 *bà-mvwi*
rù-mwè n mosquito 11,10 *mwè*
mwémwètà v smile
mwênà v be quiet
mwèndi adv maybe
mwéngèsà v greet
kà-mwî: n heat (from the sun); afternoon 12
rù-mwî: n summer 11
mwínshì n under 9
mw-í'wángù n grandchild 1,2 *bw-é'bángù*
hà n callous 5,6 *mà-hà*
nàhà v think
rù-nàkà n horn 11,6 *mà-nàkà*
nàkò n time, period 9
kà-nàmàni n calf 12,13 *tù-nàmàni*
nàmúntàbùrà n flower (*Commelina subulata*) 1a,2 *bà-nàmúntàbùrà*
nàmùróbá'róbà n flower (*Scilla natalensis*) 1a,2 *bà-nàmùróbá'róbà*
hàhà v be stingy; tie firmly
nàngà adv even (if)
hàngà n doctor 1a,2 *bà-hàngà*
mù-hàngà n flower (*Pelargonium luridum*) 3,4 *mì-hàngà*
nákàrà n acacia 1a
hànkùsùrà v struggle free, prise open

C Word list

nánùkà v leave, stand up
nànùnà v lift
nànùnìsà v ask for help in carrying sth.
bù-nànzi n brown ants 14
ɲàró n chameleon 1a,2 *bà-ɲàró*
ɲàrukà v be scratched
nàrùnkàrámbà n praying mantis 1a,2 *bà-nàrùnkàrámbà*
nàrwézà'ézà n chameleon 1a,2 *bà-nàrwézà'ézà*
ɲàtà v beat
ɲàtàùkà v be full of scratches
ɲàtàùrà v cut in strips
ɲàtùkà v crack, tear
ɲàtùrà v tear
ɲàtùràùmùshòró n vine 1a,2 *bà-ɲàtùràùmùshòró*
ɲàtùzà v stay up all night
ɲàù n cheetah 5,6 *mà-ɲàù*
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-ndàngàrà n striped ground squirrel 12,13 *tù-ndàngàrà*
mù-ndàré n maize 3
ndàré n cob of maize 5,6 *mà-ndàré*
ndávù n lion 1a,2 *bà-ndávù*
ndôngò n groundnuts 1a
rù-nèmbwè n cannabis plant 11
nènè adj big
nénèhà v become big
nèngà v dance, play
nèngò n aardvark 9,6 *mà-nèngò*
nènjà adv well
ká-'nénsà n pink, little toe 12,13 *tú-'nénsà*
nê: num four
 Rú-ngàmàzyòbà n plant sp. 11
bù-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*

ngwébùná n plant sp. 1a
ngwèná n crocodile 1a,2 *bà-ngwèná*
n-gwèngwè n ankle 9,10 *n-gwèngwè*
n-gwéngwèsi n joint 9,10 *n-gwéngwèsi*
ngwénjùrà v slash grass (to clear a piece of land)
nínì adj small
nínìsà v make small
mà-nyînjà n border 6
bù-njèwè n poverty 14
njèwè n poor person 1a,2 *bà-njèwè*
njìbà n dove 1a,2 *bà-njìbà*
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-nkáfà n bat 12,13 *tú-nkáfà*
nkàngà n guinea fowl 1a,2 *bà-nkàngà*
nkàràmbà n old person 1a,2 *bà-nkàràmbà*
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*
nkùkù n chicken 1a,2 *bà-nkùkù*
n-kùmbà n plant (*Ancylanthos bainesii*) 9,10 *n-kùmbà*
nkúmbizì n beggar 1a,2 *bà-nkúmbizì*
kà-nkúnè n smoking shelve 12,13 *tù-nkúnè*
kà-nkúnè n snake sp. 12,13 *tù-nkúnè*
nkùtè n bird sp. 1a,2 *bà-nkùtè*
cì-nkwà n bread 7,8 *zì-nkwà*
nkwéngà n parrot 1a,2 *bà-nkwéngà*
kà-nkwirimbà n pigeon 12,13 *tù-nkwirimbà*
nkwizyù n rabbit sp. 1a,2 *bà-nkwizyù*
nôkà n hip 5,6 *mà-nôkà*
ḡòkòkà v charge, attack
bú-¹ḡómbà n plant (*Lannea edulis*) 14
ḡòmbè n cow 9,10 *ḡòmbè*
kà-ḡòmbya n xylophone 12,13 *tù-ḡòmbya*
ḡòmézò n button 9,10 *ḡòmézò*

C Word list

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
ngônzì n sleep, drowsiness 9
ngòrà v write Lozi
cì-ngòrisò n pen 7,8 *zì-ngòrisò* Lozi
ngòrò n letter 5,6 *mà-ngòrò* Lozi
nsâ n klipspringer 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-[!]nsáwànshàwà n berries of *Grewia* sp. 6
nshéfù n eland 1a,2 *bà-nshéfù*
nshîndi n squirrel, mongoose 1a,2 *bà-nshîndi*
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*
nshwè n breast 5,6 *mà-nshwè*
n-síkì n disease 9,10 *n-síkì*
ká-nsikwè n darkness 12
nsîmbà n genet 1a,2 *bà-nsîmbà*
n-síngò n neck 9,6 *mà-nsíngò*
ká-[!]sísì n small blue bird sp. 12,13 *tú-[!]sísì*
nsîwà n orphan 1a,2 *bà-nsîwà*
cì-[!]nsózi n tear 7,8/4 *zí-[!]nsózi* ~ *mí-[!]nsózi*
nsùmbò n black impala 1a,2 *bà-nsùmbò*
mà-ntà n power 6
mà-ntêngù n evening 6
ntîmbirà n dung beetle 1a,2 *bà-ntîmbirà*
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*
ntùù n amaranth 1a

ntûù n hyena 1a,2 *bà-ntûù*
nùná 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*
ɲwàràrà n crow 5,6 *mà-ɲwàràrà*
mù-nwè n finger; toe 3,4 *mì-nwè*
ɲwètà v pull tight
ɲwètètèzà 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.)
nyàngàrà v whobble (intr.)
nyângù n beans 10
ká-'nyángwé-nyàngwè n tree (*Mundulea sericea*) 12,13 *tú-'nyángwényàngwè*
nyànsà v blame, accuse
nyánsirizà v be ignorant
nyàtérà n sandal 5,6 *mà-nyàtérà*
nyâti n buffalo 1a,2 *bà-nyâti*
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-nyémbèrè n barbary fig (*Opuntia ficus-indica*) 7,8 *zì-nyémbèrè*
nyêndà n visitor 1a,2 *bà-nyêndà*
nyéngètèkà v be unstable, wobbly
nyéngwà v be nauseous
nyènsà v defeat
nyényètèzà v warn
nyérèrà v hang from, dangle

C Word list

nyìnà n mother 1a,2 *bà-nyìnà*
nyìnàkúrwè n his grandmother 1a,2 *bà-nyìnàkúrwè*
nyìnàkú'rwétù n our grandmother 1a,2 *bà-nyìnàkú'rwétù*
nyínyàni n earrings
nyírù n tigerfish sp.
nyòkòkùrò n your grandmother 1a,2 *bà-nyòkòkùrò*
nyòná v have heartburn
nyòngàmà v bend sideways (intr.)
nyòngèkà v bend (tr.)
nyônká v breastfeed (intr.)
nyónkèsà ~ *nyônsà* v breastfeed (tr.)
nyònònà v twist
cì-nyôró n plant remains or rubbish in the fields which needs to be removed
 before cultivating 7,8 *zì-nyôró*
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
nzikè n single, unmarried 1a,2 *bà-nzikè*
mú-'nzùrè n shadow, malaria 3,4 *mì-'nzùrè*
n/àmbùkà v burst (of a *mukusi* pod)
n/àmbùrà nkúsi n *mukusi* seed; hundred dollars 5,6 *mà-n/àmbùrà nkúsi*
n/àmpà v suck (even though there is no milk); be flat (of stomach)
n/àmpàùrà v go from one breast to another when the milk is finished
rú-'n/án/à n sedge-leaf (*Kilyinga alba*) 11
n/àngì n resin 5/9
n/ànkà v shell groundnuts
n/ànkùmùnà v take maize off a cob
n/àrànn/àsà v rummage noisily
mù-n/áwà n tree (*Rhus tenuinervis*) 3,4 *mì-n/áwà*

n/ín/à n fruit of the wild date palm 9,10 *n/ín/à*
n/ômpà v taste by sucking one's finger
n/òndòrà v take a fingerful of sth.
n/òngòmònà v hollow out
rù-n/lorè n toe 11
n/úmà v suck blood (as treatment for pain, a snake bite, or a curse; same as *shúwikà*)
n/ónzòròkà v be thread-like, stretching (like oca)
n/lorèzà n resin 5/9
n/úmàrè n fruit sp. 5,6 *mà-n/úmàrè*
n/ùmàùnà v uproot
n/ùmèntà v kiss
n/ùmpàmà v be planted (of a pole)
n/ùmpikà v plant (a pole)
n/ùmpwàmà v fall in water (of an inanimate object)
n/ùmpwí id ideophone of falling in water
n/ùmùnà v pull out, uproot
cì-n/ùnà n grasshopper sp. 7,8 *zì-n/ùnà*
mú-n/ùryà ~
mú-'n/ùryà n lizard 3,4 *mí-n/ùryà* ~
mí-'n/ùryà type of lizard in ZF; generic word for lizard in NF
cì-n/ùshù n sore 7,8 *zì-n/ùshù*
n/lámpwizà v say a click as insult
m-ôfù n blind person 1,2 *b-ôfù*
ng-ôrà n drum (musical instrument) 9,6 *mà-ôrà*
òmbà v play (an instrument)
òmbàrà v be quiet, calm
òrà v snore
òndè n waterlily (*Nymphea nouchali*) 5,6 *mà-òndè*
m-òndò n shrub (*Bauhinia petersiana*) 3,4 *mì-òndò*
cì-òngò n storage 7,8 *zì-òngò*
rù-òngòrà n backbone 11,10 *ng-òngòrà*
óngòzà v shout
mù-òndò n snoring 3
ònzòndòkà 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

C Word list

r-ózi n plant (used as rope) 11,10 *nyózi*
b-ôzyà n feathers 14
m-ôzyò n heart 3,4 *mì-ôzyò*
’pàkà 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
pàrisà n flower 5,6 *mà-pàrisà* Lozi
pàtàtà v lie on stomach, be flat Lozi
pátèhà v be busy Lozi
cì-pâtêrà n hospital 7,8 *zì-pâtêrà* 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-pèntà n Lake Tanganyika sardine 12,13 *tù-pèntà*
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-píkìrì n nail 12,13/8 *zì-píkìrì* ~
tù-píkìrì Afrikaans
m-pòhò n bull 9,6 *mà-pòhò*
pòmpi n pump, tap 9/5,6 *mà-pòmpi* English
pòm-pòròkà v become deflated
cì-pòncì n sponge 7,8 *zì-pòncì*
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*
^ʼ*m-púndù* n sandpaper raisin bush 9,10 ^ʼ*m-púndù*
cì-púra n chair 7,8 *zì-púra* Lozi
kà-púra n stool 12,13 *tù-púra* Lozi
m-pùrànì n plan 9,6 *mà-pùrànì* English
pùrù n ox 5,6 *mà-pùrù* Lozi
cì-pùrùpùrù n deaf and dumb person 7,8 *zì-pùrùpùrù*
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-ràbì n wound 7,8 *zì-ràbì*
cì-ràbò n paddle, punting pole 7,8 *zì-ràbò*
cì-ràhà n trap 7,8 *zì-ràhà*
ràhà v kick
mù-ràhò n law 3,4 *mì-ràhò* Lozi
cì-ràhò n paddle 7,8 *zì-ràhò*
mù-ràkà n kraal 3,4 *mì-ràkà* Lozi
ràkàtà n gill; plural: uvula 5,6 *mà-ràkàtà*
cì-ràmà n part 7,8 *zì-ràmà*
rà' mátwà n devil's claw 5,6 *mà-rà' mátwà*
râmbà v plaster a mud wall
râmbò n pit
râmbùrùrà v smoothen a wall after applying plaster
mù-ràmù n stick 3,4 *mì-ràmù*
mù-ràmù n sibling in law 1,2 *bà-ràmù* Lozi
cì-ràndàbèrè n secondborn 7
ràndàtà v follow (tracks)
mù-ràndù n fine 3,4 *mì-ràndù*
ràngù n Mozambique cherry orange (*Citropsis daweara*) 5,6 *mà-ràngù*

C Word list

mù-ràngù n bell 3,4 *mì-ràngù*
bù-ránzàbì n sleeping uneasily 14
bù-rànzi n ants 14
rápà n fence, courtyard 5,6 *mà-rápà* Lozi
rápèrà v pray
mú-ràrà n leftovers 3,4 *mí-ràrà*
rà:rà v sleep, lie down
mù-ràràmbîndà n milky way 3
rù-ràrì n palm tree 11
rà:rikà v lay down (tr.)
ràrirà v eat dinner
ràrirà v sleep close to a sick person
mù-ràrirò 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:tiwà ~ *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*
rihà v pay

rîhà v pretend to be important
rikà v try
rikùkà v hiccup
kà-rikùrikù n hiccup 12,13 *tù-rikùrikù*
rù-rímà n bat 11,13/2 *tù-rímà* ~ *bà-rùrímà*
rímà v farm
cì-rimbà n lamellophone, thumb piano 7,8 *zì-rimbà*
rímbàùzà v not pay attention; be ignorant
mù-rímbùrìmbù n ignorance 3
rímbùrùrà v discover, figure out, prove wrong
rù-rìmi n tongue 11,6/10 *mà-rìmi* ~ *n-dìmi*
mù-rìmi n farmer 1,2 *bà-rìmi*
cì-rì mò n season, year 7,8 *zì-rì mò*
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*
rìsà v feed
mù-rìsàni n herder 1,2 *bà-rìsàni*
rìsikà v feed
rìsùkà v have breakfast
mù-rìsikò n breakfast 3
rìsùngàmìnà v look down
rítàbìrìrà v ignore advice
rìùmà v be quiet
mù-rìvù n windpipe 3,4 *mì-rìvù*
rìvwàngà v put on a *chitenge*
rìvwàngùrùrà v take off a *chitenge*
rù-rìyà n taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) 11,10 *n-dìyà*
rìhèhà v be late
mà-rí'zíkò n hiding place 6
rìzìngà v twist (like a vine)
rìzìngàizà v wrap oneself around
mù-rìzìngè n vine 3
rì:zyà v climb
rìzyùminìnà v ignore; be unconscious

C Word list

rízyùminìzà 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*
rôngà v load
kà-rôngò n three-legged cooking pot 12,13 *tù-rôngò*
rôngòrà v offload
rònzòròrà v compare
mù-ròrà n soap 3,4 *mì-ròrà*
mù-ròrì n whistling 3,4 *mì-ròrì*
ròrò n custard apple (*Annona stenophylla*) 5,6 *mà-ròrò*
rò:tà v dream
cì-ròtò n dream, the topic of the dream 7,8 *zì-ròtò*
bù-ròtù n goodness, beauty 14
ròtù adj good, beautiful
ròtùhà 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)
rùkà v vomit
rùkìsà v repair
rùkúngwè n snake; black mamba 1a,2 *bà-rùkúngwè*
rùkùrùrà v divorce
bù-rúkùwè n long trousers 14,6 *mà-rúkùwè* Afrikaans, via Lozi
cì-rùmbà n ghost 7,8 *zì-rùmbà*
mù-rùmbùrùmbù n robber fish 3,4 *mì-rùmbùrùmbù*
mù-rùméhò v horn used to suck blood 3,4 *mì-rùméhò* (same as *mù-shùwì*)
rùmò n bullet 5,6 *mà-rùmò*
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-rùtì n teacher 1,6 *mà-rùtì* Lozi
rúvùkà v stare
bù-rúwàrúwà n centella (*Centella asiatica*) 14
mà-rùwò n village of one's in-laws 6
rwà v fight
rwàrà v become sick
cì-rwàràntù v disease 7
rwàrikà v take care of a sick person
mà-rwà'rìrà n sickness 6
cì-rwàrù n disease 7,8 *zì-rwàrù*
rwàrùkà v get better
rwèrà v watch
mù-rwèrè n sick person 1,2 *bà-rwèrè*
rwèzyà n taboo 9,6 *mà-rwèzyà*
mù-rwì n fighter 1,2 *bà-rwì*
'ryà v eat
kà-ryábàcànì n flower (*Pelargonium tomentosum*) 12,13 *tù-ryábàcànì*
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*
'sà v dig
n-sàbàtà n Saturday 9,10 *n-sàbàtà*

C Word list

sàkà n bag 5,6 *mà-sàkà* 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
sàni n hard grains left after pounding 9,6 *mà-sàni*
sànzà v wash
sàrùtó' *mbórwà* n tree (*Combretum mossambicense*) 1a
bù-sàwàrà n lie 14
ká-sè n cat 12,13 *tú-sè*
sèbèzà v work
mù-sébézi n work, job 3,4 *mì-sébézi* 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
sèsi n bullfrog 5,6 *mà-sèsi*
mù-sètò n border 3,4 *mì-sètò*
rù-sêzà n fruit sp, grows underground 11,10 *n-sêzà*
shábùrà v cut down
sháhikà 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-shá' *mátwà* n sickness involving nausea 7
shàmbà v swim, bathe
shàmbàrà 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-shàmbirò 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*
shàngàrà v meet
rù-shá'ngàni n plant (*Salsola aphylla*) 11
mà-shàngànjirà n crossroads 6
shàngàshàngà v contribute (money)
shàngàùrà 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-shêmi n parent 1,2 *bà-shêmi*
shémpèkà v shoulder a load
mù-shêmpù n load 3
shémpùrà v walk with a load on one's shoulders
shèmunà 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 ~

C Word list

shéshìwà v be married (of a woman)
bù-shéshèzì n village of one's in-laws 14
mà-shèshwà n marriage 6
cì-shêwò n tree (*Boscia albitrunca*) 7,8 *zì-shêwò*
cí-shì n country, world 7,8 *zí-shì*
shībà v whistle
bù-shìbì n tree (*Berchemia zeyheri*) 14,6 *mà-shìbì*
rú-'shíkà n African Mangosteen (*Garcinia livingstonei*) 11,10 *n-shíkà*
shíkà'nkózè n falcon 1a,2 *bà-shíkà'nkózè*
shikàrimbírè n kite 1a,2 *bà-shikàrimbírè*
shimbà v carry a baby on the shoulder
shímù/òpwè n fish sp. 1a,2 *bà-shímù/òpwè*
mù-shìnjà n soup 3
shìnjà v harvest
shínténgwè n red-winged starling 1a,2 *bà-shínténgwè*
shírìrà v desire
shírùbùmbirà n mud wasp 1a,2 *bà-shírùbùmbirà*
shíryà n other side 5
shò n bow 5,6 *mà-shò*
mù-shóbèngwà n tree (*Acacia sieberiana/hebeclada*) 3,4 *mì-shóbèngwà*
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
shòkà v fall (rain)
mà-shókèrà n falling 6
bù-shó'mànì n bad luck 14
shòmbò 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*
shòrà 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-shúki n hair 10
shûmà v bite
cì-shûmì n biting insect 7,8 *zì-shûmì*
shúminà v tie
shúminìnà v be engaged
shùmpùrà v shout
shúmùnùkà v be interesting; become untied; give birth (euphemism); feel better
shúmùnùnà v untie
mù-shúndùkirè n lizard 3,4 *mì-shúndùkirè* ZF
shùndùrùkùtù n water rat 5,6 *mà-shùndùrùkùtù*
shúngùrà v distrust
cì-shúngwà n African cabbage (*Cleome gynandra*) 7,8 *zì-shúngwà*
shùnshà v shrug
cì-shùnshù n burnt grass remains 7,8 *zì-shùnshù*
shùnù 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*)
shúwikà v suck blood (same as *n/ùmà*)
shúwìsà v understand
n-shwà n termite 9,10 *n-shwà*
shwáhùrà v console; be disappointed, give up
mù-shwàtì n sugar cane 3,4 *mì-shwàtì*
shwátirà v whip
shwènà v become tired
shwènùnùkà v become rested
bù:-sì n smoke 14
sì-bbwè n jackal 1a,2 *bà-sibbwè*
sìhà v be dark, black
sìkà v light
mù-sìkà n market 3,4 *mì-sìkà*
sìkiò n earring 5,6 *mà-sìkiò*
cì-síkí'síkì n tree stump 7,8 *zì-síkí'síkì*
sikónò n type of roasted food 5,6 *mà-sikónò*

C Word list

mà-síkù n night 6
mà-síkùsikù n morning 6
⁴*símà* n well 5,6 *má-¹símà*
sìnà v wrestle
kà-sindè n bracelet, made of beads or ivory 12,13 *tù-sindè*
mù-sindè n Indian finger millet 3
sìndikizà v escort
rù-sìngà n vein 11,10 *n-sìngà*
sìngà v paint
sìngàbà v apply oil on one's skin
sìnkà v patch
sìntà v pour
sìnyà v destroy Lozi
⁴*sìnzà* n snot 9,6 *má-¹sìnzà*
cì-sìnzì n termite 7,8 *zì-sìnzì*
cì-sì¹nzìnà n heel 7,8 *zì-sì¹nzìnà*
mù-sìpìrì n journey 3,4 *mì-sìpìrì* Lozi
sìrà n piece of cloth 5,6 *mà-sìrà*
mà-sìrà n dirt 6
sìrà v grind; cross a river
cì-sìrìsò n upper grinding stone 7,8 *zì-sìrìsò*
bù-sìrù n stupidity 14
mù-sìrù n stupid person 1,2 *bà-sìrù*
mù-sìrù n tree (*Acacia ataxantha*) 3,4 *mì-sìrù*
sìrùhà v be stupid
rù-sìwù n reed (*Cyperus fulgens*) 11,10 *n-sìwù*
sìyà v leave, drop
sìyàbàrìrà n black mamba 5,6 *mà-sìyàbàrìrà*
kà-sìyè n forehead wrinkle 12,13 *tù-sìyè*
rù-sì¹yízà n darkness before rain 11
rù-sìyò n kidney 11,10 *n-sìyò*
bù-sò n front 14
sòkòròrà ~
sòkòròrà v feel heartburn
mù-sòkwànì n stirring stick 3,4 *mì-sòkwànì* Lozi
sòndàikà v point (to multiple things); wag finger at s.o.
sòndèkà 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-sùbà n dish 12,13 *tù-sùbà*
sùbìrà v be red
sùhà v spit
sùkà v disembark, climb down
sùkà v soften (a skin)
sùkùrà v doze
sùkùrùrà v report, tell
sùmà v sew
rú-'sùmà n jackalberry (*Diospyros mespiliformis*) 11,10 *n-sùmà*
bù-sùmbà n pregnancy 14
mù-sùmbà n pregnant woman 1,2 *bà-sùmbà*
sùmbàrà v be pregnant
sùmbàzà v impregnate
sùmbì n Marsh cane-rat 5,6 *mà-sùmbì*
sùmbikà v impregnate
sùmikà v burn
mù-sùmò n big pole (for houses) 3,4 *mì-sùmò* Lozi
sùmùnà v report
sùmwinà v explain, tell
sùnà v love (romantically)
sùndà v show
n-sùndà n week 9,6 *mà-nsùndà* Afrikaans
n-sùndè n bush (*Baphia massaiensis*) 9
mù-sùngà n belt 3,4 *mì-sùngà*
sùngàmà v bow the head
sùnsà v dip porridge in relish
bù-sùnsò n relish 14,6 *mà-sùnsò*
mù-sùnsù n front part of lower leg 3,4 *mì-sùnsù*
mù-sùrà n bushwillow 3,4 *mì-sùrà*
cì-sùrìràmbízyì n green stink bug 7,8 *zì-sùrìràmbízyì*
sùrùmùkà v descend
n-sùrùmùkò n downward slope 9

C Word list

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
swàná v be the same Lozi
'swànérà v must
swàýà v sharpen
'n-swì n fish 9,10 *'n-swì*
mù-swìtì n magic guarri (*Euclea divinorum*) 3,4 *mì-swìtì*
bú-tà n bow 14,6 *má-tà*
'tà v say
rù-tà: n crack 11
'tâbà v answer
tâbà v become happy
n-tâbà n case 9,10 *n-tâbà*
n-táúró n headveil 9,10 *n-táúró*
cì-tâbàmàhùré n plant (*Gunnera perpensa*) 7,8 *zì-tâbàmàhùré*
mù-tâbì n branch 3,4 *mì-tâbì*
tâbìsà v be interesting, exciting
táfùnà v chew, graze
mù-táfùnànjòvù n acacia sp, with thorns 3,4 *mì-táfùnànjòvù*
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)
tâmbìkà v give
tâmbùrà v receive
tànàná n tree (*Croton megalobotrys*) 5,6 *mà-tànàná*
tândà v chase
tándàbàrà v stretch legs while sitting
tándàbìkà v make s.o. stretch his/her legs
tàngà v start
rù-tàngà n pumpkin stem 11
n-tàngà n pumpkin seeds 10
tángányàmbè n calabash 5,6 *mà-tángányàmbè*

tàngàràrà v rejoice
tàngàùrà v provoke
tàngisà v start
tàngizà v walk in front of s.o., lead
rù-tàngò ~ *tàngò* n story, proverb 11/5,6 *mà-tàngò*
tàngùrà 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
tàpà v take forcibly, against s.o.'s will
mù-tàrà n footprint 3,4 *mì-tàrà*
tàràùkà v go step by step
cì-tàrè n tool; piece of iron 7,8 *zì-tàrè*
bù-tàrà n wisdom 14
tàràkà v take a step
tàràsà v explain
tàtà n father 1a,2 *bà-tàtà*
tàtámwàncè n paternal uncle 1a,2 *bà-tàtámwàncè*
tàtánkàzì n paternal aunt 1a,2 *bà-tàtánkàzì*
tàtèrà v cock a gun
tàtikà v start (intr.)
bù-tàtù n third 14
tàtùrùrà v take out stitches
tàtwè 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*
tèèná v limp
tèkà v fetch
tékè adj fresh
tèmà v chop
témà adv maybe
kà-tèmù n axe 12,13 *tù-tèmù*
mù-tèmwà n forest 3,4 *mì-tèmwà*
tèndà v do, make
tèndàhàrà v happen

C Word list

cì-téndântù n (human) action 7
têndè n foot, leg, footprint 5,6 *mà-têndè*
cì-têndò 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-tètè zikàzì n yellow berries sp. 10
n-tètè zìrùmè n red berries sp. 10
tèyà v trap
tíkà v roll/fall out of
tìmbà v push
tìmbikà v send
tìnà v press, push
cì-tínà n brick 7,8 *zì-tínà*
tìshùmùkà v sneeze
tì: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-tòmbò n wound 7,8 *zì-tòmbò* Lozi
mù-tòmbwè n tobacco; cigarette 3
tòmbwèrà v weed
tómèsà v give s.o. meat
tòmpòrà v uproot
tòndà v look, watch
tòndèrèrà v stare
tòndèsà v look carefully

tôngà v become sick, complain about feeling sick, groan
tôngàmà 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-tùkà n insults 6
bù-tùkù n disease 14
tùkùsà v warm up (tr.)
mù-tù'kùtà n heat 3,4 *mì-tù'kùtà*
tù'kùtà n dirt 5
tùkùtà v become warm
cì-tùkùtùkù n sweat 7
tùmà v send
n-tùmbù n calf (of the leg) 9,10 *n-tùmbù*
rù-tùmbù n back of calve 11,10 *n-tùmbù*
tùmbùkà v burn (intr.)
tùmbùrà v cut and gut a fish
tùmbùrwà n roasted scone 5,6 *mà-tùmbùrwà*
tùmbùsà v light, burn (tr.)
tùmikà v send
tùminìzà v send
tùmpà v sprout (of wild plants)
tùmpikà v poison (a pot)
tùmpùrà v fish with a net; take meat from a pot on the fire
tùmpwàmà v plunge

C Word list

tùmpwikà v put sth. in water
cì-tùndù n flat open basket 7,8 *zì-tùndù*
túngà v take fire to one's own fireplace
cì-túngù n canopy 7,8 *zì-túngù*
túngùrùrà v hit (while shooting)
rù-túngwêzì n star 11,10 *n-túngwêzì*
kà-tùò n spoon 12,13 *tù-tùò*
cì-tùpù n corpse 7,8 *zì-tùpù* Lozi
tùrà v land
tùrukà v burst
tùrùrà v pierce
tùsà v help; cure
n-túsò n help 9
mù-tùtábôni n blind person 1,2 *bà-tùtábôni*
tùtùmà v shiver
cì-tùwà n roof 7,8 *zì-tùwà*
'twà v pound
twámikà v succeed; be spot on, be exactly right
twàrà 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-ùngù n bird sp., red tail 7,8 *z-ùngù*
ùrà v buy
ùrikà v name
ùrisà v sell
ng-ùrisò n profit; sales 9
cì-ùrù n anthill, mud 7,8 *zì-ùrù*
kù-ùrù n leg 15,6 *mà-ùrù*
ùrukà 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
vùrùmàtà v close one's eyes
vùrùrà v winnow
rù-vù'támò n lower part of stomach 11
vwikà v cover
vwikùrà 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
wànìsikà v be found
rù-wâwâ n jackal 11,2 *bâ-wâwâ*
wàyà v fish with a spear
mù-wàyò n arrow, spear 3,4 *mì-wàyò* Lozi
wèzà v add
wirù 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-yàisì n killer 7
yâmbà n hoe 5,6 *mà-yâmbà*
yâmbà v fish
yângà v pick fruit
cì-yàngà n cripple (from birth) 7,8 *zì-yàngà*
cì-yângò n fruit 7,8 *zì-yângò*
yáshìmisà v sneeze
kà-yávù n piece of meat 12,13 *tù-yávù*
'yàà v kill
cí-yàzì n traitor 7,8 *zí-yàzì*
iyé 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

C Word list

yèndèsà v guide
rù-yèndò n journey 11
mù-yé'nzángù n my friend 1,2 *bà-yé'nzángù*
mù-yènzê: n his/her friend 1,2 *bà-yènzê:*
mù-yénzô: n your friend 1,2 *bà-yénzô:*
yèrèkà v try, taste
mà-yìkútò n feelings 6
mà-yìrà n sorghum 6
yùrùmikà v pile up
zàná 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
zàsìmità v sneeze
zèkà v appear in court
mù-zèkò v court hearing
zèrà ~ zérèrà v hang, dangle
zèrikà v faint
zèzà 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
zîizà v imitate
zì:kà v hide, bury
zìkò n hearth, nuclear family 5
zîmà v turn off, extinguish
zîmbà v swell, hit
zîmbàùkà v walk in circles, keep walking around
zîmbikà v cause to swell
zîmbùkà v go around
zîmbùrùkà v walk around, surround; smuggle
zîmbùrùsà v smuggle; spin (tr.)
zîmbùsà v bring sth. around
zîmìsà v extinguish
mù-zîmù n spirit 3,4 *mì-zîmù*
zîná n name 5,6 *mà-zîná*

zîngà v twist
zíngàizà v tie around
mù-zìò n load 3,4 *mì-zìò*
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-zózi n (process of) dreaming 9
cì-zúbà n chest 7,8 *zì-zúbà*
zùbirirà 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
zùhà v pole (a boat)
zùkàùkà v move around (of food in a pot)
zùkàùrà v stir
zùmà v hum
mù-zùmàngòmà n tree (*Albizia versicolor*) 3,4 *mì-zùmàngòmà*
mù-zùmbì n continuous rain 3,4 *mì-zùmbì*
zùminà v believe, agree, accept a marriage proposal
zùminizà v allow
zùminzàrà v agree with/ understand e.a.
zùngùzùngù n tree (*Kigelia africana*) 5,6 *mà-zùngùzùngù*
bù-zùnzù n loneliness, homesickness 14
zúpà n wet clay 5 Lozi
zù:rà v undress
zùràùkà v miss (people)
mù-zúzù n grass roof 3,4 *mì-zúzù*
mù-zúzùmbì n shadow; light rain 3,4 *mì-zúzùmbì*
zùzùnyà v doubt
zwà v come out, come from
mù-zwákêrà n poison (used for humans) 3,4 *mì-zwákêrà*
zwákêrà v poison
zwàsà 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*
zwisà v take out; fire

C Word list

zyàbàrà v dress (oneself)
cì-zyàbàrò n top garment 7,8 *zì-zyàbàrò*
zyábikà v dress s.o.
zyàbùrà v undress
zyâ:kà v build
mù-zyâ:kì n builder 1,2 *bâ-zyâ:kì*
zyákùnùkà v be destroyed, taken apart
zyákùrùrà v take apart (to be reused)
zyàmbirà v gather
zì-zyàmbirò n gathered fruits 8
zyánàmà v hang to dry (intr.)
zyángùrà v harvest
zyánikà v stretch out to dry
rù-zyàrà n fingernail, claw 11,10/6 *njârà ~ mà-zyàrà*
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
zyâshàmà v open one's mouth
zyâwà v be denied what one expects
zywáwisà v deny s.o. what s/he expects
zyéékà 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.)
'zyibà v get to know
zyíbàhàrà v be known, famous
mù-zyìhìsì n teacher 1,2 *bâ-zyìhìsì*
zyímànà v stop, stand up; be pregnant
zyîmbà v sing
zì-zyîmbàntù n song 8
zyîmbàzyîmbà v hum
mù-zyîmbì n singer 1,2 *bâ-zyîmbì*
rù-zyîmbò n song 11,10 *n-jîmbò*
zyímikà 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

zyôná v destroy, spill, waste
zyôná 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*
zyûbà v peel
zyûmà v become dry
bù-zyûmì n life 14
zyúmininà v be unconscious; dry (of grains, wood)
zyúmìsà v dry (tr.)
zyùnà v skin
cì-zyùnì n bird 7,8 *zì-zyùnì*
'zyùrà v become full
zyûrù n nose; plural: nostrils 5,6 *mà-zyûrù*
'zyùsà v fill
'zywì n voice, word 5,6 *má-zywì*
zywizyà v leak
làmpùtùrà v dig
lánàùnà v divide, share
làpàùrà v destroy
làpàikà ~ *làpikà* 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
làrùmùnà 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
lùtùrà v bite a piece of tough/undercooked meat
l'wápizà v click in anger or insult
l'ósè int true

References

- Andersson, Lars-Gunnar. 1997. Seyeyi revisited: prospects for the future of a threatened language. In W. H. G. Haacke & E.D. Elderkin (eds.), *Namibian languages: Reports and papers*, 265–274. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Ariel, Mira. 2001. Accessibility theory: An overview. In Ted Sanders, Joost Schliperoord & Wilbert Spooren (eds.), *Text representation: Linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects*, 29–87. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Austin, Peter K. & Julia Sallabank. 2011. Introduction. In Julia Sallabank & Peter K. Austin (eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of endangered languages* (Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics), 1–24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: [DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511975981.001](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511975981.001).
- Bastin, Y. 1983. *La finale verbale -ide et l'imbrication en bantou*. Tervuren: MRAC.
- Bastin, Yvonne, André Coupez, Evariste Mumba & Thilo C. Schadeberg (eds.). 2002. *Bantu lexical reconstructions 3*. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa, online database: <http://linguistics.africamuseum.be/BLR3.html>.
- Baumbach, E. J.M. 1997. Bantu languages of the Eastern Caprivi. In W. H.G. Haacke & E. E. Elderkin (eds.), *Namibian languages: Reports and papers*, 307–451. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco & Alessandro Lenci. 2012. Habituality, pluractionality, and imperfectivity. In Robert I. Binnick (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect: Online edition*, 1–28. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bokamba, Georges D. 1971. Specificity and definiteness in Dzamba. *Studies in African Linguistics* 2(3). 217–237.
- Bostoen, Koen. 2008. Bantu spirantization. Morphologization, lexicalization and historical classification. *Diachronica* 25(3). 299–356.
- Bostoen, Koen. 2009. Shango and Fwe as part of Bantu Botatwe: A diachronic phonological approach. In Akinloye Ojo & Lioba Moshi (eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 39th Annual Conference of African Linguistics*, 110–130. Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Bostoen, Koen & Bonny Sands. 2012. Clicks in south-western Bantu languages: Contact-induced vs. internally motivated change. In Matthias Brenzinger & Anne-Maria Fehn (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics Cologne 2009*, 129–140. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

References

- Botne, Robert. 1983. On the notion of “inchoative verb” in Kinyarwanda. In F. Jouannet (ed.), *Le kinyarwanda, études linguistiques*, 149–180. Paris: SELAF.
- Botne, Robert. 1999. Future and distal -ka-’s. In Jean-Marie Hombert & Larry M. Hyman (eds.), *Bantu historical linguistics: Theoretical and empirical perspectives*, 475–515. Stanford: CSLI publications.
- Botne, Robert & Tiffany L. Kershner. 2008. Tense and cognitive space: On the organization of tense/aspect systems in Bantu languages and beyond. *Cognitive Linguistics* 19(2). 145–218.
- Bow, Catherine. 2013. Community-based orthography development in four Western Zambian languages. *Writing Systems Research* 5(1). 73–87.
- Brenzinger, Matthias. 1998. Moving to survive: Kxoe communities in arid lands. In Mathias Schladt (ed.), *Language, identity and conceptualization among the Khoisan*, 321–357. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Burger, J. P. 1960. *An English-Lozi vocabulary*. Morija - Basutoland: Morija Printing Works.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar. Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago, London: The university of Chicago press.
- Carter, Hazel. 1962. *Notes on the tonal system of Northern Rhodesian Plateau Tonga*. London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office.
- Carter, Hazel. 2002. *An outline of Chitonga grammar*. Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers.
- Chafe, Wallace L. (ed.). 1980. *The pear stories. Cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production*. Norwood: Ablex.
- Collins, B. 1962. *Tonga grammar*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Connell, Bruce. 2011. Downstep. In Marc van Oostendorp, Colin Ewen, Elizabeth Hume & Keren Rice (eds.), *The Blackwell companion to phonology, volume II*, 824–847. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Corbett, Greville. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cover, Rebecca T. & Judith Tonhauser. 2015. Theories of meaning in the field: Temporal and aspectual reference. In M. Ryan Bochnak & Lisa Matthewson (eds.), *Methodologies in semantic fieldwork*, 309–349. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crane, Thera. 2014. Melodic tone in Totela TAM. *Africana Linguistica* 20. 63–79.
- Crane, Thera. 2019. Totela K41. In Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 2nd edn., 645–691. London: Routledge.

- Crane, Thera Marie. 2011. *Beyond time: Temporal and extra-temporal functions of tense and aspect marking in Totela, a Bantu language of Zambia*. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Crane, Thera Marie. 2012. -ile and the pragmatic pathways of the resultative in Bantu Botatwe. *Africana Linguistica* 18. 41–96.
- Crane, Thera Marie & Bastian Persohn. 2019. What's in a Bantu verb? Actionality in Bantu languages. *Linguistic Typology* 23(2). 303–345.
- De Kind, Jasper, Sebastian Dom, Gilles-Maurice de Schryver & Koen Bostoen. 2015. Event-centrality and the pragmatics-semantics interface in Kikongo: From predication focus to progressive aspect and vice versa. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 36. 113–163.
- de Blois, K. F. 1970. The augment in Bantu languages. *Africana Linguistica* 4. 85–165.
- de Luna, Kathryn. 2008. *Collecting food, cultivating persons: Wild resource use in central African political culture, c. 1000 B.C.E to c. 1900 C.E*. (Doctoral dissertation).
- de Luna, Kathryn. 2010. Classifying Botatwe: M60 languages and the settlement chronology of south central Africa. *Africana Linguistica* 16. 65–96.
- de Luna, Kathryn M. 2016. *Collecting food, cultivating people. Subsistence and society in Central Africa*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Devos, Maud, Michael Kasombo Tshibanda & Johan van der Auwera. 2010. Jespersen cycles in Kanincin: Double, triple and maybe even quadruple negation. *Africana Linguistica* 16. 155–181.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives. Form function and grammaticalization* (Typological studies in language). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dik, Simon C. 1997. *The theory of functional grammar, part 1: The structure of the clause*. 2nd edn. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Doke, C. M. 1954. *The Southern Bantu languages*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
- Doke, Clement M. 1925. An outline of the phonetics of the language of the chû: Bushmen of north-west Kalahari. *Bantu Studies and General South African Anthropology* 2(3). 129–165.
- Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2021. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 24th edn. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>. Last accessed: 22-06-2021.
- Elderkin, E. D. 1998. Silozi and Namibia. In Karsten Legère (ed.), *Cross-border languages. Reports and studies. Regional workshop on cross-border languages. NIED. 23-27 September 1996*, 204–225. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers.

References

- Fleisch, Axel. 2005. Agent phrases in Bantu passives. In F. K. Erhard Voeltz (ed.), *Studies in African linguistic typology*, vol. 64, 93–111. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Fortune, G. 1970. The languages of the Western Province of Zambia. *Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa* 1(1). 31–38.
- Fortune, George. 1977. *An outline of Silozi grammar*. Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers.
- Freed, Alice F. 1979. *The semantics of English aspectual complementation*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Gambarage, Joash Johannes. 2013. The pre-prefix in Nata: An interface account. In Olanike Ola Orié & Karen W. Sanders (eds.), *Selected proceedings from the 43rd Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, 163–176. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Gibson, Hannah, Rozenn Guérois & Lutz Marten. 2017. Patterns and developments in the marking of diminutives in Bantu. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 26(4). 344–383.
- Goes, Heidi & Koen Bostoen. 2021. Typology and evolution of diminutives in the Kikongo Language Cluster. *Africana Linguistica* 27. 59–102.
- Goldsmith, J. 1984. Tone and accent in Tonga. In G. N. Clements & J. Goldsmith (eds.), *Autosegmental studies in Bantu tone*, 65–96. Dordrecht: Floris.
- Gowlett, D. F. 1967. *Morphology of the verb in Lozi*. (MA thesis).
- Gowlett, D. F. 1989. The parentage and development of Lozi. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 11. 127–149.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1951. Vowel and nasal harmony in Bantu languages. *Zaire* 5. 813–820.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2003. Present progressive vis-a-vis predication focus in Bantu: A verbal category between semantics and pragmatics. *Studies in language* 27(2). 323–360.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2014. 'Khoisan' linguistic classification today. In Tom Güldemann & Anne-Maria Fehn (eds.), *Beyond 'Khoisan'. Historical relations in the Kalahari basin*, 1–40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gunnink, Hilde. 2017. Locative clitics in Fwe. *Africana Linguistica* 23. 119–136.
- Gunnink, Hilde. 2019. The fronted-infinitive construction in Fwe. *Africana Linguistica* 25. 65–88.
- Gunnink, Hilde. 2020. Click loss and click insertion in Fwe. In Bonny Sands (ed.), *Click consonants*, 156–178. Leiden: Brill.
- Gunnink, Hilde & Sara Pacchiarotti. Forthcoming. Neglected functions of the Bantu applicative in relation to locations: New insights from Fwe (K402). In Sara Pacchiarotti & Fernando Zúñiga (eds.), *Applicative morphology*:

- Neglected syntactic and non-syntactic functions* (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Gunnink, Hilde, Bonny Sands, Brigitte Pakendorf & Koen Bostoen. 2015. Prehistoric language contact in the Kavango-Zambezi transfrontier area: Khoisan influence on southwestern Bantu languages. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 36(2). 193–232.
- Guthrie, Malcolm. 1948. *The classification of the Bantu languages*. London: Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press.
- Güldemann, Tom. 1999. Head-initial meets head-final: Nominal suffixes in Eastern and Southern Bantu from a historical perspective. *Studies in African Linguistics* 28(1). 49–91.
- Hammarström, Harald. 2019. An inventory of Bantu languages. In Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 2nd edn., 17–78. London/New York: Routledge.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 1–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, Bernd. 1994. On the genesis of aspect in African languages: The proximative. *Berkeley Linguistic Society* 20. 35–46.
- Heine, Bernd, Tom Güldemann, Christa Kilian-Hatz, Donald A. Lessau, Heinz Roberg, Mathias Schladt & Thomas Stolz. 1993. *Conceptual shift. A lexicon of grammaticalization processes in African languages* (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere 34/35). Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus P. 1996. Demonstratives in narrative discourse: A taxonomy of universal uses. In B. Fox (ed.), *Studies in anaphora*, 205–254. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hyman, Larry M. 2001. Privative tone in Bantu. In Shigeki Kaji (ed.), *Cross-linguistic studies of tonal phenomena: Historical development, phonetics of tone, and descriptive studies*, 237–257. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages & Cultures.
- Hyman, Larry M. 2003a. Sound change, misanalysis and analogy in the Bantu causative. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 24. 55–90.
- Hyman, Larry M. 2003b. Suffix ordering in Bantu: A morphocentric approach. In G. E. Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of morphology 2002*, 245–281. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Hyman, Larry M. & Francis X. Katamba. 1993. The augment in Luganda: Syntax or pragmatics? In Sam A. Mchombo (ed.), *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar*, 209–256. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

References

- Inkelas, Sharon. 2014. Non-concatenative derivation: reduplication. In Rochelle Lieber & Pavol Štekauer (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of derivational morphology: online edition*, 1–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jacottet, E. 1896. *Études sur les langues du Haut-Zambèze*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Jerro, Kyle. 2017. The causative-instrumental syncretism. *Journal of Linguistics* 53(4). 1–38.
- Jones, Brian T. B. & Ute Dieckmann. 2014. Caprivi region. In Ute Dieckmann, Maarit Thiem, Erik Dirks & Jennifer Hays (eds.), *"Scraping the pot": San in Namibia two decades after independence*, 399–422. Windhoek, Namibia: Land, Environment, Development Project of the Legal Assistance Centre & Desert Research Foundation of Namibia.
- Kagaya, Ryohei. 1987. *A classified vocabulary of the Lenje language* (Bantu Vocabulary Series 4). Tokyo: Institute for the Study of the Languages, Cultures of Asia & Africa.
- Kangumu, Bennett. 2011. *Contesting Caprivi. A history of colonial isolation and regional nationalism in Namibia* (Basel Namibia Studies Series 10). Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien.
- Katamba, Francis. 2003. Bantu nominal morphology. In Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 2nd edn., 103–120. London/New York: Routledge.
- Kershner, Tiffany L. 2002. *The verb in Chisukwa: Aspect, tense and time*. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Kilian-Hatz, Christa. 2003. *Khwe dictionary* (Namibian African Studies). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Kilian-Hatz, Christa. 2008. *A grammar of modern Khwe (central Khoisan)*. Köln: Köppe.
- Kisseberth, Charles & David Odden. 2003. Tone. In Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 59–70. London: Routledge.
- Klein, Wolfgang. 1994. *Time in language*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lukusa, Stephen T. M. 2009. *Shiyeyi - English dictionary*. München: Lincom.
- Madan, A. C. 1908. *Lenje handbook: A short introduction to the Lenje dialect spoken in North-West Rhodesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Maho, J. F. 1998. *Few people, many tongues. The languages of Namibia*. Windhoek: Gamsberg.
- Maho, Jouni. 1999. *A comparative study of Bantu noun classes*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

- Marlo, Michael R. 2013. Verb tone in Bantu languages: Micro-typological patterns and research methods. *Africana Linguistica* 19. 137–234.
- Marten, Lutz & Nancy Kula. 2008. Zambia: One nation, many languages. In Andrew Simpson (ed.), *Language and national identity in Africa*, 291–313. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marten, Lutz & Nancy C. Kula. 2014. Benefactive and substitutive applicatives in Bemba. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 35(1). 1–44.
- Marten, Lutz & Jenneke van der Wal. 2014. A typology of Bantu subject inversion. *Linguistic Variation* 14(2). 318–368.
- Meeussen, A. E. 1963. Morphonology of the Tonga verb. *Journal of African Languages* 2. 72–92.
- Meeussen, A. E. 1967. Bantu grammatical reconstructions. *Africana Linguistica* 3. 80–121.
- Miller, Amanda. 2011. The representation of clicks. In Marc van Oostendorp, Colin Ewen, Elizabeth Hume & Keren Rice (eds.), *Blackwell companion to phonology*, 416–439. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Miller, Amanda. 2013. Northern Khoesan phonetics and phonology. In Rainer Vossen (ed.), *The Khoesan languages*, 45–50. London: Routledge.
- Mous, Maarten. 2001. Paralexification in language intertwining. In Norval Smith & Tonjes Veenstra (eds.), *Creolization and contact*, 113–123. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Möhlig, W. J.G. 1997. A dialectometrical analysis of the main Kavango languages: Kwangali, Geiriku and Mbukushu. In W. H.G. Haacke & E. E. Elderkin (eds.), *Namibian languages: Reports and papers*, 211–234. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Nicolle, Steve. 2012. Semantic-pragmatic change in Bantu -no demonstrative forms. *Africana Linguistica* 18. 193–233.
- Nicolle, Steve M. 2003. Distal aspects in Bantu. In K. M. Jaszczolt & K. Turner (eds.), *Meaning through language contrast*, 3–22. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Nurse, Derek. 2008. *Tense and aspect in Bantu*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Odden, David. 1982. Tonal phenomena in Kishambaa. *Studies in African Linguistics* 13(2). 177–208.
- Odden, David. 1986. On the role of the Obligatory Contour Principle in phonological theory. *Language* 62(2). 353–383.
- Odden, David & Lee Bickmore. 2014. Melodic tone in Bantu: Overview. *Africana Linguistica* 20. 3–13.

References

- Odden, David & Michael Marlo. 2019. Tone. In Mark Van de Velde, Koen Bostoen, Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 2nd edn., 150–171. Oxford: Routledge.
- Pacchiarotti, Sara. 2020. *Bantu applicative constructions* (Stanford monographs in African languages). Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Persohn, Bastian. 2017. *The verb in Nyakyusa. A focus on tense, aspect and modality* (Contemporary African Linguistics). Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Persohn, Bastian & Maud Devos. 2017. Post-final locatives in Bantu: Axes of variation and non-locative functions. *Africana Linguistica* 23. 3–46.
- Petzell, Malin. 2003. What is the function of the pre-prefix in Kagulu? In Maya Andréasson & Susanna Karlsson (eds.), *Langue. Doc*, 1–13. Göteborg University Open Archive: <https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/24>.
- Riedel, Kristina. 2009. *The syntax of object marking in Sambaa. A comparative Bantu perspective*. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Sakuhuka, Clifford, Donald Mulimba & James Lucas. 2011. *Report of a survey for five languages in the Barotseland / Western Zambia region: Fwe, Kwamakoma, Kwamashi (and Akakwandu), Kwangwa*.
- Schadeberg, Thilo C. 2003. Derivation. In Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 71–89. New York: Routledge.
- Schadeberg, Thilo C. & Koen Bostoen. 2019. Word formation. In Koen Bostoen, Mark Van de Velde, Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 2nd edn., 172–203. Oxford: Routledge.
- Seidel, Frank. 2005. The Bantu languages of the Eastern Caprivi: A dialectometrical analysis and its historical and sociolinguistic implications. *South African Journal of African Languages* 4. 207–242.
- Seidel, Frank. 2007. The distal marker -ka- and motion verbs in Yeyi. In Angelika Mietzner & Yvonne Treis (eds.), *Encoding motion. Case studies from Africa*, 183–196. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Seidel, Frank. 2008. *A grammar of Yeyi*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi & Prashant Pardeshi. 2001. The causative continuum. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation*, 85–126. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Smith, Edwin W. 1964. *A handbook of the Ila language*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Snyman, Jan W. 1975. *Žu/hōasi fonologie & woordeboek*. Kaapstad/Rotterdam: A.A. Balkema.
- Sommer, Gabriele. 1995. *Ethnographie des Sprachwechsels: Sozialer Wandel und Sprachverhalten bei den Yeyi (Botswana)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

- Storch, Anne & Jules Jacques Coly. 2017. Introduction. *STUF - Language Typology and Universals* 70(1). 1–6.
- Van de Velde, Mark. 2005. The order of noun and demonstrative in Bantu. In Koen Bostoen & Jacky Maniacky (eds.), *Studies in African comparative linguistics with special focus on Bantu and Mande*, 425–441. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa.
- Van de Velde, Mark. 2013. The Bantu connective construction. In Anne Carlier & Jean-Christophe Verstraete (eds.), *The genitive*, 217–252. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Van de Velde, Mark. 2019. Nominal morphology and syntax. In Koen Bostoen, Mark Van de Velde, Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 2nd edn., 237–269. Oxford: Routledge.
- van der Wal, Jenneke. 2010. Functions of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives. *Africana Linguistica* 16. 183–213.
- van der Wal, Jenneke & Larry M. Hyman. 2017. Introduction. In Jenneke van der Wal & Larry M. Hyman (eds.), *The conjoint/disjoint alternation in Bantu*, 1–13. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Verkuyl, H. J. 1972. *On the compositional nature of the aspects*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Visser, Marianna. 2008. Definiteness and specificity in the isiXhosa determiner phrase. *South African Journal of African Languages* 1. 11–29.
- Wynne, R. C. 1980. *English-Mbukushu dictionary*. Amsterdam: Avebury Publishing Co.
- Yip, Moira. 2002. *Tone*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Name index

- Andersson, Lars-Gunnar, 2
 Ariel, Mira, 181
 Austin, Peter K., 5
- Bastin, Y., 374
 Bastin, Yvonne, 18, 23, 33, 43, 50, 53, 54, 92
 Baumbach, E. J.M., 7, 11, 18, 174
 Bertinetto, Pier Marco, 367
 Bickmore, Lee, 102
 Bokamba, Georges D., 214
 Bostoen, Koen, 1, 7, 11, 13, 17–19, 39, 43, 44, 47, 53, 76, 88–90, 116, 153, 155, 157, 163, 232, 255, 256, 285, 286, 296, 375, 378
 Botne, Robert, 302, 411, 412, 454
 Bow, Catherine, 9
 Brenzinger, Matthias, 2
 Burger, J. P., 13, 38, 45, 47, 283, 451, 489
 Bybee, Joan, 357
- Carter, Hazel, 88, 179, 242, 312
 Chafe, Wallace L., 8
 Collins, B., 179, 242
 Coly, Jules Jacques, 268
 Comrie, Bernard, 302, 359, 367
 Connell, Bruce, 78
 Corbett, Greville, 291
 Cover, Rebecca T., 301
 Crane, Thera, 88, 121, 242, 356
- Crane, Thera Marie, 1, 8, 38, 88, 102, 302, 303, 312, 386, 421
- de Blois, K. F., 121, 212
 De Kind, Jasper, 364
 de Luna, Kathryn, 1, 7
 de Luna, Kathryn M., 7
 Devos, Maud, 299
 Dieckmann, Ute, 2
 Diessel, Holger, 179
 Dik, Simon C., 458
 Doke, C. M., 400
 Doke, Clement M., 15
- Eberhard, David M., 4
 Elderkin, E. D., 2
- Fleisch, Axel, 149
 Fortune, G., 6
 Fortune, George, 116, 283
 Freed, Alice F., 302
- Gambarage, Joash Johannes, 121
 Gibson, Hannah, 163
 Goes, Heidi, 163
 Goldsmith, J., 76, 88
 Gowlett, D. F., 4, 25, 71, 255, 400
 Greenberg, Joseph H., 69
 Güldemann, Tom, 2, 163, 312
 Gunnink, Hilde, 27, 30, 137, 150, 151, 163, 249, 297, 361
 Guthrie, Malcolm, 1

Name index

- Hammarström, Harald, **1**
 Haspelmath, Martin, **207**
 Heine, Bernd, **400, 412**
 Himmelmann, Nikolaus P., **179**
 Hyman, Larry M., **36, 74, 121, 126, 243, 244, 312**

 Inkelas, Sharon, **265**

 Jacottet, E., **179, 255, 356, 418, 421**
 Jerro, Kyle, **242**
 Jones, Brian T. B., **2**

 Kagaya, Ryohei, **88**
 Kangumu, Bennett, **5**
 Katamba, Francis, **121**
 Katamba, Francis X., **121, 126**
 Kershner, Tiffany L., **302, 454**
 Kilian-Hatz, Christa, **38, 45, 161**
 Kisseberth, Charles, **76**
 Klein, Wolfgang, **301**
 Kula, Nancy, **2**
 Kula, Nancy C., **299**

 Lambrecht, Knud, **433**
 Lenci, Alessandro, **367**
 Lukusa, Stephen T. M., **13**

 Madan, A. C., **242**
 Maho, J. F., **121**
 Maho, Jouni, **121, 169**
 Marlo, Michael, **74, 76, 82**
 Marlo, Michael R., **107**
 Marten, Lutz, **2, 299, 437**
 Meeussen, A. E., **76, 88, 157, 188, 201, 212, 286, 312, 368**
 Miller, Amanda, **48, 49**
 Möhlig, W. J.G., **2**
 Mous, Maarten, **151**

 Nicolle, Steve, **173, 174**
 Nicolle, Steve M., **412**
 Nurse, Derek, **308, 322, 368, 391, 452**

 Odden, David, **74, 76, 79, 82, 102**

 Pacchiarotti, Sara, **249, 251**
 Pardeshi, Prashant, **239, 240**
 Persohn, Bastian, **299, 302, 303**
 Petzell, Malin, **121**

 Riedel, Kristina, **437**

 Sakuhuka, Clifford, **4, 5**
 Sallabank, Julia, **5**
 Sands, Bonny, **7**
 Schadeberg, Thilo C., **153, 255, 256, 285, 286, 296**
 Seidel, Frank, **1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 18, 29, 48, 255, 302, 413, 421**
 Shibatani, Masayoshi, **239, 240**
 Smith, Edwin W., **179, 242**
 Snyman, Jan W., **15**
 Sommer, Gabriele, **2**
 Storch, Anne, **268**

 Tonhauser, Judith, **301**

 Van de Velde, Mark, **126, 179, 184, 188, 189**
 van der Wal, Jenneke, **173, 312, 437**
 Verkuyl, H. J., **304**
 Visser, Marianna, **121**

 Wynne, R. C., **13**

 Yip, Moira, **78**

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.

