THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Constructional Polysemy: the applicative construction in chiShona

Citation for published version:
Cann, R & Mabugu, P 2007, 'Constructional Polysemy: the applicative construction in chiShona'. in M Rakova, G Petho & C Rakosi (eds), The Cognitive Basis of Polysemy . Metalinguistica, vol. 19, Peter Lang Publishing Group, pp. 221-245.

Link:
Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer

Document Version:
Author final version (often known as postprint)

Published In:
The Cognitive Basis of Polysemy

OPEN ACCESS

Constructional Polysemy:
the Applicative Construction in ChiShona

Ronnie Cann
School of Philosophy,
Psychology and Language Sciences
(Linguistics),
Edinburgh University,
Edinburgh EH8 9LL
`r.cann@ed.ac.uk`

Patricia Mabugu
Dept. of Linguistics,
University of Zimbabwe,
MP167 Mount Pleasant,
Harare,
`mab_mate17@yahoo.com`

January 2006

1   Introduction

The applicative construction in the Bantu languages has been the object of some considerable interest for many years, especially with respect to its syntactic properties.[1] The construction is traditionally characterised as involving the morphological extension of a verbal stem by an affix which syntactically increases its valency by one argument, the extra argument often being construed as a benefactive. In ChiShona, a Bantu language spoken in Zimbabwe, the applicative affix, *-ir-/-er-*[2], attaches to a verbal stem (itself also possibly derived), as exemplified in (1), where the non-applicative construction involving the transitive verb, *-bik-* 'cook', in (1a) is compared to its applicative (ditransitive) counterpart, with the extended verbal stem *-bik-ir-* in (1b).[3]

(1)   a. *Mayi   va-ka-bik-a   sadza*
          1a mother   2aSM-PST-cook-FV   5 sadza
          'Mother cooked sadza'

       b. *Mayi   va-ka-bik-ir-a   mw-ana   sadza*
          1a mother   2aSM-PST-cook-APPL-FV   1-child   5 sadza
          'Mother cooked sadza for the child'

---

[1]See, especially, Trithart (1983), Baker (1988), Alsina and Mchombo (1992, 1993), Alsina (1994), Ngonyani (1996, 1998), Pylkannen (2000), Marten (2002), Mabugu (2001), amongst others.

[2]The vowel change is phonologically conditioned.

[3]Numbers in glosses refer to the noun classes. Other abbreviations used are: SM 'subject marker'; OM 'object marker'; PST 'past tense'; APPL 'applicative affix'; FV 'finite verb affix'.

Most discussions of this construction in Bantu have been concerned with the vagaries of its syntax. Since the applicative construction typically adds an extra argument to the verb, analyses have focused mainly on the relationship that exists between the applied object and the logical object.[4] In particular, we find emphasis laid on apparent asymmetries between the two objects, as in Bresnan and Moshi (1990) which defines applicatives in terms of two classes, *symmetric* and *asymmetric*.[5] Within the former type, both the applied object and the logical object behave as true objects with respect to passivisation, word order and other tests, while with the latter type, only the applied object shows a full range of object properties. Applicative asymmetries have further been described in terms of the possibility of adding an applied object to a predicate with an implicit object. Adding an applied object is only possible with the symmetric type rather than the asymmetric type (see Pylkannen 2000, Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Machobane 1989 for more details).

Although the semantic (and/or pragmatic) aspects of the construction are less thoroughly studied, the fact that the applied object may be interpreted in a variety of ways is often noted. For example, while the applied object is prototypically interpreted as a benefactive in some way (as in (1b)), the relations that are introduced by the applicative affix may have a variety of interpretations: benefactive, locative, motive and others.

(2)   a. *Baba*   *va-ka-uray-ir-a*   **v-ana**   *nyoka*
           1a father   2SMPASTkillAPPLFV   2-child   9 snake
           'Father killed a snake for the children'   BENEFICIARY

        b. *Baba*   *va-ka-uray-ir-a*   **pa-ruware**   *nyoka*
           1a father   2SMPASTkillAPPLFV   16-11 flat granite   9 snake
           'Father killed a snake on the rock'   LOCATIVE

        c. *Baba*   *va-ka-uray-ir-a*   **mari**   *mu-rume*
           1a father   2SMPASTkillAPPLFV   9 money   1-man
           'Father killed a man for his money'   MOTIVE

Baker (1988), Ngonyani (1996) and others argue that the different thematic roles associated with the applied object induce different syntactic behaviour (again principally with respect to asymmetries between applied and logical objects). However, despite the fact that the applicative affix is generally regarded as the most productive derivational verbal affix in most Bantu languages, there have not been many detailed studies of the semantic heterogeneity of the suffix to date (see Port 1981),

---

[4] Because the term 'direct object' is ambiguous in Bantu languages (as pointed out by Bentley 1994), we will refer to the introduced argument within an applicative construction as the *applied object* (AO). In contrast, the argument which corresponds to the direct object in transitive sentences like (1a) (e.g.*sadza*, 'sadza') will be called the *logical object* (LO), borrowing the term from Marantz 1993.

[5] Pylkannen 2000 along the lines of Bresnan and Moshi 1990 defines applicatives in terms of *high* and *low* types.

and those studies that do exist tend to concentrate on the differences rather than the similarities of the various interpretations. As a consequence of this (and the putative syntactic differences), the applicative construction is most often treated as ambiguous, and the applicative affix as homonymous. In this paper, we take issue with such an approach and, from an exploration of the various ways in which the construction can be interpreted within ChiShona, argue that the range of meanings conveyed by the construction indicates instead that it is polysemous and the interpretation of the applied object crucially depends on context, both linguistic and non-linguistic.

In many ways, the approach to be taken in this paper is in line with Marten (2000,2002)'s dynamic analysis of the construction in Swahili. He argues that the applicative construction involves the Relevance-Theoretic notion of concept strengthening that indicates the *ad hoc* construction of a concept from the interpretation of a string of words uttered in some context (Carston 2002). However, Marten does not discuss how different meanings are arrived at, nor the constraints on the interpretation of the AO that appear to hold. Thus, although we accept his central idea that the applicative construction is semantically underspecified, we take issue with the apparent weakness of the idea of concept strengthening and argue that all the primary interpretations associated with the applicative suffix in Chishona are derived from a single basic meaning, one that is underspecified but not empty of content.

In this paper, we develop a semantic-pragmatic account of the applicative construction that places the benefactive within a larger framework that embraces other applicative constructions such as Maleficiary, Motive, Purpose and Goal, We argue that an integrated description of the construction is possible and that all the primary meanings associated with the applicative suffix can be derived from an underspecified generalised Goal relation. Specific semantic interpretations are shown to involve progressive strengthening of this Goal relation induced by the semantic and pragmatic properties of the predicate and the applied (and logical) object. In addition, we provide some discussion of the extension of the applicative construction to Locative and Source applied objects, arguing that this results from a grammaticalisation of the affix to induce focus readings for non-argument expressions.

The purpose of the paper is descriptive rather than theoretical and so we do not tackle head-on the different theoretical approaches to the applicative that have been proposed; nor do we provide a precise theory that encapsulates our argument. However, a number of problems for extant theoretical approaches are noted and a possible theoretical account is indicated.[6]

---

[6]For a theoretical account couched within HPSG, see Mabugu 2001a.

2   The Canonical Meanings

We begin by discussing what may be called the (three) canonical, or basic, meanings of the applicative construction with respect to the applied object which are generally held to be BENEFICIARY, MALEFICIARY and MOTIVE, as illustrated in (3) - (5).

(3)   *Mw-ana   a-ka-vak-ir-a*   *va-bereki   i-mba*
      1-child   1SM-PST-build-APPL-FV   2-parent   9-house
      'A child built a house for the parents'   BENEFICIARY

(4)   *Ma-tombo   a-ka-donh-er-a*   *mu-soro   w-ake*
      6-5 stone   6SM-PST-fall-APPL-FV   3-head   POSS
      'Stones fell on his head'   MALEFICIARY

(5)   *Va-nhu   va-no-vereng-er-a*   *ruzivo*
      2-person   2SM-PRES-read-APPL-FV   11 knowledge
      'People read for knowledge'
      'People read in order to eventually gain knowledge'   MOTIVE

The question naturally arises as to how distinct these readings are in fact. In particular, are these meanings sufficiently far apart that they require the postulation of different homonyms of the applicative affix or can the different meanings be derived from the examples themselves?

2.1   Beneficiary Readings

Consider first the apparently most straightforward cases of the benefactive interpretations of the AO. The nature of the beneficiary relation in each case is dependent on the semantic properties of the LO and the main verb. In general, the examples provided above can be interpreted in one of two ways: as involving the creation or construction of some object which itself will be to the benefit of the AO, a reading based on the interpretation of the direct object found in the construction; or, more generally, as involving the execution of some event which is to the benefit of the AO, a reading inferred from the event being depicted by the verb.

Thus, in sentence (1b) the object is food and the normal (decontextualised) inference would be that the food that is cooked directly benefits the child and that such direct benefit involves the child obtaining (and eating) it. Hence, we have a recipient reading whereby the *sadza* ends up with the child. However, there is a second possible reading for this sentence which is that it is the event of making *sadza* that is to the child's benefit. In other words, the applicative affix signals that it is the cooking of the *sadza* (and not the foodstuff itself) that benefits the child, without the *sadza* necessarily being obtained by the child. Such an interpretation will be primed, for example, in a context in which the child has to prepare *sadza* as a school project. This relation can be further shown by instances of 'object

deletion' as in (6) which just states that the named event was done on behalf of the child. In this reading, the child stands in a benefactive relation to the event of sadza-cooking but bears no relation to the object of cooking.

(6)   *Mayi*   *vakabikira*   *mwana*
      1a mother   2aSM-PST-cook-APPL-FV   1-child
      'Mother cooked for the child'

The ambiguity is more marked in (7). For example, in one context Muchaneta is the recipient of the essay, written by Pio. In another context in which Muchaneta is a pupil, and is ill, we can have the interpretation in which 'Pio wrote an essay on behalf of Muchaneta'. (7) can thus be disambiguated by extending the linguistic context as shown in (8) where it is clear that the latter interpretation is intended.

(7)   *Pio*   *a-ka-nyor-er-a*   *Muchaneta*   *rondedzero*
      1a name   1SM-PST-write-APPL-FV   1a name   9 essay
      'Pio wrote an essay for Muchaneta'

(8)   *Pio*   *a-ka-nyor-er-a*   *Muchaneta*   *rondedzero*
      1a name   1aSM-PST-write-APPL-FV   1a name   9 essay
      a-ka-i-p-a   *mu-dzidzisi*
      1SM-PST-9OM-give-FV   1-teacher
      'Pio wrote an essay for Muchaneta and she gave it to the teacher'

Of course, not all examples are ambiguous. For example, (9) can be interpreted only as indicating that the *sadza* is for the street children and that the entire event benefits the queen, a relation between the applied object and the event denoted by the verb. Here the queen stands in a benefactive relation to the event of giving but bears no relation to the objects of giving *sadza* or *street children*.

(9)   *Mayi*   *va-ka-p-ir-a*   *mambokadzi*   *sadza*
      1a mother   2aSM-PST-give-APPL-FV   1a queen   5 sadza
      ma-street kids
      6 street kids
      'Mother gave sadza to street children for the queen'

The interpretation we give to a particular construction thus varies from context to context. Even with respect to the basic benefactive reading of the applicative construction, it is clear that actual interpretation of the thematic role of the applied object with respect to the predicate is determined by the semantic properties of the applied object, the logical object and the predicate and pragmatics of the whole clause. In effect, the recipient reading is an enriched interpretation of the benefactive reading whereby the referent of the LO is located at (or with) the AO. Thus, while in all cases the AO is a benefactive with respect to the eventuality denoted by the verb, its interpretation as a recipient is pragmatically determined according to

whether the LO is something that can be received, whether the AO is in a position to receive the LO and arbitrary aspects of the context.

Having established that even with a beneficiary AO the precise interpretation of the applicative construction depends on the semantic and pragmatic properties of the verb and the LO, we consider whether the other basic relations, MALEFICIARY and MOTIVE, may be derived in a similar way.

2.2 Maleficiary

A maleficiary interpretation of the AO occurs when the relation marked is to the disbenefit/detriment of the recipient involved in the event being described. For example, the verb 'give' typically portrays a beneficiary situation, in which a recipient benefits from the situation of giving, but we can have an unfavourable situation expressed by the same verb as in *Tanga gave me a slap*. The examples in (4), repeated below, and (10) provide illustrations of this type of interpretation.

(4)   *Ma-tombo   a-ka-donh-er-a*   *mu-soro   w-ake*
        6-5 stone   6SM-PST-fall-APPL-FV   3-head   POSS-3SG
        'Stones fell on his head'   MALEFICIARY

(10)   a. *Mu-dhebhe   w-angu   wa-ka-ndi-donh-er-a*
           3-trousers   POSS-1SG   3SM-PST-1SG-fall-APPL-FV
           'My trousers slipped (off) on me'

        b. *Mu-kadzi   w-angu   a-ka-ndi-nyep-er-a*
           1 wife   POSS-1SG   1SM-PST-1SG-lie-APPL-FV
           'My wife lied on me.'

        c. *Va-ka-mu-sek-er-a*   *mu-kadzi   w-ake*
           3PL-PST-1OM-laugh at-APPL-FV   1-wife   POSS-3SG
           'They laughed at his wife on him'

The AO introduced in these examples conveys a sense of adversity or inconvenience befalling the referents in the construction (Humphreys 1999). In example (4b) above it is obvious that stones falling on someone's head affects them adversely. Similarly, in a null or minimal context the example in (10a) is interpreted negatively and the event of trousers falling down is taken to affect the speaker adversely. In (10b) similarly, the event of the wife's lying is taken to affect the husband negatively, just as it is the event of 'them laughing at wife' that is to the detriment of the husband in example (10c). In all these cases, we have a predicate that denotes an event that is typically interpreted negatively and the AO is thus construed as being the entity that is negatively affected, i.e. as a maleficiary.[7]

---

[7]These malefi ciaries can be likened to what are termed in Indo-European languages (like German and Greek) as 'ethical' datives, where the referent of the dative term is marked as somehow being ethically implicated in the event. It is also a widespread trait observed in Slavic languages (see Wierzbicka 1988) as well as in modern Hebrew (Berman 1982).

If, however, it is possible to construe the event positively, then the AO itself may also be construed as being positively affected by it, depending on the discourse, or wider, context. For instance, (10b) could be interpreted as 'My wife lied on my behalf', in which case it may be to the benefit of the husband. It is not hard to think of contexts that could turn the other maleficiaries above into 'beneficiaries' (or more accurately positively affected participants). For example, falling trousers could be construed positively in a situation in which an overweight person is trying to lose weight and laughter need not always connote mockery. It thus appears again that it is the nature of the event denoted by the predicate, and contextual, possibly extra-linguistic information (such as cultural norms concerning e.g. the embarrassment or otherwise involved in a loss of trousers), that determines whether the AO is interpreted as being positively or negatively affected.

Considerations such as these show that the meaning of the verb stem and the context of utterance has a central role to play as to whether the predicate should be interpreted as beneficiary or maleficiary, just as it does in determining whether a beneficiary is interpreted also as a recipient or not. Thus, we may hypothesize that that the applicative affix itself signals only a single relation for the AO whose interpretation is pragmatically enhanced in various ways. Thus, we may define a participant role that includes MALEFICIARY and BENEFICIARY, which we will refer to as an ADFICIARY, based on the Latin verb meaning 'to affect'. This 'macrorole' has two primary instantiations, differentiated by whether the predicate denotes an eventuality that may connote positive or negative effects on the denotatum of the AO. Additionally, both roles may be further pragmatically enhanced to being a recipient (positively or negatively) according to whether the LO may be construed as ending up with the AO or not, as illustrated in (1):

2.3 Motive

The third canonical interpretation of the applied object in Chishona is that of MOTIVE. In the literature, MOTIVE is generally associated with two instantiations: PURPOSE (11) and REASON (12).

(11)   a. Ma-poachers *a-no-vhim-ir-a*   *mari*   *chi-pembere*
          6 poacher   6SM-PST-hunt-APPL-FV   9 money   7-rhinoceros
          'Poachers hunt the rhinoceros for money'

       b. *Ma-kororo a-ka-uray-ir-a*   *u-pfumi*
          6-robber   6SM-PST-kill-APPL-FV   14-wealth
          mu-svetaupfumi
          1-one who sucks wealth
          'Robbers killed the capitalist for his wealth'

(12)   a. *A-ka-pfek-er-a*   *mu-sangano sutu*
          3SG-PST-wear-APPL-FV   3-meeting   9 suit
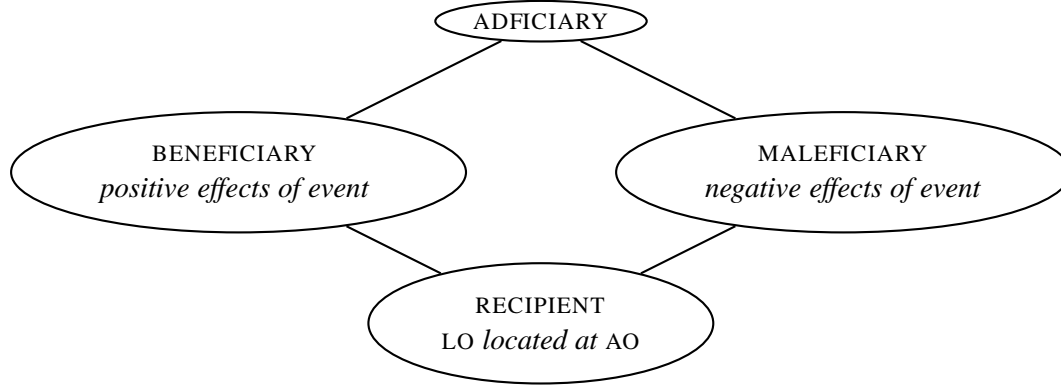   'He wore a suit because of the meeting'

Figure 1: Adficiary applicative readings

    b. *A-ka-uy-ir-a*   *u-rwere*
      3SG-PST-come-APPL-FV   11-ill
      'S/he came because of the illness'

    c. *Va-rwi*   *ve-rusununguko*   *va-ka-rw-ir-a*   *i-vhu*
      2-fighter   2GEN-11-freedom   2SM-PST-fight-APP-FV   5-soil
      'The freedom fighters fought for/because of/in order to obtain land'

There are a number of factors that lead to the interpretation of an applied object as Motive. The most obvious of these is where the AO is not animate as in the examples in (11) and (12). Inanimate and abstract objects cannot in general be interpreted as adficiaries[8] so they cannot directly be beneficially affected by a verb. Compare (11a) with (13a) and (12b) with 13b).

(13)   a. Ma-poachers *a-no-vhim-ir-a*   *mu-svetaupfumi*
        6-poacher   6SM-PST-hunt-APPL-FV   1-capitalist
        chi-pembere
        7-rhinoceros
        'Poachers hunt the rhinoceros for the capitalist'

---

[8]Except, for example, where a non-animate noun can be interpreted meronimically as standing for an animate object such as the name of a country standing for its people, etc.

b. *Ma*-comrades *a-ka-rw-ir-a*   *va-nhu*   *ve-Zimbabwe*
   6-fighter   6SM-PST-fight-APP-FV 2-person of-9-country
   'The freedom fighters fought for the people of Zimbabwe'

Where the AO is animate, however, it may be interpreted as Adficiary or as Motive, depending on contextual factors, as illustrated in the two different English translations of the example in (14).

(14) *Mu-komana a-ka-rwis-ir-a*   *John   mu-sikana*
    1-boy   1SM-PST-fight-APP-FV john   1-girl

    The boy fought John for the girl   BENEFICIARY
    The boy fought John because of the girl   MOTIVE

The second interpretation of (14) indicates a second, and more important, factor that distinguishes Motive from Adficiary. In the latter interpretations, the denotatum of the AO is interpreted as a direct participant of the event denoted by the verbal root: the fighting event is directly beneficial to the girl or the event of cooking sadza is directly beneficial to the children, etc. In the case of Motive readings, however, the association of the AO with the main event is less direct and apparently mediated by another, implied, event. Thus, the translations of the examples in (11) and (12) could be given more verbosely as in (11'):

11'   a. 'Poachers hunt the rhinoceros to gain money'.

       b. 'Robbers killed the capitalist to obtain his wealth'.

The use of the purpose clauses to bring out the intended interpretations indicates that Purpose AOs are enriched in some fashion to provide a secondary event which serves as the Goal of the primary event expressed by the verbal root. Such interpretations have been referred to in the literature as motivational goals, the contextual endpoints of predication (Frawley 1992), encoding the result or consequence of an event. Such an interpretation provides a useful link with the Adficiary interpretations, as beneficiaries (and maleficiaries) may be viewed as instances of Goals of an event and this indicates that we may interpret the function of the applicative ending as introducing a Goal argument. That Goal may, however, be interpreted as a direct participant in the event denoted by the verb root (in Adficiary readings) or, indirectly, as providing an event that involves the AO which is itself the Goal of the primary event. Thus, in (13a), the capitalist is the direct Goal of the event of the poachers' hunting the rhinoceros while in (11a) the Goal of the event is an event of obtaining money.

In the reason examples in (12), however, it might be argued that the AO does not obviously express a Goal, the endpoint of the primary event, but its initial point. Reason interpretations focus on the *prior conditions* of a predication. Hence, the suit-wearing is motivated by the meeting in (12a), the coming to a particular place is motivated by illness in (12b), and in (12c) it is the lack of land that motivates the fighters to fight. Given this, Frawley (1992) has concluded that reasons can be

referred to as motivational sources, the opposite of motivational goals: there is a prior condition that eventually leads to whatever action has to be done in the construction. If this is the correct way to view the semantic difference between reason and purpose, then we seem to be hard put to provide a unitary characterisation of these two sorts of motive. However, it is not obvious that reasons should be interpreted as *source* rather than as *goal*. We have suggested that the Goals expressed by Purpose readings of AOs involve the enrichment of the nominal to express an event which itself acts as the goal argument of the verb. So we might paraphrase the translations of the examples in (12) as in (12'):

12'   a. 'He wore a suit to attend the meeting'.

       b. 'She came to ease/cure/alleviate the illness'.[9]

       c. 'The freedom fighters fought to gain land'.

From these particular instances, it seems that reason AOs may also be interpreted as goals in the same way as purpose clauses. But there are other examples which are more difficult to reconcile with this such as (15), where it is precisely to be away from ill-fortune that the church elder goes to the diviner:

(15) *Madzi-baba   va-ka-end-er-a   mi-nyama   kun'anga*
      6-1a-father   2aSM-PST-go-APPL-FV   4-ill-fortune   17-9-diviner
      'A church elder visited a diviner because of ill-fortune'

In this case, however, the goal is again an event enrichment of the AO whose interpretation, depending on context, is something like:[10]

15'   'A church elder visited a diviner to get rid of/to understand/to find out the source of his ill-fortune'

The important point here is that there is, in all cases, some Goal of the event involving the AO. The precise goal that involves the AO may, thus, on occasion only be identified through further inference to do with real world knowledge. What is interesting here is that such further inference is often (but not always) induced by negative connotations of the AO, such as illness, ill-fortune or lack of land. So we have a parallel here with the two different ADFICIARY interpretations. The

---

[9]The precise interpretation of this sentence depends a lot on the context and could, in an appropriate situation, mean:
i. 'She came to hasten the illness.'

[10]Notice that similar interpretations apply to some of English translations of the ChiShona examples which use the preposition *for*:
i. He wore a suit for the meeting.

ii. ??She came for the illness.
(cf. She came for the food/She came because of the food)

iii. The freedom fighters fought for land.

iv. ???A church elder visited a diviner for ill-fortune.
(cf. A church elder visited a doctor for his ill-health)

interpretation of Reason AOs as Source is therefore a function of the pragmatic enhancement of the Goal argument introduced by the applicative morpheme to alter in some way a (negative) situation that currently obtains. The difference between Purpose and Reason may thus be seen as a difference in the intended end result: for Purpose the Goal is to achieve a situation in which the subject or the LO possesses or is somehow located with the AO while for Reason the Goal is to achieve a situation in which the subject or LO does not possess the AO. In other words, the same property that distinguishes Recipients from Beneficiaries in general operates to distinguish Purpose from Reason.

As noted in the introduction, it is not our purpose here to provide a full theory of the applicative construction in ChiShona, but we pause at this point to sketch how the observations made above might be interpreted. It is clear in the cases so far considered that the applicative affix *-ir-/-er-* provides an additional argument to those introduced by the verbal stem that is interpreted as some sort of goal. Syntactically, that argument is both obligatory and expressed by a noun phrase that has the properties of a (direct) object (at least in ChiShona).[11] Semantically, we may view the applicative affix as introducing an argument that is specified as having a Goal thematic relation to the event. This is illustrated in (16) which assumes a neo-Davidsonian event semantics where the verb introduces an event variable to which its arguments are bound by (possibly schematic) theta roles.[12] The applicative affix then appends ($\oplus$) a Goal argument linked to the relevant event:

(16) $V(e) \wedge \theta_1(e, a_1) \wedge \ldots \wedge \theta_n(e, a_n) \oplus \text{GOAL}(e, a_i)$ where $\text{AO} \leq a_i$

This argument is not, however, semantically necessarily identified with the referent of the AO directly, but as we have seen may be interpreted as an event to which the AO is directly linked.[13] Additionally, there may be an enrichment of the AO whereby it is interpreted as 'being at' (or possessed by) the subject or the logical object of the main predicate. So we can give schematic semantic representations to the two interpretations of (1) above (Beneficiary and Recipient) as in (17) and to (11a) and (12a) as in (18) and (19), respectively.[14]

(17)   a.   BENEFACTIVE:
             $Cook'(e) \wedge \text{ACT}(e, Mother') \wedge \text{UND}(e, Sadza') \wedge \text{GOAL}(e, Child')$

        b.   RECIPIENT:
             $Cook'(e) \wedge \text{ACT}(e, Mother') \wedge \text{UND}(e, Sadza') \wedge$
             $\text{BE-AT}(Sadza', Child')$

---

[11]See a.o. Mabugu (2002), Machobane (1989), Ngonyani (1998), Matambirofa (2003).

[12]See Parsons 1990, Schein 1996, inter al.

[13]This is the intended effect of the condition $\text{AO} \leq a_i$. In a properly formulated theory this would be captured by some linking rule between syntax and semantics, the details of which we leave on one side in this paper.

[14]These representations use the 'macroroles of actor (ACT) and undergoer (UND) of Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and van Valin 1984).

(18) $Hunt'(e) \wedge \text{ACT}(e, Poachers') \wedge \text{UND}(e, Rhinoceros') \wedge \text{GOAL}(e, e') \wedge$
      $Obtain'(e') \wedge \text{ACT}(e', Poachers') \wedge \text{UND}(e', Money') \wedge$
      $\text{BE-AT}(Money', Poachers')$

(19) $Wear'(e) \wedge \text{ACT}(e, He) \wedge \text{UND}(e, Suit') \wedge \text{GOAL}(e, e') \wedge Attend'(e') \wedge$
      $\text{ACT}(e', He) \wedge \text{UND}(e', Meeting)$

So far, we have identified two basic meanings for the applicative, ADFICIARY and MOTIVE, but shown that the interpretation of these is dependent on the semantics of the AO and the verb with regard to the ability of the AO to be interpreted as a direct participant in the event denoted by the latter. Within these two classes we differentiate subclasses of Beneficiary and Maleficiary on the one hand, and purpose and reason, on the other. We have argued that both adficiary and motive readings may be interpreted as pragmatically enriched instantiations of a potential goal Thus, it appears that the applicative morpheme can be treated as expressing, in its most common manifestations, an underspecified relation GOAL with polysemous interpretations induced by context, as summarised as in figure 2.

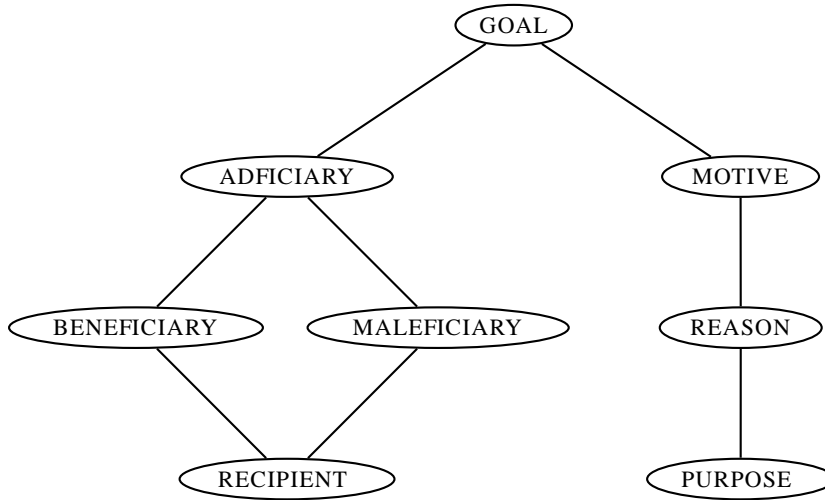
Figure 2: The canonical applicative meanings

2.4 True Goal applicatives

We suggested at the end of the last section that the applicative construction should be construed as involving the specification of a 'goal' of the event denoted by the

verb, where this interpretation is more or less abstract depending on the semantic properties of the verb, the applied object and any associated logical object. If this is the case, then we might expect to find applicatives where the AO is interpreted as a real locative goal. Such is the case in ChiShona.

As expected, the interpretation of an AO as a true goal is dependent on the lexical meaning of the verb. In non-applicative verbs, Goals are generally encoded as adjuncts with the use of a locative phrase headed by *kuna*.[15] Their applied counterparts, however, may internalise the adjunct phrase and this argument acquires all the properties of a direct object[16], since it has to be obligatorily subcategorised for (see Khamisi 1985). Thus, (20a) shows the ditransitive base form *tuma* 'send', with one object and an optional locative adjunct *kuna mbuya*. (20b), on the other hand, shows the applied form *tumira* 'send to' with two objects *mwana* and *mbuya*. the latter not being marked by *kuna* but still interpreted as the goal.

(20)   a. *Mai   va-ka-tum-a   mw-ana (ku-na mbuya)*
           1a-mother 2aSM-PST-send-FV   1-child   to 1a-grandmother
           'Mother sent the child towards grandmother'

        b. *Mai   va-ka-tum-ir-a   mw-ana   mbuya*
           1a-mother 2aSM-PST-send-APPL-FV   1-child   1a-grandmother
           'Mother sent the child to grandmother'

(21)   a. *Mw-ana   a-ka-mhany-a   ku-na mai*
           1-child   1SM-PST-run-FV   to 1a-mother
           'The child ran towards mother'

        b. *Mw-ana   a-ka-mhany-ir-a   mai*
           1-child   1SM-PST-run-APPL-FV   1a-mother
           'The child ran to mother'

(22)   a. *Godhi   a-ka-nyor-a   tsamba (ku-na Anatoria)*
           1a-name   1SM-PST-write-FV   9-letter   to 1a-name
           'Godfrey wrote a letter to Anatoria'

        b. *Godhi   a-ka-nyor-er-a   Anatoria   tsamba*
           1a-name   1SM-PST-write-APPL- FV   1a-name   9-letter
           'Godfrey wrote a letter to Anatoria'

One of the differences between the applicative and non-applicative versions in the examples above relates to the endpoint of the event described. The sentences with adjunct goals marked by *kuna* do not carry the implication that the

---

[15]*Kuna* is an allomorph of *ku-*, a combination of the class 17 prefix and an associative marker, and appears with proper names and titles in class 1a. It has been argued to be a form of a preposition in Chishona (Harford 1993). However, within most Bantu languages the category of preposition has been assumed not to exist. We do not go into detail here but just assume that *kuna* marks an oblique form within a goal oriented phrase and view it as a locative adjunct.

[16]See Mabugu (2001b) and Hawkinson and Hyman (1974) for more details of the syntactic properties of the applied objects within Chishona

non-applicative object necessarily arrives at the goal, an 'unachieved goal' (as indicated by the use of 'towards' in English in Mabugu 2001). Thus in the (a) examples above, the action defined in the event does not necessarily culminate to the endpoint provided by the *kuna*-marked object, as indicated by the acceptability of sentence (23) which explicitly states this.

(23)   *Mai*   *va-ka-tum-a*   *mw-ana* *ku-na* *mbuya*   *asi*
      1a-mother 2aSM-PST-send-FV 1 child to   1a-grandmother but
      haana *ku-svik-a*
      NEG   15-arrive-FV
      'Mother sent the child to grandmother but she did not arrive'

However, the applicative counterparts in the (b) examples above, carry a strong implication that the final destination is reached and this may be referred to as an 'achieved' Goal which can be paraphrased as 'to the point of being at the Goal'. The applicative suffix in this context focuses narrowly on the goal relation that exists between the two objects, the AO and the logical (or direct) object. What is highlighted in this context is the movement of the subject/object with its location at a specific endpoint, the applied object. The applicative thus serves to strengthen the concept of the goal of the event, yielding the implicature of actual relocation of the direct object. Querying whether the child reached its final destination in terms of acceptability is peculiar as shown by example (24).

(24)   *#Mai*   *va-ka-tum-ir-a*   *mw-ana* *mbuya*   *asi*
      1a-mother 2aSM-PST-send-APPL-FV 1-child 1a grandmother but
      haana *ku-svik-a*
      NEG   15-arrive-FV
      'Mother sent the child to grandmother but she did not arrive'

Thus, the LOCATIVE GOAL induces a pragmatic effect of emphasising the Goal relation through the use of the applicative, as well as through the semantics of the verb, a double goal, if you like, an instance of what Marten (2002) refers to as concept strengthening. The effect is thus one of emphasis or focus on the Goal itself, a hypothesis that is supported by the fact that the applicative verb can be used together with an explicit marking of the Goal by *kuna* as in (25).[17]

(25)   *Mai*   *va-ka-tum-ir-a*   *mw-ana* *kuna mbuya*
      1a-mother 2SM-PST-send-APPL-FV 1-child to 1a-grandmother
      'Mother sent the child to grandmother'

This triple marking of the Goal relation, through the semantics of the verb, the applicative affix and the goal marker *kuna* even further emphasises the endpoint of

---

[17]This according to Maarten Mous(pc) is also similar to the causative construction with a double agent.

the Goal and as such example (26) is even less acceptable than (24).[18]

(26) *??Mai*   *va-ka-tum-ir-a*   *mw-ana* *ku-na* *mbuya*
      1a-mother 2aSM-PST-send-APPL-FV 1-child 17-ASS 1a grandmother
      asi *haana* *kusvika*
      but   NEG   15-arrive-FV
      'Mother sent the child to grandmother but she did not arrive'

Clearly, this use of the applicative morpheme can be connected with the adficiary and motive uses noted above: all involve the concept of Goal. The difference between them is derived from the semantics of the verb. Where the verb is associated with a Goal role through its lexical meaning, the internalisation of this role as an AO serves to specify that the endpoint is achieved. Hence, we have what we might call a LOCATIVE GOAL, differentiated from the GOAL underlying adficiary and motive readings by the semantics of the verb. Our hypothesis that the applicative morpheme denotes a Goal relation is thus supported by these facts, underlining the idea that the precise interpretation of the role of an applied object is determined by semantic and pragmatic factors, not syntactic ones.

2.5 Source and Goal

A further piece of evidence in support of our hypothesis that the applicative affix introduces a Goal argument can be found with certain verbs which, in their non-applied form, may have an expressed Source, but which, in the applied form, are interpreted as taking a Goal AO.

(27)   a. *Beatrice* *a-ka-dzok-a*   *(ku-bv-a)* *ku-chi-koro*
         1a-name 1SM-PST-return-FV from   17-7-school
         'Beatrice returned from school'

    b. *Beatrice* *a-ka-dzok-er-a*   *ku-chi-koro*
         1a-name 1SM-PST-return-APPL- FV 17-7-school
         'Beatrice went back to school'

(28)   a. *Ma*-war veterans *a-ka-tiz-a*   *(ku-bv-a)* *pa-purazi*
         6-war veterans   6SM-PST-flee-FV from   16-5-farm
         'War veterans fled from the farm'

---

[18]Note in passing that the existence of examples like that in (20c) undermines syntactic analyses of the applicative that involves preposition incorporation (Baker 1988). The co-existence of the 'preposition' and the applicative morpheme indicates that they are not reflexes of the same syntactic position. The rather weak formulation of the semantic effect of the applicative affix given in (16) in the previous subsection, however, predicts that this should be possible. The append function encodes no requirement that the introduced argument is distinct from any other argument (or adjunct) of the verb. Hence, if an adjunct introduced by *ku-na* adds a Goal to the semantics of the verb this may unify with one introduced by the applicative affix.

    b. *Ma*-war veterans *a-ka-tiz-ir-a*   *pa-purazi*
       6-war veterans   6SM-PST-flee-FV 16-5-farm
       'War veterans ran onto the farm'

(29)   a. *Grace*   *a-ka-tsvair-a*   *ma-rara (ku-bv-a) mu-mba*
       1a-name 1SM-PST-sweep-FV 6-dirt   from   18-room
       'Grace swept dirt from the room'

    b. *Grace*   *a-ka-tsvair-ir-a*   *ma-rara mu-mba*
       1a-name 1SM-PST-sweep-APPL-FV 6-dirt   18-room
       'Grace swept dirt into the room'

The Source interpretation of the non-applicative verbs derive from the semantics of the verb (for instance, fleeing implies something one flees from, sweep implies removing something from somewhere).[19] However, with applicatives, the AO is interpreted as a Goal not a Source, giving the effect of a reversal of the assumed role of one participant. The literature on Bantu applicatives is mainly silent about these examples, which Harford (1993) calls lexicalised or idiomatic, noting that they fall outside the purview of Lexical Mapping Theory (Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Alsina and Mchombo 1992), because the theta roles are not held constant, but change from Source to Goal. The verb still implies a Source reading, of course, as part of the verbal semantics but where these participants explicitly appear, as in (30), they are no longer so closely associated with the verb:

(30) *Patricia a-ka-dzok-er-a*   *ku-Harare a-chi-bv-a*
     1a-name 1SM-PST-depart-APPL-FV 17-Harare 1SMFLPRE-come-FV
     ku-Edinburgh
     17-Edinburgh
     'Patricia returned to Harare coming from Edinburgh'

The importance of this example is to show that Edinburgh is interpreted as the Source while Harare is the Goal, despite both being identically marked with the locative affix *ku-*. It is thus the applicative object that provides the endpoint of the event (Harare) while the initial point is an adjunct.[20]

---

[19]In actual fact, the source argument is in most cases left out since it is implied.

[20]The issue of the dual nature of locatives has occupied Bantu linguists for a while as to whether locatives should be treated as adverbs or as noun phrases. Perez-Harford (1983) argues that Chishona locatives should be treated as adverbs since they are pseudo-subjects. Arguments have been postulated to treat locatives as prepositional phrases as argued for by Kashina (2000) when he analyses Silozi and claims that the locative classes of 15, 16, 17 and 18 within this language should be analysed as prepositions. Similarly, Dembetembe (1987) argues that the locative complements are distinct from real objects because we cannot question them using the same question word form as other nouns. However, in this paper, following Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) and Bresnan (1991), we adopt the position that distributional and morphological considerations indicate that locatives should be treated as noun phrases (see also Hyman and Duranti 1982).

3   Non-Canonical Meanings

In the previous section, we argued that a single interpretation of the applicative construction is sufficient to account for the various basic interpretations of Beneficiary, Maleficiary, Motive and Goal readings of the applied object. In this section, we focus on two non-canonical interpretations denoting Location and Source. In these roles, the generalised Goal relation hypothesized to underlie the other interpretations is not obviously observable. We argue that these result instead from the grammaticalisation of the object position for purposes of information structure, possibly from the focus effects we have already observed in the Goal interpretations.

3.1   Locative

As shown by Harford (1993)and Salkie (1994), locatives in ChiShona may appear in the clause with or without an applicative main verb. This gives rise to a situation in which we have minimal pairs such as those in (31-32):

(31)   a. *Yeso   a-ka-chem-a   pa-mu-chinjikwa.*
           1a-Jesus   1SM-PST-weep-FV   16-3-cross
           'Jesus wept on the cross'

        b. *Yeso   a-ka-chem-er-a   pa-mu-chinjikwa.*
           1a-Jesus   1SM-PST-weep-APPL-FV   16-3-cross
           'Jesus wept [while he was] on the cross'

(32)   a. *Baba   v-ake va-ka-f-a   mu-ma-oko a-ke*
           1a father   his   2SM PSTdieFV   18-6-hand   POSS
           'His/Her father died in his/her hands'

        b. *Baba   v-ake va-ka-f-ir-a   mu-ma-oko a-ke*
           1a-father   POSS 2aSM-PST-die-APPL-FV   18-6-hand   POSS
           'His/Her father died in his/her hands'

Although most native speakers agree that it is very difficult to differentiate the meanings of the applicative and non-applicative versions, there are subtle interpretational effects.

The non-applicative sentences in (31a-32a), which contain intransitive verb stems with an optional locative argument, have more than one interpretation. In sentence (32a), the preferred reading is that the dying of the father occurred literally in his child's hands. But there is another available reading in which the dying happened while father was generally in the child's hands (i.e. in the child's care). However, in the applicative construction, only one reading is available: (32b) can only mean 'the event of father dying' is located specifically in his child's arms. This strong implication that the applicative signals that the subject is located at the place where the AO is holds for the other example above: in (31a) Jesus wept

whilst he was on the cross or when he just passed in the vicinity of the cross, while in (31b) in that the weeping of Jesus was located specifically on the cross, when he was being crucified. What then seems to be happening within applicative sentences is putting Jesus, and father respectively in a specific location where the event occurred and seem to be emphasising the location where the event happened.

Examples based on transitive verb stems are given in (33,34). Again the function of the applicative suffix is to emphasise the event and where it specifically took place. The subject in these examples is restricted to being located in the same place as the applied object.

(33)   a. *Patrick   a-ka-on-a   va-sikana mu-gomo.*
           1a-name   1SM-PST-see-FV 2-girl   18-5-mountain
           'Patrick saw the girls [while they were] on the mountain'

        b. *Patrick   a-ka-on-er-a   va-sikana mu-gomo*
           1a-name   1SM-PST-see-APPL-FV 2-girl   18-5-mountain
           'Patrick saw the girls [while he was] on the mountain'

(34)   a. *Ramos   a-ka-nzw-a   mu-mhazi   mu-chovha.*
           1a-name 1SM-PST-hear-FV   3-music   18-taxi
           'Ramos heard music [while it was] in the *emergency taxi*'

        b. *Ramos   a-ka-nzw-ir-a   mu-mhazi   mu-chovha*
           1a-name 1SM-PST-hear-APPL-FV 3-music   18-taxi
           'Ramos heard music [while he was] in the *emergency taxi*'

The sentences (33a) and (34a) which have a non-applicative verb and an optional locative adjunct leave the location of the subject vague. Thus, (33a) is interpreted as locating the logical object, the girls, on the mountain when Patrick saw them but does not indicate anything specific about Patrick's location. Similarly, sentence (34a) has the preferred reading in which Ramos heard the music coming from the emergency taxi without indicating his location. These sentences could thus be interpreted with the subject in the same place as the locative adjunct, or not.

However, this is not the case the the applicative counterparts in (33b) and (34b). The former entails that Patrick's seeing the girls is true if and only if Patrick is also on the mountain. The latter example places both Ramos and the music within the emergency taxi. So an applicative locative in this context has the semantic function of restricting/constraining the location of an event as a whole to be in the same place as the locative AO, thus ensuring that subjects and any logical objects are also so located. As can be seen from the above, although both sentences in examples (33) and (34) encode the same proposition, the applied verb licenses an extra object and at the same time additional contextual effects which are not found with the non-applicative verb.[21] Notice that while this locative reinforcement does not appear to be derivable from any sort of Goal relation, the inferential effect of 'x

---

[21]Note here that the locative marker in the locative object examples is retained when it becomes the applied object. If the locative marker is 'incorporated' (as Baker 1988) the sentence with an

being located at AO' is one that we suggested as an enrichment of the applicative constructions involving Recipient and Purpose, an emphasis on the endpoint of the event. In this case of Locative AOs, this provides the location of the event.

This specification of location of the event denoted by the main verb apparently introduced by the applicative affix may give rise to further inferential effects, such as inducing habitual readings or inducing contrastive focus interpretations. Consider the examples in (35 -36):

(35)   a. *Mu-biki   a-no-bik-a   sadza   pa-moto.*
            1-cook   1SM-PRE-cook-FV   5-sadza 16-9-fire
            'The cook is cooking sadza on an open fire'

        b. *Mu-biki   a-no-bik-ir-a   sadza   pa-moto.*
            1-cook   1SM-PRE-cook-APPL-FV   5-sadza 16-9-fire
            'The cook is cooking *sadza* on an open fire'

(36)   a. *Margret   a-ka-nyor-a   tsamba   pa-tafura.*
            1a-name   1SM-PSTwriteFV   9 letter   16 9 table
            'Margret wrote a letter on the table'

        b. *Margret   a-ka-nyor-er-a   tsamba   pa-tafura.*
            1a-name   1SM PSTwriteAPPL FV   9 letter   16 9 table
            'It was on the table that Margret wrote a letter '

The difference between (35a) and (35b) is that in the applicative form there is an emphasis on location indicates to the hearer that there is something significant about the event of cooking is taking place 'on an open fire'. One possible reading is that it is the subject's habit to cook *sadza* on an open fire.[22] A second reading is that the cook was cooking on an open fire instead of a stove because the sadza required a certain amount of fire heat. Similarly, in example (36a) we have the transitive use of *nyora* 'write', here with an optional adjunct, *pa-tafura* 'on the table'. In the applicative form in (36a), the adjunct has become an object (the AO) with extra contextual effects, that of contrastive focus: that Margret wrote the letter

---

applicative verb is infelicitous as illustrated in (i) and (ii), which are marked as unacceptable rather than ungrammatical (#), as in the English translations, since it seems to be pragmatic infelicity rather than ungrammaticality per se that is at issue here. The introduction of an unmarked locative renders an inappropriate interpretation, at most giving a Beneficiary reading which is unacceptable. This shows that locative arguments within Chishona should be treated as noun phrases which a verb can be obligatorily subcategorised for given appropriate modifications.

i.   #Mu-biki   a-no-bik-ir-a   sadza   moto
      1-cook   1SM-PRE-cook-APPL-FV   5-sadza 9-fire
'The cook is cooking *sadza* for an open fire'

ii.   #Margret   a-ka-nyor-er-a   tsamba   tafura
      1a-name   1SM PSTwriteAPPL FV   9 letter 9 table
'Margret wrote a letter for the table'

[22]The habitual reading seems to be brought out not only by the applicative but the combination of the applicative and tense. More research needs to be done on the relation between tense and applicatives in Bantu.

this time on the table, rather than on the floor, as indicated by the use of the English cleft construction in the translation. The point here is that the precise interpretation of the sentence depends on context interacting with the interpretation of the AO is indicating a strong locative relation with the event denoted by the main verb.

3.2 Source

The section above has shown that the applicative suffix can have a locative interpretation emphasising the location at which an activity has taken place. Some applicatives, however, have an AO that is interpreted as a source, the initial point of some movement. The source interpretation is mainly determined by the lexical meaning of the verb.

(37) a. *Patricia*   *a-ka-simuk-a*   *(ku-Edinburgh)*
          1a-name   1SM-PST-depart-FV   17-place
          'Patricia departed from Edinburgh'

      b. *Patricia*   *a-ka-simuk-ir-a*   *ku-Edinburgh*
          1a-name   1SM-PST-depart-APPL-FV   17-place
          'Patricia departed from Edinburgh'

(38) a. *Chi-tima*   *cha-ka-bv-a*   *ku-Harare*
          7 train   7SM-PST-come fromFV   17-place
          'The train came from Harare'

      b. *Chi-tima*   *cha-ka-bv-ir-a*   *ku-Harare*
          7 train   7SM-PST-come from-APPL-FV   17-place
          'The train came from Harare'

The (a) and (b) sentences above are, like the locative examples in the previous section, truth conditionally equivalent, but most native speakers agree that they are subtly distinct. In the non-applicative form there is no implication that the source of the activity is exactly the initial point. So, in (37a) Patricia left from Edinburgh but Edinburgh might just have been a stopover in some longer journey and in (38) the train's point of departure is given as anywhere in Harare, but the train might have started its journey elsewhere. In the applicative forms, however, the point of departure is focused and there are implicatures that some definite place is intended (such as Edinburgh airport or the central train station in Harare) to constitute the *initial* source of the activity (Patricia's journey began at Edinburgh airport and the train starts out from Harare). The reading also gives rise to contrastive focus: due to some complication, Patricia's departure point ended up being Edinburgh instead of somewhere else; the train's point of origin ended up being Harare instead of Bulawayo for instance.

In section (2) it was hypothesised that Goal, Motive, Maleficiary and Beneficiary applied objects are essentially Goals specifying a relation between the event

denoted by the verb with the applied object. The specific interpretations were argued to depend on a number of contextual factors involving the semantics of the verb stem, the applied object and the logical object (if it is present) and pragmatic enrichment of location of some argument at the applied object and hence focussing on the completion (endpoint) of the event expressed by the clause. With Source applicatives, the reading can thus be seen as a pragmatic effect of emphasising the *initial* point in a path not its endpoint, as with Goals, giving rise to a focus reading in just the same way as some of the locative examples discussed in the previous subsection. The problem remains how to incorporate the locative and source roles into this hypothesis since the two seem to identify a *locative* relation.

There are two ways in which this position may be rectified. The first way would be to say that the applicative morpheme encodes a general Locative relation, one that may be interpreted as Goal, Source or Locative. While this seems to be a valid generalisation within ChiShona, it fails to account for the fact that the *default* interpretation is as a goal, of a more or less abstract sort, with the Source and LOCATIVE AOs being less frequent.

The second is to explore the possibility that the Source and Locative applied objects are the result of some process of grammaticalisation of the applicative construction. We have already seen that the locative examples seem to involve at least some of the effects of the Goal interpretation by specifying the locative point of some entity as the AO. Unlike Recipient but like Purpose, what is specified as at the AO is an event not an entity (denoted by the subject or logical object). Unlike Purpose, however, the event that is specified is that denoted by the verb stem. This as we have seen leads to the drawing of pragmatic inferences over the properties involved in the situation described (including tense) to give readings of habituality or contrast. The latter is a typical type of linguistic focus which, we suggest, provides the pragmatic bridge needed to explain the extension of the original Goal features of the applicative construction to Source interpretations.

Native speakers perceive applicative constructions involving these roles as emphasising or focusing the AO in some way. It is this that gives rise to the interpretations of locative examples as involving the actual location of an event *at* the AO, since the event is said to be located/being emphasised with respect to the applied object. This idea that the applicative morpheme involves focus can be seen in the appropriateness or otherwise of using an applicative form in reply to questions:

(39)   a. *Mw-ana   a-ka-famb-(ir-)-a   kupi?*
            1-child   1SM-PST-walk-(APPL)-FV   where
            'Where did the child walk?'

         b. *??Mw-ana   a-ka-famb-a   mu-bindu*
            1 child   1SM-PST-walk-FV   3-garden
            'The child walked in the garden'

         c. *Mw-ana   a-ka-famb-ir-a   mu-bindu*
            1 child   1SM-PST-walk-APPL-FV   3-garden
            'The child walked [while it was] in the garden'

(40)   a. *Ndi-yani a-ka-famb-a   mu-bindu?*
           who   1SM-PST-walk-FV 18-garden
           'Who walked in the garden?'

    b. *Mw-ana a-ka-famb-a   mu-bindu*
           1 child   1SM-PST-walk-FV 3-garden
           'The child walked in the garden'

    c. **Mw-ana a-ka-famb-ir-a   mu-bindu*
           1 child   1SM-PST-walk-APPL-FV 3-garden
           'The child walked in the garden'

(41)   a. *Patricia a-ka-simuk-(ir)-a   ku-pi?*
           1a-name 1SM-PST-depart-APPL-FV 17-where
           'Where did Patricia depart from?'

    b. *??Patricia a-ka-simuk-a   ku-Edinburgh*
           1a-name   1SM-PST-depart-FV 17-place
           'Patricia departed from Edinburgh'

    c. *Patricia a-ka-simuk-ir-a   ku-Edinburgh*
           1a-name 1SM-PST-depart-APPL-FV 17-place
           'Patricia departed from Edinburgh'

(42)   a. *Ndi-ani a-ka-simuk-a   ku-Edinburgh?*
           who   1SM-PST-depart-FV 17-place
           'Who departed from Edinburgh?'

    b. *Patricia a-ka-simuk-a   ku-Edinburgh*
           1a-name 1SM-PST-depart-FV 17-place
           'Patricia departed from Edinburgh'

    c. **Patricia a-ka-simuk-ir-a   ku-Edinburgh*
           1a-name   1SM-PST-depart-APPL-FV 17-place
           'Patricia departed from Edinburgh'

This pragmatic explanation of the spread of the applicative from Goals to Sources is also supported by syntactic factors. The literature on the syntax (and semantics) of focus is vast and there is no intention of reviewing it here, but one of the things generally agreed about the phenomenon is that the focus of a sentence provides new information, or at least information that is currently of most relevance. Creissels (2004) in a discussion of the focus effects of the aplicative construction in Tswana attributes these to the object properties of the AO, this being a position in many languages including the Bantu languages that povides new information. The association of object syntactic functions with the discourse interpretational effect of new informaton and focus provides a strong source in such languages for the using of objectivising constructions to put expressions in focus

that would not otherwise receive straightforward stress. Ordinary Source phrases are adjunct-like in ChiShona and do not interact with verbal complements in any obvious way (unlike Locatives and some Goals, see Mabugu 2001). Therefore, extending the applicative construction which creates a new object to adjunctlike constructions is a natural move within the language, the locative nature of Goals making them more likely to take part in initial grammaticalisation than non-locative roles such as Instrumental. That what is happening with the Source examples is the internalisation of an adjunct (or promotion of adjunct to object) can be seen in examples such a those in (43) where the co-occurrence of *kubva* 'from' is required with non-applicative verbs but prohibited with applicative ones.

(43)   a. *Ma*-war veterans *a-ka-tor-a*   *purazi*   **(ku-bv-a)*
          6-war veteran   6SM-PST-take-FV   5-farm   from
          ku-mu-rimi
          17-1-farmer
          'The war veterans took the farm from the farmer'

       b. *Ma*-war veterans *a-ka-tor-er-a*   *(*ku-bv-a)*
          6-war veteran   6SM-PST-take-APPL FV   from
          (*ku-)mu-rimi   *purazi*
          (17-)1-farmer   5-farm
          'The war veterans took the farm away from the farmer'

So what we have with Source readings of an applicative object is a function of the grammaticalisatin of the object function in ChiShona to mark sentential focus and the pragmatic enrichment of Goal and Locative AOs to provide an explicit location for the event, subject or logical object.

4   Conclusion

We have in this paper argued that the basic applicative construction in ChiShona involves the introduction of an internal argument that is interpreted as involving a generalised Goal relation with an event. If the identified event is that expressed by the main verb stem then, for events that do not lexically express a locative goal, the interpretation of the applied object is as an Adficiary. Negative connotations of the situation described by the clause normally lead to an interpretation as Maleficiary and positive ones as Beneficiary, but general linguistic context may alter this. Both roles may involve a pragmatic enhancement such that the AO is interpreted as being with (or at) either the subject or the logical object, yielding a Recipient interpretation. Where the main verb stem lexically implies a locative Goal and where the AO may be interpreted as a Location, then we derive instances of true (locative) Goals. Where the AO is inanimate and not a possible location, the event with which the applied object is related is interpreted as an event Goal of the main event, i.e. an inferred event that the main event is intended to bring out. In such cases, the AO

is not itself the Goal but merely a participant in some Goal event determined prag-
matically from context and thus interpreted as Motive, either directly as Reason, or
through enrichment of the BE-AT property, as Purpose. Animate AOs may also be
so interpreted, depending on context. Locative and Source AOs do not receive any
sort of Goal reading but are licensed in the applicative construction if they are fo-
cussed in the discourse. This development away from the basic Goal aplicative we
suggest derives from the effect with true Goals of emphasizing the actual location
of the main event, subject or logical object at the place specified by the AO. This
focuslike affect becomes associated with the general focus effects of objects and
this leads to the development of other locative phrases coming into the domain of
the applicative construction. Notice that in ChiShona, such non-canonical applica-
tives are restricted to locative relations, while in other Bantu languages (such as
Swahili) instrumental, and perhaps other roles, may be marked by the applicative.
This strongly implies that the applicative construction is continuing to undergo ex-
tensions from its canonical benefactive interpretation.[23] This development gives us
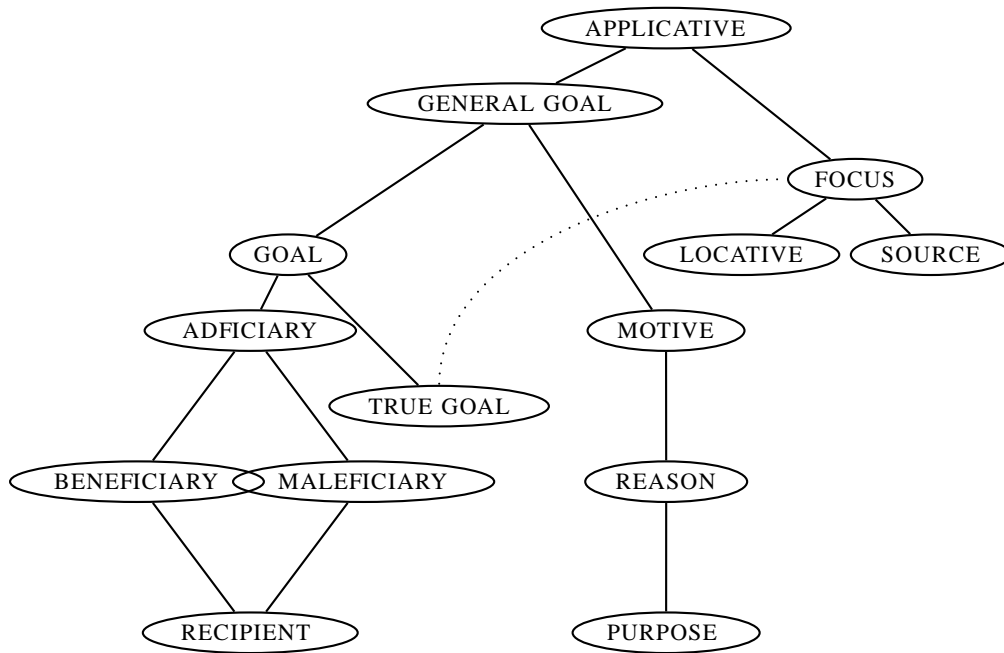a picture like that shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: The applicative construction in ChiShona

---

[23]See Trithart 1983 for a discussion of the historical development of the applicative construction
that bolsters this view.

References

Alsina, A. (1994) Bantu multiple objects: analyses and fallacies. *Linguistic Analysis* 24.154-174.

Alsina, A. and Mchombo, S. (1992). The syntax of applicatives in Chichewa: problems for a theta theoretic asymmetry. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 8.493-506.

Alsina, A. and Mchombo, S. (1993) Object asymmetries and the Chichewa applicative construction. In Mchombo (ed.) 17-45.

Baker, M. (1988) Theta theory and the syntax of applicatives in Chichewa. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6.353-380.

Bentley, M. E. (1994) the Syntactic Effects of Animacy in Bantu Languages. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University.

Bentley, M. E. (1998) The marking of grammatical relations in Swahili. *Studies in African Linguistics* 27.177-197.

Berman, R. (1982) Dative marking of the effectee role: data from modern Hebrew. *Hebrew Annual Review* 6.35-59.

Bresnan, J. (1991) Locative case vs. locative gender. Proceedings of 17th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Bresnan, J., and Kanerva, J. (1989) Locative inversion in Chichewa. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.1-50.

Bresnan, J. and Moshi, L. (1990) Object asymmetries in comparative Bantu syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21.147-185.

Carston, R. (2002) *Thoughts and Utterances*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Creissels, D (2004) Non-canonical applicatives and focalisation in Tswana. Paper presented at Syntax of the World's Languages, Leipzig.

Dembetembe, N. (1979) A syntactic classification of non-auxiliary verbs in Shona. *Zambezia* 7.471-484.

Fortune, G. (1984) *Shona Grammatical Constructions* volume 1. Mercury Press.

Foley, W. A., and R. D. Van Valin (1984) *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Frawley, W. (1992) *Linguistic Semantics*. London, Lawrence Erlbaum.

Harford, C. (1993) The applicative in ChiShona and lexical mapping theory. In Mchombo (ed) 93-111.

Hawkinson, A. and Hyman, L. (1974) Hierarchies of natural topic in Shona. *Studies in African Linguistics* 5.147-170.

Humphreys, R. L. (1999) Valency changing alternations. In Brown, K. and miller, J. (eds.) *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hyman, L. and Duranti, A. (1982) On the object relation in Bantu. In Hopper, P and Thompson, S (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics 15: Studies in Transitivity*. New York, Academic Press.

Kashina, K. (2000) Silozi Constituent Ordering and the theory of Endweight. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Khamisi, A. (1985) Swahili Verb Derivation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii.

Mabugu, P. (2001a) Polysemy and the Applicative Verb Construction in ChiShona. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Mabugu, P. (2001b) A unitary description of the interpretations of ChiShona applicatives. In Githiora, C., Littlefield, H. and Manfredi, V. (eds.) *Trends in African Linguistics* 5. Africa World Press.

Machobane, M. (1989) Some Restrictions of Transitivising Morphemes in Sesotho. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, McGill University.

Marantz, A. (1984) *On The Nature Of Grammatical Relations*. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.

Marantz, A. (1993) Implications of asymmetries in double object constructions. In Mhombo (ed.) 113-150.

Marten, L. (2002) *At the Syntax-Pragmatics Interface*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Matambirofa F, A (2003) A lexical mapping theory Account of the applicative and the causative extensions in Shona. Unpublished Phd dissertation, University of Zimbabwe.

Mchombo, Sam (ed.) (1993) *Theoretical Aspects of Bantu Grammar*. Stanford, CSLI Publications.

Ngonyani, D. (1996) The Morphosyntax of Applicatives. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California.

Ngonyani, D. (1998) Properties of applied objects in KiSwahili and KiNdendeule. *Studies in African Linguistics* 27.68-95.

Parson, T. (1990) *Events in the Semantics of English*. Cambridge, MA., MIT Press.

Perez-Harford, C. (1983) Locative pseudo subjects in Shona. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 5.131-155.

Port, R. (1981) The applied suffix in Swahili. *Studies in African Linguistics* 12.71-82.

Pylkkanen, L. (2000) What applicative heads apply to. *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* vol. 6.4, University of Pennsylvania.

Salkie, R. (1994) The applied extension in Shona and case theory. 7th Niger-Congo Syntax and Semantics Workshop.

Schein, B. (1993) *Plurals and Events*. Cambridge, MA., MIT Press.

Trithart, L. M. (1983) The Applied Affix and Transitivity: A Historical Study in Bantu. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, UCLA.

Wierzbicka, A. (1988) *The Semantics Of Grammar*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.