NEGLECTED FUNCTIONS OF THE BANTU APPLICATIVE IN RELATION TO LOCATIONS: NEW INSIGHTS FROM FWE (K402)

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fwo

OVERVIEW

Introduction to Fwe

The applicative in Fwe

    Formal aspects

    Syntactic aspects

    Semantic aspects

    Neglected functions: locative phrases as applied objects
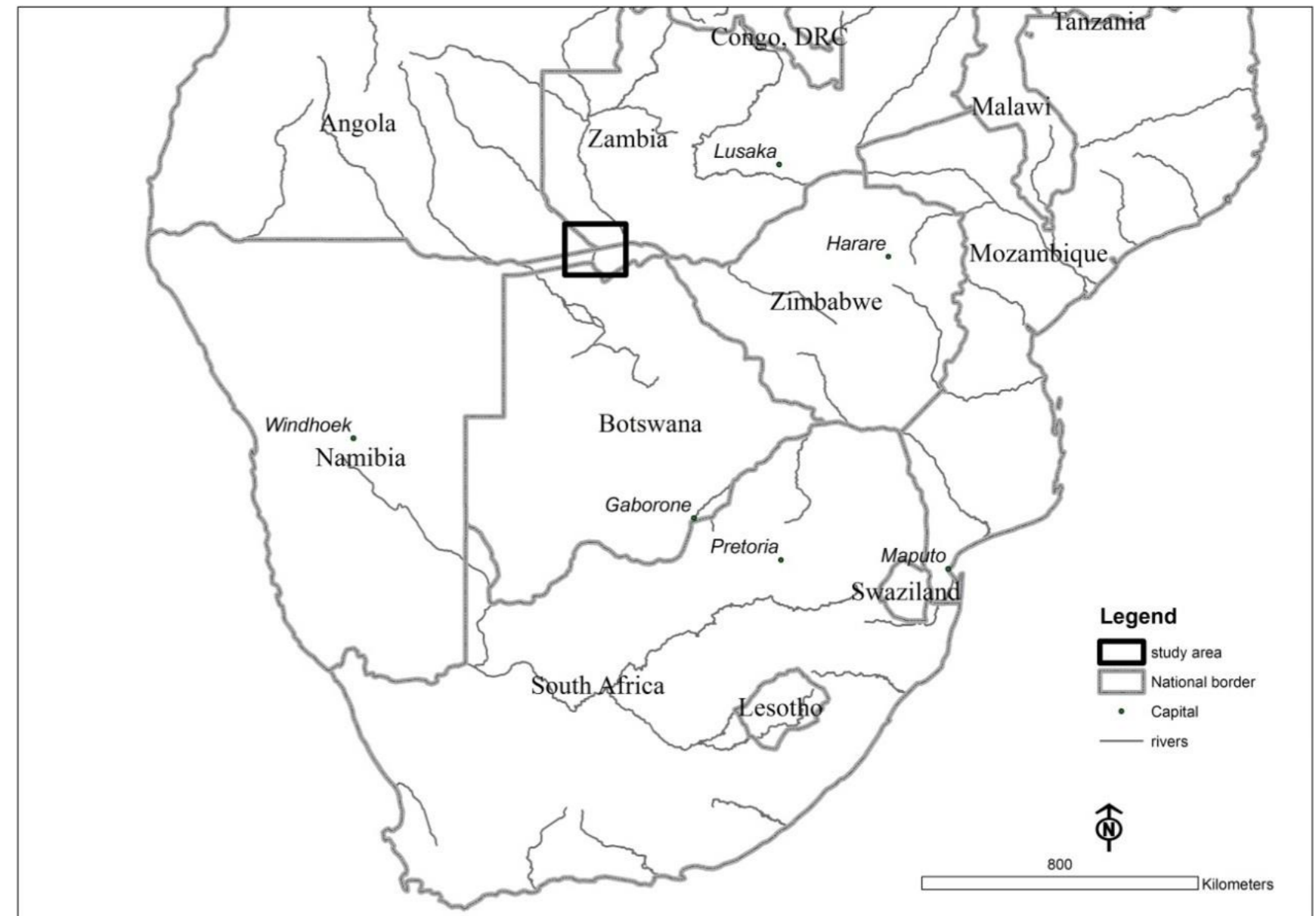
        Focus

        Orientation

Conclusion

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FWE

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THE FWE LANGUAGE

- Bantu > Eastern Bantu > Bantu Botatwe > Fwe (K402)
- Zambia / Namibia
- +- 20,000 native speakers

THE FWE LANGUAGE

Verbal derivation

Tense/Aspect/Polarity – Subject – Tense/Aspect/Polarity – Object – Root – **Derivation** – Final vowel

Verbal derivational suffixes:

- **-is/-es** causative
- **-(i)w** passive
- **-ir/-er/-in/-en** applicative
- **-ik/-am** positional
- etc

THE APPLICATIVE IN FWE

MORPHOLOGY

The applicative in Fwe: derivational suffix **-ir/-er/-in/-en**

-ir after high/low vowels

kuamba 'speak' > **kuambira** 'speak to'

-er after mid vowels

kunyensa 'defeat' > **kunyensera** 'defeat for'

-in/-en after nasal consonants

kuzana 'play' > **kuzanina** 'play for'

kutema 'chop' > **kutemena** 'chop for'

SYNTAX

The applicative suffix allows the addition of an applied object:

Underived verb: monotransitive

ndi-hond-a   n-koko

SM_{1SG}-cook-FV NP_9-porridge

'I am cooking porridge.'

Applicative verb: ditransitive

ndi-hond-er-a   ba-ance n-koko

SM_{1SG}-cook-APPL-FV NP_2-child NP_9-porridge

'I am cooking porridge for the children.'

SEMANTICS

Semantic roles of the applied object

– Benefactive

a-zyak-ir-a   **mw-ance ka-zyuo**

SM_1-build-APPL-FV NP_1-child NP_{12}-house

'He builds a room for the child.'

SEMANTICS

Semantic roles of the applied object

– Benefactive

– Malefactive

sh-a-ndi-zyonaw-ir-a   mu-ndare   w-angu

INC-SM$_1$-OM$_{1SG}$-destroy-APPL-FV   NP$_3$-maize   PP$_3$-POSS$_{1SG}$

'He is starting to destroy my maize for me.'

SEMANTICS

Semantic roles of the applied object

— Benefactive

— Malefactive

— Recipient

aba-risani   **ka-tu-ba-twar-ir-ang-a**   **e-zi-ryo**   **mu-zi-reyi**

NP_2-herder   PST-SM_{1PL}-OM_2-bring-APPL-HAB-FV NP_8-food NP_{18}-NP_8-sledge

'The herders, we would bring them food on sledges.'

SEMANTICS

Semantic roles of the applied object

– Benefactive

– Malefactive

– Recipient

– Substitutive

k-o-ndi-ŋor-er-e   **e-ŋoro**

NEG-SM$_{2SG}$-OM$_{1SG}$-write-APPL-SBJV NP$_5$-letter

'Please write the letter for me.'

SEMANTICS

Semantic roles of the applied object

– Benefactive

– Malefactive

– Recipient

– Substitutive

– Reason

mbo-ndi-sanz-ir-e   **omu-raːriro**   **tu-suba**

FUT-SM$_{1SG}$-wash-APPL-SBJV NP$_3$-dinner   NP$_{13}$-dish

'I will wash the dishes for dinner.'

SEMANTICS

Semantic roles of the applied object

– Benefactive

– Malefactive

– Recipient

– Substitutive

– Reason

– *Instrument: Fwe uses causative instead

ndi-fund-is-a   **e-nyama**   **aka-furo**

SM_{1SG}-carve-CAUS-FV NP_9-meat NP_{12}-knife

'I carve the meat with a knife.'

SEMANTICS

Semantics of the applicative in specific contexts:

— Applicative + reflexive: useless action

ezi zizwato zicipite, kono

'These clothes are cheap, but....'

zi-ri-fw-ir-a   **buryo**

SM_8-REFL-die-APPL-FV   just

'They won't last long (lit: they will just die).'

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SEMANTICS

Semantics of the applicative in specific contexts:

— Applicative + reflexive: useless action

— Applicative + relative clause headed by **omo**: manner

ndi-shak-a   omo   a-zyimb-ir-a

SM_{1SG}-like-FV DEM_{18} SM_1-sing-APPL-FV

'I like the way she sings.'

SEMANTICS

Lexicalized applicatives

arira 'follow (in order of birth)' < ***ara**

dekeshera 'move the shoulders in a dancing movement' < ***dekesha**

fuzira 'blow on/fan a fire' < ***fuza**

gangira 'freeze' < ***ganga**

kabira 'enter' < ***kaba**

zumina 'believe, agree; accept a marriage proposal' < ***zuma**

shumina 'tie' < ?**shuma** 'bite'

raːrira 'have dinner; sleep next to a sick person' < **raːra** 'sleep'

ŋorera 'copy' < **ŋora** 'write'

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NEGLECTED FUNCTIONS: LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

LOCATIVE PHRASES

Deriving locatives: prefix stacking

class 16: **ci-pura** 'chair' > **ha-ci-pura** 'on the chair'

class 17: **mu-temwa** 'forest' > **ku-mu-temwa** 'to the forest'

class 18: **n-juo** 'house' > **mu-n-juo** 'in the house'

LOCATIVE PHRASES

ba-naku-raːr-ang-a   **mu-n-juo**

SM$_2$-HAB-sleep-HAB-FV   NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house

'They sleep in the house.'

ndi-kar-a   **mwa-Choto**

SM$_{1SG}$-stay-FV   NP$_{18}$-Choto

'I stay in Choto.'

LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

For some verbs, an applicative is obligatory to add a locative:

Applicative

ba-naku-ri-ir-ang-a   **mu-n-juo**

SM_2-HAB-eat-APPL-HAB-FV NP_{18}-NP_9-house

'They eat in the house.'

Underived: ungrammatical

*ba-naku-ri-ang-a mu-n-juo

Intended meaning *'They eat in the house.'

LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

For some verbs, an applicative is obligatory to add a locative:

Applicative

ndi-berek-er-a   **kwa-Katima**

SM_{1SG}-work-APPL-FV NP_{17}-Katima

'I work in Katima.'

Underived: ungrammatical

***ndi-berek-a kwa-Katima**

Intended: 'I work in Katima.'

LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

For some verbs, an applicative is obligatory to add a locative *expressing a general location*:

Applicative: general location ("event locative")

munu   mo-mo   ndi-hik-ir-a

DEM_{18} COP-DEM_{18} SM_{1SG}-cook-APPL-FV

'In here is where I cook (referring to the kitchen).'

Underived: specific location ("participant locative")

munu   mo-mo   ndi-hik-a

DEM_{18} COP-DEM_{18} SM_{1SG}-cook-FV

'In here is where I cook (referring to a pot).'

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LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

For some verbs, an applicative is obligatory to add a locative *expressing a general location*:

Applicative: general location

ndi-kwesi   **ndi-ŋor-er-a**   **h-en-tafure**

SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-write-APPL-FV NP_{16}-NP_9-table

'I'm writing at the table (the writing is on a piece of paper that lies on the table).'

Underived: specific location

ndi-kwesi   **ndi-ŋor-a**   **h-en-tafure**

SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-write-FV NP_{16}-NP_9-table

'I'm writing on the table (the writing is on the surface of the table itself).'

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LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASE

For some verbs, an applicative is obligatory to add a locative *expressing a general location*:

Applicative

ku-shamb-ir-a   **mu-rw-izyi**

INF-swim-APPL-FV NP_{18}-NP_{11}-river

'to bathe in the river' (using a bucket)

Underived

ku-shamb-a   **mu-rw-izyi**

INF-swim-FV NP_{18}-NP_{11}-river

'to swim in the river'

LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

The applicative can express focus on the locative

Underived: no focus

ba-ʒaːk-a   ku-m-bari   yo-rw-izyi

SM$_2$-build-FV NP$_{17}$-NP$_9$-near   CON-NP$_{11}$-river

'They build close to the river.'

Applicative: new information focus on the locative

ba-ʒaːk-ir-a   ku-m-bari   yo-rw-izyi

SM$_2$-build-APPL-FV   NP$_{17}$-NP$_9$-near   CON-NP$_{11}$-river

'They build close to the river.' (answer to: 'Where are they building?')

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LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

The applicative can express new information focus on the locative in a cleft construction:

Applicative + cleft: new information focus on the locative
ku-m-bari   yo-rw-izyi   ba-zyaːk-ir-a
NP$_{17}$-NP$_9$-near   CON-NP$_{11}$-river   SM$_2$-build-APPL-FV
'They are building close to the river.'

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LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

The applicative + cleft is <u>obligatory</u> to express contrastive focus on the locative:

Applicative + cleft: contrastive focus on the locative

ø-mu-n-juo   **a-zwat-ir-a**

COP-NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house   SM$_1$-dress-APPL-FV

'It is in the house that she is getting dressed (not in the bathroom).'

Underived verb + cleft: no contrastive focus on the locative possible

*__ø-mu-n-juo__   **a-zwat-a**

COP-NP$_{18}$-NP$_9$-house   SM$_1$-dress-FV

Intended: 'It is in the house that she is getting dressed (not in the bathroom).'

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LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

The applicative + cleft is <u>obligatory</u> to express contrastive focus on the locative:

mwi-rapa   **mu-zan-in-w-a**

NP_{18}-courtyard SM_{18}-play-APPL-PASS-FV

'It is in the courtyard where playing is allowed (not in the house).'

LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

The applicative can modify the scope of the locative applied phrase

ba-kwesi   **ba-zan-a**   **ha-n-je**

SM_2-PROG SM_2-play-FV NP_{16}-NP_9-outside

'They are playing outside.' (said by someone who is inside)

ba-kwesi   **ba-zan-in-a**   **ha-n-je**

SM_2-PROG SM_2-play-APPL-FV NP_{16}-NP_9-outside

'They are playing outside.' (said by someone who is also outside)

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LOCATIVE APPLIED PHRASES

Compare Haya (Hyman et al 1980: 578)

Underived:

ŋ-ka-bón-a kat' ómú-nju

I-PST3-see-FV Kato in-house

'I saw Kato [while he was] in the house.'

Applicative

ŋ-ka-bón-el-a kat' ómú-nju

I-PST3-see-APPL-FV Kato in-house

'I saw Kato [while I was] in the house.'

CONCLUSIONS

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CONCLUSIONS

Fwe applicatives have a wide range of functions

— especially with locatives

  — general vs. specific location

  — focus

  — orientation

— many lexicalized functions and differences

Further research

— teasing apart different location-related functions

— detailed semantic fieldwork is important!

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