Locative clitics in Fwe

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Abstract

This paper describes the use of verbal locative clitics in Fwe. The status of these morphemes is ambiguous between free word and affix, motivating their analysis as clitics. They have a locative use, expressing anaphoric reference to a location, but also three non-locative uses, expressing a partitive, a polite command, or progressive aspect. Diachronically, locative clitics seem to derive from locative demonstratives, more specifically a demonstrative paradigm that has both situational and non-situational, anaphoric uses.

Keywords: Bantu, locatives, demonstratives, grammaticalization

Introduction

This paper aims to describe the form, functions and possible origin of verbal locative clitics in Fwe. Section 2 discusses the form of the locative clitics in Fwe and argues that they should be analyzed as clitics, rather than free words or suffixes. Section 3 discusses the functions of locative clitics. Locative clitics can be used with a locative function, in which case they refer to a known location, as discussed in 3.1. Locative clitics also have certain non-locative uses, i.e. expressing a partitive, a polite request, or progressive aspect, which are discussed in Section 3.2. Section 4 compares locative clitics to other locative markers in Fwe, showing that there is a considerable functional and formal overlap with a particular paradigm of locative demonstratives, which may be their diachronic source. Before describing the use of locative clitics, however, Section 1 give a brief introduction to the Fwe language.

1. The Fwe language

Fwe is a Bantu language, classified as K.402 by Maho (2009), spoken across the border between Zambia and Namibia. Fwe is spoken in the western part of the Zambezi region (until recently known as eastern Caprivi) of Namibia, and in adjacent areas in Zambia, in the southwestern tip of the Western Province. The language has between 10,000 and 20,000 native speakers (Sakuhuka *et al.* 2011; Lewis *et al.* 2015). Within Bantu, Fwe is part of the Eastern Bantu branch, though geographically it is one of its westernmost outliers. Within Eastern Bantu, it is classified as part of a subgroup called Bantu Botatwe (Bostoen 2009, de Luna 2010). The data presented in this paper were all collected during fieldwork in southwestern Zambia and the town of Katima Mulilo in Namibia between 2013 and 2017.

1.1. Phonology

An introduction to the phonology of Fwe is given by Bostoen (2009). One of the remarkable properties of Fwe is its use of click consonants (Gunnink forthcoming); Fwe is one of a cluster of five Bantu languages spoken in the same area to have this feature (Bostoen and Sands 2012 ; Gunnink, Sands *et al.* 2015). Like most Bantu languages, Fwe is a tone language, distinguishing H-toned and toneless moras on an underlying level, which may surface as [H], [L], [F], and [!H] as the result of various tone rules. Some of the tone rules that are relevant for the study of locative clitics in Fwe only apply to the final or penultimate syllable of a clause, namely the retraction of high tones to the preceding mora, and the realization of certain clause-final high tones as falling. Throughout this paper, the tones marked on the examples are surface tones, with the exception of examples between phonological slashes, where underlying tones are marked. High tones may be associated with a lexical or grammatical morpheme, but may also be assigned by a specific verbal inflection. Tones of the latter type are usually referred to as melodic tones (Odden & Bickmore 2014). Fwe has four different melodic tone patterns, and the most common pattern assigns a high tone to the final mora of the inflected verb. For a more detailed description of Fwe tone, see Gunnink (in preparation).

1.2. Nominal morphology

Nouns in Fwe are divided over 19 noun classes, which are numbered according to the standard Bantu system as 1-18 (including class 1a, which shares most of its agreement with class 1). Nouns are marked for noun class by a prefix, and noun class agreement is marked on all dependents, including obligatory subject marking and optional object marking on the verb. The noun class system includes three locative classes, numbered 16, 17 and 18. There is only a single nominal root that inherently occurs in these classes. For all other nouns, a locative can be derived by stacking the locative noun class prefix onto the noun's inherent prefix.

1.3. Verbal morphology

Fwe has an extensive verbal morphology. Following Meeussen (1967), the structure of the verb in Bantu languages is usually presented as a template consisting of a number of morphological slots. The appropriate form for Fwe is given in (1), with a (non-exhausative) description of the possible functions expressed in each slot. Only the root, subject (except in the case of an imperative), and final vowel are used in all inflections. In the final vowel slot, the 'default' final vowel suffix is **-a** (glossed FV), which occurs in most inflections and does not appear to have a clear function, other than contributing to the phonological well-formedness of the verb.

(1) Morphological structure of the verb in Fwe

Pre-initial	Subj	Post-initial	Obj	Root	Derivation	Final vowel	Post-final
tense; aspect; negation		tense; aspect negation; spatial deixis			passive; causative; applicative; etc		locative

2. Form of the locative clitics

Fwe has three locative noun classes, 16, 17 and 18, and three corresponding verbal locative clitics: **-ho** for class 16, **-ko** for class 17 and **-mo** for class 18. There are no verbal post-final clitics for any of the other, non-locative noun classes. The locative clitic is added to the end of the verb, and is underlyingly toneless, i.e. it surfaces with a low tone unless a floating or melodic high tone is assigned. Examples of all three locative clitics are given in (2)-(4).

(2) **nd-à-kà-gàr-í-hò**
SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-dig-PST-LOC_{16}
'I've dug around there.'

(3) **kà-ndì-kéːzy-ì-kò**
NEG-SM_{1SG}-come-NEG-LOC_{17}
'I cannot come there.'

(4) **Kàpìrívì** **njì-n-dôtù** **ò-kù-βyár-à-mò**
Caprivi COP_9-ADJ_9-good AUG-INF-plant-FV-LOC_{18}
mù-tómbwè
NP_3-tobacco
'The Caprivi, it's good to plant tobacco there.'

A verb cannot take more than one locative clitic. When a verb phrase consists of more than one verb, a locative clitic may only be placed on the last verb of the phrase. In (5), the last verb of the verb phrase is the infinitive verb **kù-|ásàùk-à**, which is marked with the class 16 locative clitic **-hò**. In (6), the last verb of the verb phrase is the inflected verb **ndì-ngòngòt-á**, which is marked with the class 16 locative clitic **-hò**. Locative clitics marking progressive aspect, however, are placed on the first verb of the verb phrase, and may combine with a second locative clitic placed on the last verb of the verb phrase (see section 3.2.)

(5) **è-n-zâsì**
AUG_{10}-NP_{10}-spark
z-akù-rí **kù-|ásàùk-à-hò**
SM_{10}-PST.PROG-be INF-sparkle-FV-LOC_{16}
'Sparks were flying from it.'

(6) **ndì-kwèsì** **ndì-ngòngòt-á-hò**
SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-knock-FV-LOC_{16}
'I am knocking on it.'

Locative clitics are fully integrated into the verb phonologically, but not morphosyntactically, motivating their analysis as clitics. Their low degree of morphosyntactic integration into the host verb can be seen by comparing locative clitics to verbal suffixes. When a locative clitic is used, it is added after all other derivational and inflectional suffixes, as shown in example (7), where the locative clitic **-ko** appears at the very end of the verb, following the habitual suffix **-ang-** and the final vowel suffix **-a**.

(7) **kà-tù-nákù-zí-βìk-àng-à-kò**
PST.IPFV-SM_{1PL}-HAB-OM_8-put-HAB-FV-LOC_{17}
'We used to put them there.'

Locative clitics and verbal inflectional suffixes behave differently with reduplicated verbs. To express a repeated action, the complete verb stem is reduplicated, including inflectional suffixes, as shown in (8), where the past suffix **-i** is repeated on the reduplicand, and in (9), where the future suffix **-e** is repeated on the reduplicand.

(8) **nd-à-nyùng-í-nyùng-ì**
SM_{1SG}-PST-shake-PST-shake-PST
'I've shaken.'

(9) **mbò-ndí-shàk-è-shák-è**
FUT-SM_{1SG}-search-FUT-search-FUT
'I will search.'

When a reduplicated verb is used with a locative clitic, however, the locative clitic itself is not reduplicated, as shown in (10).

(10) **nd-à-yènd-í-yènd-ì-kò**
SM_{1SG}-PST-go-PST-go-PST-LOC_{17}
'I kept going there.'

The fact that inflectional suffixes are reduplicated but locative clitics are not shows that they do not behave like verbal (inflectional or derivational) affixes, but may be considered clitics instead.

Phonologically, locative clitics are fully integrated into the verb. This is seen most clearly in the tone system. Fwe has a number of verbal inflections that assign a melodic high tone to the last mora of the verb, for instance the present tense inflection, as shown in (11). Note that in Fwe, clause-final high tones are automatically retracted to the penultimate mora, so that a high tone assigned to the last mora surfaces on the penultimate mora in these examples, which are all clause-final. When a present tense verb includes a locative clitic, the locative clitic is counted for high tone assignment, as shown in (12), where the high tone shifts one mora to the right when compared to the example without locative clitic.

(11) **/ndi-ngongot-á/ > [ndìngòngótà]**
SM_{1SG}-knock-FV
'I knock.'

(12) **/ndi-ngongot-a-hó/ > [ndìngòngòtáhò]**
SM_{1SG}-knock-FV-LOC_{16}
'I knock on it.'

The interaction of penultimate lengthening with the locative clitics also provides evidence for the phonological dependence of the locative clitics on the verb. Fwe automatically lengthens the penultimate syllable of a clause-final word (a common process in Eastern Bantu, Hyman 2013). The following examples show that the locative clitic is counted as part of the verb for the placement of penultimate lengthening, indicated as [**:**]. As penultimate lengthening is predictable, it is not marked in the practical orthography used throughout the rest of this paper, where [**:**] represents phonemic vowel length only.

(13) **ndì-fùtàtí:r-à**
SM_{1SG}-turn.back-FV
'I turn my back.'

(14) **ndì-fùtàtìr-á:-kò**
SM_{1SG}-turn.back-FV-LOC_{17}
'I turn my back towards it.'

In sum, the morphological and prosodic facts disagree on the status of locative clitics: prosodically, they behave as part of the verb, but morphologically, they have a status that differs from all other verbal suffixes. Locative clitics are the only verbal clitics attested in Fwe; a reflex of the post-final element ***-ni** expressing a plural imperative (Meeussen 1967: 111), functioning as a clitic in many Bantu languages, is not attested in Fwe.

3. Functions of the locative clitics

3.1. Locative functions

The locative clitics are used for anaphoric reference to a known location. This location may be known through the earlier discourse, as in the following example, where the locative **kúcìkórò** 'at a school' is introduced in the first sentence, and referred back to with a locative clitic **-ko** in the second sentence.

(15) **zyônà** **nd-á-kà-pòt-à** **kú-cì-kórò**
yesterday SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-visit-FV NP_{17}-NP_{7}-school
nd-á-kà-shàngàn-à-kò **βà-mù-rútì**
SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-meet-FV-LOC_{17} NP_{2}-NP_{1}-teacher
'Yesterday, I visited a school. I met a teacher there.'

Locative clitics are also used to refer to a locative that is not mentioned in the preceding discourse, but in the following discourse (i.e. cataphoric reference). This is illustrated in (16), where the locative clitic **-mo** refers to **mòwínà òmùnzì** 'in that village', which is mentioned later in the discourse. There is a pause before the locative adjunct, and clause-final tonal processes affect the verb **ndáy!ámò**, showing that the locative adjunct is dislocated.

(16) **nd-á-y-!á-mò** **mò-wínà** **ò-mù-nzì**
SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV-LOC_{18} NP_{18}-DEM_{3} AUG_{3}-NP_{3}-village
'I've been there, in that village.'

A locative clitic can only be used when the location referred to is not expressed by a noun in the same clause, for instance when the location referred to is in a separate clause. This is the case in (17), where the locative clitic **-mo** in the complement clause refers back to the noun **èwà** 'field' in the main clause. Locative clitics can also be used to refer back to a topicalized referent, as in (18), where the locative clitic **-mo** refers back to the left-dislocated referent **mòwínà !ómùnzì** 'in that village'.

(17) **ná-à-úr-à** **è-wà** **kùtêyè**
PST-SM_{1}.PST-buy-FV AUG_{5}-field COMP
mw-áncù **w-àkwê**
NP_{1}-younger.sibling PP_{1}-$POSS_{3SG}$
ná-kùn-é-mò **ò-mù-ndárè**
SM_{1}-farm-SBJV-LOC_{16} AUG_{3}-NP_{3}-maize
'He bought a farm so that his brother could farm maize on it.'

(18) **mò-wínà** **!ó-mù-nzì** **nd-á-y-!á-mò**
NP_{18}-DEM_3 AUG_3-NP_3-village SM_{1SG}-PST-go-FV-LOC_{18}
'I've been there, to that village.'

A locative clitic is not allowed when the locative phrase that it refers to is in the same clause as the verb that takes the locative clitic. This is the case in (19), where **mùmùtêmwà** 'in the forest' is used in the same clause as the verb, and therefore the verb does not take a locative clitic. Locative clitics are also not allowed in locative inversion, as in (20), or when the locative noun is the antecedent of a relative clause, as in (21).

(19) **ndì-yàbú-yènd-à(*-mo)** **mú-mù-têmwà**
SM_{1SG}-MOT-walk-FV NP_{18}-NP_3-forest
'I go walking in the forest.'

(20) **mù-n-júò** **mw-à-kábír-ì(-*mò)** **mù-sâ**
NP_{18}-NP_9-house SM_{18}-PST-enter-PST NP_1-thief
'Into the house entered a thief.'

(21) **kù-mù-nzì** **ò-kó** **!ndí-y-à(-*kò)**
NP_{17}-NP_3-village AUG_{17}-DEM_{17} SM_{1SG}.REL-go-FV
kwá-Màkângà
COP.NP_{17}-Makanga
'The village that I go to is Makanga.'

The location expressed in a previous (or following) clause that is referred to by the locative clitic may be syntactically marked as locative by use of a noun class prefix of class 16, 17 or 18, as in most of the previous examples. Locative clitics may also be used for anaphoric reference to nouns that are not locative, in which case the locative clitic on the verb adds the locative semantics. This is the case in example (22), where the locative clitic of class 16 **-ho** refers back to **pèpâ** '(piece of) paper', which is not marked with a locative prefix, and in example (23), where the locative clitic **-mo** refers back to **èǹkòmókì** 'the cup', which is also not marked with a locative prefix.

(22) **mù-mù-h-é** **pèpà** **à-ŋór-é-hò**
SM_{2PL}-OM_1-give-SBJ NP_5.paper SM_1-write-SBJV-LOC_{16}
'Give her a piece of paper, so that she can write on it. / Give her a paper to write on.'

(23) **è-n-kòmókì** **kw-ààzy-á** **è-cí**
AUG_9-NP_9-cup SM_{17}-have.not-FV AUG_7-DEM_7
c-ìnà-mò
SM_7.REL-be-LOC_{18}
'The cup, there is nothing that is in it. / The cup is empty.'

That verbal locative clitics can add locative semantics, rather than take over the locative semantics of their referent, is seen even more clearly with locative clitics whose referent is also morphologically marked as locative, but for a different locative class. This is seen in (24), where the class 18 locative clitic **-mo** refers back to **kù-mù-nzì wá-sàngwàrì** 'the village of Sangwali', which is marked with a class 17 noun class prefix.

(24) **kù-mù-nzì** **wá-sàngwàrì** **nkù-rêː**
NP_{17}-NP_3-village PP_3-CON-Sangwali COP_{17}-far
mbà-yéyì **bá-ǃhár-á-mò**
COP_2-Yeyi SM_2.REL-live-FV-LOC_{18}
'The village of Sangwali is far away. It's Yeyi people that live in there.'

The three locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18 each have their own semantics, and this is also reflected in the use of the verbal locative clitics. The class 16 clitic **-ho** is used for a location on, or a more general location at or near something.

(25) **mù-mù-h-é** **pèpà** **à-ŋór-é-hò**
SM_{2PL}-OM_1-give-SBJV NP_5.paper SM_1-write-SBJV-LOC_{16}
'Give her a paper so that she may write on it. / Give her a paper to write on.'

(26) **tà-βà-ínà-hò**
NEG-SM_2-be.at-LOC_{16}
'She is not here.'

The class 17 locative clitic **-ko** is used for direction, but also for general location.

(27) **kà-tónd-ì-kò**
NEG.SM_1-watch-NEG-LOC_{17}
'She does not look there/that way.'

(28) **ndì-fùtàtìr-á-kò**
SM_{1SG}-turn.back-FV-LOC_{17}
'I turn my back towards it.'

(29) **nd-à-kà-húr-í-kò**
SM_{1SG}-PST-DIST-arrive-PST-LOC_{17}
'I've arrived there.'

The semantics of the class 18 locative clitic **-mo** are more restricted, and specifically encode a location in, or a movement into or out of, a certain place.

(30) **ndì-shàk-á** **è-n-kwánà**
SM_{1SG}-want-FV AUG_9-NP_9-pot
ndì-hík-ír-é-mó **βù-jwàrà**
SM_{1SG}-cook-APPL-SBJV-LOC_{18} NP_{14}-beer
'I want a pot so that I can brew beer in it / I want a pot for brewing beer.'

(31) **à-kù-βútùk-à-mò**
SM$_{1}$-PST.PROG-run-FV-LOC$_{18}$
'He was running out from there [inside the house].'

3.2. Non-locative functions

In addition to referring to locations, locative clitics also have certain non-locative functions. One of these non-locative functions is to express a partitive. An example is given in (32), where the locative clitic **-ko** is used to express that the speaker wants to taste a bite from the dish, not eat the complete dish.

(32) **ndì-n|ómp-ès-è-kò**
OM$_{1SG}$-taste-CAUS-SBJV-LOC$_{17}$
'Let me taste from that.'

The partitive function of the locative clitics is attested with all three locative clitics. An example of the partitive function of the class 17 locative **-ko** is given in the previous example (32). Examples of the partitive function of the class 16 locative clitic **-ho** and the class 18 locative clitic **-mo** are given below.

(33) **z-ò-βírè** **βùryó** **nì-nd-á-ùr-ìs-á-hò**
PP$_{10}$-CON-two only PST-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-buy-CAUS-FV-LOC$_{16}$
'I only sold two of them.' (In answer to the question: 'Did you sell all the cattle?')

(34) **ndí-mé** **nd-à-hínd-í-mò**
COP-PERS$_{1SG}$ SM$_{1SG}$-PST-take-PST-LOC$_{18}$
nàngá **kà-nd-à-hínd-ìrír-ì** **y-ònshê:**
though NEG-SM$_{1SG}$-PST-take-COMPL-PST PP$_{9}$-all
'It was me who took some of it, but I did not take it all.' (In answer to the question: 'Did you take the porridge?')

In many cases, the partitive interpretation of locative clitics is closely related to their locative interpretation, and the interpretation may be ambiguous between partitive and locative. This ambiguity may be resolved by adding an object marker, in which case the only possible interpretation is locative, and the partitive interpretation is ruled out.

(35) **nd-à-hínd-ì-mò**
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-take-PST-LOC$_{18}$
a. 'I took a bit from it.'
b. 'I took from it.'
nd-à-bú-!hínd-ì-mò
SM$_{1SG}$-PST-OM$_{14}$-take-PST-LOC$_{18}$
'I took it from it.'
* 'I took a bit from it.'

The partitive function of the locative clitics is attested in various other Bantu languages, where it often goes hand in hand with a minimizing function, i.e. 'do just a little bit' (Devos, Kashombo Tshibanda *et al.* 2010, Devos & van der Auwera 2013, Marten & Kula 2014). Such a minimizing interpretation of locative clitics is not attested in Fwe.

Another non-locative function of locative clitics in Fwe is restricted to the class 17 locative clitic **-ko**, which can be used to express a polite request, as in the following two examples.

(36) **ndì-shàk-á** **kù-kàrìm-à-kò**
SM$_{1SG}$-want-FV INF-borrow-FV-LOC$_{17}$
è-cì-ŋórìsó **!c-ákò**
AUG$_7$-NP$_7$-pen PP$_7$-POSS$_{2SG}$
'Can I please borrow your pen?'

(37) **ò-ndì-tùs-ê-kò**
SM$_{2SG}$-OM$_{2SG}$-help-SBJV-LOC$_{17}$
'Please help me.'

The locative clitics of class 16 and 18 are not used for the expression of a polite request. The use of the class 17 locative clitic to mark a polite request is related to the use of the class 17 nominal prefix, which is also used to mark politeness.

(38) **ndì-kùmbìr-á** **!kwí-bòròpéní** **!y-énù**
SM$_{1SG}$-ask-FV NP$_{17}$-pen PP$_9$-POSS$_{2PL}$
'Can I please have your pen?'

The use of the class 17 nominal prefix and the class 17 locative clitic may combine, in which case the locative clitic adds the notion of 'for a short time'. This may be an extension of the politeness interpretation of the locative clitic.

(39) **ndì-kùmbìr-à-kó** **!kwí-bòròpéní** **!y-énù**
SM$_{1SG}$-ask-FV-LOC$_{17}$ NP$_{17}$-pen PP$_9$-POSS$_{2PL}$
'Can I please have your pen for a short time?'

A third non-locative function of locative clitics is their use in constructions marking progressive aspect. The auxiliary verbs **-kwesi** (lexical meaning 'have'), and **-ina** (lexical meaning 'be at/have') mark progressive aspect when followed by an inflected, lexical verb. The auxiliary **-kwesi** may be marked with the class 17 locative clitic **-ko**, which marks the long duration of the event. The auxiliary **-ina** may be marked with the class 16 locative clitic **-ho**. The function of the locative clitic with **-ina** is unclear, but possibly similar to that of the locative clitic with **-kwesi**.

(40) a. **ndì-kwèsì** **ndì-shék-à**
SM$_{1SG}$-PROG SM$_{1SG}$-laugh-FV
'I am laughing.'

b. **ndì-kwèsì-kó** **ndì-shék-à**
SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-laugh-FV
'I am laughing (since a long time).'

(41) a. **ndì-ìnà** **ndì-fwêb-à**
SM_{1SG}-PROG SM_{1SG}-smoke-FV
'I am smoking.'
b. **ndì-ìnà-hó** **ndì-fwêb-à**
SM_{1SG}-PROG-LOC_{16} SM_{1SG}-smoke-FV
'I am smoking.'

The use of **-ho** and **-ko** on progressive auxiliaries may combine with the use of a locative clitic on the lexical verb, in which case this locative clitic has a locative reference.

(42) **ndì-kwèsì-kó** **ndì-ngòngòt-á-hò**
SM_{1SG}-PROG-LOC_{17} SM_{1SG}-knock-FV-LOC_{16}
'I am knocking on it (since a long time).'

The use of locative clitics in progressive constructions can be related to the crosslinguistically common tendency for locative constructions to develop into constructions marking progressive aspect (see Bybee *et al.* 1994: 129-133, among others).

4. Locative clitics and other locative markers

Locative clitics are not the only grammatical device used in Fwe for expressing a location: locative pronominal prefixes and locative demonstratives are also used with this function. Both these categories show some formal and functional overlap with verbal locative clitics and may be investigated as the possible diachronic source of the development of locative clitics.

4.1. Locative pronominal prefixes

Formally, verbal locative clitics resemble locative pronominal prefixes, especially when combined with a connective prefix. Pronominal prefixes are used to mark agreement on connectives, quantifiers and possessive pronouns. Fwe has pronominal prefixes for all noun classes, including the three locative noun classes, where the pronominal prefixes are **há-** (class 16), **kú-** (class 17) and **mú-** (class 18). Pronominal prefixes are used in various contexts, one of which is to mark agreement on the connective prefix, which is a harmonizing vowel in the southern variety of Fwe (assimilating to the augment of the noun it prefixes to), and an unvarying vowel **-o-** in the northern variety of Fwe. When combined with the locative pronominal prefixes, this gives the forms **h-ó-** (class 16), **k-ó-** (class 17) and **m-ó-** (class 18), which are very similar to the locative clitics **-ho/-ko/-mo**.

Although locative clitics and connectives with a locative pronominal prefix are formally similar, their morphosyntactic behaviour shows that a common origin is unlikely. Connective prefixes mark the dependent of a connective construction, and this dependent is usually directly preceded by the (nominal) head of the construction. Connective prefixes thus stand between two nouns, and as such, a grammaticalization path where a connective prefix detaches from the noun and becomes attached to a verb is unlikely, as connective prefixes are rarely preceded by verbs. A more likely diachronic source for locative clitics is in a specific paradigm of demonstratives, discussed in the following section.

4.2. Locative demonstratives

Locative clitics also show some similarities to locative demonstratives. This section highlights the formal and functional differences and similarities between locative clitics and the paradigm of demonstratives that can be used anaphorically, and proposes how locative clitics may have developed out of these demonstratives.

Fwe has four paradigms of demonstratives, depending on the relative distance of the referent to the speaker and the hearer. These four paradigms have forms for all noun classes, including the three locative noun classes 16, 17 and 18. All demonstratives are formally derived from the pronominal prefixes: the first set of demonstratives (Proximal 1) consists of the bare pronominal prefix, the second (Proximal 2) of the pronominal prefix with a suffix **-no**, the third (Distal 1) of a pronominal prefix with a suffix **-o**, and the fourth (Distal 2) of a pronominal prefix with the suffix **-ina**. The forms of the locative demonstratives are given in Table 1. The prefixes **a-** and **o-** are augments, which are optional on demonstratives. The tonal pattern of locative demonstratives depends on their syntactic function.

Noun class	Pronominal prefix	Proximal 1 (close to both hearer and speaker)	Proximal 2 (close to the speaker)	Distal 1 (close to the hearer/ anaphoric	Distal 2 (far from both hearer and speaker)
16	**há-**	**a-há**	**a-hanó**	**a-hó**	**a-hená**
17	**kú-**	**o-kú**	**o-kuno**	**o-ko**	**o-kwina**
18	**mú-**	**o-mu**	**o-muno**	**o-mó**	**o-mwiná**

Table 1. Locative demonstratives

Synchronically, verbal locative clitics and locative demonstratives are distinct grammatical markers in Fwe. Locative clitics cannot be analyzed as cliticized demonstratives (as they are in Chewa (Simango 2012)). Locative demonstratives and locative clitics are used for different functions: as discussed in 3.1, locative clitics are only used anaphorically, but locative demonstratives may also be used to introduce a new location. In example (43), the locative demonstrative **kúnò** of the proximal 2 paradigm is used, indicating a location that includes the speaker but not the hearer ('here where I am'). In example (44), the proximal 1 demonstrative is used, indicating a location in the general proximity of both speaker and hearer.

(43) **w-áshà-ké:zy-ì** **kûnò**
SM_{2sg}-NEG.IMP-come-NEG $DEM.PROX2_{17}$
'You musn't come here.'

(44) **tù-ké:zy-è** **tù-wèz-é**
SM_{1PL}-come-SBJV SM_{1PL}-add-SBJV
kù-n-júò **y-ètú** **ò-kù**
NP_{17}-NP_{9}-house PP_{9}-$POSS_{1PL}$ AUG_{17}-$DEM.PROX1_{17}$
'We should come and add [a room] to our house here.'

In these examples, the location described by locative demonstratives of the proximal 1 and 2 paradigms is not expressed anaphorically, but through the specific deictic functions of the different demonstrative paradigms, which situate the referent relative to the hearer and the speaker. This contrasts with the use of the locative clitics, which are merely anaphoric, and can therefore only be used when the speaker assumes the location is familiar to the hearer, for instance as a result of the preceding discourse.

Locative demonstratives also differ from locative clitics in their morphosyntactic behaviour. Locative clitics are phonologically dependent on a verb, and can never be used in the same clause as the locative expression they refer to. Locative demonstratives are free words, and they can function either as independent pronouns, or can be used attributively to modify a locative noun. In this latter case, the locative demonstrative directly precedes the noun it modifies, and as such occurs in the same clause as the locative expression it modifies. This is shown with the demonstrative **kú** in example (45), which modifies the locative noun **kùnjìrà** 'on this path', and in example (46) with the locative demonstrative **òmù** modifying the locative noun **múkàróngò** '(from) inside this pot'. The only exception to this order are nouns preceded by a subjunctive verb; in this case the demonstrative, whether it is locative or not, follows the noun it modifies, see example (44).

(45) **nd-à-mù-síy-ì** **kù** **kù-n-jìrà**
SM_{1SG}-PST-OM_{1}-leave-PST $DEM.PROX1_{17}$ NP_{17}-NP_{9}-path
'I've left him here on this path.'

(46) **ndì-shàk-á** **kù-zùβùr-à** **à-kà-yávù**
SM_{1SG}-want-FV INF-take.out-FV AUG_{12}-NP_{12}-piece.of.meat
ò-mù **mú-kà-róngò**
AUG_{18}-$DEM.PROX1_{18}$ NP_{18}-NP_{12}-pot
'I want to take a piece of meat out of this pot here.'

These examples show that locative demonstratives have a function that is distinct from that of locative clitics, and that this functional distribution correlates to phonological and morphosyntactic differences. Synchronically, locative demonstratives and locative clitics should therefore be analyzed as separate grammatical markers. There are also, however, certain similarities between locative clitics and locative demonstratives which suggest that they are historically related. The paradigm of demonstratives that is most likely to have been the historical

source for locative clitics is the distal 1 paradigm (see Table 1). The distal 1 locative demonstratives **a-ho**, **o-ko** and **o-mo** are formally very similar to the locative clitics **-ho**, **-ko** and **-mo**. There is also a functional overlap between these demonstratives and the locative clitics: they can both be used anaphorically. Distal 1 demonstratives, of the locative classes as well as the other 16 noun classes, have a situational function, referring to a referent close to the hearer but not the speaker, but also a non-situational anaphoric function, referring back to a referent introduced earlier in the discourse. An example of this use of a distal 1 demonstrative of class 3 is given in (47), where the noun **òmùnzì** 'village', introduced in the first sentence in (a), is referred back to with the distal 1 demonstrative **òwó** in the second sentence in (b).

(47) a. **kà-kw-íná** **ò-mù-nzì**
PST.IPFV-SM_{17}-be AUG_3-NP_3-village
ò-mù **kà-mw-íná** **βà-ntù**
AUG_{18}-DEM.PROX1$_{18}$ PST.IPFV-SM_{18}-be NP_2-person
'There was a village, where people were living.'

b. **ò-wó** **mù-nzì**
AUG_3-DEM.DIST1$_3$ NP_3-village
kà-w-ínà **shíryà** **y-ó-rw-îzyì**
PST.IPFV-SM_3-be other.side PP_9-CON-NP_{11}-river
'This village was at the other side of the river.'

The anaphoric function of referring to known referents is also seen with the locative demonstratives of the distal 1 paradigm. An example from a narrative is given in (48), where the distal 1 demonstrative **ókò** refers back to a location introduced earlier in the discourse, namely the village where the protagonists live.

(48) **è-zí-ryò** **è-zò**
AUG_8-NP_8-food AUG_8-DEM.DIST1$_8$
kà-βá-ry-à **ó-kò**
PST.IPFV-SM_2-eat-FV AUG_{17}-DEM.DIST1$_{17}$
njì-nyàmà **y-ò-mú-mù-têmwà** **y-é-zì-pâù**
COP_9-meat PP_9-CON-NP_{18}-NP_3-bush PP_9-CON-NP_8-animal
'The food that they used to eat there was bush meat, from wild animals.'

The distal 1 paradigm is the main demonstrative paradigm used for anaphoric reference. Distal 2 demonstratives may also be used anaphorically, but less frequently and only for referents that have a very low saliency, and proximal demonstratives are never used anaphorically (a more detailed analysis of the anaphoric use of demonstratives is given in Gunnink, in preparation). The anaphoric use of distal 1 demonstratives corresponds to the anaphoric function of locative clitics, suggesting that locative clitics developed out of this particular paradigm of demonstratives.

This grammaticalization would have involved the change from an independent word to a phonologically dependent clitic. Evidence for this development is seen in the tendency for demonstratives in Fwe to merge, at least partially, with the preceding word. This merger is prompted by the presence of the augment, a prefix consisting of a single vowel that can be used on all demonstratives (see Table 1). The augment prefix is optional, though with demonstratives with a monosyllabic

stem, the augment is often present. As Fwe has a strictly open syllable structure and strongly disprefers vowel sequences, also across word boundaries, the use of augment-initial demonstratives invariably leads to vowel hiatus resolution. This may involve merging the two juxtaposed vowels, as seen in (49), where the last vowel **-a** of the verb is dropped in favor of the vowel **o-** of the following demonstrative. The other vowel hiatus resolution strategy is the merger of the two adjacent vowels, as seen in (50), the last vowel **-i** of the verb coalesces with the vowel **o-** of the following demonstrative and changes to **/u/**, combining the height property of the first vowel with the back property of the second vowel.

(49) **/a-shi-ka-zw-á** **o-kó/ > [àshìkàzwókò]**
SM_{1SG}-PRS-DIST-come.out-FV AUG_{17}-DEM.DIST1$_{17}$
'As he came out from there…'

(50) **/w-ásha-shámb-i** **o-mó/ > [wáshàshámbyûmò]**
SM_{2SG}-NEG.IMP-swim-NEG AUG_{18}-DEM.DIST1$_{18}$
'Don't swim in there.'

These processes of vowel hiatus resolution are common in Fwe and occur whenever two vowels are juxtaposed across a word boundary. The strong tendency for monosyllabic demonstratives, including the demonstratives of the distal 1 paradigm, to include the augment, makes them frequent candidates for vowel hiatus resolution. So although demonstatives are free words, processes of vowel hiatus resolution tend to integrate the demonstrative into a preceding word, which may have facilitated the development from independent locative demonstratives to locative clitics. The clitic status of locative clitics, combining the morphosyntactic properties of a word with the phonological properties of an affix, can be seen as a remnant of their origin as independent pronouns. Grammaticalization of locative clitics out of locative demonstratives of the distal 1 paradigm would further have involved phonological erosion, namely, the elision of the augment prefix, which is already optional on demonstratives as well, and the loss of the high tone of the demonstrative. The loss of the high tone is more difficult to account for, but may be related to the synchronically productive tone rule of high tone retraction, that causes clause-final high tones to be moved to the preceding mora.

A very similar analysis is presented for the development of locative suffixes in Bemba by Marten and Kula (2014). They also analyze locative suffixes as derived from a paradigm of demonstratives that indicate a location close to the hearer and are also used anaphorically. The only difference with the grammaticalization path proposed here for Fwe is that in Bemba, both the locative suffixes and the locative demonstratives from which they are derived have a high tone.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have given a synchronic description of locative clitics in Fwe. Their phonological and morphosyntactic behaviour show that they function as clitics. Locative clitics are used to anaphorically refer to a location, to express a partitive, or a polite request, or progressive aspect. The comparison of locative clitics with

locative demonstratives shows that they are synchronically distinct categories, but the formal and functional similarities between locative clitics and a specific set of locative demonstratives suggests a shared historical origin.

Abbreviations

1,2,3…	noun class
1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
1PL	first person plural
2PL	second person plural
ADJ	adjective
APPL	applicative
AUG	augment
CAUS	causative
COMP	completizer
COMPL	completive
CON	connective
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NP	nominal prefix
OM	object marker
PERS	personal pronoun
POSS	possessive pronoun
PP	pronominal prefix
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PRS	persistive
PST	past
REL	relative
SBJV	subjunctive
SM	subject marker

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Maud Devos and Bastian Persohn for organizing the workshop on locative suffixes in Bantu languages that inspired this paper; to Maud Devos for

her comments on the first draft of this paper; and to all my Fwe informants who supplied and discussed the data.

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Résumé

Cet article décrit l'utilisation des clitiques locatifs verbaux dans la langue fwe. Le statut de ces morphèmes est ambigu, oscillant entre mot libre et affixe. C'est la raison pour laquelle on les étudie en tant que clitiques. Ils ont une utilisation locative, anaphorique, mais aussi trois utilisations non locatives, où ils expriment une partitive, une demande polie ou un aspect progressif. D'un point de vue diachronique, les clitiques locatifs semblent dériver des démonstratifs locatifs, plus spécifiquement d'un paradigme démonstratif à usages anaphoriques situationnels et non situationnels.