A grammar of Cuwabo

(Mozambique, Bantu P34)

Thèse de doctorat en Sciences du Langage
dirigée par Gérard PHILIPPSON
soutenue publiquement le 4 juin 2015

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Soutenue publiquement le 4 juin 2015 devant un jury composé de:

Lutz Marten  (Professeur, SOAS-Université de Londres, Royaume-Uni)
Koen Bostoen  (Professeur, Université de Gand, Belgique)
Charles Kisseberth (Professeur émérite, Universités de l'Illinois, EU et de Tel Aviv, Israël)
Denis Creissels  (PRCE émérite, Université Lyon 2 - Dynamique du Langage)
Gérard Philippson  (PRI émérite, INALCO, Paris)
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<td>Nasal-Consonant</td>
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<tr>
<td>neg</td>
<td>negation, negative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTR</td>
<td>neuter</td>
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<td>OBJ</td>
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<td>object marker</td>
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<td>OCP</td>
<td>obligatory contour principle</td>
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<td>passive</td>
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<td>personal communication</td>
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<td>Proto-Bantu</td>
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<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
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<td>prefix</td>
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<td>plural</td>
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<td>predicative lowering</td>
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<td>plural addressee</td>
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<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
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</table>
PRO pronoun  SIT situative
PST past  SM subject marker
PTG Portuguese  SG, sg. singular
REC reciprocal  TAM tense, aspect, mood
RECIP recipient  TOP topic
RED reduplication  tr. transitive
REFL reflexive  V vowel
REL relative  vd voiced
RES resumptive  VH vowel harmony
S Sonorant  vl. voiceless
SBJ subjunctive  vs. versus
SEQ sequential
Introduction

1.1 Preface

This dissertation presents a descriptive grammar of Cuwabo, a Bantu language spoken by more than 800,000 people in the north-eastern part of Mozambique. It is hoped that the present study, including a large amount of first-hand data on the language, will contribute to a better knowledge in general of this under-documented Bantu area. It is further hoped that some of the language’s most interesting characteristics can be used in typological and comparative studies.

This grammar is organised into twelve chapters (including this introductory chapter and the conclusion). As expected, most of them are devoted to the linguistic description of Cuwabo. Still this first introductory chapter aims to present some background information on the Cuwabo people and their language. A brief sociolinguistic profile as well as the dialectal situation will be provided, followed by a few words on the genetic classification of the language. Due to the lack of reliable published works on Cuwabo, this study is based on first-hand data collecting on the field. A whole section will thus be devoted to the fieldwork context (introducing the Cuwabo speakers I worked with) and the methodology applied in the data collection and treatment. Finally, I present the orthographic conventions and the notation system used throughout the dissertation.
Following this introductory chapter, two chapters are dedicated to the phonology of the language. More specifically, chapter 2 is devoted to segmental phonology, and presents a detailed account of consonants, vowels, syllable structure, and different phonological processes occurring in certain morphological environments. Chapter 3 describes the tones and intonation. Both nominal and verbal tone patterns will be analysed, as well as the different tone processes.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the noun morphology and the noun phrase structure. In chapter 4 about nouns, the extensive noun class system, typical of Bantu, is explained, as well as the derivational processes at play in the formation of nouns. The noun plays an important role in the agreement system of the dependant parts of the sentence. Within the noun phrase, constituents like the connective particle, demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, quantifiers, numerals, and personal pronouns are linked to the head noun through noun class agreement. These noun phrase constituents are discussed in chapter 5.

The most pervasive and characteristic morphological feature of verbs in most Bantu languages is their agglutinative morphology. In chapter 6, verbal morphology is treated, both at the derivational and inflectional levels. Special attention will be given to verbal extensions, functioning as valency-changing mechanisms. An overview of the constitution of the verb template will thus be provided.

Chapter 7 discusses the minor word classes, most of which constitute miscellaneous uninflected parts of speech. These include a few particles and clitics, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, prepositions and conjunctions.

Chapter 8 is devoted to the different inflected verb forms and more particularly their tense-aspect-mood system (including negation). Both independent and dependent tenses are discussed. The first are used to form simple or main clauses, hence their “independent” status, whereas the latter contribute to the formation of subordinate or “dependent” clauses. Among the independent tenses, the formal distinction between the so-called conjoint and disjoint verb forms is discussed. With regard to dependent tenses, distinction is made between those which are inflected and those which are uninflected. Attention is finally paid to analytical tenses and defective verbs.

The last three chapters address syntactic issues. Chapter 9 presents a description of the basic clause structure, involving verbal and non-verbal predication. The study of verbal predication is here restricted to simple clauses and discusses the grammatical relations conveyed by the different sentence constituents, as well as verb valency. Note that no chapter is devoted to complex clauses, since their discussion is scattered across both chapter

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1 In this study, “tense” is used in term of form rather than meaning.
Chapter 7 (with the “conjunctions” section) and chapter 8 (through the description of the dependent tenses). Chapter 10 looks into the relative constructions in close interaction with question formation. Chapter 11 investigates word order and information structure in Cuwabo. Preverbal and postverbal constituents will be examined, as well as their interaction with the morphological marking on the verb, distinguishing conjoint and disjoint tenses.

Finally, chapter 12, as a conclusive chapter, presents an overview of the main typological characteristics of Cuwabo, briefly addressed (whenever relevant) in a genetic and areal perspective.

Following these descriptive chapters, the Appendix contains seven Cuwabo texts glossed and translated into English, which provide a good sampling of language use and allow to illustrate in context many of the grammatical items presented in the descriptive chapters.

This work is not written in any particular theoretical framework but has somewhat benefited from concepts and notions attributed to the “basic linguistic theory” (Dixon 2010-2012), widely used in language description. For each grammatical item under discussion, several examples are provided so that the reader can get a full picture of the language. Whenever relevant, similarities or differences with neighbouring languages are raised throughout the study.

1.2 The Cuwabo people

Cuwabo is a Bantu language spoken by 834,073 native speakers, among whom 710,121 are settled in the Zambezia province (according to the estimates of the 2007 census made by the Instituto Nacional de Estatística-INE). If we compare with the number of speakers estimated for the 1980 census, namely 664,089 (Padronização I 1989: 50), the Cuwabo-speaking community has increased by more than 20%. This is explained by the demographic growth attested throughout the whole country. Most speakers are located around Quelimane in the southern part of Zambezia province, to the north of the Zambezi river, North-East Mozambique, as shown in Map 1. In this region of the globe, the climate is tropical with temperatures hovering around 30° C during the rainy season (November-April) and 20° C during the dry season (May-October). During the rainy season, most of the lowland areas around Quelimane are prone to floods.

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2 In turn, Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014) reports 947,000 Cuwabo speakers in 2006.
Very little is known of Cuwabo history, especially with regard to the pre-colonial period, i.e. before 1498, the year Vasco de Gama’s expedition landed at the port of what would be later called Quelimane. Before the Portuguese’s arrival, Quelimane was originally a Swahili trade settlement which progressively became a slave market (Chisholm 1911: 750). This Arab settlement progressively became a city when the Portuguese settled during the 16th century. In 1530, it officially received the name of São Martinho de Quelimane. Later in 1763, it was raised as an administrative seat, before receiving the status of city on 21 August 1942. With the colonial presence, the slave trade increased drastically, to such a point that in the 18th century, the port of Quelimane is considered one of the bigger slave markets (Capela 2002, Chisholm 1911: 750) in eastern Africa. During the colonial period (16th-20th centuries), Portuguese progressively settled along the Zambezi river by establishing a system of prazos. Prazos constitute vast areas of land administered by private individuals closely linked with
the Portuguese crown. As can be expected, the local populations (including the Cuwabo) suffered much influence from the European invader, to such an extent that they are not part of the different censuses made by the Portuguese in the course of the 19th century on ‘uncivilised’ (não-civilizados) populations. The assimilation process of the local populations is also explained by the “lightening” of their skins: in course of time, numerous children were indeed born from mixed (and often illegitimate) unions between Europeans and native wives. These children would be considered as Portuguese descendants (Maugham 1910). In this respect, it is interesting to note that Southern Mozambicans (at least those whom I met in Maputo) tend to attribute to the Cuwabo people two characteristics directly associated with the European presence: first, they are whiter than other Mozambican peoples; second, they developed a sharper interest in money. Zambezia was indeed the receptacle of several great companies, such as the Zambezi Company and the Luabo Company. The main exports consisted of copra (i.e. dried coconut kernels), ground-nuts, sugar, sesame, india-rubber, wax, ivory and beans (Chisholm 1911: 750).

Since Mozambique’s independence in 1975, the economic base of the region has remained centred on the production of copra. Large coconut plantations are established all around Quelimane, especially in Madal (with the Norwegian ‘Madal’ company) and Macuse (with the French ‘Boror’ company). After the civil war (1977-1992) ended, some of these powerful companies collapsed (Boror), while others (Madal) were rebuilt and are still operative nowadays. However, the coconut industry has been struggling for more than ten years with the lethal yellowing disease, a mycoplasma infection that attacks the palm, turning the leaves yellow and killing the palm in a short space of time. Although infected palms are cut and burnt, the disease keeps spreading, and so far no cure has been found. Besides the production and trade of copra, the most important business sectors developed in South Zambezia are shrimp trawling, forestry activities (logging and sawmill), and resource extraction industries such as mining. However, these big industries do not yield a high degree of return to the local communities, except difficult and low income jobs. The Cuwabo economy is thus not directly affected by these foreign companies. Instead, most Cuwabo are farmers who live in small villages. Their main means of subsistence are the cultivation of rice and cassava. They also raise poultry, and more rarely goats. Those who live along the coast also practice fishing. In contrast, those who live inland are more prone to hunting game like guinea fowls, wild pigs, certain species of rats and snakes. Small-scale trading on the market or along the road is also commonly seen. Several NGOs are currently promoting the planting of beans or sweet potatoes for individual consumption, which

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3 More details on the Portuguese occupation and penetration of the Zambezia territory and the prazo system can be found in Newitt (1973) and Maugham (1910).

4 Author’s investigation made at the Instituto Nacional de Estatísticas (INE) of Maputo.
represents a healthier source of food. The soil is of sandy type, and thus not as fertile as the interior, hence maize is not much cultivated on the coast. Although the Cuwabo population is heavily agrarian, the youngest generations aspire to economic and social development and commonly try their luck in urban centres.

In political terms, the Cuwabo have evolved a decentralised traditional system of government, in which the central authority of a village is called mwéne ‘chief’. The mwéne promulgates and administers law and order in a specific area under his jurisdiction. He usually has the power to act upon economic and religious matters, as well as all forms of cultural and social practices.

Officially, Cuwabo declare themselves to be either Christians (Catholic or Evangelical) or Muslims, but in practice, these foreign religious missions have not succeeded overall in eradicating ancestral beliefs, often regarded as “heathen” practices. As a result, shamanic consultations, rituals to ward off illness, taboos linked with food or women menstruations, traditional music and dance, to mention the most conspicuous ones, are still widely practised, especially in rural areas, which suffered less influence from these missions.

Traditionally, both young Cuwabo men (ápâli) and women (ánábúru) were required to attend an initiation school before they would be considered ‘men’ and ‘women’. This initiation generally implied a three-month withdrawal period in the bush, during which each initiate would be instructed in the traditions and customs of the Cuwabo people. The final step of male initiation, called ñlúga, involved circumcision. The noun used to refer to an uncircumcised man, nańttûba, is also perceived as an insult. On the other hand, female initiation, called mwáli, would consist in instructing the girls how to be good wives and give pleasure to their husbands, as well as respect certain behaviour during days of menstruation. No physical intervention is applied on the female body, except a process of extension of the vagina’s small lips by means of some plant-based ointment. For an in-depth discussion of the Cuwabo female initiation rite, the reader is referred to Schulien (1923). Today, these traditional practices, especially male initiation, are dying out with the pressure of modernisation, and circumcision is often performed at the hospital. Furthermore, knowledge of traditional medicine (in this respect, see Carvalho 2009) is being progressively replaced by dependency on the public health service.

At the cultural level, the most conspicuous manifestations are the playing of traditional music (based on xylophones and drumming) and dancing. Many different dancing performances are reported, such as mugóróro, jíri, ekwéte, márombó, mutténgo, séddo, múttulú, yalúla, maddûnya, bákáyáwu, mukúbula, mámbilra and mazóka. Most of them are publicly performed in Quelimane to commemorate ‘the city day’ (o dia da cidade), every 21 August. Another public celebration occurs in February, during the school break to
celebrate the carnival. In this respect, Quelimane is sometimes referred to as *pequeno Brasil* ‘small Brazil’. Regarding clothing, most Cuwabo people wear occidental clothing, except women who wear the *capulana*, a colourful African fabric.

Today the city of Quelimane is the provincial capital of Zambezia and, although its aside location on the *Bons Sinais* river is economically less attractive nowadays, it still functions as a major town in the country, with a main hospital (and another larger one in project near Namwinho). It also has a public university (*Universidade Pedagógica de Quelimane*), and a national airport. Many NGOs are located in Quelimane.

### 1.3 The Cuwabo language

#### 1.3.1 Dialectal variation

At this stage, no dialectological study within Cuwabo is available. It is thus difficult to make strong assumptions about its dialectal variation. Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014) distinguishes five dialects: central Cuwabo, Karungu, Mayindo, Marale, and Nyaringa, whereas Cuwabo speakers themselves also identify Manyawa spoken around Lugela (see Map 1). When one refers to Cuwabo, the central Cuwabo variety spoken around Quelimane first comes to mind. It is so called because it corresponds geographically to the traditional homeland of the Cuwabo people, and it also enjoys a high degree of intelligibility for speakers of other varieties. In comparison, Karungu, spoken in the district of Inhassunge, and Mayindo, spoken in the village of Chinde within the Zambezi delta, are said to contain more Sena-like features because of their geographic proximity with Sena speakers. The Nyaringa variety spoken in Maganja da Costa is in turn influenced by Makhuwa (especially regarding phonology), in the same way as Manyawa spoken in Lugela is influenced by Lomwe due to its embedding within Lomwe-speaking area. From what I heard, the Cuwabo spoken in Mocuba seems very similar with central Cuwabo and both varieties shade gradually into each other to such an extent that it seems impossible to draw a line of demarcation between them. This similarity is well evidenced by the way the Mocuba variety is designated: people only refer to it as ‘Cuwabo of Mocuba’.

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5 According to my main consultant Sérgio, Marale is spoken in Mopeia and is more related to Sena than to Cuwabo.
Although the dialect situation is probably more complex than the one presented here, the aforementioned varieties are assumed to be variants of one language, since they are bound by some degree of mutual intelligibility. This study is based on central Cuwabo, upon which most of the early missionary linguists have based their analysis. I also collected elicited data on three other varieties (Mayindo, Karungu, and Cuwabo of Mocuba), but analysing them in order to provide short descriptions would have been too ambitious a goal for the present study.

As expected, Cuwabo is not limited to the geographic area described above and illustrated in Map 1. Due to the high degree of social and geographical mobility of the Cuwabo people, the language has spread to many parts of Mozambique, especially Maputo, the capital of the country, where there are important Cuwabo communities.

1.3.2 Sociolinguistic profile

In this section, an overview of the sociolinguistic profile of the language is drawn. When studying the vitality of a language, several parameters have to be taken into consideration, including language acquisition (which deals with the question of intergenerational transmission), language use, language attitude and linguistic policies. These criteria, which are to some extent intertwined, are part of the list set out by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) for endangered languages (UNESCO 2003).

Time did not permit me to carry on an in-depth sociolinguistic survey in the area. Still, by interviewing a few people on the basis of a questionnaire outlining the aforementioned criteria, I quickly came to the conclusion that, for most of these criteria, a distinction needs to be made between the city of Quelimane and the surrounding villages.

1.3.2.1 Language acquisition, language use and language attitude

Quelimane has long been populated by immigrants from the surrounding region as well as from India and more recently China. The resulting cosmopolitan atmosphere of this town led to the use of a common language, Portuguese. As an indicator, out of the 834,073 Cuwabo speakers reported in 2007 (INE), 68,683 live in the city of Quelimane, and it is likely that since then, this number has further decreased due to a break in transmission. Among 20- and 30-year-old generations, Cuwabo may be heard, especially when they address older people, but Portuguese largely predominates. As for younger generations (subsuming adolescents and children) whose parents are generally fluent Cuwabo speakers, the language is neither
used nor understood, mostly because their parents decided not to transmit it. The monolingual instruction at school reinforces the hegemonic position of the European language. As a matter of fact, Cuwabo mother-tongue speakers tend to be looked down upon, because of the low social prestige suffered by the depreciated language. Interestingly, Cuwabo speakers refer to their language as *kaafiri*. This term, originally derived from the Arab *kafr* ‘unfaithful, unbeliever’, presumably reached North Mozambique through borrowing from Swahili *kafr*. Reminiscent of the colonial period, it has long been used by the Europeans to refer to the inhabitants of Southern Africa. By extension, the term also applied to the native ‘indigenous languages’, considered as ‘dialects’. The term *dialect* is not to be taken in its traditional meaning, i.e. a variety of a language, but is rather as a derogatory connotation (Lopes 1997: 15, Katupha 1994: 91). Cuwabo is thus not perceived as a ‘language’ as Portuguese is. Inversely Portuguese (and more and more English) is a language of wider communication and thus perceived as a way of social elevation. And among younger people who speak Portuguese as L1, English is now understood as the language for further opportunity. Quelimane is thus the perfect evidence of the following statement by Lopes (1997: 27): “many families and children have primarily (if not solely) become Portuguese-speaking Mozambicans.” This means that the number of mother-tongue speakers in Quelimane is progressively decreasing.

Whereas Portuguese has remained a mostly urban language, Cuwabo is predominantly spoken in the rural region. Outside the city of Quelimane, the language is used by all the generations and the intergenerational transmission does not seem compromised. This distinction between a urban language and rural languages is actually a widespread tendency of Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique. In this respect, Stroud (2008: 74) states that “Bantu languages, spoken predominantly in the rural regions of Mozambique, are still the mother tongues of the majority (about 75 per cent) of the population.” Cuwabo is still learnt as a first language and still spoken as the language of every-day communication, although it is punctuated by many Portuguese loans. In fact, Cuwabo is the language spoken in all domains but the classrooms. And it happens that school teachers who do not speak Cuwabo are frustrated by the lack of fluency in Portuguese among school-age children. Children are usually monolingual until they enter school at about 6 years old, when they are initiated to Portuguese. The older illiterate people generally have a poorer command of Portuguese, although most understand it, probably as a result of the increase of radio broadcast media through the communities. However, the valuation *vis-à-vis* Portuguese is equivalent to the one observed in Quelimane, i.e. it is regarded as a language of success, power and social prestige.

With respect to genders, men tend to speak better Portuguese than women, probably because they have more external contacts for professional reasons. It seems that many
Cuwabo people have emigrated outside the Cuwabo area to join and live in bigger urban centers, especially the capital Maputo.

### 1.3.2.2 Language policies

Mozambique is a multilingual country, with more than 20 Bantu languages spoken over the territory. Interestingly, apart from European languages (Portuguese and to a lesser extent English), only the Bantu linguistic sub-group is represented in the country. With Independence in 1975, Mozambique adopted language policies in which the language of the former colonising power, Portuguese, was assigned the role of a unifying *lingua franca* for the recently born nation, used for both official communication and education. However, and partly because no school network was developed across the country during the colonial period, the 1980 census reveals that the majority of Mozambicans could neither read nor speak in Portuguese. More precisely, Katupha (1994: 92-93) indicates the following figures: “Portuguese is spoken by 24.4% of the population comprising 1.2% who speak it as their mother tongue and a further 23.2% who are bilingual, the remaining 75.6% of the population speaking no Portuguese at all.” Twenty-seven years later, in the 2007 census, Portuguese is spoken by half of the population, of which 10% claim it as a first language. These numbers, in parallel with the population growth, reveal a substantial increase in terms of number of Portuguese speakers. However, and as shown in the preceding section, Portuguese remains essentially an urban language. In the rural areas, it constitutes a second language, typically acquired at school, or through radio broadcasts.

So far, no official document lays out a language policy as such in Mozambique. However, in practice, different policies have applied, mostly depending on the socio-political context, starting from the unifying-language approach (through Portuguese) when the country became independent, to a more modern approach prescribing cultural and linguistic diversity. This new approach, based on the principle of unity in diversity, embraces the recognition and promotion of different languages spoken across the country. The underlying idea is also that Mozambican languages may serve as mediators enhancing the country’s development. As a result, Article 9 of the Mozambican constitution\(^6\), further supported by following legal provisions, states its commitment to the recognition and the promotion of the different national languages.

\(^6\) Artigo 9 (Línguas nacionais): “O Estado valoriza as línguas nacionais como património cultural e educacional e promove o seu desenvolvimento e utilização crescente como línguas veiculares da nossa identidade.” (source: www.mozambique.mz/pdf/constituicao.pdf)
It is in this favourable climate that discussions and seminars arose, aiming at exploring the possibilities of using national languages in education. The underlying assumption, evidenced by high rates of school failure, is that the use of Portuguese as the exclusive language of instruction prevents most Mozambican pupils from learning. The implementation of a L1-medium of instruction in initial schooling thus appeared as a potential solution to this problem, in that it would boost the socialisation of the monolingual child. A few bilingual education experiments were launched in the 1990s, under the project called PEBIMO (Projeto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique), and in spite of a series of constraints and limitations, they were regarded as successful, with higher passing rates overall and better interaction in the classroom (see Benson 2000). Faced with this success, the choice of a bilingual program was officially introduced in 2003. According to INDE (2008), bilingual schools have gone from 14 in 2003, to 81 in 2008, and the prospect for 2010 was about 200.

Cuwabo is part of the 16 Mozambican languages now in use as an initial schooling media. However, it seems that bilingual education has not been adopted with a wide interest across the Cuwabo-speaking communities and the local authorities, since there are so far only two bilingual schools in the villages called Múgógódda and Gogóni (near Maquival). This report goes against the tendency observed above by the INDE (2008), and seems to confirm the low prestige of the language. Furthermore, bilingual education is a new phenomenon in Mozambique, and changing attitudes toward local languages may be a time-consuming process (and challenge). So far, learning materials written in Cuwabo comprise two books, one in Cuwabo and one in mathematics, and although Sérgio, my main consultant, has reported a certain numbers of misleading typos or even linguistic errors, it should be considered a good start.

In parallel, broadcast media (TV and radio) have participated in the linguistic policies. Radio Moçambique now broadcasts programs in twelve Mozambican languages (Stroud 2008: 85), including Cuwabo. In addition, a few programs involving local languages have been launched in cooperation with both governmental and NGO action. A few years ago, my consultant Sérgio was contracted by the NGO Visão Mundial to translate into Cuwabo the 24 episodes from a Portuguese radionovela entitled O vento da vida (‘The wind of life’). At the same time, the Instituto de Comunicação Social of Quelimane also set up a radio program of several episodes about the lethal yellowing disease of the coconut palms. But this kind of language campaign remains very sporadic.

The religious sphere is another (more traditional) domain where Cuwabo is used. In fact, Christian churches constitute one of the most active institutions with respect to the use of local languages, both in their oral and written form. To my knowledge, the only printed
‘literary’ texts which exist in Cuwabo, stem from religious texts, comprising a complete bible and evangelical texts.

To conclude, in terms of absolute number of speakers and intergenerational language transmission, the vitality of Cuwabo can be viewed as stable and does not seem threatened, at least in the rural areas and in the short or medium term. However, the situation could rapidly change, in case an intergenerational break in transmission would occur on the part of the young rural generations, as has already happened in Quelimane. Other factors such as the existence of materials for language education and literacy, the institutional language policies, and the use of the language in existing domains and its response to new domains and media are not so encouraging although some efforts are noted. Now, considering community member’s attitudes towards their own language, the picture looks less optimistic, in that Cuwabo speakers generally do not have a high regard for their language.

### 1.4 Genetic classification

Cuwabo is a southern East Bantu language spoken in northern Mozambique. It is thus part of the Bantoid branch of the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family. According to Guthrie’s (1967-71) classification, the language is coded as P34, belonging to the P30 Makhuwa group. Its closest relatives in this classification are Makhuwa (P31), Lomwe (P32) and Ngulu (P33), although no relevant distinction between the three has been pointed out so far to support such a classification. In fact, Ngulu refers to a variety of Lomwe (spoken by Lomwe immigrants in Malawi), and both Lomwe and Makhuwa are generally considered to form a linguistic continuum (Kisseberth 2003). As can be seen in Map 2, Lomwe and Makhuwa are spoken in the western and northern parts of the Cuwabo-speaking area. They form the most important linguistic group in Mozambique with more than 5 million speakers (INE 2007). Cuwabo is further bordered to the south by Sena, genetically classified in another sub-group numbered N44.

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7 In this study, whenever the distinction between Lomwe and Makhuwa is not relevant, the generic term ‘Makhuwa’ will be used.
In Guthrie’s classification, Cuwabo belongs to the Makhuwa group. Still, Guthrie’s zones constitute geographic rather than genetic groups. And Kisseberth, in his 2003 paper about Makhuwa, makes the following assumption:

“There is a strong possibility that Chuabo is not actually a ‘sister’ language to Makhuwa in the ‘family-tree’ model of language development, but rather a product of extensive language contact between a Makhuwa speech variety and some language of the central region of Mozambique such as Sena. Careful documentation of Chuabo remains a research desideratum.” (Kisseberth 2003: 546)

It is the question of how Cuwabo is to be located within the typological and genetic map of eastern Bantu languages that motivated me to embark on field research on this language.
Such an ambitious question though can only find elements of answer on the basis of detailed grammatical descriptions depicting phonological and lexical data (traditionally used for comparative purpose), but also covering morphological and syntactic analysis of the languages considered for comparison. Although Makhuwa benefits from a few reliable descriptions (Katupha, Kisseberth and van der Wal’s works), a larger-scale comparative analysis of all its dialects (covering an extensive area in the north of Mozambique) is still missing. First attempts have been made in Kisseberth and Cassimjee (unpublished) and Kisseberth and Guérois (2014), but on very specific topics dealing respectively with a comparative lexicon and verb tonology. For the present study, I most often refer to van der Wal (2009)’s description of Makhuwa-Enahara. Regarding Cuwabo, it has been largely ignored so far by previous scholarship, which is all the more surprising since it is part of the Mozambican languages with the highest number of native speakers (Firmino 2006, INE 2007). The lack of relevant linguistic material on Cuwabo was an obvious additional motivation to undertake this present grammar. Finally, Sena is another under-documented language, hence the difficulty in establishing reliable elements of comparison. I used three different sources Torrend’s Grammatica do chisena (1900), Anderson’s introductory Grammar of the Sena language (1897) and the more recent Contrastive analysis of two standardised varieties of Sena by Funnell (2004).

Although the so-called P30 languages share many distinctive features (suggesting a common ancestry), they also display a few significant structural differences. Whenever relevant, the main similarities and differences will be mentioned throughout this work. When information is provided, comparison with Sena will also be drawn. Albeit the present research does not constitute a comparative study of these languages, some clues about inheritance and convergence processes within this geographical area are sporadically proposed. It seems that Makhuwa and Cuwabo share a certain number of innovations which had a divergence effect vis-à-vis other Bantu languages. At the same time, both are embedded into a linguistic area which implies constant contact with other Bantu languages. As might be expected, in such zones of linguistic interface, languages involved by contact are prone to convergence effects. All these questions will be superficially retaken in the conclusion chapter, where they should be considered as a topic of further investigation.

### 1.5 Previous works on the language

While Cuwabo is one of the most widely spoken languages in Mozambique, it has been little studied, and only a few written works have been published on the language. Most of them
were written in Portuguese and constitute out-of-date grammars dating back from the beginning or middle of the twentieth century. Some of these works are exclusively on Cuwabo, others include Cuwabo and other languages (Dupeyron 1900). As expected, most of the authors were missionaries whose studies were limited to bilingual or multilingual word lists and short elementary grammars. Generally, the description and the terminology employed tend to pattern with the tradition of European languages, considered as the prototype of grammars. Furthermore, not only examples are not morphologically glossed, but they are also rendered into a free translation, which (compared to a word-for-word-like translation) complicates the linguist’s task to identify the underlying structures of the language, especially in longer sentences and constructions. Another major drawback common to all these previous works is the lack of both discussion and marking of the prosodic features and more particularly the tones.

The earliest published material which presents a list of Cuwabo words stems from the beginning of the 20th century and is written by the missionary Pedro Dupeyron (1900): Pequeno vademecum da Língua Bantu na província de Moçambique, ou breve estudo da Língua Chi-Yao ou Adjaua (comparada com os dialectos de Sena, Tete e Quelimane). As far as I am aware, this word list represents the oldest source of published data in Cuwabo.

A next episode of documentation entitled Língua de Quelimane: gramática, leitura, vocabulário was provided by the Capuchin friar Macário Reichmut (1947). Unfortunately, I could not find any copy of this work.

Another descriptive work was provided by the Italian Capuchin friar Leone Enrico Zeni in 1966: Gramática da língua Ecwabo. This grammar presents some basic elements of the language phonology and morphosyntax. Although it certainly represents the most substantial and reliable description, it is far from covering all the aspects of a descriptive grammar.

Later in 1983, António Pires Prata wrote A influência da língua portuguesa sobre o suahíli e quatro línguas de Moçambique, which provides a considerable list of Cuwabo lexicon borrowed from Portuguese.

A major and extensive lexical work is Festi and Valler’s Dicionário etxuwabo-português (1995), with a great number of entries, usually illustrated with examples. Although it is detailed and contains a reliable lexicon, a major flaw of the dictionary is the absence of tone and vowel length annotation. Furthermore, the orthography used (presented below in section 1.7) does not reflect the current conventions.

Finally, SIL linguists have been producing several short studies about Cuwabo, including lexicon and very condensed synopsis of grammars. Again, tones and long vowels are not mentioned, and as a matter of fact, most of these different works, listed below, constitute
slightly modified versions of one and a same work, that I consider too superficial to be taken into account.


A final (non-linguistic) work is worth mentioning, namely the Bible, entitled *Bíblia: malebo okoddela (a bíblia em língua Etxuwa)*, which covers both the Old and New Testament, translated by the Capuchin friars of Quelimane in 2004. Because it tends to follow a literal translation from the original version (probably Portuguese), the resulting text in Cuwabo is often made of sentence structures which do not sound natural or familiar to a native speaker. I once asked one of my consultant (Fransisco) to read a passage from the holy book, and it turned out to be a very difficult task for him.

To conclude, the present study is the first major treatment of Cuwabo.

### 1.6 Fieldwork and methodology

Due to the previous lack of linguistic data, the grammar presented here is based on linguistic fieldwork, conducted around Quelimane, from June to September 2011, July to September

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8 AIDS, a disease which is spread by adultery (my translation).
2012, and July to September 2013. Such periods correspond to the dry season in Mozambique. They are definitely the best months to be in the field. The first field trip served both to getting familiar with the area and collecting basic linguistic data, in order to start working on the phonology. Most of my time was spent in Quelimane. But I did travel within the district to collect the data from different consultants.

1.6.1 Primary language consultants

The term consultant is used throughout this study to refer to the different native speakers of Cuwabo who acted as a source of data for linguistic analysis. All my consultants are Cuwabo mother-tongue speakers born in the Quelimane area. During my different fieldwork periods, I was able to rely on the cooperation of the Cuwabo speakers listed in Table 1.

Table 1  Cuwabo consultants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth place</th>
<th>Birth date</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Languages spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guilherme Moniz Rofino</td>
<td>Maquival</td>
<td>5/3/1941</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fransisco Dove</td>
<td>Namwinho</td>
<td>1930s</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João Amaral</td>
<td>Mussuluga</td>
<td>12/8/1932</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guida Jantar</td>
<td>Quelimane</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>homemaker</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dina Abuque</td>
<td>Quelimane</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>homemaker</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sérgio Fernando Arthur</td>
<td>Macuse</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernanda Fernando Arthur</td>
<td>Macuse</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>homemaker</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederico (Costa António Arthur)</td>
<td>Macuse</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helena Cesar</td>
<td>Macuse</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>homemaker</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agostinho Primeiro</td>
<td>Namacurra</td>
<td>8/8/1969</td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>Cuwabo and Ptg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these consultants are bilingual in Portuguese. Most are used to speak Cuwabo at home but were taught Portuguese at school. Guilherme particularly has a high proficiency in Portuguese since he attended a school held by Portuguese missionaries, until he himself became a teacher in the village of Maquival. Most of them remained around their place of birth, except Sérgio who was in born in Macuse but has been living in Quelimane for a few years now and Agostinho who settled in Italy in 1989.

I worked with Guilherme, Fransisco, João, Guida and Dina during the first fieldwork. They all have contributed in recording word lists, sentence lists and texts. Interestingly, the strong Portuguese influence on Cuwabo was easily perceived with both Guida and Dina, who live in Quelimane. Unfortunately, none of these consultants would be reliable enough to help me with the work of transcription. Only at the end of this first trip period did I meet
Sérgio, who would turn my main consultant from the second field trip on. As I worked more extensively with him, I will discuss him in further detail.

Sérgio, despite his young age, is reputed to be a most knowledgeable speaker of what people keep calling “o Cuwabo puro”, i.e. “pure Cuwabo”. He is a school teacher in the morning, follows a computer science course at the Universidade Pedagógica of Quelimane in the afternoon, but he got to be famous in the Quelimane area thanks to a radio program he hosts in Cuwabo every Saturday morning about rarely used Cuwabo words. His aim is to collect the audience’s definitions and/or explanations of these words and put them together in a Cuwabo dictionary. He is one of the few Cuwabo speakers I met who refers to his language with pride and enthusiasm. Although Sérgio never used Portuguese until he started school at six years old, he is very fluent in the colonial language. He also normally understands the different Cuwabo dialects and is able to distinguish lexicon specifically used in each variety. I first contacted him at the end of my first fieldwork to present him my project. This was very fortunate since he turned out to be an excellent consultant and a very considerate friend. As soon as my second fieldwork period, we started to work together, almost on a day to day basis, whenever his time-schedule permitted. On the occasion of the 1-month death ceremony for his father, I had the opportunity to visit all his family in Macuse, a coastal village difficult to access. In addition to my participating in the event, I could record stories told by Fernanda (Sérgio’s sister), Frederico (Sérgio’s cousin) and Helena (a neighbour). Such stories constitute the basis of the present grammatical description. Interestingly, Macuse is considered by many Cuwabo people as the cradle of the best-spoken and “purest” (as they say) Cuwabo. Such recognition is probably explained by the fact that the Capuchin friars supposedly based their writing of the Bible on the Cuwabo spoken in Macuse (although I did not try to check the veracity of this information).

Unfortunately I could not find any Cuwabo native speaker in Lyon. However, I recently got the chance to know Agostinho, the last consultant cited in Table 1, whom I regularly exchanged with via some telecommunication software during the last months of my PhD study. Agostinho was born in Namacurra but moved to Italy in 1989, when he was twenty, to study medicine. Nowadays, despite an unavoidable loss of fluency, he uses Cuwabo with his two daughters and also on the phone with his Mozambican relatives. Exchanging with Agostinho has been significantly helpful, especially in the critical writing period, during which new doubts always arise.
1.6.2 Discourse data

The corpus on which this research is based consists of both elicitation and spontaneous speech, recorded in the field.

Elicitation was used as the initial method of data collection for the present study. It was administered by means of questionnaires, dealing with lexicon and grammatical constructions which supposedly involve specific morphosyntactic features. Such ready-made questionnaires are thus based on direct translation: the consultant is asked ‘how do you say …?’. Because such questionnaires are far from exhaustive, I had to develop new questionnaires in accordance with my progressive findings on the language. As I progressively acquired a better intuition of the language, I was also able to resort to non-translational elicitation (Samarin 1967: 77) and ask Sérgio ‘can you say … in Cuwabo?’. I could in this way fill out paradigms and also test the grammaticality of specific linguistic structures.

Although elicitation is a useful and necessary method of data collecting, especially since it allows focusing on specific aspects or phenomena in the language, a grammatical description cannot rely solely on elicited data. Spontaneous speech is a required complement in that it allows to observe a variety of linguistic structures otherwise not (or rarely) obtained through elicitation. Spontaneous speech also has the advantage of providing a contextual and informational background which usually help in determining the semantic and pragmatic load of a given sentence or structure. A great number of oral discourse consisting of traditional or personal stories and conversations was recorded in the field. However, and merely for lack of time, only a part was made available for the analysis. As a result, this study relies on a sample of seven stories (one of which lasts 20 minutes), which were transcribed, glossed and translated into Portuguese with the help of my main consultant Sérgio. Over time, he became accustomed to my work methods and also to my questions. And as my understanding of the language kept improving, transcribing, glossing and translating soon became less laborious. For the purpose of this study, the seven stories upon which the analysis is drawn are presented in the Appendix.

The language of communication with all my consultants was Portuguese. I usually had no difficulty in understanding the Mozambican Portuguese, and my Brazilian accent was not a problem for inter-comprehension, except for the older people, in which case I tried to minimise it the best I could.

My settlement in Quelimane had both benefits and drawbacks. The main and decisive benefit was the access to power. This allowed me to process a significant part of the linguistic data right away. Because of the mixed status of the population, I rarely had the
chance of overhearing long conversations in Cuwabo. I could have chosen to be immersed in the language on a day to day basis by settling in Macuse for instance. I would have acquired a certain level of proficiency in Cuwabo, and I would have been involved in the community life. But being able to work on my laptop on a daily basis was a little luxury that I deliberately opted for.

The data was recorded in a stereo WAV format using a Zoom H2 handy digital stereo voice recorder, and then transferred to my computer for further analysis. The acoustic analysis was carried by means of the software PRAAT, and I used the SIL software FleX both as a lexical database and a tool for morphological analysis. My database counts almost 4500 words. Most of it is in accordance with Festi and Valler’s *Dicionário Etxuwabo-Português* (1994).

### 1.7 Orthographical conventions

Different spellings exist for the word Cuwabo: (e)Txuwabo, (e)Chwabo, (e)Cuabo, (e)Cwabo, (e)Chuabo, (e)Chuwabo. In the US Bantuist tradition, the class 7 prefix *ci*- or *e*- (depending on the languages) is commonly added to refer to the language. I deliberately chose the European tradition, where such a prefix is omitted.

Cuwabo has no solid writing tradition. In trying to solve orthographic issues, an alphabet standardisation committee was formed in order to draft and publish the following document: *Padronização da ortografia de línguas moçambicanas*. This committee was formerly known under the acronym NELIMO (*Núcleo de Estudos de Línguas Moçambicanas*), but has since then merged with the *Centro de Estudos de Línguas Moçambicanas* of the University Eduardo Mondlane of Maputo. Since the first report was published in 1989, two more subsequent works have been written in 2000 and 2011, bringing slight modifications. In Table 2 below, a comparison between the first standardisation report (1989) and the third one (2011) is provided.

On the two rightmost columns, I give first the writing system used by Festi and Valler (F&V) in their 1994 Cuwabo-Portuguese dictionary, and then my own proposal, which largely reflects the orthography advocated by the last committee’s proposal.
## Table 2  Comparison of Cuwabo writing systems

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</table>
As can be seen, in most cases, the practical orthography symbols were developed following a one-to-one relationship between phonemes and phonetic symbols. Among the different previous writing systems, only the last standardisation report from 2011 reports the existence of a vowel length distinction in Cuwabo. According to the first standardisation report, “todas as vogais sofrem um alongamento, geralmente na penúltima sílaba” (1989: 50). Without denying that penult vowel lengthening may have once existed in the language (note that this process is not attested synchronically), it is very unlikely to switch within 20 years from a system whereby long vowels are phonetically triggered at the right boundary of a prosodic unit, to a system with a distinctive vowel length. The absence of phonemic long vowels in the first reports should thus be regarded as an error of analysis. The absence of long vowels is also one of the main lacuna of Festi and Valler’s Dictionary.

In comparison with the 2011 standardisation report, my orthography proposal takes into account the prenasalised stops, since they constitute phonemes in Cuwabo. I also note the velar nasal /ŋ/ as <ŋ> and not as <ng’>, mostly to avoid ambiguity with the numerous apostrophes used in my transcriptions whenever resyllabification processes occur on the surface across word boundaries (e.g. in ordinary speech, námwáli óddu ‘this girl’ surfaces as námwál’ uddu). Another difference between the standardisation reports and the writing system I am proposing deals with the aspiration of the retroflex stop. Whereas the reports regard the sound sequence [ʈʰ] (as in múṭu ‘person’) as a phoneme, I assume that aspiration is not a distinctive feature in Cuwabo, and rather analyse [ʈʰ] as an allophonic variant of the phoneme /ʈ/ (see section 2.1.1).

Throughout this grammar, Cuwabo words and sentences are written according to the practical orthography I am proposing in Table 2, except in cases where a phonetic transcription is specifically required for phonological purposes.

1.8 Notation

Throughout this study, each example generally has a four-tier presentation, as illustrated below.

kurúmáanj’ ooncelóömwerela vañlúgüni {maria.47}
kurúmánje o-naa-ilá-ömwerela va-nilrügni = ni
1a.bee.sp 1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land 16-5.stone = LOC
‘the bee.sp will land on a stone’

9 “all the vowels are affected by lengthening, generally on the penult syllable” (my translation).
In the first tier, the sentence is written as it is heard, i.e. including every surface morpho-
phonological process. It thus directly reflects the way the sentence was uttered by the native
speaker. At the end of this line, the source is indicated between curly brackets {…}. If the
element stems from a story, the source is coded as follows: the first component indicates the
story from which the sentence is issued (here ‘maria’); the following numeral component
(here .47) identifies the sentence within the text so that the reader can easily pinpoint it in
the Appendix. If the example stems from direct elicitation involving translation from
Portuguese, the source appears as {elic.} (for ‘elicitation’); if the example was created by
the speaker as a result of all kind of stimuli, it is indicated as {semi-elic.} (for ‘semi-
elicited’ data). For instance, I asked my main consultant Sérgio to create series of sentences
for each tense attested in the language. Although such sentences are somewhat oriented-
like, they certainly look more ‘natural’ and more related to the day to day language than
sentences translated from Portuguese.

The second line is the segmentation tier, which provides a detailed account of the
morphological structure of the utterance. A hyphen is used to separate each morpheme. The
verb Final vowel (Fi) -a is also preceded by a hyphen, when separated from the verbal root
by a derivational extension. Otherwise, it is analysed as being included in the verbal stem as
in ômwerela ‘to land’ above. For the segmentation of clitics, an equal sign (=) is used, as
shown with the locative clitic =ni in váthötündi ‘on a stone’. For each example through-
out this study, whenever possible, the relevant information has been underlined in bold for ease
of identification.

The third line is the gloss tier, where every Cuwabo morpheme is given either a lexical
meaning (e.g. ‘bee’, ‘land’ or ‘stone’), or a somewhat conventionalised metalinguistic abbreviations in capital letters deciphered on the preliminary pages xvii-xviii (e.g. FUT for
‘future’, AUX for ‘auxiliary’, LOC for ‘locative’). Numbers refer to the Bantu noun class
system. Note that most of the abbreviations used for glossing the Cuwabo segments in this
work follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules\textsuperscript{10} with a few alterations when needed.

Finally, a translation into English is provided. It should not be considered as a free or
idiomatic translation, since it rather tends to respect the construction found in Cuwabo.
Whenever deemed necessary, a literal translation is also given in parenthesis. Such a ‘word-
for-word’ translation is often more meaningful for a linguistic study.

Throughout this study, a single word preceded by an asterisk (*) corresponds to a
reconstruction from Common Bantu (CB), based on Guthrie (1967-71). Such words are in
principle further followed by Guthrie’s code (e.g. *-bégó ‘seed’ CS 85). The same asterisk

\textsuperscript{10} Available online at http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html
(*) is also conventionally used to indicate ungrammaticality. In this case, it usually applies to a whole clause or sentence, and is thus easily distinguishable from its use when linked with lexical reconstructions.
2

Segmental phonology

The analysis of Cuwabo phonology is divided into two chapters: the first (Chapter 2) investigates the sound inventory and phonological alternations, while the second (Chapter 3) discusses basic tonal structures as well as tonal alternations.

More specifically, the present chapter describes the various sound units that constitute the phonological system of Cuwabo, as well as the major phonological alternations. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 respectively review the consonant system and the vowel system, including a discussion of the phonetic realisation of the different phonemes, as well as their phonemic status and distribution. These primary sections are followed by section 2.3 which deals with the syllable structure and word shapes, and section 2.4 which treats resyllabification phenomena, including an extended description of vowel sequences. Tones and tonal processes, another major topic of Cuwabo phonology, are analysed in chapter 3.

As this chapter focuses on phonological segments, every Cuwabo example is first given in (italicised) practical orthography, followed by a transcription in phonetics symbols (enclosed in slants /…/ when phonemic distinctions are presented, and in brackets […] for phonetic realisations). I generally adopted the phonetic transcription suggested by the International Phonetic Alphabet except for the palatal glide [j], that I transcribe by [y], as Africanist scholars usually do. Note that in the remaining chapters, for ease of reading, only practical orthography will be used.
2.1 Consonants

Cuwabo counts 31 consonants, all given and arranged in Table 3 according to their articulatory properties. The phonemes are presented in the orthography used throughout the rest of the thesis. Their corresponding phonetic symbols are given in square brackets where they differ from the symbols used in the practical orthography. The elements between parentheses represent less common phoneme types.

The consonant inventory displays contrasts in manner of articulation between stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids and glides. A voicing contrast exists for both stops and fricatives, where *vl.* stands for ‘voiceless’ and *vd* for ‘voiced’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>Cuwabo consonant phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl. stop</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd stop</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenas. stop</td>
<td>mb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl. fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd fricatives</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 makes it clear that the stops and the nasals (including the prenasalised stops) form a major subsystem with up to five contrasting places of articulation: bilabial /p, b, mb, m/, dental/alveolar /t, d, nd, n/, retroflex /ʈ, ɖ, ɳɖ/, (pre)-palatal /c, j, ɲ, ɲ/ and velar /k, g, ɳɡ, ɲ/. The voicing contrast differentiates Cuwabo from other P30 languages, which normally include voiceless and aspirated stops, but not voiced stops (Katupha 1991, van der Wal 2009). The remaining consonant phonemes also are robust, except the (voiceless) glottal stop /ʔ/, the voiceless post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/, the retroflex liquid /ɬ/, and the velar nasal /ŋ/, which are far less frequent.

Evidence of the phonemic status of these consonants together with their phonetic description will be given in the following subsections. We will see that Cuwabo consonant phonemes are in principle very regular in their phonetic realisation, usually maintaining their place, manner and voicing properties independent of the environment, but that some (free) variation can still be found according to the speakers consulted. I also try, whenever possible, to provide examples which exhibit the larger array of consonant distribution, namely root-initially and root-internally.
2.1.1 Apical stops

Cuwabo apicals have two places of articulation, dental [d, t] and retroflex [ɖ, ʈ], whose occurrence is not conditioned by any specific environment in the words in which they are found. Minimal (or near minimal) pairs in (2.1) and (2.2) illustrate their phonemic distinction.

(2.1) /t/-/ʈ/ distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wiíta</td>
<td>[o-ʃta]</td>
<td>‘found’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwéte</td>
<td>[pwe-ʃte]</td>
<td>‘challenge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étólo</td>
<td>[e-ʃtolo]</td>
<td>‘winnow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó-tugá</td>
<td>[o-ʃtugá]</td>
<td>‘inquire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwéte</td>
<td>[pwe-ʃte]</td>
<td>‘spill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó-tugá</td>
<td>[o-ʃtugá]</td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.2) /d/-/ɖ/ distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wiída</td>
<td>[o-ʃda]</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovádéha</td>
<td>[o-vádɛʔa]</td>
<td>‘bump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógúdúla</td>
<td>[o-gúdúla]</td>
<td>‘collide with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiída</td>
<td>[o-ʃda]</td>
<td>‘hate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ováddêla</td>
<td>[o-váddêla]</td>
<td>‘be strong to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofúddûla</td>
<td>[o-fúddûla]</td>
<td>‘make fall’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is however interesting to note that the dental apicals, be they voiced or not, are far less commonly attested than their retroflex counterparts.

Several observations regarding the phonetic realisation of Cuwabo apicals are noteworthy. First, the dental stops /d, t/ have free alveolar variants [d, t], as illustrated in (2.3).

(2.3) [d, t] and [d, t] free variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dála</td>
<td>[dála]</td>
<td>‘hunger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ódúdúra</td>
<td>[o-dúdúra]</td>
<td>‘wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ósíto</td>
<td>[o-síto]</td>
<td>‘dig out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ósíto</td>
<td>[o-síto]</td>
<td>‘fence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otíba</td>
<td>[o-tíba]</td>
<td>‘dig out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since dental stops are articulated with the tip of the tongue placed at the juncture between the upper teeth and the alveolar ridge, the acoustic conflation between both places of articulation, dental and alveolar, is not surprising.

Second, the voiceless retroflex stop /ʈ/ can be heard as an aspirated [ʈʰ] before the high vowels /i, u/, as shown in (2.4).
(2.4) [ʈ] and [ʈʰ] allophonic variation

mutétte [mu-[ʈête]] ‘monument’ vs. rítítti [ń-[ʈʰiʈʰi]] ‘hair’
ottétékula [o-[ʈêtekulá] ‘liven up’ vs. ottítima [o-[ʈʰiʈʰima] ‘thunder’
müttótto [mú-[ʈóʈo] ‘nail’ vs. ttútú [ʈʰúʈʰu] ‘fish.sp’
óttótómúwa [ó-[ʈóʈómúwa] ‘crackle’ vs. ottúttúmedha [o-[ʈʰúʈʰúmedhá] ‘rise to’

Unlike Makhuwa, the aspiration is not phonological in Cuwabo, but seems to be a phonetic consequence of the highness of /i, u/. As far as I know, /ʈ/ is the only consonant with allophonic variation. Furthermore, speakers vary in the degree of audible aspiration of this stop.

Dental and retroflex stops cannot co-occur within a stem. Many examples in my database manifest this ‘dental-retroflex incompatibility’ (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000). (2.5) shows combinations of two dental stops only, while (2.6) shows combinations of two retroflex stops.

(2.5) Dental stops combination

ódídélá [óódélá] ‘persist’ ótídá [ótiɗá] ‘pound’
ótéńtedha [otéńtèɗa] ‘cackle’ mutéde [muɗèɗe] ‘dress’
ódáánda [ódáándá] ‘not articulate’ ótááta [otááɗa] ‘mash’
ótáda [otáɗa] ‘plan’ otóta [otóɗa] ‘hunt’
múttütu [múttútú] ‘corneob’ múttundú [múttùndù] ‘leech’

(2.6) Retroflex stops combination

naáddînddîi [naáɖînddîi] ‘bird.sp’ naittiddi [nańfîńdî] ‘weed.sp’
eddeeddêre [eɖeɖêre] ‘desert’ órêttèttá [órêtîtâ] ‘thresh’
ottánddâ [otáñtâ] ‘create’ kattünddu [kañtûnddu] ‘big bundle’
óddoddá [[oɖoɖó] ‘grab’ ósöttítta [ósóʈîta] ‘torture’
t tômôddo [tômôɖo] ‘hippopotamus’ eddüãnddu [eɖţiɪnddû] ‘grasshopper’

Interestingly, this dental-retroflex incompatibility is not restricted to stops, but affects every dental and retroflex sounds, including the dental fricative /ð/ (2.7), and the retroflex flap /ɽ/ (2.8).

(2.7) édhîdhi [éɗiɗi] ‘owl’ múdhîdhi [mûɗiɗi] ‘time’
ódhàádha [óðâáɗâ] ‘drown’ ótadhá [ótaɗá] ‘hoe’
ńdàddhu [ńóɗóʊ] ‘lung’ odhâvûdha [oʊðâʊɗâ] ‘wash fast’
mútôódha [mûtuɗóʊ] ‘wart’ múdhôóðho [mûduoʊoʊ] ‘ant.sp’
Only one exception to the dental-retroflex restriction has been reported from my database: **oddúddúmadha** [oɖúɖúmaɖa] ‘leave home’.

### 2.1.2 Bilabial and velar stops

There are three robust bilabial stops in Cuwabo: /p, b, mb/, which require no particular comment. Their phonemic status is established by the following minimal pairs.

(2.9) /p/ - /b/ - /mb/ distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>olápa</td>
<td>[o-lápa]</td>
<td>‘be tall, long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olába</td>
<td>[o-lába]</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlámaba</td>
<td>[mú-lámaba]</td>
<td>‘baobab tree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiced plain stop /b/ sometimes gets implosive [ɓ]. This free variant is especially evidenced by Guilherme in sporadic words, as shown in (2.10), and does not bear a phonemic status in the language.

(2.10) [b, ɓ] free variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mucésã ońfwándyáwa obára</td>
<td>[ɓára]</td>
<td>‘the sand is found at the sea’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both velar stops /k/ and /g/ are also very robust consonants. Their phonemic contrast is shown in (2.11).

(2.11) /k/ - /g/ distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ókápúla</td>
<td>[ó-kápúla]</td>
<td>‘hear say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógábúla</td>
<td>[ó-gábúla]</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofúkúwa</td>
<td>[o-fúkúwa]</td>
<td>‘gush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofúgiwa</td>
<td>[o-fúgiwa]</td>
<td>‘open’ (itr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.3 Glottal stop

The glottal consonant [ʔ] seems more and more marginal in the language and is normally replaced by a glide (whose nature mostly depends on the quality of the surrounding vowels, see section 2.4.1.4 below). The causative extension -ih is a good illustration. It can be pronounced [iʔ], but [iy] is most frequently heard.

(2.12) [ʔ/y] free variation in the causative extension -ih

όjiθá ‘feed’ ► [oʔiʔá] or [oʔiʔá]
όbúρúciθá ‘make get out’ ► [oʔbúρúciʔá] or [oʔbúρúciʔá]
weéddiθá ‘lead, guide’ ► [weédiʔa] or [weédiʔa]

Inside noun roots, [ʔ] is rare, but still attested, and always allows a glide variant (2.13)a or simply falls between two short identical vowels (2.13)b.

(2.13) [ʔ/w/y] free variation inside roots
a. mwíihí ‘belt.sp’ ► [mwíiʔí] or [mwíiʔí]
  mîhêgu ‘antilopes’ ► [mîʔêgu] or [mîʔêgu]
  mahúzi ‘hairs’ ► [maʔúzi] or [maʔúzi]
  muhágo ‘intestinal worm’ ► [muʔágo] or [muʔágo]
  muhôre ‘young hen’ ► [muʔôre] or [muʔôre]

b. nîhimó ‘tribe’ ► [nîʔimó] or [nîimó]
  mahála ‘gift’ ► [maʔála] or [maʔála]
  namávúhulela ‘prophet’ ► [namávúʔulela] or [namávúʔulela]

The same variation occurs within verbs (2.14), when [ʔ] is in root-initial position, but a third pattern is also possible, in which [ʔ] (or [w]) gets deleted. This consonant deletion gives rise to vowel sequences, in which the first round mid-vowel, issued from the infinitive prefix, becomes a labial glides followed by the second vowel which lengthens (see section 2.4.1 for an analysis of vowel sequences).

(2.14) [ʔ/w] free variation inside roots + resyllabification

o-hîlêya ‘faint’ ► [oʔîlêya] or [owîlêya] or [wiîlêya]
 o-hêla ‘put’ ► [oʔêla] or [owêla] or [weêla]
 o-hába ‘bathe’ ► [oʔába] or [owába] or [waába]
 ó-hogá ‘asfixiate’ ► [oʔogá] or [őogá]
 ó-huwá ‘slough’ ► [oʔuwá] or [úuwá]

The glottal stop seems to be a case of style which may vary from one speaker to the other (usually more used by the older people). Speakers always accept it even if they usually...
make use of a glide instead, which makes the discourse more fluid from an articulatory point of view.

2.1.4 Prenasalised stops

Prenasalised stops are complex consonants, which involve a nasal-stop sequence. Unlike most Makhwa dialects, Cuwabo has five prenasalised stops in its consonant inventory: bilabial /mb/, dento-alveolar /nd/, retroflex /ɳɖ/, palatal /ɲɟ/, /velar /ŋg/. In the orthography used in this study, the bilabial nasal is represented by an <m>, while the dento-alveolar, the retroflex, the palatal and the velar nasals are represented by an <n>. These prenasalised stops are produced at the same place of articulation as the series of corresponding stops. A particularity of Cuwabo prenasalised stops is that the second constituent is always voiced. A voiceless stop can be preceded by a nasal, but in this case, each consonant is a segment which maintains a phonemic status, and the nasal is moraic (see section 2.3.1.2 below). In order to avoid any ambiguity between nasal-voiced consonant sequence and nasal-voiceless consonant sequence, in the first one the two segments are joined by a tie bar [”] in the following glosses.

Although such sequences involve two consonants, they behave like single segments in that they are treated as phonemes, as shown in the minimal pairs in (2.15), comparing prenasalised stops to plain stops.

(2.15) /NC/ - /C/ distinction

a. okúmba [o-kúmba] ‘blow away’ vs. ōkumá [ó-kumá] ‘be fat’
b. ōlandá [ó-landá] ‘lick’ vs. ŋláda [ŋ-láda] ‘hand’
c. opóndda [o-pónda] ‘knead’ vs. ŋpódda [ŋ-póda] ‘green grass’
d. nikánje [ni-káñe] ‘mat.sp’ vs. mukáje [mu-káje] ‘fish.sp’
e. ofúnga [o-fúnga] ‘strengthen’ vs. ōfuná [ó-funá] ‘want’

Furthermore, the two components of the prenasalised consonants are homorganic: the pre-nasal consonant always shares the same place of articulation as the following consonant.

Prenasalised consonants in Cuwabo, as in Bantu, generally form a complex nasal-stop onset as shown in (2.16), in which dots are used to divide syllable boundaries, and represented in (2.17).
Regarding their distribution, prenasalised stops as monomorphemic elements are rarely attested in word-initial position. In such a position, a syllabic split usually occurs, and the nasal is considered moraic in most cases (see section 2.3.1.2 below). (2.18) provides the complete list of prenasalised stops in word-initial position in Cuwabo.

Prenasalised consonants are also found in stem-initial position (2.19), but they more commonly occur as the second or following consonant of the stem (2.20). As one might expect they are barred from the final position.
The preference for word-internal rather than initial position is attested in many languages (Herbert 1986: 91)

Furthermore a distributional constraint prevents a prenasalised stop to co-occur with any other prenasalised stop within a word. This restriction suggests the application of Meinhof’s Rule found in many Eastern Bantu languages (Meeussen 1962). According to this rule, a NC cluster is simplified to a nasal segment when another NC cluster occupies C2 position. (Meinhof 1932: 183). This is verified in Cuwabo with the examples given in (2.21), which did not maintain the two NC clusters present in the CB words. Instead, the first NC cluster changed to a velar nasal.

Other examples for which a proto form is not available, but which clearly reveal the non-co-occurrence of two NC clusters within a word, are provided in (2.22).

The only exceptions to this restriction rule on prenasalised co-occurrence are a few reduplicated words given in (2.23).
Consider now the fricative phonemes. Table 3 shows that they display fewer articulatory positions than the stops, contrasting labial /f, v/, dental /ð/, alveolar /s, ʃ/ and affricates /ʧ,ʤ/, here noted as palatal stops /c, y/. In this respect, Cuwabo follows the overall tendency of languages to count fewer fricatives than stops in their phonemes inventories (Creissels 1989: 57).

2.1.5 (Labio)-dental fricatives

The labial fricatives /f, v/ are illustrated below, in (2.24).

(2.24) /f/ - /v/ distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fóla</td>
<td>[fóla]</td>
<td>‘tobacco’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ófüdhá</td>
<td>[ó-fuðá]</td>
<td>‘cancel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níkõfi</td>
<td>[ní-kõfi]</td>
<td>‘slap’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiceless /f/ is far less attested than its voiced counterpart, and mainly occurs as the first consonant of the stem, unlike /v/ which is also recurrent as C2 or C3.

The dental fricative /ð/ is used mostly in -edh [eð], one of the two applicative extensions in Cuwabo (see section 6.1.3.2). Inside verb or noun roots, its occurrence is also attested, although less frequent. The following examples in (2.25) provide minimal (or near-minimal) pairs illustrating the phonological contrasts between /ð/ and two close voiced fricatives: the labio-dental /v/ and the alveolar /z/.

(2.25) /ð/ - /z, v/ distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ódháádha</td>
<td>[óðááda]</td>
<td>‘drown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógadáhá</td>
<td>[ógaðá]</td>
<td>‘cut in pieces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okúrúúðha</td>
<td>[okúrúða]</td>
<td>‘calm down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ódhúúðha</td>
<td>[óðúúða]</td>
<td>‘stir’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, /ð/ is sometimes pronounced as a dental stop [d], as shown in (2.26).

(2.26) [ð] and [d] free variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nadháwûla</td>
<td>[naðáwûla]</td>
<td>‘big wave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variation is very often attested with the verb ódha ‘go’ (2.27), although in both examples, the presence of the nasal consonant probably triggers the propagation of the
inherent nasal feature [-continuant] onto the following segment. The choice for the dental stop instead of the dental fricative would thus be conditioned in these specific cases.

(2.27)  
a. ək' uuídówííyéː {maría.32}  
óku  [o-ni-dhówá = yé]_{REL}  
17.DEM.I 17-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO  
‘where he is going’

tóóde nááredhhe {páaká.4}  
ní-dhów-e ni-á-áredh-e  
1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ  
‘let’s go and have fun’

The free variation between [ð] and [d] is probably explained by the fact that both consonants are very close from an articulatory point of view, the main difference being the manner of articulation: the first is a fricative whereas the second is a stop. Furthermore no minimal pair is attested between both sounds, which facilitates their using as free variants. Note finally that the dental stop is prevalent in the Cuwabo variety called Karungu, spoken in the region of Inhassunge, to the South of Quelimane (see Map 1 in section 1.2).

A last case of variation among labio-dental fricatives exists for the class 10 noun prefix, usually uttered as dhi-, but also attested as vi-. The two most recurrent examples are provided in (2.28). Interestingly, the variant vi- is restricted to the noun class prefix and is not attested as agreement prefix, as the sentences in (2.29)a, uttered by Fransisco, and (2.29)b, uttered by Guilherme, illustrate.

(2.28)  
Class 10 dhi-/vi- free variation  
dhináma  OR  vináma  ‘animals’  
dhiłóbo  OR  vílóbo  ‘things’

(2.29)  
a. mwa vinámá dheetédhénéː , dówá enddimúwa  
mwa  [vinámá  dhi-é=dhénə  dówú  e-nddimúwa]  
18.CON 10.animal 10-all=10.INT 9a.elephant 9-big.PL  
‘among all the animals, elephant is the big one’

(2.30)  
b. vílóbo dhiddívahéle wéyó: dhíítwéeyá  
vílóbo  [dhi-ddi-váh-fle  wéyó]_{REL}  
10.thing 10-OM1SG-give-PFV.REL 2SG.PRO 10-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi  
‘the things that you gave me broke’
2.1.6 Alveolar fricatives and affricates

Among the three alveolar fricatives presented in Table 3, /s/ and /z/ are actively attested in Cuwabo, more particularly the voiceless segment. Their phonemic independence is illustrated by the following minimal pairs.

(2.31) /s/ - /z/ distinction

- mucésa [mu-césa] ‘sand’ vs. céza [céza] ‘light’
- ósazá [ó-sazá] ‘imitate’ vs. ósásá [ó-sasá] ‘flatten’
- súra [súra] ‘liquor.sp’ vs. mizúra [mi-zúra] ‘thanks’

The rare manifestations of the post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ show it mostly to occur in free variation with [s] or [c], as examples in (2.32) show.

(2.32) [ʃ] and [s,c] free variation

- óswa ‘novelty’ ➤ [ó-ʃwa] or [ó-swa]
- múšósóno ‘kiss’ ➤ [mú-ʃóʊno] or [mú-sósóno]
- címa ‘stiff porridge’ ➤ [ʃíma] or [címa]
- oshága ‘cleverness’ ➤ [o-ʃága] or [o-cága]

It is also interesting to mention that in these contexts, one of my consultants (Fransisco of Namwinho) tends to produce either a voiceless labiodental affricate [p_f] or a palatalised voiceless fricative [fy], instead of the voiceless fricative [s].

(2.33) Cases of free variation between: [s]/[ʃ] in a.; [ʃ]/[c]/[p_f] in b.; and [s]/[fy] in c.

- a. óswa ‘new’ ➤ [óswa] or [óʃwa]
- b. oshága ‘be clever’ ➤ [oʃága] or [ocága] or [opʃága]
- c. óscéla ‘sweep’ ➤ [óscéla] or [óʃéela]

However, this free variation is encountered in a very few words of my corpus. The rare occurrence of this marginal sound could be an indication that either this sound is dying out of the language, or it was borrowed from another language, such as Sena, where it has phonemic status. The second option is more likely, even if no synchronic elements can prove it.

More generally, /ʃ/ is attested in loans from Portuguese.

(2.34) /ʃ/ in Portuguese loans

- biiʃku [biiʃku] ‘bishop’ < PTG bispo
- főóʃko [főóʃko] ‘match’ < PTG fősforo
- kásha [káʃa] ‘box’ < PTG caixa
Four more words in my database exhibit [ʃ]: sháti [ʃáti] ‘shirt.sp’, tìpòšto [tìpòʃto] ‘rice.sp’, sháshángéra [ʃáʃáŋgéra] ‘fish.sp’, and tísháánu [tíʃáánu] ‘Friday’. It is nonetheless more difficult to account for their status. The first may be a loan from Swahili shati, in turn borrowed from English shirt. The three other forms are probably loans from other Bantu languages, such as Sena, which has /ʃ/ in its phonological inventory.

Also note the sound [ʒ] in the loans lózha [lóʒa] ‘shop’ and fiíʒîga [fiíʒîga] ‘crossbow’, from Portuguese loja and fisga. Still, these rare occurrences are far too marginal for [ʒ] to be considered as a phoneme in the language.

Let us now look at affrication in Cuwabo. Both /c, ɟ/ are robustly attested in the language. Regarding their pronunciation, they seem to vary between pre-palatal stops [c, ʃ] and alveo-palatal affricates [ʧ, ʤ]. The phonemic status of these two consonants is shown in the following minimal pairs.

(2.35) /c/ - /ɟ/ distinction

óçigá [ó-çigá] ‘hate’ vs. ójigá [ó-jigá] ‘pump’

ǹçéla [ǹ-céla] ‘well’ vs. ójelá [ó-jelá] ‘empower’

Unexpectedly, my database contains one case of free variation between [ʃ] and its velar voiced stop [g] for the verb ógówóla [ógówóla] ‘peck’, also pronounced [ójóvóla].

### 2.1.7 Nasals

There are four nasal consonants, produced at the bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, pre-palatal /ɲ/, and velar /ŋ/ places of articulation. The following near-minimal set establishes their phonemic status.

(2.36) /m/ - /n/ - /ɲ/ - /ŋ/ distinction

móma [móma] ‘beehive’

ónomá [ó-nomá] ‘designate’

onyómela [o-nómela] ‘infiltrate’

ǹgóma [ńóma] ‘drum’

While /m, n, ɲ/ are very robust phonemes with a large distribution, and without restriction on their vowel environment, the phoneme /ŋ/ is little attested, and has a restricted distribution. It never appears before front vowels, and mostly occurs in stem-initial position.
Chapter 2

(2.37)a, sometimes in stem-internal position (2.37)b, sometimes in both C1 and C2 (2.37)c. This latter case probably results from the application of Meinhof’s Rule, discussed above in section 2.1.4.

(2.37) a. /ŋ/ as C1
   ŋóºmbo [ŋºmbo] ‘paddle’     múºngambº [mº-ŋºmbº] ‘flute’

b. /ŋ/ as C2 or C3
   onºngºna [onºňºna] ‘whisper’     káráºngºgo [káráºŋºjo] ‘steps’

c. /ŋ/ as C1 and C2
   oºngºnga [ºnºňa] ‘snore’     oºngºngºna [ºnºňºna] ‘grumble’

2.1.8 Liquids

The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ and the voiced alveolar trill /ɾ/ are well discriminated in Cuwabo (unlike Sena N44, where they appear to occur in free variation). The retroflex flap /ɽ/ is also phonemically attested. The three following minimal sets testify the phonemic status of these consonants.

(2.38) /ʃ/ - /ɾ/ - /l/ distinction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Older consultants</th>
<th>Sérgio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. mwáára [mú-ára] ‘stone’</td>
<td>[ó-ʈára]</td>
<td>[ó-ʈára]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáará [ó-ará] ‘weed’</td>
<td>[oréŋga]</td>
<td>[oréŋga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáalá [ó-álá] ‘sow’</td>
<td>[ni-ílá]</td>
<td>[ni-ílá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. nípará [ní-párá] ‘seed.sp’</td>
<td>[ni-íŋa]</td>
<td>[ni-íŋa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. muhétre [mu-ºétre] ‘fight’</td>
<td>[ma-ºétre]</td>
<td>[ma-ºétre]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, /ɾ/ seems to be submitted to variation with [ɾ], especially by my main consultant Sérgio, who tends to favour the trill to the detriment of the flap in certain words. This variation may be an individual particularism or a reflex of some generational linguistic changes, as my other consultants, all with an advanced age, maintain a firmer contrast between both consonants. Though this variation remains occasional, it is worth exemplifying it in (2.39) in which the words on the left column are uttered by my older consultants whereas those on the right were uttered by Sérgio, who is more or less half as young.

(2.39) [ɾ/r] variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Older consultants</th>
<th>Sérgio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óttáºpíra</td>
<td>‘be sweet’</td>
<td>[ó-ʈápiɾa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olrénga</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>[oréŋga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osóra</td>
<td>‘blossom’</td>
<td>[osóɾa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúºrúmíza</td>
<td>‘head work’</td>
<td>[ó-껏úmíza]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káºríºnga</td>
<td>‘sickle’</td>
<td>[ká-ɾíŋga]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other cases of variation between [ɾ] - [r] and even [l] are reported in Festi’s Dictionary.

(2.40) Cases of free variation between [ɾ] and [r, l], by Festi and Valler (1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>òkámúlra</td>
<td>[òkámúŋ] or [òkámúla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sizáára</td>
<td>[sizááŋ] or [sizáára]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñddálra</td>
<td>[ñndáŋ] or [ñndára]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the three examples in (2.40), all my consultants used the retroflex flap, hence the <lr> grapheme on the left column.

Note that the verb wíilá ‘do, say’ has three variants: wíirá, wéélá, wéerá, which neutralise the phonemic distinction between the two liquids consonants. This form is much used in Cuwabo syntax as a complementiser (see section 7.6.2.1) and in the tense-aspect-mood system as an auxiliary in analytic tenses (see section 8.4).

2.1.9 Glides

The labiovelar /w/ and palatal /y/ glides are transitional sounds towards the articulation of the following vowel. The glides may appear as part of consonant-glide clusters (CGV syllable), or as syllable onsets (GV syllable). In Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, both glides have a questionable phonological status, in that they can be derived from consonants as well as from vowels, and they can be inherent or epenthetic. I discuss below each of these configurations.

2.1.9.1 CGV

Glides commonly occur after a consonant, in the sequence CGV. Such sequences can be cases of re-syllabification triggered by morphological concatenations in which a CV (nominal or verbal) prefix is followed by a vowel-initial stem. Glide formation occurs, inducing compensatory lengthening, as illustrated in (2.41).

(2.41) mwiíni /mu-íni/ (cl.3) ‘wild land’
      mwéerí /mú-erí/ (cl.3) ‘moon, month’
      mwáaná /mú-aná/ (cl.1) ‘child’

In such cases, the underlying morphological structure clearly shows that [w] is derived from vowels. Note that the sequence Cy is not attested here. The conditions and specificities of glide formation are discussed into more details in section 2.4.1.3 below.
When the sequence CGV appears inside the stem, both initially and internally, the source of the glide derivation is less predictable. The examples below illustrate the possible Cw combinations, both in stem-initial and stem-internal position. The sequences [ʃw], [ʔw], [w], [ʃw], [cw], [lw], [ɽw] are not attested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
<th>CGV sequences in stem-initial and stem-internal position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem-initial</td>
<td>stem-internal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pw</td>
<td>[o-pwé.ta]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bw</td>
<td>[o-bwí.ta]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbw</td>
<td>[mú-mbwa.ku]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tw</td>
<td>[ó-twa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏw</td>
<td>[dvwá.lu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɖw</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>[ó-kwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>[ó-gwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṅgw</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fw</td>
<td>[ó-fwará]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vw</td>
<td>[é-vwé.de]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sw</td>
<td>[ó-swa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mw</td>
<td>[ó-mwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nw</td>
<td>[é-nwi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋw</td>
<td>[ó-ŋwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows that most consonants can be labialised in Cuwabo. Diachronically, Cw sequences may result from labialisation due to a sequence of vowels: for instance, a word like opwéta ‘weed’ may originally come from opuéta. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the sequence Cw can precede all vowels except /u/. This behaviour actually shows that Cw is to be considered as a cluster and not a unitary consonant like the prenasalised stops.

Unlike Cw, Cy is marginally attested. Only the sequences in (2.42) are attested, and most of them are variants (2.42)a, resyllabified (2.42)b, or loans (2.42)c.

(2.42)  
a. [ópya] ▶ variant of óswa ‘new’  
[ófyééla] ▶ variant of ósééla ‘sweep’  
[ómagyéda] ▶ variant of ómagédha ‘slander’
b. [ókámyééða] ➤ resyllabification of ókámi'hédha ‘help’
c. [é'péélyu] ➤ loan from Portuguese espelho ‘mirror’

The scarcity of Cy sequences show that palatalised consonants are not allowed in Cuwabo.

2.1.9.2 #GV

Word-initially, glides contrast with each other (2.43), and with their absence (2.44).

(2.43)  a. wiíko /o-íko/ ‘at the river’ (cl.17)
        yiíko /e-íko/ ‘river’ (cl.9)

b. wéene /ó-ene/ ‘INTensive’ (cl.1-3-14-15-17)
    yéere /é-ere/ ‘cellar.sp’ (cl.9)

c. wááríya /ó-áríya/ ‘clarity’
    yáári /é-ári/ ‘pregnancy’ (cl.9)

d. wóoru /ó-oru/ ‘gold’ (cl.14) (< ouro, PTG loan)
    yoóbo /e-óbo/ ‘basket’ (cl.9)

(2.44)  oó-dhôwa 11 woó-dhôwa  yoó-dhôwa
1.PFV.DJ-go  2SG/3/14.PFV.DJ-go  9.PFV.DJ-go
‘(cl.1) went’    ‘you/(cl.3/14) went’    ‘(cl.9) went’

In many cases, and as examples in (2.43) show, the glides in word-initial position derive from an underlying vowel. The noun prefix e- (cl.9) is realised as y- before any vowel, and in the same context the noun prefix o- (cl.14/15/17) is realised w-. This gliding process conforms to the universal tendency of languages to avoid onsetless syllables. In other cases, the glide seems to have phonemic consonant status. This is evidenced in (2.45), where no compensatory lengthening takes place.

(2.45)  wagá (cl.14) ‘gingiva blood’  wásu (cl.14) ‘palm-tree leave’
        wáya (cl.14) ‘wire’  wále ‘formerly’
        wíyi (cl.14) ‘honey’

Another interesting case confronting glides as underlying vowels and glides as inherently consonantal are the infinitive forms of vowel-initial and glide-initial verb stems. Thus, /w/ in (2.46)a is a surface glide which derives from the underlying vowel sequence, whereas /w/ in

---

11 In this chapter, for ease of reading, tense and aspect morphemes are not accurately segmented. See chapter 8 for TAM analysis.
(2.46)b is inherently consonantal and has a phonemic consonant status, since it appears as a syllable onset.

(2.46) a. wiíla /o-íla/ ‘boil’  b. owáza /o-wáza/ ‘spread’
wáalá /ó-álá/ ‘sow’  ówelá /ó-welá/ ‘climb’

While glide formation is obligatory in word-initial position if no onset is present (*oíla), it is made possible if a glottal stop onset already exists as shown in (2.47): /ʔ/ is freely pronounced [w] for epenthetic purposes, and then resyllabification from VGV to GVV may occur since [w] appears only as a surface segment.

(2.47) o-ʔába = o-wába = waába ‘take bath’
o-ʔélá = o-wélá = weélá ‘set, put’
ó-ʔuwá = ó-wuwá = wíuwá ‘slough’

2.1.9.3 VGV

Finally, in intervocalic position, the nature of the glides - vowel-derived, inherent or epenthetic - is more difficult to determine. In this context, for all homomorphic vowel combinations except the u_u environment, the glides contrast with each other and also with their absence, as the following minimal pairs illustrate.

(2.48) a. niwíwíri [ni-wíwíri] ‘cobra.sp’  b. énewé [é-newé] ‘mug.sp’
wiíyi [wiíyi] ‘honey’  otéyêla [o-téyêla] ‘laugh of’
ebíili [e-bíili] ‘henhouse’  cívéevé [cívéevé] ‘swallow (bird)’
c. ńlâwa [ń-lâwa] ‘gill’  d. níwôwo [ńí-wôwo] ‘pastry’s crost’
maláya [ma-láya] ‘robe’  ngóyo [ŋgóyo] ‘eel’
múláála [mú-láála] ‘plant.sp’  îsöoso [ń-söoso] ‘torture’

Regarding heteromorphic vowel combinations, the glide is not always much audible, nevertheless, it is required by the syllable structure, as a default epenthetic segment. Its featural content is usually contingent on the vocalic environment. In this respect, different combinations arise which trigger different outcomes. First, when V2 is [+high] and/or [+round], the inserted glide adopts the backness and roundness (except in the case where V2 is /a/) of the following vowel, as illustrated in (2.49), where the left-column compares my data with Festi and Valler (1994)’s dictionary entries (second column).
In (2.49)a, the palatalised /y/ is inserted in front of the front vowel /i/. On the other hand, in (2.49)b, the velarised /w/ is inserted when followed by the back/rounded vowel /u/. For a more detailed account of the nature of the epenthetic glide, see section 2.4.1.4 below.

In this thesis, all glides, whenever heard, will be written on the surface form line (1st line). Among them, those whose status is clearly established by the morphology (be they epenthetic or underlying vowels) will not be indicated on the morphophonemic line (2nd line), as exemplified in (2.50)a for an epenthetic glide, and (2.50)b for an underlying vocalic glide.

(2.50) a. ddiwúje [ɲwúje]  b. oowáâdda [oowáɑda]
  ddi-u-j-e  o-hi-ú-adda
  1SG-OM2SG-eat-SBJ  1-PFV.DJ-OM2SG-say
  ‘that I eat you’  ‘he told you’

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Inventory and phonetic realisations

We find in Cuwabo the commonest vowel system, with two front vowels /i/ and /e/ paralleled by two back vowels /u/ and /o/, while the low central vowel /a/ remains unpaired. As can be seen in Table 5, this 5-vowel system is symmetrical with respect to length: for each of the five vowels, we find the short/long opposition.
As most P30 languages\textsuperscript{12}, Cuwabo has reduced the 7-vowel system of Proto-Bantu (PB): the two vowels *\textipa{t} and *\textipa{u}\textsuperscript{13} merged with the high vowels *\textipa{i} and *\textipa{u}, leaving only five vowel phonemes. This reduction from a Proto-Bantu 7-vowel system to a 5-vowel system is widely attested over the Bantu domain, and is commonly associated with the process of spirantisation on Proto-Bantu stops (Schadeberg 1995). Interestingly, in this 7-to-5 vowel reduction, Cuwabo did not undergo Bantu spirantisation, or at least not in a systematic way, which is a striking feature for a 5-vowel language. Absence versus presence of Bantu spirantisation in Cuwabo is exemplified in (2.51)a and (2.51)b, respectively, in comparison with Guthrie’s reconstructions (indicated by CB, for Common Bantu). Note that non-spirantised examples are far more attested in the present state of the language, although phonological conditioning applies on certain consonants, such as /z/ or /ð/ (< *d), which seem more prone to spirantisation.

(2.51) a. no Bantu spirantisation
   \textbf{CB} | \textbf{Cuwabo}
   \hline
   *-bf\textipa{d} | \textipa{óbál-a} | ‘give birth’
   \hline
   *-t\textipa{m}b | \textipa{o-tib-a} | ‘dug’
   \hline
   *-ku\textipa{d}i | \textipa{m\textipa{w}c\textipa{r\textipa{i}}} | ‘moon’
   \hline
   *-tú\textipa{d} | \textipa{é-t\textipa{ú\textipa{r\textipa{i}}} | ‘shoulder’
   \hline
   *-kú\textipa{m}k | \textipa{ó-kú\textipa{m\textipa{éc\textipa{l}}-a} | ‘cover’
   \hline
   *-jog\textipa{u} | \textipa{d\textipa{w}u} | ‘elephant’
   \hline

b. Bantu spirantisation
   \textbf{CB} | \textbf{Cuwabo}
   \hline
   *-b\textipa{nd} | \textipa{o-v\textipa{n\textipa{ú\textipa{l\textipa{ít\textipa{c}}}} | ‘stir’
   \hline
   *-tk\textipa{o} | \textipa{n-s\textipa{k\textipa{u}} | ‘night’
   \hline
   *-t\textipa{ú\textipa{nd}} | \textipa{ó-s\textipa{ú\textipa{n\textipa{z}}-a} | ‘learn’
   \hline
   *-k\textipa{d}i | \textipa{m\textipa{w\textipa{á\textipa{b\textipa{i}}} | ‘woman’
   \hline
   *-d\textipa{m\textipa{ú}} | \textipa{m\textipa{ú-z\textipa{ím\textipa{u}}} | ‘spirit’
   \hline
   *-g\textipa{und} | \textipa{o-v\textipa{ú\textipa{ð}-a} | ‘be rotten’

Non-spirantisation is further evidenced by the following agent nouns, whose morphology involve the derivational suffix -\textipa{i}.

(2.52) \textipa{o-\textipa{leb\textipa{-á}} | ‘write’ | \textipa{μ-\textipa{leb\textipa{-i}} | ‘writer’
   \hline
   o-\textipa{k\textipa{úmb-a} | ‘fish.sp’ | \textipa{μu-k\textipa{úmb\textipa{-i}} | ‘fisherman’
   \hline
   o-\textipa{vút-a} | ‘disrespect’ | \textipa{m-\textipa{vút\textipa{-i}} | ‘ill-mannered person’
   \hline
   ó-\textipa{tté\textipa{g\textipa{-a}} | ‘sin’ | \textipa{μú-tt\textipa{é\textipa{g\textipa{-i}} | ‘sinner’

\textsuperscript{12} It seems that a few Makhuwa dialects have preserved a 7-vowel system (Kisseberth 2003).
\textsuperscript{13} To refer to these two mid-vowels, I use the set of symbols i and o developed by Schadeberg (2003) which represent the original i and u developed by Guthrie (1967-1971) and Meussen (1967).
Within Bostoen (2008)’s typology of the agent noun spirantisation across Bantu, Cuwabo could thus be considered as ‘no agent noun spirantisation’ language. In other (morpho-phonological) environments involving the proto high vowels *i and *u, a high tendency toward non-spirantisation is observed in the language, and this raises interesting questions regarding classification. But a full treatment of this issue goes beyond the scope of this chapter, so I will not pursue it further here (the reader is referred to Bostoen (2008)’s paper for an in-depth analysis of Bantu spirantisation and its potential implications on the internal Bantu classification).

There is little allophonic variation in the phonetic realisation of these vowels. First, free variation occurs in the degree of openness of mid-vowels [e] and [o], which can phonetically be pronounced mid lax vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively, as shown is (2.53).

(2.53)  
\[ \text{érédá} \quad \text{‘disease’} \quad \rightarrow \quad [ɛɾɛdá] \quad \text{or} \quad [ɛɾɛdá] \]
\[ \text{wóoddá} \quad \text{‘be thin’} \quad \rightarrow \quad [ɔɾɔɔdá] \quad \text{or} \quad [ɔɾɔɔdá] \]

The same both mid-vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] can also be freely realised [i] and [u], when situated at the end of a word, as shown in the example (2.54).

(2.54)  
\[ \text{a. } \text{eténgo} \quad \text{‘bank.sp’} \quad \rightarrow \quad [ɛtɛŋɡo] \quad \text{or} \quad [ɛtɛŋɡu] \]
\[ \text{esázo} \quad \text{‘imitation’} \quad \rightarrow \quad [ɛsázo] \quad \text{or} \quad [ɛsázu] \]
\[ \text{ûsíko} \quad \text{‘old frying pan’} \quad \rightarrow \quad [ûsíko] \quad \text{or} \quad [ûsíku] \]
\[ \text{b. } \text{épâdde} \quad \text{‘side’} \quad \rightarrow \quad [ɛpâdi] \quad \text{or} \quad [ɛpâdi] \]

This process of final vowel rising only occurs with the mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ], for non-verbal forms.

A last (allophonic) variation for vowel phonemes deals with nasalisation, which occurs with the low vowel /a/ and the mid back vowel /o/ preceding a moraic nasal consonant (2.55), a prenasalised consonant (2.56), and also the velar nasal /ŋ/ (2.57). Vowel nasalisation, illustrated by a tilde above the vowel, is then explained by the phonetic context and is by no means a contrastive feature of vowels: /a/ assimilates the nasal feature of the contiguous nasal consonant, which is part of the same syllable in the case of the moraic nasal consonant and the prenasalised consonant. Nasalised vowels are then predictable and occur in closed syllables before a nasal coda.

(2.55)  
\[ \text{a. } /a/ \rightarrow [ã] / _ \text{moraic nasal} \]
\[ \text{ddânti} = \text{vah} \quad [dãntiʔã] \quad \text{‘I used to give’} \]
\[ \text{nanitutu} \quad [nãntútu] \quad \text{‘butterfly.sp’ (pl. [anãntutu])} \]
b. /o/ → [õ] / _ moraic nasal

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{múkóngózo} & \quad [\text{múkõngõzo}] \quad \text{‘walking stick’} \\
onóngóñõngó & \quad [\text{onõngõnõngõ}] \quad \text{‘skill’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(2.56)\]

a. /a/ → [ã] / _ prenasalised stop

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waándâla} & \quad [\text{waândâla}] \quad \text{‘fraternise’} \\
oráñjâla & \quad [\text{oráñjâla}] \quad \text{‘profit’}
\end{align*}
\]

b. /o/ → [õ] / _ prenasalised stop

\[
\begin{align*}
ojómba & \quad [\text{ojómba}] \quad \text{‘miss, lack’} \\
nibóndde & \quad [\text{nibóndde}] \quad \text{‘mat’}
\end{align*}
\]

(2.57) a. /a/ → [ã] / _ velar nasal

\[
\begin{align*}
wááñgána & \quad [\text{wááñgána}] \quad \text{‘look, watch’} \\
karáñgångo & \quad [\text{karáñgångo}] \quad \text{‘steps’}
\end{align*}
\]

b. /o/ → [õ] / _ velar nasal

\[
\begin{align*}
ońgńgóná & \quad [\text{ńgńgóná}] \quad \text{‘whisper’}
\end{align*}
\]

Nasalisation is also present in certain words borrowed from Portuguese, such as \textit{cûtâwu} ‘then’ (< \textit{então}).

Finally, the phonetic realisation of vowels is not influenced by tone or by intonation.

\section*{2.2.2 Contrastive length within roots}

Regarding vowel length, unlike many Eastern and Southern Bantu languages which have lost the Proto-Bantu vowel length contrast (Hyman 2009), Cuwabo has retained long vowels, whose phonetic values are equal to their short equivalents, except for the duration. The minimal pairs in (2.58) show that all vowels are contrastive for length.

\[(2.58)\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Short vowel} & \text{Long vowel} \\
\text{ddíma} & \quad [\text{díma}] \quad \text{‘task’} & \quad \text{éddíima} & \quad [\text{é-díima}] \quad \text{‘obscurity’} \\
\text{océdha} & \quad [\text{o-céda}] \quad \text{‘be loaded with fruits’} & \quad \text{ócédha} & \quad [\text{ó-céda}] \quad \text{‘lean on/against’} \\
\text{múlâlá} & \quad [\text{mú-lâlá}] \quad \text{‘plant.sp’} & \quad \text{olála} & \quad [\text{o-lála}] \quad \text{‘weaken’} \\
\text{mugógo} & \quad [\text{mu-gógo}] \quad \text{‘plow’} & \quad \text{ógoógo} & \quad [\text{ó-góógo}] \quad \text{‘brain, marrow’} \\
\text{odhùulu} & \quad [\text{o-dùulu}] \quad \text{‘sky’} & \quad \text{ódhùulu} & \quad [\text{o-dùulu}] \quad \text{‘kinship.sp’}
\end{array}
\]

For tonological purposes, they are written with two subsequent segments <ii, ee, aa, oo, uu> and not with the colon diacritic <::>, often used to indicate length. Indeed, each one of the vowels constitutive of the long vowel has its own mora, i.e. each one counts as a tone bearing unit to be considered for tonal processes such as H-tone doubling (HTD, see section
3.5.1. Under moraic theory (Hyman 1985, Hayes 1989), vowel length can be represented through the following moraic representations:

(2.59) a. \( \sigma \mu \) b. \( \sigma \mu \mu \)

(2.59) shows a vowel length contrast. In (2.59)b the moraic structure of long vowels makes it possible to assign a H tone to only one of both subsequent vowels. It is the case in the following examples.

(2.60) \( m\ddot{a}\ddot{a}rwe \) [máarwe] ‘bird sp.’
\( na\ddot{a}no \) [naáno] ‘fish sp.’

A second argument toward the moraic analysis of the long vowels deals with the counting of vowels in HTD. Each underlying H, underlined in the following examples, gets doubled onto the next mora, which can be the first vowel of the sequence as in (2.61)a, or the second vowel of the sequence without reaching the next syllable as in (2.61)b.

(2.61) a. \( m\ddot{u}\ddot{l}a\ddot{a}nd\ddot{e}za \) [mú.la.ndé.za] ‘big hoe’
\( n\ddot{a}m\ddot{a}mb\ddot{a}b\ddot{a}ru \) [ná.mba.bá.ru] ‘abscess’

In principle, a language might have a contrast between whether a stem starts with a short vowel or a long vowel. Cuwabo does not have such a contrast: all vowel-initial verbs have an initial short vowel. This can be seen when there is no prefix in front of the stem, as in the bare imperative (2.62).

(2.62) \( on\ddot{a} \) ‘see!’ < INF \( w\ddot{o}n\ddot{a} \) ‘to see’
\( edd\ddot{a} \) ‘walk!’ < INF \( we\ddot{e}d\ddot{d}d\ddot{a} \) ‘to walk’
\( imel\ddot{a} \) ‘stand!’ < INF \( w\ddot{i}m\ddot{e}l\ddot{a} \) ‘to stand’

The infinitive prefix \( o\) - glides to \( w\) - and lengthens the stem initial vowel. But the lengthened vowel is not thereby to be understood as underlying.

According to the morphological unit concerned, long vowels see their sources vary: within the verb or noun roots, while a few of them are derived from an earlier proto-form with long vowels (phonemic length situation), others result from the loss of a consonant segment. Across morphemes, long vowels are attributable to several different processes: vowel coalescence, deletion plus vowel lengthening (or total assimilation), and gliding formation plus vowel lengthening. While each of these processes, which imply
resyllabification, will be developed in turn in subsection 2.4.1 below, I examine below vowel length into lexical roots and determine the source of this length on a diachronic basis. In such a context, I will first show that when vowel length is already found in the PB form, it represents a phonological length. Then, I will study the case where a consonantal segment from PB fell in Cuwabo and left two vowels in a row.

Although Cuwabo has a certain number of minimal pairs that illustrate the distinction between short and long vowels, it would be hasty to conclude that all long vowels are underlyingly long. In my database, very few items with a long vowel in the root represent obvious reflexes of Guthrie’s Common Bantu reconstructions. (2.63) lists all the items concerned. The first column gives an IPA transcription of the long form in Cuwabo, the second column presents the CB reconstructions, and the third one proposes whenever possible a root with a short vowel, forming (near-)minimal pairs with the Cuwabo long forms from column 1.

(2.63)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long V</th>
<th>CB</th>
<th>Short V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[baabi]</td>
<td>-*bààbà</td>
<td>(CS 7) ‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[íñjááno]</td>
<td>-*cáámù</td>
<td>(CS 276) ‘Friday, five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ó-vúúza]</td>
<td>-*bóódi-</td>
<td>(CS 186) ‘ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[é-túúri]</td>
<td>-*túúrdi</td>
<td>(CS 1862) ‘shoulder’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, and surprisingly, not all long vowels from Guthrie’s CB are long in Cuwabo, as illustrated in (2.64). Still, these are the only examples of this nature reported in my database.

(2.64)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuwabo</th>
<th>CB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ní-belé]</td>
<td>-*béédè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o-vúúma]</td>
<td>-*póódm-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o-núúka]</td>
<td>-*núuk-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another situation arises in which some Cuwabo roots have a long vowel when the CB form only has a short one, as illustrated in the following examples.

(2.65)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuwabo</th>
<th>CB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[táláakú]</td>
<td>-*cáádakú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mú-lééma]</td>
<td>-*démà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yéesu]</td>
<td>-*yéd-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tündóówa]</td>
<td>-*tóóndòa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o-vúúla]</td>
<td>-*pòd(ød)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These examples of vowel length in Cuwabo are difficult to account for in that the lengthening is not expected. Still they suggest that the vowel length here is not underlyingly long but eventually turned phonological at some point. Regarding the verb form óbááza ‘anticipate’, it may be a loan from Nyungwe -banza, as /z/ in Cuwabo is an unexpected reflex for the proto-sound /ŋg/.

Finally, cases of resyllabification are attested for at least three words (2.66).

(2.66) [ó-báála] > *-yíbad- (CS 2023) ‘bear child’
[ó-ðáála] > *-yíjad- (CS 2047) ‘be full’
[é-ɗííma] > *-yídımà (CS 2034) ‘darkness’

In these examples, the first-degree /i/ from CB seems to switch behind the consonant, modifying the latter and assimilating to the following vowel. This phenomenon is somewhat weird. We may hypothesise that the loss of first-degree proto-/i/ triggered the lengthening of the following vowel. But more occurrences would be needed to support such a generalisation. Furthermore, the lengthening of the vowel is not a systematic consequence of the deletion of the first-degree proto-/i/, since the original noun prefix of class 5 -i (first degree), did not necessarily lengthen the first vowel of the noun stem when it fell\(^\text{14}\). This underlines the exceptional character of the cases presented in (2.66).

Beside the phonological source, vowel length inside the roots of synchronic Cuwabo items is also a result of the deletion of a consonantal segment which used to be present in an ancient stage of the language. Long vowels are then the result of phonological processes such as fusion or coalescence, due to consonant deletion. Nouns and verbs with long vowels, and whose CB reconstruction was accessible, are given in (2.67) below. I intentionally underlined the deleted consonant in the CB form.

(2.67) Cuwabo | BC
---|---
a. [mú-ðúúlu] | *-jókúdó (CS 963) ‘grandchild’
[o-gáâna] | *-gáb(an)- (CS 754) ‘divide’
[báala] | *-bábdá (CS 8) ‘bushbuck’
[o-véêta] | *-pék(íc)- (CS 1467) ‘fan, stir up’
[o-léméeza]\(^\text{15}\) | *-dêm(ík)- (CS 530) ‘worship’

\(^\text{14}\) Note that the noun prefix of class 5 /i/- represents originally the augment which attached to the noun stem in substitution of the deleted original noun prefix /i/.

\(^\text{15}\) Note the form -lemkeza in Chewa
b. [ó-véléeła]  *-pédi̠k̠d̠-  (CS 1463)  ‘accompany’
[ó-kúnééla]  *-kúŋk̠-  (CS 1268)  ‘cover’
[o-ábéeéda]  *-yàmbüŋk̠-  (CS 1918)  ‘cook, boil’ (Cuwabo: ‘dry’)

In the three examples in (2.67)b, the deleted proto-consonant is the [k] of the “impositive” extension -tk (Schadeberg 2003). In Cuwabo it becomes deleted when followed by another extension. This is quite clear in the first form óvéléeła ‘accompany’. In Cuwabo, there are two applicative suffixes: -el and -edh. Once the [k] has fallen, the remaining [i] and the [e] from the applicative extensions merge and result in a long vowel [ee].

Finally, note that automatic penultimate lengthening, which is also a common source of vowel length in Bantu (Hyman 2003: 48), does not occur in Cuwabo.

### 2.2.3 Palatalisation

The noun prefix e- (cl.9) is realised as y- when it precedes any vowel (see section 2.4.1.3 for a broader discussion on gliding formation).

(2.68)

| yáaká     | [é-aká]     | ‘year’          |
| yééddêlo  | [e-éɖêlo]   | ‘habit’         |
| yiíko     | [e-íko]     | ‘river’         |
| yoóbo     | [e-óbo]     | ‘basket’        |
| yúumwí    | [é-umwí]    | ‘drought, famine’ |

### 2.2.4 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is an assimilatory process which involves agreement among vowels in a word with respect to a given feature, such as height, rounding, or backness. The conditions for vowel harmony in Cuwabo differ. There are two instances of harmonic alternations. The first is produced root-internally, and the other is restricted to certain verbal extensions. Note however that none of them is synchronically productive.

Consider first vowel harmony root-internally. In general, polysyllabic verb or noun roots divide into two sets for harmony purposes. While the first set gathers the extreme vowels, namely the two high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the low vowel /a/, as illustrated with the verb roots in (2.69), in the second set, the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ occur together (2.70). The direction of influence, however, is neither anticipatory nor progressive.
(2.69) Extreme (high and low) vowels within roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Root Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Root Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óbíríminda</td>
<td>ó-bíríminda</td>
<td>‘make roll’</td>
<td>ósílídha</td>
<td>ó-sílida</td>
<td>‘annoy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ófürükúta</td>
<td>ó-fürükúta</td>
<td>‘invert’</td>
<td>ogógúma</td>
<td>o-gógúma</td>
<td>‘stutter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ócápúra</td>
<td>ó-cápúra</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
<td>opízûla</td>
<td>o-pízûla</td>
<td>‘lift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúmbíra</td>
<td>ó-kúmbíra</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>óký útilíza</td>
<td>ó-kúrúmíza</td>
<td>‘head work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúbánya</td>
<td>ó-kúbánya</td>
<td>‘be sad’</td>
<td>orúbâla</td>
<td>o-rúbala</td>
<td>‘be sated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ólráwûza</td>
<td>ó-lráwûza</td>
<td>‘insult’</td>
<td>ókwárûla</td>
<td>o-kwárula</td>
<td>‘be unpure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ómbílra</td>
<td>ó-mbílra</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>orúmíza</td>
<td>o-ðúmíza</td>
<td>‘spark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúlrúmíza</td>
<td>ó-kúlrúmíza</td>
<td>‘head work’</td>
<td>ócípúlra</td>
<td>ó-cípúlra</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópízûlra</td>
<td>o-pízûlra</td>
<td>‘lift’</td>
<td>ófúrúkútta</td>
<td>ó-fúrúkúta</td>
<td>‘invert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ósílídha</td>
<td>ó-sílídha</td>
<td>‘annoy’</td>
<td>óký útilíza</td>
<td>ó-kúmíza</td>
<td>‘head work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúmbíra</td>
<td>ó-kúmbíra</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>óký útilíza</td>
<td>ó-kúrúmíza</td>
<td>‘head work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúbánya</td>
<td>ó-kúbánya</td>
<td>‘be sad’</td>
<td>orúbâla</td>
<td>o-rúbala</td>
<td>‘be sated’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ólráwûza</td>
<td>ó-lráwûza</td>
<td>‘insult’</td>
<td>ókwárûla</td>
<td>o-kwárula</td>
<td>‘be unpure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ómbílra</td>
<td>ó-mbílra</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>orúmíza</td>
<td>o-ðúmíza</td>
<td>‘spark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúlrúmíza</td>
<td>ó-kúlrúmíza</td>
<td>‘head work’</td>
<td>ócípúlra</td>
<td>ó-cípúlra</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Still, several cases exist where the verb roots have mixed vowels from these two harmonic sets, as shown in (2.71).

(2.70) Mid-vowels within roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Root Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Root Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ódédéddéréca</td>
<td>ó-dédéddéréca</td>
<td>‘chew’</td>
<td>ogwésêla</td>
<td>o-gwésêla</td>
<td>‘get old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weéngêsa</td>
<td>o-éngêsa</td>
<td>‘calculate’</td>
<td>ójéjéla</td>
<td>o-jéjela</td>
<td>‘shiver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ócórórówa</td>
<td>ó-córórówa</td>
<td>‘trickle’</td>
<td>ógógódda</td>
<td>o-gógóda</td>
<td>‘hit, knock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oddóddôma</td>
<td>o-dóddôma</td>
<td>‘fail’</td>
<td>ogórôma</td>
<td>o-górôma</td>
<td>‘yell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oddómêra</td>
<td>o-dómmêra</td>
<td>‘marry one’s daughter’</td>
<td>ókómbáána</td>
<td>ó-kómbáána</td>
<td>‘be sad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oddégûma</td>
<td>o-dégûma</td>
<td>‘fan’</td>
<td>ópépúlra</td>
<td>o-pépúra</td>
<td>‘despise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókómmbáána</td>
<td>o-kómmbáána</td>
<td>‘bend’</td>
<td>woówâna</td>
<td>o-ðúwâna</td>
<td>‘forge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orímbélela</td>
<td>o-ðimbél-ela</td>
<td>‘be healthy’</td>
<td>wiípélela</td>
<td>o-ðipél-ela</td>
<td>‘surround’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osóvûdha</td>
<td>o-sóvûda</td>
<td>‘fish, sp’</td>
<td>osikôna</td>
<td>o-sikôna</td>
<td>‘kneel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otópînya</td>
<td>o-ðópînya</td>
<td>‘limp’</td>
<td>osódîya</td>
<td>o-ðóðîya</td>
<td>‘avoid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wááméla</td>
<td>o-ðáméla</td>
<td>‘fasten’</td>
<td>waárêdha</td>
<td>o-ðárêda</td>
<td>‘have fun’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across morphemes, verbal suffixation is generally appropriate for vowel harmony in many Bantu languages (Hyman 1999). In Cuwabo, this is not the case, and vowel harmony usually does not apply to derivational suffixes, as illustrated in (2.72) with the applicative extensions -el- and -edh-, realised with the mid front vowel, and in (2.73) with the causative extension, always realised -ih-. These extension vowels are said to be opaque in that they fail to undergo harmony with the root vowel(s).

(2.72) No VH with applicative extensions -el- and -edh-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Root Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Root Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ókítêla</td>
<td>o-ðitêla</td>
<td>‘go down to’</td>
<td>ofiýédha</td>
<td>o-fiý-ðøa</td>
<td>‘arrive to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óttábéla</td>
<td>o-ðtáb-ðela</td>
<td>‘rejoice for’</td>
<td>óbûárêdha</td>
<td>o-báriz-ðøa</td>
<td>‘come early’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókókóttêla</td>
<td>o-ðókótt-ðela</td>
<td>‘fence’</td>
<td>otóóyêdha</td>
<td>o-ðóój-ðøa</td>
<td>‘show to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óbûólîwêla</td>
<td>o-bûôúðw-ðela</td>
<td>‘go out to’</td>
<td>ofiýêdha</td>
<td>o-fiý-ðøa</td>
<td>‘wrap’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 The applicative extension -el- in the verb forms orímbélela ‘bend’ and wiípélela ‘surround’ are not included in the vowel harmony process. More examples are provided below in (2.72).
No VH with the causative extensions -ih-

\[
\begin{align*}
ojíddígha & \quad [\text{ójíddígha}] \quad \text{‘lower’} \\
ojèrìha & \quad [\text{ojèrìha}] \quad \text{‘threaten’} \\
odháálido & \quad [\text{ódháálido}] \quad \text{‘fill’} \\
odhólìha & \quad [\text{ódhólìha}] \quad \text{‘anoint’} \\
oğúlíha & \quad [\text{ógúlíha}] \quad \text{‘sell’}
\end{align*}
\]

The only case of VH with derivational suffixes is found when the separative extensions -ul- (transitive meaning) and -uw- (intransitive meaning) are attached to the root of the verb (see section 6.1.2.1 for more details on the semantic of the separative extensions). If the root vowel(s) is/are high, low or mid front, that is if there is no mid back vowel into the root, the default extensions -ul/-uw- are selected. Consider the following examples.

(2.74) Separative extensions -ul- and -uw-

\[
\begin{align*}
ojírímu & \quad [\text{ojírímu}] \quad \text{‘scatter’ (tr.)} \quad \rightarrow \quad ojírímuwa & \quad [\text{ojírímuwa}] \quad \text{‘scatter’ (itr.)} \\
ojëddú & \quad [\text{ojëddú}] \quad \text{‘cut, shorten’} \quad \rightarrow \quad ojëddúwa & \quad [\text{ojëddúwa}] \quad \text{‘be shortened’} \\
oğábú & \quad [\text{ógábú}] \quad \text{‘open, break’} \quad \rightarrow \quad oğábúwa & \quad [\text{ógábúwa}] \quad \text{‘be open, broken’} \\
oğújágu & \quad [\text{ógújágu}] \quad \text{‘unload’} \quad \rightarrow \quad oğújáguwa & \quad [\text{ógújáguwa}] \quad \text{‘be unloaded’} \\
oğúgúr & \quad [\text{ógúgúr}] \quad \text{‘peel’} \quad \rightarrow \quad oğúgúruwa & \quad [\text{ógúgúruwa}] \quad \text{‘be peeled’}
\end{align*}
\]

Now, if the root contains a mid-back vowel, the separative extension vowel assimilates, giving the allomorphs -ol/-ow-, as shown in (2.75).

(2.75) -ol/-ow- as allomorphs of -ul/-uw-

\[
\begin{align*}
ókóttó & \quad [\text{ókóttó}] \quad \text{‘shatter’ (tr.)} \quad \rightarrow \quad ókóttówa & \quad [\text{ókóttówa}] \quad \text{‘shatter’ (itr.)} \\
ótómó & \quad [\text{ótómó}] \quad \text{‘untie’} \quad \rightarrow \quad otómówa & \quad [\text{ótómówa}] \quad \text{‘untie itself’} \\
owóddó & \quad [\text{owóddó}] \quad \text{‘uproot’} \quad \rightarrow \quad owóddówa & \quad [\text{owóddówa}] \quad \text{‘be uprooted’} \\
oğóbó & \quad [\text{ógóbó}] \quad \text{‘break’ (tr.)} \quad \rightarrow \quad oğóbówa & \quad [\text{ógóbówa}] \quad \text{‘break’ (itr.)}
\end{align*}
\]

In this case, harmonisation acts upon both backness and frontness. Ngunga (2000: 196) observes the same phenomenon in Yao and calls it the “mid back identity”. From a typological point of view, this process is part of the asymmetric vowel height harmony type (Hyman 1999).

Note that in many Bantu languages, vowel harmony occurs with imbrication of the perfective Final. In Cuwabo, no imbrication occurs: the perfective final suffix -ile reduces to -e after certain derivational extensions, but no segment is inserted in the verb stem (see section 6.3.7).
2.2.5 Vowel copying

In vowel harmony, all vowels are harmonised except for the final vowel which remains -a. In contrast, vowel copying in Cuwabo always involves the final vowel, whenever it follows the imperfective extension -ag-. In this case, the latter takes a copy of the vocalic value of the final vowel. This is made obvious in the tenses which involve a final vowel other than -a. For instance, in (2.76), the final vowel -e serves as the perfective suffix (2.76)a (originally from -ile, see section 6.3.7 for more details), as well as the subjunctive suffix (2.76)b. When -ag- is added to such verb forms, it copies the final vowel and gets realised as a mid-front vowel.

(2.76)  
a. weerlégé keerlége dhaawene  
\([0\text{-er-él-}6\text{g}]\text{REL} \quad \text{ka-er-él-}6\text{-g} \quad \text{dhaawo = ene}\)  
1-say-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL NEG.1-do-APPL-HAB-PFV like.this.II.PL = INT  
‘Once upon a time’ (lit. ‘the one who said did not say like this’)

b. wéyó: onifiéwárege kurúmáanjen’ óóddo  
wéyó  o-mú-fwár-eg\text{-e}  kurúmáanje = éne  óóddo  
2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ 1a.bee.sp = INT 1.DEM.I  
‘do follow this very bee’

Vowel copying also occurs with loan verbs, which end in -i. An example is provided in (2.77), in which -ag- is attached to the verb ókómésáári ‘begin’ (from Portuguese começar), used in the narrative tense.

(2.77)  
okomesáärí’ uúnívirihámo rúmodhá rúmódha  
o-komesáärí\text{-i}  ó-mú-vir-ih-á = mo  mu-modha mú-módha  
NAR-start-HAB-Fi 15-OM1-pass-CAUS-Fi = 18.LOC 1-one 1-one  
‘and he began to make them go through, one by one’

Note that if -ag- is conventionally viewed as a pre-final suffix, which thus precedes the final vowel, the phonological properties discussed in this subsection indicate that it may rather be considered as post-final suffix, with the underlying form -gV, whereby V is a copy of the preceding vowel, i.e. the final vowel. However, that discussion goes beyond the scope of this study, so I will not pursue it further here.
2.2.6 Assimilation by contact

Assimilation by contact occurs as a surface phenomenon, in which a [-back] vowel is phonetically realised [+back] in front of the labial glide [w], as shown in (2.78) with /i/ and (2.79) with /e/. We have here a labial assimilation. Inversely, palatal assimilation occurs when a [+back] vowel comes into contact with the palatal glide [y], as seen in (2.80).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2.78)} & \quad /i/ \rightarrow [\text{u}] / \_ \_ w \\
& \quad \text{a. } \text{ddu} \text{ we} \text{é} \text{ Namarogolo} \quad \{\text{ddingi.6}\} \\
& \quad \text{ddi} \text{ wéyo} \text{ namarogolo} \quad \text{o-lí } \text{ wénéwale } \text{ ókúle} \\
& \quad 1.\text{COP} \quad 2SG.PRO \quad 1a.\text{Hare.PL} \quad 1\text{-be} \quad 17.\text{EDEM.III} \quad 17.\text{DEM.III} \\
& \quad \text{‘it is you } \text{Mr. Hare’} \quad \text{‘he is here’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2.79)} & \quad /e/ \rightarrow [\text{o}] / \_ \_ w \\
& \quad \text{ókúlō wíkō} \quad \{\text{mbílri.16}\} \\
& \quad \text{ókúle} \quad \text{o-íkó} \\
& \quad 17.\text{DEM.III} \quad 17\text{-river} \\
& \quad \text{‘there at the river’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2.80)} & \quad /u/ \rightarrow [i] / \_ \_ y \\
& \quad \text{óddúy} \text{’ oñíibá úuví?} \quad \{\text{ddingi.17}\} \\
& \quad \text{óddú}=\text{ya} \quad \text{o-ní-ibá } \quad \text{úuví} \\
& \quad 1.\text{DEM.I}=\text{DEF} \quad 1\text{-IPFV.CJ-sing} \quad \text{where} \\
& \quad \text{‘where is he singing?’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (2.81) below, we note that the underlying connective /a/ is phonetically uttered as [o]. This alteration of this central vowel cannot convincingly be considered as a case of assimilation, since it is phonetically not natural to obtain a [-low], [-high], [+back] vowel from an originally [+low] [-back] vowel. So far, this phonetic alternation is only attested in the context of the sequence connective-infinitive. In the absence of further examples, it may be considered as a case of morphophonological alternation (due to the resyllabification process implied by the infinitive class marker o-), rather than a general phonological process.
(2.81) Allomorphy of the connective -a

koóbíiri yo wáákwánɛla
koóbíiri ya wáákwán-ɛl-a
9a.money 9.CON 15.be.enough-APPL-Fi
‘enough money to’

2.3 Syllabic structure

2.3.1 Syllable types

The maximum syllable in Cuwabo is (C)V, where V stands for Vowel, and C for any consonant, including prenasalised consonants, glides and labialised consonants. More specifically, Table 6 shows the different syllable types attested in Cuwabo. Note that while hyphens mark morpheme boundaries, syllable boundaries are indicated by dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6 Syllable structures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mora (light)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 moras (heavy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 6 shows, the minimal structure of a syllable consists of a nucleus, either a vowel or a sonorant (S) consonant, which necessarily functions as a tone-bearing unit (TBU). As seen in section 2.2.2 above, Cuwabo has phonological vowel length. A lexical distinction thus exists between light (i.e. monomoraic) syllables, and heavy (i.e. bimoraic) syllables. Super heavy syllables are not attested, meaning that a syllable made of a phonemic long vowel cannot further have a coda. The onset, be it branching or not, never counts as a mora, and thus does not contribute to the weight of the syllable. Each syllable type is considered in turn.
2.3.1.1 V

V is the most recurrent single-segment syllable. It systematically functions as a tone bearing unit, and as such, represents the obligatory nucleus of the syllable. This type of syllable without an onset typically occurs word-initially, as illustrated in (2.82).

(2.82) Word-initial V syllables

- íyâru [í.yâ.ru] ‘ear’
- íyêwe [í.yê.we] ‘heron’
- élîga [élî.ga] ‘pigeon’
- crêru [e.rê.ru] ‘chin’
- áje [á.je] ‘jealousy’
- anákôno [a.ná.kô.no] ‘twin’
- orîba [o.rî.ba] ‘darkness’
- osúgûla [o.sú.gû.la] ‘sieve’ (v)

Word-medially, bisyllabic vowel sequences are normally not attested, and when two or more vowels come into contact due to morphological concatenation, a morphophonological process takes place (see section 2.4.1 below). Still, it happens that sequences of three identical vowels are produced, as shown in (2.83)a, where the 1SG subject marker (SM) ddi- and the situative TAM marker -a- coalesce in ddaa-, which is then followed by the class 2 object marker (OM) -a-. In this three-moraic vowel sequence, two syllables are to be considered: first the heavy syllable ðaa. as output of the sequence ddi+a, then the light syllable .a., which morphologically corresponds to the class 2 OM. The comparison with (2.83)b, with the class 1 OM -mu-, is an indication of how such a vowel sequence can organise into syllables.

(2.83) Word-internal -a- OM

a. ddaajajagá [ðaa.aa.ja.gá]  
   ddi-a-a-j-ag-á  1SG-SIT-OM2-eat-HAB-Fi  ‘when I eat them (cl.2)’

b. ddaamujagá [ðaa.mu.ja.gá]  
   ddi-a-mu-j-ag-á  1SG-SIT-OM1-eat-HAB-Fi  ‘when I eat it (cl.1)’

The 2SG person OM -u- constitutes another word-internal V syllable in Cuwabo. But, its [+high] feature implies that it always surfaces as a CV syllable, in which an epenthetic homorganic glide is inserted, occupying the onset position. This is illustrated in (2.84), where the labial glide [w] precedes on surface the 2SG person underlying syllabic vowel -u-.

(2.84) Word-internal -u- OM

a. owúsápela [o.wú.sá.pe.la]  
   o-ú-sápela  15-OM2SG-feed  ‘to feed you’

b. awúpûttule [a.wú.pû.tu.le]  
   a-ú-pûttul-e  1-OM2SG-prejudice-SBJ  ‘so that he prejudices you’
2.3.1.2 **S (nasal and liquids)**

Beyond vowels, single-segment syllables may also consist of sonorants, and more precisely nasals or liquids. Together with the following consonant, they form heterosyllabic clusters, meaning that within a word two consonants may be adjacent across a syllable boundary. As will be shown below, all these sonorant syllables are triggered by vowel loss in affixes or even in roots.

**Syllabic nasals**

Syllabic nasals often derive from vowel apocope between a nasal onset and a following CV syllable. A departing structure such as mu-CV will evolve to m-CV and results in N-CV (Clements 2000, Hyman 2003). Different morphemes, listed in (2.85), may be represented by a syllabic nasal. Typically, the N syllable occurs in word-initial position, but the object markers as well as the imperfective aspect marker show that it also occurs word-internally.

(2.85)  
- a. Class prefixes *mu-* (classes 1, 3 and 18) and *ni-* (class 5)  
- b. Subject marker *mu-* (2PL and class 18) and *ni-* (1PL and class 5)  
- c. Object marker *mu-* (class 1) and *ni-* (1PL)  
- d. Imperfective aspect marker *ni-*

Consider now the environments in which these morphemes are reduced to syllabic nasals. (2.86) shows that the class prefixes *mu-* as well as the object marker *mu-* reduce to *m-* before bilabial or labio-dental consonants. The class 5 prefix *ni-* reduces to *n-* before coronal consonants (2.87). And the imperfective aspect marker *ni-* becomes a syllabic nasal when it precedes any consonant (2.88).

(2.86)  
```
[mu] → [m] / _ labial consonant
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class prefixes</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>rîbêňi</em> (cl.3)</td>
<td><em>ôňbaâla</em> [ô.ř.baâla] ‘give him birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rîpâáви</em> (cl.1)</td>
<td><em>ôňpa</em> [o.ř.pa]    ‘kill him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rînmâlâbo</em> (cl.1)</td>
<td><em>ôňmôttiha</em> [o.ř.môčiยา] ‘make him fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rîvêďhe</em> (cl.3)</td>
<td><em>ôňvuužâ</em> [ô.ř.vuúžα] ‘ask him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rîfûgo</em> (cl.3)</td>
<td><em>ôňfûnâ</em> [ô.ř.funâ] ‘want him’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2

(2.87) Class 5 noun prefix: [ni] → [n] / _ coronal consonant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndárándara</td>
<td>‘wasp.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋddéza</td>
<td>‘calabash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋcílu</td>
<td>‘rat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋzáyi</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋdhuigu</td>
<td>‘pumpkin.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋlíji</td>
<td>‘den, lair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋlúwa</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In such environments, the vowel is absorbed between the two consonants, and the resulting syllabic nasal undergoes homorganic nasal assimilation with the next consonant. For instance, when the syllabic nasal precedes root-initial nasals such as -mála ‘finish’, the output is a double nasal ddim m la ‘I am finishing’. Tone marking clearly indicates that these syllabic nasals are also tone-bearing units. The tone of the fallen vowel is thus retrieved, and always indicated by an accent, even when it is toneless, so that its moraic and syllabic property be well underlined.

Interestingly, the syllabic nasal prefix in ńběni ‘knife’ given in (2.86) becomes prenasalised to the following consonant when the plural prefix is added on its left, i.e. when it acquires a noun-internal position. This often happens with class 3/4 nouns, as shown in (2.89).

(2.88) Imperfective aspect marker: [ni] → [n] / _ C (ni- in front of OM mu-)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ddiúnpya</td>
<td>‘I am cooking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddiúja</td>
<td>‘I am eating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddiúntha</td>
<td>‘I am coming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddiúvirá</td>
<td>‘I am going by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddiúnmalá</td>
<td>‘I am finishing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This synchronic alternation seems to confirm what Herbert (1986) called “abutment”. In Childs’ words (2003: 63), “[n]asal abutment requires that a nasal consonant be adjacent to an oral one, an environment occurring when noun class markers are suffixed to noun stems in the affixation process.” This confirms the hypothesis that prenasalised consonants might historically be reconstructed as two segments, i.e. as consonant cluster composed of a nasal followed by a voiced stop, which ended up in a single segment.
In section 2.1.4, we saw that Cuwabo only has voiced prenasalised stops. Now, when in a sequence of two morpheme-internal consonants, the preconsonantal nasals precede voiceless stops, they always count as homorganic tone-bearing units. In (2.90), I provide examples of each of the five NC sequences that occur intramorphemically in the language, the consonant being necessarily unvoiced.

(2.90) Morpheme-internal NC sequences (with stops)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>námípaddí</td>
<td>nařípáma</td>
<td>‘unexpected event’ ‘tadpole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éjibáítí</td>
<td>naříla</td>
<td>‘ornament, tattoo’ ‘frog.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naříttídi</td>
<td>pántáddéya</td>
<td>‘weed’ ‘seductress’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabáíkuní</td>
<td>bírííku</td>
<td>‘worm.sp’ ‘earring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceńce</td>
<td>nańćiddwe</td>
<td>‘fly’ ‘frog’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The moraic property of these preconsonantal nasals is indicated by tone marking (it is not the evidence > reformulate!). In (2.91), words in citation form are submitted to Predicative Lowering (PL), a process whereby the first underlying high tone is deleted, thus avoiding subsequent High Tone Doubling (HTD) (see section 3.5.3 for PL, and section 3.5.1 for HTD). múntúrázu and páńpóra are thus pronounced múntúrázu and páńpóra, respectively. Such a tone assignment gives evidence that these preconsonantal nasals are taken into account in HTD and receive in citation form a H tone which result from HTD. Another evidence is given in (2.92), in which the past imperfective form of the two H-toned verbs órííta and ókwétténkwa exhibit a lexical H tone on the penult mora (see section 3.4 for tone assignment on tensed verb forms).

(2.91) Citation form Predicative Lowering

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>múntúrázu</td>
<td>óbú múntúrázu</td>
<td>‘this is a scarecrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páńpóra</td>
<td>éjí páńpóra</td>
<td>‘this is disrespect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.92) Infinitive form Past imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>órííta</td>
<td>ddááříínta</td>
<td>‘I used to weave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókwétténkwa</td>
<td>ddááńkwéttenkwa</td>
<td>‘I used to limp’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, when the nasal cluster consists of a morpheme-internal sequence of nasal and fricative consonants, the preconsonantal nasal is always considered moraic, whether the fricative is voiceless (2.93)a or voiced (2.93)b.

(2.93) Morpheme-internal NC sequences (with fricatives)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. NČ</td>
<td>leńso</td>
<td>‘tissue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. NČ</td>
<td>námásuńza</td>
<td>‘student’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ósáńdźáya</td>
<td>‘peace’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that these constitute the only examples of nasal-fricative clusters within roots. This sequence is usually attested word-initially, with class 5 nouns, in which there is no ambiguity about the syllabic status of the nasal.

These moraic nasals do not lengthen the preceding vowel, neither have they any effect on the following consonant. Translating these forms into a moraic framework would result in the representation in (2.94).

\[
(2.94) \quad \mu \quad \mu \quad \mu \\
\ \ \ c \quad e \quad N \quad c \quad e
\]

In other words, the moraic nasal remains linked to its mora, hence the impossibility for the vowel to lengthen. If these morpheme-internal nasals are undoubtedly moraic, the question remains to know whether they are syllabic. Does the sequence \((C)V + \) moraic nasal represent one syllable or two syllables? As Cuwabo does not permit closed syllables, it is likely that such moraic nasals were once part of a CV syllabic structure, whose vowel eventually fell. The nasal thus became the consonantal nucleus, with the impossibility of receiving an onset or a coda. Similarly to the apocope process described for the nasal prefixes above, the syllabic structure is not deeply altered, passing from a CV syllable to a N syllable.

To conclude on syllabic nasals, they do not affect the surface realisation of the consonant they precede. Furthermore, they do not trigger syllabification alterations, as the preceding vowel does not lengthen on account of their presence. By comparing the present (imperfective) verb forms in (2.95)a and (2.95)b, with and without object marker respectively, we note that the imperfective marker \(ni\)- does not modify the syllabic structure when it is reduced to a syllabic nasal.

\[
(2.95) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a. Imperfective } & \text{ni- + class 1 OM } mu- \\
& ddiinimulima \quad [\text{di}.ni.mú.lí.ma] \quad \text{‘I am cultivating it (cl.1)’} \\
\text{b. Imperfective } & \text{ni- w/o OM} \\
& ddiñlima \quad [\text{di}.nì.lí.ma] \quad \text{‘I am cultivating’}
\end{align*}
\]

**Syllabic liquids**

Like the nasals, the liquids [l] and [r] have a syllabic variant, whenever they are followed by the perfective marker \(-ile\). In this case, the first vowel (optionally) falls, and the last consonant of the stem becomes syllabic.
Syllabic liquids followed by the Perfective suffix -\textit{ilé}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ddittukulé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{tu}.ku.\texttt{i}.lélé] $<$ /dj.\texttt{tu}.ku.\texttt{i}.lélé/ ‘I took’
  \item \textit{ddigulé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{gu}.lélé] $<$ /dj.\texttt{gu}.lélé/ ‘I bought’
  \item \textit{ddicipulé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{ci}.pu.\texttt{ri}.lélé] $<$ /dj.\texttt{ci}.pu.\texttt{ri}.lélé/ ‘I whipped’
  \item \textit{ddifwarlé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{fi}.war.lélé] $<$ /dj.\texttt{fi}.war.lélé/ ‘I followed’
\end{itemize}

In other contexts, the final stem consonant becomes the onset of the syllable introducing the perfective marker, as shown in (2.97).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ddilogilé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{lo}.gi.lélé] ‘I spoke’
  \item \textit{ddidhowilé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{do}.wi.lélé] ‘I went’
  \item \textit{dduubilé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{uu}.bi.lélé] ‘I moulded’
  \item \textit{ddipilé} $\rightarrow$ [dj.\texttt{pi}.lélé] ‘I killed’
\end{itemize}

\subsection{2.3.1.3 CV}

CV represents the canonical syllable structure in Cuwabo. This is not surprising since such an open syllable type actively participates in the agglutinative property of Bantu morphology. As illustrated in (2.98), the prefixes in Cuwabo typically have the (C)V shape, with in succession: $\textit{ka}$- for negation, $\textit{ddi}$- for 1SG subject marker, $\textit{ni}$- for the imperfective aspect marker, $\textit{mu}$- for class 1 object marker. The root $\textit{-gul}$- ‘buy’ has a CVC structure, the derivational extension $\textit{-ih}$ has a VC structure, and finally the obligatory final suffix $\textit{-a}$ has the shape V. The morphological structure then undergoes constraints in such a way that the string of these seven formatives (2.98)a results in the sequence of open syllables represented in (2.98)b.

\textbf{(2.98)} $\textit{kaddinímúgulíha}$ ‘I do not buy’

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. /\text{ka-ddi-ni-mú-gul-ih-a}/
  \item b. [ka.ddi.ní.mú.gu.lí.ha]
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item CV-CV-CV-CV-CVC-VC-V
  \item CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.V
\end{itemize}

The fact that consonants are always pronounced with the following vowel, i.e. as a syllable onset, explains why most Cuwabo syllables and words end in a vowel.

Note that any consonant can serve as onset of the CV syllable, including prenasalised stops (2.99)a and labialised [\textit{Cw}] (2.99)b (more rarely palatalised [\textit{Cy}], see section 2.1.9.1 above) consonants, which represent branching onsets on the segmental tier.
CV syllables also have the largest distribution, since beyond word-initial and word-internal positions, they necessarily appear word-finally on account of their short nucleus. In fact, the final position cannot host heavy syllables, nor single vowel syllables.

2.3.1.4 (C)VV

In Cuwabo, vowel length is both phonological and the result of coalescence and elision processes. As already seen in example (2.83)a above, but repeated here in (2.100), long vowels can appear near identical short vowels. This is also true with long vowels (2.100)b.

(2.100) Long + short identical vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long + long identical vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ddaaαjagá [dqɑ.ɑ.ja.ɡá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddi-a-a-j-ag-á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG-SIT-OM2-eat-HAB-Fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘when I eat them (cl.2)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ddko’όni [dqo.ό.ni]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddi-a-hi-ón-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG-SIT-NEG-see-NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘if I did not see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several Bantu languages have a constraint on the co-occurrence of long vowels in isolated words (see Odden 1996 for Matuumbi, Botne 1998 for Ndali, Ngunga 2000 for Yao, and Kutsch Lojenga 2007 for Malila, among others). It is not the case in Cuwabo, and although the examples are not numerous (2.101), they nonetheless indicate that long vowel can co-occur in a word.

(2.101) Long vowels co-occurrence in nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long vowels co-occurrence in infinitive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pááriínyá ‘manioc’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèémbcési ‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèédtuiddhu ‘spring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèédtuúdhu ‘vertigo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nòórióíya ‘chameleon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waaβéedha ‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiídéela ‘spy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiíndééya ‘break’ (itr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiíttúuwa ‘rest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuúláála ‘be very dry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously said, heavy syllables are prohibited in word-final position, except i) for emphasis (2.102) or enumeration (2.103) purposes (see section 3.6 on intonation); or ii) when they are part of ideophonic expressions (see section 7.3 on ideophones), as exemplified in (2.104).
(2.102) puruk’ [o-ni-ú-ttëba=ní] ddi míyô! [...] onímùttùkulelaawò: ddi míyo! {body.10}

puruke   [o-ni-ú-ttëba=ní]   ddi míyô
because 1-IPFV.CJ-OM2PL-carry = PLA 1.COP 1SG.PRO

‘Because, it is me who lifts you! [...] I am the one who carries him!’

(2.103) [weerléged keerlége dhaaweené] waáli Máádlutchù Éráágúùtlu na Manyálo {body.1}
o-á-li máádlutchù Éráágúùtlu na Manyálo
1-PST-be 6.hand 9.belly and 6.foot
‘There once was Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet.’

(2.104) onímóttélù rímáánjéni kibìíi: ! {mbílri.42}
o-á-mótt-él-a mu-máánjé=ní kibìíi
1-IPFV.DJ-fall-APPL-Fi 18.6.water = LOC IDEO
‘she fell in the water “splash!” ’

2.3.2 Loans

Loanword phonology gives further evidence that CV is the typical Cuwabo syllable. As seen in (2.105), consonant clusters of Portuguese (PTG) loan words are often broken up and simplified to a CV syllable structure by means of epenthetic vowels. Furthermore, an additional final vowel is added.

(2.105) Syllabic structure if loans

síkóóla  [sí.kóó.la]  ‘school’  < PTG escola
fúlóóri  [fú.lóó.ri]  ‘flower’  < PTG flor
fiízhîga  [fií.ʒî.ga]  ‘crossbow’  < PTG físga

Still, some words have only been partially adapted to Cuwabo syllable structure, and consonant clusters (or consonant sequences) may be found, as shown in (2.106). Still, the tone patterns of these loans suggest that the first consonant of each cluster is moraic.

(2.106) /ʃ/ in Portuguese loans

bííšhku  [bííʃ.ku]  ‘bishop’  < PTG bispo
fóóšhko  [fóóʃ.ko]  ‘match’  < PTG fósforo
síkóóla  [ʃ.kóó.la]  ‘school’  < PTG escola
éjshpeélyu  [éʃ.peé.lyu]  ‘mirror’  < PTG espelho
As already seen in section 2.1.6 above, some of these Portuguese loans also include sounds which are foreign to Cuwabo phonological inventory, such as [ʃ] and [ʒ].

2.4 Resyllabification processes

Section 2.2.2 above focussed on the status of long vowels into roots and demonstrated that while some are phonemic, others merged after a consonant deletion. Let us analyse other sources of vowel length in the languages, which are the result of derivation processes across morphemes or word boundaries. This section is divided into two parts. In the first (section 2.4.1) I develop the vowel lengthening processes resulting from vowel concatenation, and in the second (section 2.4.2), I present encliticisation as another source of vowel lengthening.

2.4.1 Vowel sequences

This subsection deals with vowel lengthening processes which occur when two vowels come in direct contact with each other across word-internal morphemes or across word boundaries (heterosyllabic vowel sequences). These processes are thus not linked with the aforementioned underlying vowel length contrast: whereas both short and long vowels are included in the lexicon, a lengthened vowel is one that results from a phonological process, which is itself partly conditioned by morphological context. Indeed, the agglutinative properties of Cuwabo and Bantu languages in general, marked by derivational and inflectional morphology, often leads to vowel concatenation at the morphemic boundaries. To solve this undesired vocalic hiatus, most of these languages resort to different strategies, and despite cross-linguistic variations, the most commonly used are coalescence, elision, glide formation (or gliding), consonant epenthesis and diphthong formation (Casali 1996, Mtenje 2007, among others). Four of them are operative in Cuwabo: vowel coalescence (section 2.4.1.1), vowel elision (section 2.4.1.2), glide formation (section 2.4.1.3), and consonant epenthesis (section 2.4.1.4), which sometimes give rise to intricate patterns.

Before developing each of these phonological processes, two important remarks are in order. First, each aforementioned process (excepted consonant epenthesis) is accompanied by compensatory lengthening. This means that the number of moras in the input remains unchanged in the output: syllabicity may alter with the phenomenon of resyllabification, but the weight units are preserved, as well as the original tones. In this respect, Casali (2011:
19-20) makes an interesting correlation between the existence of a contrastive vowel length in a language and its capacity in manifesting compensatory lengthening, without imposing a universal character to such an assertion.

Second, for each process, two different levels are to be considered: the lexical level (internal-word level, between morphemes) and the post-lexical level (between words). On the lexical level, which deals with inner-word formation, vowel sequences are mostly found between a prefix and a root, a root and a suffix, or even between sequences of prefixes or suffixes. On the post-lexical level (across words), vocalic hiatus can occur within the noun phrase, between nouns and demonstratives, and nouns and possessives, but also within the verb phrases, between verbs and objects, and between connectives and verbs. For each combination of vowels illustrated in the sections below, both levels will be exemplified and we will see that the output of vowel coalescence is sometimes different according to the level involved.

### 2.4.1.1 Vowel coalescence

The first derived vowel length process to be considered here is coalescence, also called fusion. In Casali (1996: 1, following Bergman (1968))’s terms, coalescence is a “situation in which an underlying /V1 + V2/ sequence is realised as a third vowel sharing features of both V1 and V2.” Given this definition, the possibility of a large array of conceivable patterns is quite reduced.

Consider first the most obvious case, when the two vowels in the input are identical. Without surprise, the examples (2.107) and (2.108) show that, in such a sequence, vowels fuse without any conflicting features and form a long vowel with the same quality. In every subsequent example, syllables boundaries are indicated by a dot, while morphemes are separated by a dash.

(2.107) Lexical level
a. [i + i → ii]
   ní-nó (cl.6) /ní-nó/ ‘tooth’

b. (e + e → yee)
   > Glide formation, see section 2.4.1.3

c. [a + a → aa]
   áa-ná (cl.2) /á-aná/ ‘children’

d. (o + o → woo)
   > Glide formation, see section 2.4.1.3

e. [u + u → uu]
   muú-va (cl.3) /mu-úva/ ‘cart’
In (2.107), no example of word-internal coalescence with /e+e/ or /o+o/ can be provided, since, the only context in which these sequences are possible comes from the junction of the noun classes prefix e- (class 9) or o- (classes 14, 15, 17) with a nominal stem, in which case gliding formation occurs (see section 2.4.1.3). In (2.108), sequences of high vowels across words are not attested either in Cuwabo. Regarding the sequence /i+i/, verb forms in Cuwabo which end with the final vowel /i/ and words beginning by the same vowel /i/ are both very uncommon, hence the difficulty to find some occurrences of such a coalescence case in my database. The same happens with the sequence /u+u/. The only word beginning with /u/ is the interrogative uuvi ‘where’. But no occurrence where it follows a word ending in /u/ was found.

On the post-lexical level, vowel coalescence across word boundaries corresponds to the liaison phenomena and thus implies resyllabification. Then, the noun phrase ebále éji ‘this bowl’ (2.108)b, which underlyingly counts five syllables is realised with four syllables on the surface representation, with a bimoraic nucleus in the syllable found at the junction between both words.

(2.107)e and (2.108)d show that Cuwabo is part of the languages which fail to glide /u/ or /o/ before a round vowel (see section 2.4.1.2 for more details).

When considering heteromorphemic sequences of vowels, another pattern, extremely frequent in Cuwabo as in many Bantu languages, and referred to as “Height Coalescence” by Casali (1996: 70), results from hiatus situations in which V1 is [+low] and V2 is higher than V1, being simply [+high] in the case of /i/ and /u/, or [-low, -high], with the mid vowels /e/ and /o/. Examples below illustrate each of the possible combinations.
b. \([a+e \rightarrow ee]\)  
\textit{bee}dilé /\textit{ba-}edd-ilé/ ‘having walked’

c. \([a+o \rightarrow oo]\)  
\textit{vo6}gúlání /\textit{va-}ógulá-ni/ ‘the place where one buys’

d. \([a+u \rightarrow oo]\)  
\textit{boo}bilé /\textit{ba-}ub-ilé/ ‘having shaped’

(2.110) Post-lexical level

a. \(([a+i \rightarrow ee])\)\textsuperscript{17} \textit{unattested input}

b. \([a+e \rightarrow ee]\)  
\textit{sumán}’ 66.\textit{d}ile /\textit{sumána} čjile/ ‘this week’

c. \([a+o \rightarrow oo]\)  
\textit{mwáán}’ 66.\textit{d}o /\textit{mwáaná} óddo/ ‘this child’
\textit{aga}tjý’ 66.\textit{gúl}i?a /\textit{agattiyá} ógúlíha/ ‘if they stop selling’

d. \(([a+u \rightarrow oo])\) \textit{unattested input}

Descriptively, we see that when \(V_1\) is \([+\text{low}]\), the output is always a long mid-vowel, i.e. a long non-high vowel. This means that the \([-\text{high}]\) feature of \(V_1\) wins over the \([+\text{high}]\) feature of \(V_2\) and causes lowering of the vowel. However it has no effect on the mid-vowels \(/e/\) and \(/o/\), since they are already non-high. Furthermore, the examples above also show that the result of this type of coalescence adopts the place of articulation (frontness or backness) of \(V_2\). Therefore, in these examples and as the derivation in (2.111) shows, a high vowel following a non-high vowel gets lowered, and then, the first vowel assimilates to the second.

(2.111) Underlying Sequence: /\textit{a+i}/

Height lowering: ae  
Progressive assimilation: ee

In this way, we can say that this type of coalescence is: 1) feature-sensitive, in the way it favors and selects certain features values in preference to others, namely \([-\text{high}]\) in preference to \([+\text{high}]\). Once the height feature is removed, the remaining features of \(V_2\) (frontness and roundness) are preserved in preference to those of \(V_1\); 2) position-sensitive, in that a reverse input sequence will not be resolved by coalescence, but by vowel elision (\(/i+a/\), see section 2.4.1.2 below) or by glide formation (\(/u+a/\), see section 2.4.1.3). This means Cuwabo does not display symmetric coalescence, which is a frequent feature across languages (Casali 1996: 62).

\textsuperscript{17} For the sequences /\textit{a+i}/ and /\textit{a+u}/ across word boundaries in (9a) and (9d), the expected outputs would respectively be /\textit{ee}/ and /\textit{oo}/, but again, no occurrence was found in my data.
A last, more specific, and somewhat unexpected case of coalescence can be reported in Cuwabo, only on the post-lexical level\(^{18}\), when V1 is a high vowel and V2 is a mid-vowel, as shown in (2.112). This in fact suggests that the word initial vowels in Cuwabo are underlyingly high (as expected in Eastern Bantu), but undergo a word-initial constraint consisting in lowering high vowels to mid vowels. The same vocalic constraint is found Makhulu-Enahara (van der Wal 2009), but not in other Makhulu dialects such as Imithupi or Ikorovere (Kisseberth 2003), where word initial vowels appear high on surface.

(2.112) Post-lexical level
\begin{itemize}
\item a. \([i+e \rightarrow ii]\)
  \begin{itemize}
  \item epul’ \textit{if.ji} /epúli éji/ ‘this frying pan’
  \item kaval’ \textit{ff.savi} /kavalí ésaví/ ‘there is no gravy’
  \end{itemize}
\item b. \([i+o \rightarrow uu]\)
  \begin{itemize}
  \item námwál’ \textit{uu.đu} /námwáli óddu/ ‘this girl’
  \item ol’ \textit{ū. mànónóni} /olí omóónóni/ ‘is on the right’
  \end{itemize}
\item c. \([u+o \rightarrow uu]\)
  \begin{itemize}
  \item yar’ \textit{ū. đu} /yarú óddu/ ‘this rice sp.’
  \item máártél’ \textit{ū. rūmélala} /máártélu órúmélala/ ‘the hammer is lost’
  \item k’ \textit{uu. musíka} /ku omusíka/ ‘it is at the market’
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

While on the lexical level, the high vowel gets deleted and the output is always a long vowel with the vocalic features of V2 (see (2.116) section 2.4.1.2 below), here, on the post-lexical level in (2.112), the \([+\text{high}]\) V1 assimilates to the \([+\text{back}]\) (and \([+\text{round}]) values of V2 so that the output is always a high vowel with the place of articulation of V2. This is particularly evident in (2.112)b, with the output /uu/, in which \([+\text{high}]\) is the only feature of V1 that is preserved, whereas the backness (and roundness) features are copied from V2. This type of coalescence can be derived on the same model as “Height Coalescence” shown in (2.111), involving a low vowel as V1. In the present situation, a mid-vowel following a high vowel gets raised, and then, V1 assimilates to V2.

(2.113) Underlying Sequence: \([i+o/\) (across words only!)]
\begin{itemize}
\item Heightening: \(\text{iu}\)
\item Progressive assimilation: \(\text{uu}\)
\end{itemize}

Just like “Height Coalescence”, this type of coalescence is feature-sensitive and position-sensitive.

It happens that the output of coalescence surfaces as a short vowel, as in (2.114) or (2.115).

\(^{18}\) see the lexical level counterpart in section 4 with the examples in (2.116) and (2.119).
These examples show that long vowels can undergo reduction and become monomoraic in case of fast speech, especially across words.

Table 7 recapitulates the different outputs resulting from coalescence process both on the lexical and post-lexical levels. The first vowel in the sequence is in the leftmost column and the second is in the top row. The rest of the boxes show the product of combining the two vowels. The products of certain combinations have been left blank because no example was found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We conclude that coalescence in Cuwabo is sensitive both to the quality and to the ordering of the vowels in the sequence. For every coalescence scenario, as far as vocalic quality is concerned, the height feature from the first vowel in the sequence always prevails in the output, whereas the remaining articulation features are drawn from the second vowel.

### 2.4.1.2 Vowel elision

Like coalescence, elision implies that certain vowel features of the input are lost while others are preserved. The difference between both processes hinges on the distribution of what is lost and what is preserved in each vowel of the sequence. While some balance
operates in coalescence, in that each vowel loses as well as maintains some features, in the case of elision, the lost features all come from one of both vowels and the preserved ones are attributable to the other vowel. The question arises to know which vowel of the sequence is elided, the first or the second? Statistically, V1 elision is predominant and more widely attested across languages (Casali 1996: 11). Cuwabo conforms to this tendency and the most common context in which preference for V2 preservation is made clear is shown in (2.116) and (2.117), where V1 is [+high] and [+front].

(2.116) Lexical level

a. \([i+e \rightarrow ee]\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>néépélo (cl.5)</td>
<td>/ni-épêlo/</td>
<td>‘wing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dëéloolíma</td>
<td>/ddi-ela-olíma/</td>
<td>‘I was cultivating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>nááni (cl.5)</td>
<td>/nî-anî/</td>
<td>‘herb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naa vañiilé</td>
<td>/ni-a-ñiilé/</td>
<td>‘we gave them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. \([i+a \rightarrow aa]\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>máalú’ aáa.gá</td>
<td>/máalúmi ága/</td>
<td>‘my tongues’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>kadilí’ aá.aapánó</td>
<td>/kaddilí aapanó/</td>
<td>‘I am not here’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. \([i+o \rightarrow oo]\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>kaluú’ uúu.ví</td>
<td>/olí uuví/</td>
<td>‘where is it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>mëéloolíma</td>
<td>/ddi-ela-olíma/</td>
<td>‘I was cultivating’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2.117) Post-lexical level

a. \((i+e \rightarrow i\tilde{e})\)  > see Coalescence process, section 2.4.1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>málúm’ áá.gá</td>
<td>/málúmi ága/</td>
<td>‘my tongues’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>kadil’ aá. aapánó</td>
<td>/kaddilí aapanó/</td>
<td>‘I am not here’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. \((i+o \rightarrow uu)\)  > see Coalescence process, section 2.4.1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>kaluú’ uúu.ví</td>
<td>/olí uuví/</td>
<td>‘where is it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>mëéloolíma</td>
<td>/ddi-ela-olíma/</td>
<td>‘I was cultivating’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. \([i+u \rightarrow uu]\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
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<td>V2</td>
<td>mëéloolíma</td>
<td>/ddi-ela-olíma/</td>
<td>‘I was cultivating’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (2.116) and (2.117), all the features of V1 get deleted and the output is always a long vowel with the vocalic feature of V2.\(^{19}\) On the lexical level (2.116), /i/ elision is commonly found on prefix-root boundaries, but also between verbal prefixes. On the post-lexical level (2.117), the boundaries between a noun and a modifier, as well as between a verb form and a complement, are good contexts for /i/ elision, except when V2 is a mid-vowel. In this case, [+high] feature of V1 is preserved and coalescence applies with V2 as already shown with examples in (2.112), section 2.4.1.1.

---

\(^{19}\) Elision accompanied with compensatory lengthening is also referred to as total assimilation process (Ngunga 2000: 31).
The outputs in (2.116) and (2.117) with /i/ as V1 clearly show the tendency in Cuwabo not to allow palatalised consonants. This constitutes a major constraint, with only a few cases of exception (my-, fy- and vy-), which all have in common the labial feature.

The second case of V1 elision concerns the other front vowel /e/, but only when it is involved in a sequence on the post-lexical level, as illustrated in (2.118).

(2.118) Post-lexical level

a. ([e+i → ii?]) unattested input
b. [e+a → aa]
   akwad’ áá.ba /akwaddé ába/ ‘these dogs sp.’
   maánj’ áá.wíñjíva /maánjé awíñjíva/ ‘water abounds’
c. [e+o → oo]
   múkaṭ’ óo.bu /múkatté obu/ ‘this rice cake’
   muróm’ oo-ðówá... /muróme odhówá/ ‘you go first’ [you start to go]
   iyéén’ óo.nopózâ… /iyééné ononyózâ/ ‘he is sharpening…”
d. ([e+u → uu?]) unattested input

Between words, the occurrence of the mid front vowel before another vowel triggers its own deletion, as a result of which V2 surfaces with compensatory lengthening. No occurrence was found for the sequences /e+i/ and /e+u/, although we could expect to have /ii/ and /uu/ as respective outputs.

On the lexical level, the few examples found with the mid-vowel /e/ at the head of the vocalic sequence are very restricted from a morphological point of view and the process used to resolve the hiatus is gliding, but this issue is developed in section 2.4.1.3.

Finally, and although it is very marginal in the language, one last case of elision in Cuwabo can be found on the lexical level, when V1 is [+high] and [+back], and V2 is [+round], as examples in (2.119) show.

(2.119) Lexical level

a. [u+o → oo]
   múo.nó (cl.3) /mú-onó/ ‘arm’
   múo tô (cl.3) /mú-ottó/ ‘fire; umbilical cord’
b. [u+u → uu]
   múva (cl.3) /mu-úva/ ‘cart’
   múlo (cl.3) /mu-úlo/ ‘canal’

The specific context in which this type of V1 elision takes place constitutes an exception to the glide formation of /u/ as V1, which is otherwise widely attested in Cuwabo (see section 2.4.1.3 below). This seems to be a restriction coming from the round vowels which can glide
only in front of unrounded vowels, and have to use another strategy in front of rounded vowels. In this respect, Casali (2011: 14) reports that in some languages, “glide formation does not apply to sequences in which V1 and V2 share the same frontness and roundess” and explains further that “languages that fail to glide /u/ or /o/ before a round vowel typically lack [Cw] before round vowels in general.” Cuwabo conforms to this variation: no occurrence of a labialised consonant followed by a round vowel was attested in my database. It must be assumed that these sequences are banned in the language. Cuwabo avoids these sequences by deleting V1. This ban has already been reported in other Bantu languages, such as Karanga (S14) and Nambya (S16B) from the Shona group (Mudzingwa and Kadenge 2011: 231).

To conclude, the different aforementioned outputs triggered by V1 elision are summarised below, in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with coalescence, vowel elision is both feature-sensitive and position-sensitive, in that it targets specific features ([+front] and/or [+high]) that occupy a specific position among both vowels comprising the sequence, namely V1. Furthermore, the morphosyntactic context determines the way elision applies (or not). Whether the vowel targeted by elision is found at the boundary between inner-word morphemes or between two words has an impact on the hiatus resolution strategy.

### 2.4.1.3 Glide formation (or gliding)

Glide formation also occurs in Cuwabo. In many languages, this process is commonly attested in sequences where the first vowel is [+high]. Front and back vowels /i, u/ respectively turn into /y, w/. This process whereby an underlying vowel surfaces as a semi-vowel is also known as consonantalisation (Doke 1945), or even “onset formation” (Rosenthal 1994, Casali 1996). In some languages, however, it happens that only back round vowels have the possibility of gliding and that their front counterparts are subject to a different resolution strategy, usually elision (Casali 2011: 14). It is the case in Cuwabo: glide formation occurs when V1 is /u/ but not when V1 is /i/, position in which the vowel
undergoes elision, as previously analysed in section 2.4.1.2, except in a specific context which implies very few occurrences, and which will be developed below.

Consider now gliding with the back high vowel, first on the lexical level (2.120), then on the post-lexical level (2.121).

(2.120) Lexical level
a. \([u+e \rightarrow wee]^{20}\]
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}ée.\text{r}í} /\text{mú-erí/ (cl.4)}\] ‘moons/months’
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}ee.\text{d}ága} /\text{mu-ed-ág-a/} \] ‘when you were walking’
b. \([u+a \rightarrow waa]\]
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}áá.námá} /\text{mú-ánámá/ (cl.1)}\] ‘abcess’
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}aa.\text{d}ówá} /\text{mu-a-dówá /} \] ‘when you go’
c. \([u+o \rightarrow oo]\) > see Elision processes (section 2.4.1.2)
d. \([u+i \rightarrow wii]^{21}\]
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}íí.nqú} /\text{mú-inddú/ (cl.3)}\] ‘palm-tree’
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}íí.mba} /\text{mu-ímba/ (cl.3)}\] ‘hole, slit’

(2.121) Post-lexical level
a. \([u+e \rightarrow wii]\]
   \[\text{yúúnw’ \text{f}í.jí} /\text{yúúnú éjí/} \] ‘this waist’
   \[\text{míímbw’ \text{í}f.só} /\text{míímbu éso/} \] ‘these peas’
b. \([u+a \rightarrow waa]\]
   \[\text{maðúq[w’ \text{a}á.ba} /\text{maddúdú ába/} \] ‘these unripe coconuts’
   \[\text{á[w’ \text{a}á.nótíba} /\text{áttu ánótíba/} \] ‘people dug out’
c. \([u+o \rightarrow woo]\) > see Coalescence process (section 2.4.1.1)
d. \([u+i \rightarrow wii?]\) > unattested input

Unsurprisingly, no gliding of /u/ or /o/ is attested before a round vowel (see (2.119), section 2.4.1.2 on vowel elision).

Note that on the post-lexical level, the sequence /u+e/ in (2.121)a manifests glide formation along with coalescence, i.e. that /u/ not only glides but it also transmits its [+high] feature to the mid-V2. Height of V1 and frontness of V2 are preserved for the output, in addition to gliding. Interestingly, /u+e/ hiatuses found on clitics boundaries vary

---

20 Unexpectedly, three formally similar nouns do not display compensatory lengthening after gliding.
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}e\text{\-}be (cl.3) /mu-ébe/} \] ‘reed’
   \[\text{mw\text{\-}g\text{\-}dó (cl.3) /mu-éddo/} \] ‘leg’
   \[\text{m\text{\-}w\text{\-}éne (cl.1) /mu-éne/} \] ‘chief, head’

21 /u+i/ always glides, except for one noun, which constitutes the only exception and is in addition rarely used:
   \[\text{mií\text{\-}ma (cl.1) /mu+íma/} \] ‘child’
in their resolution process, involving both gliding (2.122)a, but also gliding and coalescence (2.122)b.

(2.122) a. mweétı́úrîni /mu-éttúuí = ni/ ‘in the shoulder’
   mweévidóni /mu-éviddó = ni/ ‘into the spear handle’
   b. mwiiilábôni /mu-elábô = ni/ ‘in the society’
   mwiltívuni /mu-évúvu = ni/ ‘in the pimple’
   mwiiitélóni /mu-etélô = ni/ ‘in the winnowing-tray’

This confusion in outputs is certainly explained by the particular morphological status of these locative forms, which lie at the hinge between lexical and post-lexical levels.

In this gliding process, compensatory vowel lengthening takes place: the vowel adjacent to the glide becomes lengthened, which gives a bimoraic syllable and triggers resyllabification. The output syllable is then CGVV, meaning that the sequence Consonant-Glide, and more particularly velarisation for /w/, is allowed in Cuwabo (except when V₂ is a round vowel). The preference for gliding /u/ shows the tendency in Cuwabo to allow labialised consonants (unlike palatalised consonants).

In section 2.4.1.2, we saw that a hiatus with a front high V₁ is solved by the elision process. However, the formation of class 4 plural nouns with a vowel-initial stem constitutes an exception to this generalisation, displaying gliding in front of a mid-vowel (2.123)d and (2.123)h or a low vowel (2.123)f.

(2.123) class 3 [mu + V \rightarrow (w)VV]               class 4 [mi + V \rightarrow (y)VV]
   a. mwíilá²² /mú-ilá/ ‘tail’       b. míilá /mí-ilá/ ‘tails’
   c. mwéerí /mú-erí/ ‘moon, month’  d. myéerí /mí-erí/ ‘moons, months’
   e. mwáangó /mú-ăngó/ ‘mount’      f. myáangó /mí-ăngó/ ‘mounts’
   g. móonó /mú-onó/ ‘arm’           h. myóonó /mí-onó/ ‘arms’
   i. muúva /mu-ūva/ ‘cart’          j. miíva /mi-úva/ ‘carts’

It is the only context where gliding of /i/ is possible in Cuwabo, which means this strategy is very marginal in comparison with high vowel elision.

The output of the sequence /i+u/ found in (2.123)j is even more surprising: whereas we would expect /uu/ as a result of V₁ elision and lengthening of V₂, the reverse process operates in that V₂ deletes and V₁ lengthens, or in other words, V₂ totally assimilates to V₁.

²² A single and rarely used form of class 3 represents an exception to this gliding process, and uses instead resorts to V₁ elision:
   miíma /mu + íma/ ‘child’
All these cases are nevertheless very specific and are easily attributable to classes 3 and 4 lexical morphology: the new and unexpected outputs mentioned here actually help make the distinction between singular and plural forms. To put it in Casali (1996: 30)’s words, “it is not uncommon for particular morphemes (or classes of morphemes) to exceptionally trigger a different hiatus resolution pattern than the one which normally obtains.”

Eventually, confirmation of two previously mentioned generalisations emerge from (2.123): first, sequences of two identical vowels ((2.123)b and (2.123)i) fail to undergo glide formation, which represents a very common restriction across languages (Casali 2011: 16); second, in the singular form, on the left column, móonó ‘arm’ in (2.123)g and muúva ‘cart’ in (2.123)i confirm that glide formation of /u/ is blocked before a round vowel.

If gliding is often referred to in a [+high] vocalic context, this process is not restricted to /i/ and /u/. When V1 is in absolute word-initial position, the restrictions on gliding are indeed less strict and both mid vowels /e/ and /o/ can undergo the process. Regarding the round mid-vowel, different class prefixes in Cuwabo allow us to see this combination on the lexical level. These prefixes can be nominal classes (NC), subject markers (SM), or any other class agreement, as exemplified in (2.124). On the post-lexical level, glide formation of /o/ also occurs and is mostly found between nominal stems and their modifiers, such as demonstrative or possessive forms, as in (2.125).

(2.124) Lexical level + word-initial position

a. [o + i → wii]
   - wii.la /o-íla/ ‘to boil’ > NC 15
   - wii.yilé /o-iy-ilé/ ‘he stole’ > cl.1 SM

b. [o + e → wee]
   - wee.ya /o-éya/ ‘to bury’ > NC 15
   - owani wée.nyú /o-enyu/ ‘to your house’ > cl.17 agr.

c. [o + a → waa]
   - waá.lûwa /o-álûwa/ ‘drink.sp’ > NC 14
   - mbúga waá.li /o-á-li/ ‘the rice that was’ > cl.3 SM

d. [o + o → woo]
   - woó.ca /o-óca/ ‘to roast’ > NC 15

e. [o + u → wuu]
   - wúú.mápa /ó-úmánya/ ‘to offer, to thank’ > NC 15
   - wúú.gulá /ó-u-gulá/ ‘to buy you’ > NC 15 + 2SG OM
Chapter 2

(2.125) Post-lexical level

a. \((o+i \rightarrow \text{wii?})\) \(\rightarrow\) unattested input (morphosyntactic reasons)

b. \([o+e \rightarrow \text{wee}\])
   
   \[\text{etélw' ééji} /\text{etélo éji/} \quad \text{‘this winnowing-tray’}\]
   \[\text{elabw' ee.zugünúwilé} /\text{elabo e-zugünúwilé/} \quad \text{‘it’s the society which has changed’}\]

c. \([o+a \rightarrow \text{waa}]\)
   
   \[\text{mazángw' áá.ba} /\text{mazángo ába/} \quad \text{‘these beads’}\]

(2.126) pre-existence of an onset in the verbal stem

\(o-ʔába = o-\text{wába} = \text{waába\ ‘take bath’}\)
\(o-ʔela = o-\text{wélа} = \text{weéla\ ‘set, put’}\)
\(ó-ʔuwá = ó-\text{wuwá} = \text{wúuwá\ ‘slough’}\)

In this way, Cuwabo conforms to the universal tendency of languages to avoid onsetless syllables.

As with /o/, the front mid-vowel /e/ can glide, but only on the lexical level, when it arises word-initially in prefix position, i.e. with no consonant immediately preceding them. Again, these prefixes can be nominal classes or subject markers, as exemplified below.

(2.127) Lexical level + word-initial position

a. \([e+i \rightarrow \text{yii}]\)
   
   \[\text{yif.ko} /\text{e-iko/} \quad \text{‘river’} \quad \rightarrow\text{ NC 9}\]
   \[\text{yif.yiléémi} /\text{e-íy-ilé-émi/} \quad \text{‘what I stole’} \quad \rightarrow\text{ cl.9 SM}\]

---

23 One exception to this generalisation is reported in the following example between the noun and the verb:

\(\text{wóóra} \quad \text{y’ aářmoós’ éefiyá}\)
\(\text{wóóra} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{ářmoósó} \quad \text{e-hí-fíyá}\)
\(9.\text{hour} \quad 9.\text{CON} \quad 2a.\text{lunch} \quad 9-\text{PFV.DJ-arrive}\)

‘lunch time came’
b. [e + e → yee]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yée.djëlo</th>
<th>/e-éddëlo/</th>
<th>‘habit; behaviour’</th>
<th>&gt; NC 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yée.lúziléémi</td>
<td>/e-elúz-ilé-émi/</td>
<td>‘what I advised’</td>
<td>&gt; cl.9 SM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. [e + a → yaa]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yáa.ká</th>
<th>/é-aká/</th>
<th>‘year’</th>
<th>&gt; NC 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaa.logiléémi</td>
<td>/e-a-log-íl-é-émi/</td>
<td>‘what I said’</td>
<td>&gt; cl.9 SM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. [e + o → yoo]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yoo.ɓo</th>
<th>/e-óbo/</th>
<th>‘basket’</th>
<th>&gt; NC 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yoo.niiléémi</td>
<td>/e-on-íl-íl-é-émi/</td>
<td>‘what I showed’</td>
<td>&gt; cl.9 SM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. [e + u → yuu]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yuú.kúru</th>
<th>/e-úkúru/</th>
<th>‘owl’</th>
<th>&gt; NC 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuú.miléémi</td>
<td>/e-úm-íl-íl-é-émi/</td>
<td>‘what I stole’</td>
<td>&gt; cl.9 SM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the post-lexical level, glide formation does not apply to the mid-vowel /e/. This has been made evident in the examples (2.118) from the previous section on vowel elision.

Eventually, like coalescence, the merged vowel triggered by gliding can shorten in case of faster speech, as seen in (2.128).

(2.128) ázúgw’ agátyi’ oógúli’a ñbúga, nigáilíma {semi-elic.}

ázúgu a-ga-ťiyá őgúlîha ñbúga ni-gá-nílima
2.boss 2-SIT-stop 15.sell 3.rice 1pl-FUT.IP.FV-IP.FV.DJ-cultivate
‘if the bosses stop selling rice, I will cultivate’

Table 9 sums up the results of the glide formation process in Cuwabo. Outputs between parentheses are marginal in the language and occur in restricted contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9 Outputs from gliding process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.1.4 Longer vowel sequences and consonant epenthesis

In this subsection, I investigate what happens when three (or more) underlying vowels follow each other. Sequences of three even four vowels are indeed attested in Cuwabo,
arising mostly through prefixation in verbal forms. In this case, several scenarios are attested, involving the aforementioned processes, as well as consonant epenthesis.

(2.129) /o-náa-inánele/ ‘do not abstain’
   a. Vowel coalescence: ondáánéle
   b. Glide epenthesis: ondáayinánele

(2.130) /ka-dí-á-u-gula/ ‘I was not buying you’
   a. Vowel elision + coalescence
      > /ka-d(di)á-u-gula/ > /ka-díá-u-gula/ > /ka-djo-o-gula/ > kajíogula
   b. Glide epenthesis
      > /ka-d(di)á-u-gula/ > /ka-díá-u-gula/ > /ka-djáá-wu-gula/ > kadáawágula

As trimoraic syllables are in principle not allowed in Cuwabo, longer vowel sequences are reduced to a single bimoraic syllable when solved through vowel coalescence or vowel elision, as shown in (2.129)a and (2.130)a. In the first, the long low vowel coalesces with the high vowel, and gives a long mid vowel. In the latter, the high vowel /i/ totally assimilates to the following low vowel. Then, the output coalesces with the following high vowel /u/, and gives the bimoraic vowel /oo/. On the contrary, the subsequent vowels in (2.129)b and (2.130)b, instead of being reduced to a bimoraic syllable, are organised into two separate syllables with a glide emerging as consonant epenthesis. This means that unlike the other hiatus resolution processes, glide epenthesis allows to preserve the underlying initial structure.

Across languages, few are the consonants which function epenthetically as hiatus breakers (Uffmann 2007). In Cuwabo, as in many languages, glides are commonly used as default epenthetic segments. In this case, glide insertion is not to be confused with glide formation. Whereas the latter is derived from a vowel and preserves the existing phonological material, glide insertion is not underlyingly present, and then implies that new phonological material is added. In glide insertion, the glide used to resolve hiatus becomes an epenthetic consonant, whose featural content is normally contingent on their vocalic environment, and more particularly on the backness feature, as examples in (2.131) and (2.132) show.

(2.131) diyiáwooná ‘I saw them’ vs. owáwooná ‘he saw them’
      dji(ʔ)fýée-dlagá ‘without my walking’

(2.132) diyááruédá/duááruédá baá’i, dínódówá vatákulu
      ‘I have had enough fun, I am going back home’

---

24 A doubled tone falls when the mora to which it is assigned is in penultimate position of a tonological unit.
In (2.131) and (2.132), both glides are determined by the preceding vowel, to which they approximate the most in both place and manner of articulation. /y/ is inserted when preceded by the front vowel; /w/ is inserted when preceded by the back/rounded vowel.

However, it seems that these featural restrictions are not so strict in Cuwabo, especially in verb forms, in which the choice of the glide is sometimes arbitrary, as shown in (2.133).

(2.133) a. *baආ(ʔ)fyóogolagá* OR *baආ(ʔ)fwóogolagá* < /ba-dji-ʔi-ogol-ag-á/
  ‘*without my straightening*’

b. *o(ʔ)fyáaweedjʔa* OR *o(ʔ)wáaweedjʔa* < /o-ʔi-a-edjʔa/
  ‘*to not lead them*’

c. *syáawooná* OR *swáawooná* < /a-á-a-ona/
  ‘*they had seen them*’

It then seems hard to predict with accuracy the featural nature of the epenthetic glide in verbal forms.

In addition to glides, Cuwabo also epenthesises with the glottal stop (2.134), which actually occurs in free variation with the glides (2.135).

(2.134) a. *djiʔáwobá ámámbaála*  ‘*I invited my parents*’  (> *djiʔi-a-wobá, ?i=PFV.DJ*)

b. *koʔubá*  ‘*if I (had) shaped*’  (> *ko-wuubá*)

(2.135) a. *ddáánuwunla* OR *ddáánuʔunla*  ‘*I used to cry for you*’

b. *ddinowádbúwěla* OR *ddinoʔádbúwěla*  ‘*I am thinking*’

Tones may have an influence on the strategy used to resolve hiatus. Tone assignment is contingent on the original tone pattern of a verb and for several tenses, the distinction between H-toned and Ø-toned verbs is needed. In the perfective tense below, the grammatical tone docks onto the OM, i.e. the first mora of the macrostem for the toneless verbs (2.136)a, whereas it starts on the pre-macrostem mora with the H-toned verbs (2.136)b.

(2.136) Perfective +2SG OM: /o-TAM²²-u-stem/  ‘he V-ed you’

a. Ø-toned verbs

  oowáâqa  ‘he told you’
  oowáâla  ‘he cried for you’

b. H-toned verbs

  owáuíwoná  ‘he looked at you’
  owáuíwibá  ‘he hit you’

²² The TAM prefix for the perfective is not morphologically clear: it seems to correspond to a -ʔi- prefix, whose glottal stop falls in most cases, the remaining vowel of which coalesces with the SM or even deletes while the vowel in the SM lengthens.
As a result, the syllabic configuration of these verbal forms differs: the TAM prefix -hi- totally assimilates to the SM in Ø-toned verb forms, and the OM u- glides in front of the vowel-initial stem (with compensatory lengthening). In H-tone verbal forms, the TAM prefix, which receives the grammatical H tone, assimilates to the following OM, triggering a long /uu/, connected to both SM and verb stem by a glide epenthesis. The perfective is the only tense in which a difference in tone assignment having an impact on the choice of the strategy used to resolve hiatus, has been attested.

Finally, and because of the variation in outputs, it is a hard task to make strong generalisations about the resolution of longer vowel sequences, and proposing an account of Cuwabo epenthesis is all the more difficult since the factors according to which epenthesis takes place in preference to vowel coalescence, elision or glide formation are still not clear to determine. This brief section on vowel sequences in verb forms should be considered as preliminary.

2.4.1.5 Summary of hiatus resolution

Different observations arise from the preceding sections. First, Cuwabo conforms to the universal tendency of languages to avoid onsetless syllables. It exhibits different strategies to repair such syllables, depending on the position (position-sensitive) and the quality (feature-sensitive) of the vowels involved. In these processes, in order not to lose the initial moraic weight, vowel length is most of the time derived by compensatory lengthening. Syllabicity may alter, with the phenomenon of resyllabification, but not the number of moras in the input (in case of two consecutive vowels).

The major generalisations to be addressed regarding hiatus resolution alternations are summarised in (2.137).

(2.137) Hiatus resolution alternations in Cuwabo

a. when V1 is non-high and V2 is high, the outcome is a [-high] version of V2. Vowel coalescence takes place.

b. when V1 is [+front], it usually gets deleted and V2 lengthens. Vowel elision takes place.

c. a round V1 undergoes glide formation before a following non-round vowel.

The overall pattern corresponding to the above generalisations is given in Table 10 below. Coalescent realisations are underlined, and those involving elision are italicised. Note that in the case of the input /u+e/ on the post-lexical level, both coalescence and glide formation apply. Less common outputs, i.e. those which appear in restricted contexts, are
parenthesised. Eventually, morphological rules prevent certain vowel sequences. Such cases have been left blank.

Table 10  Outputs from hiatus resolution processes in Cuwabo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>(myee)</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>(myaa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>(yii)</td>
<td>(yee)</td>
<td>(yaa)</td>
<td>(yoo)</td>
<td>(yu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>(wii)</td>
<td>(wee)</td>
<td>(wa)</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td>(uu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wee</td>
<td>waa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>wii / (ii)</td>
<td>wee</td>
<td>waa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wii</td>
<td>waa</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The descriptive study of the different patterns does not permit to consider one of the processes as a default process. Each process appears under specific conditions, depending merely on the first vowel quality.

### 2.4.2 Encliticisation and vowel lengthening

Enclitics constitute another source of vowel lengthening in Cuwabo, as illustrated with the interrogative enclitic =ni (2.138), the plural addressee enclitic =ni (2.139), the noun phrase locative enclitic =ni (2.140), the verbal locative enclitics =vo (class 16), =wo (class 17), and =m (class 18) (2.141), the instrumental enclitic =na (2.142), the definite enclitics (2.143), and the restrictive enclitic =vi (2.144). These different clitics will be examined in different further sections of this work.

(2.138) Interrogative enclitic

\[
\text{odhúl' úikó mudólágwóoní ?} \quad \text{\{body.6\}}
\]

| 17.céu 17.DEM.II 2PL-IPFV.CJ-speak = 17.LOC = what |
|---|---|
| ‘what are you talking about up there?’ |
Example (2.138) shows that when more than one clitic is suffixed, only the last one triggers vowel lengthening, which seems to indicate that this process is restricted to the penultimate position of the word, i.e. to the final suffix vowel. This conditioned vowel lengthening may be explained by an underlying form -CV of these enclitics, which would thus be fully realised whenever attached to some base.
Finally, note that this vowel lengthening is not systematically heard, especially in case of fast speech rate.

\[(2.145)\]  
\[
ddi \ iyééne \ woóónaávó \ baáhi. \ woóónaávó \ ddi \ iyééne \ baáhi
ddi \ iyééne \ \[o-ó-oná = vó\]REL baáhi
\[
1.COP \ 3SG.PRO \ 1-PST.IPFV.CJ-see = 16.LOC \ only
\]
‘he was the only one to see, he was the only one to see’
Another fascinating property of Cuwabo phonology is its tone system. This is the issue dealt with in the present chapter. Section 3.1 gives a general introduction to tone in Cuwabo. Section 3.2 analyses the different pitch levels attested in the language, and particularly Cuwabo’s lowering operations (or downtrends). Section 3.3 gives an account of the different nominal tone patterns. Nouns in isolation as well as modified nouns will be considered. Section 3.4 introduces the diverse tone patterns assigned on Cuwabo tensed verbs and describes how they interact with the lexical H. In Yip’s terms (2002: 132), “the most striking property of African tone is its mobility”. Tone mobility in Cuwabo is ruled by high tone right-spreading, which subsumes high tone doubling. In addition of these processes of tone adjunction, a recurrent process of tone diminution also exists, known as predicative lowering. Each process is dealt with in section 3.5. Another important part of prosody deals with intonation, which comes in addition to tones. The different contexts in which intonation plays a role are discussed in the last section. Note that no attempt of a description of phrasal tonology has been pursued here and I leave the issue of the phonology-syntax interface for further research.
3.1 Generalities

As common in Bantu, Cuwabo has a binary tone system, intertwining high (H) and toneless (Ø) pitches. In this study, H tones are indicated by means of an acute accent. On the other hand, Ø tones are not graphically represented. The tone-bearing unit in Cuwabo is the mora, which represents the smallest phonological unit in a syllabic nucleus (Hayes 1989, Hyman 1992). This is easily observed in long vowel sequences (3.1), as well as in consonant sequences involving a sonorant (nasal and liquid), which has both syllabic and moraic status (3.2).

(3.1) a. ØHFØ wáábála ‘dress’
     b. H.H.OH.OØ námáruíndlé ‘circular hut’

(3.2) a. ØH.OØ wúńla ‘cry’
     b. HH.OH.OØ ddááńsnízza ‘I was studying’

The great majority of Cuwabo words have at least one primary H tone (systematically underlined throughout this chapter). In fact, only a few grammatical words (e.g. akala ‘if’) and ideophones can have an all-low tone pattern. Primary H tones may either be H tones that are assigned by the morphology or are the inherent lexical property of a morpheme. They are distinguished from H tones which surface as the result of phonological rules linked with H-tone spreading. Among tone-spreading rules, two are attested in Cuwabo: doubling and long-distance spreading. The first process known as High-Tone doubling consists in spreading a primary H minimally, i.e. only onto the next rightward mora. This process applies both word-internally and at a higher morphological level between words, but suffers restrictions when applied at the right-boundary of a prosodic unit. Consider the noun wáábála ‘dress’ in (3.1), uttered in its citation form. Following the primary H, a falling contour tone is found on the surface, as the result of doubling. This falling H, manifested phonetically by a pitch lowering, results from the position of the mora receiving the doubled H, namely the penultimate of a prosodic unit (see section 3.5.1 for further details). When pre-penult, this mora will be realised as high, instead of falling. Compare osúkúma ‘leave’ and osúkúmiha ‘fire, send out’ in (3.3).

(3.3) ØHFØ osúkúma ‘leave’
     ØHHØØ osúkúmiha ‘fire, send out’

The emergence of such a contour tone is usually found in a system marked by penultimate lengthening, which is not the case in Cuwabo. This unexpected behaviour may suggest a souvenir of a state of the language whereby lengthening of the penult vowel existed. But there is no way I can prove this conclusively. This means that the underlying tone pattern (Ø)H.O.Ø (where each dot indicates a syllable boundary) is realised on surface as (Ø)H.F.Ø,
where F stands for ‘falling’. Throughout the dissertation, I mark this falling tone by a circumflex accent on top of the segment.

The second H-spreading process, called long-distance spreading, consists in repeating a H tone rightward on every available mora found between two primary H tones. This process applies only word-internally within nouns (3.4)a or verbs (3.4)b endowed with two primary H. More details will be presented in the following sections on nominal and verbal tonology.

(3.4)  

a. ősáńizáya ‘peace’

b. kaddíńzugunúwéla ‘I do not turn down to’

As already indicated above, only the primary Hs are underlined in this chapter. Non-underlined H-toned moras thus constitute surface Hs, resulting from one of the two aforementioned phonological rule.

Tones have both lexical and grammatical functions. Lexical tones allow distinguishing the meaning of two segmentally identical words. A few minimal pairs are given in (3.5)a with nouns and in (3.5)b with verbs. Note that throughout the whole dissertation, tonelessness on moraic consonants is indicated by a grave accent over the consonant.

(3.5)  

a. Tonal minimal pairs with nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu-lála</td>
<td>‘basket.sp’</td>
<td>mú-lalá</td>
<td>‘trad. toothbrush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní-kúru</td>
<td>‘group, set’</td>
<td>é-kurú</td>
<td>‘coconut shell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná-lába</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>mú-lába</td>
<td>‘net’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má-kúra</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
<td>mú-kúrá</td>
<td>‘plant.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-léba</td>
<td>‘trunk’</td>
<td>ní-léba</td>
<td>‘stain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-líli</td>
<td>‘weaved bag’</td>
<td>mí-líli</td>
<td>‘avarice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná-lógo</td>
<td>‘people’</td>
<td>ó-lógo</td>
<td>‘clay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mì-méla</td>
<td>‘abscess’</td>
<td>é-méla</td>
<td>‘leaven’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Tonal minimal pairs with verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waála</td>
<td>‘be fragile, weak’</td>
<td>wáalá</td>
<td>‘sow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wéélá</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
<td>wéélá</td>
<td>‘say, do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiíla</td>
<td>‘boil’</td>
<td>wíílá</td>
<td>‘say, mean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okóka</td>
<td>‘insist/charge’</td>
<td>ókoká</td>
<td>‘hang’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okúwa</td>
<td>‘hide/take out’</td>
<td>ókúwá</td>
<td>‘shout, call’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obiriminidduwa</td>
<td>‘turn over (canoe)’</td>
<td>óbiriminidduwa</td>
<td>‘roll’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grammatical tones are used to express particular grammatical functions. For instance, tone plays a major role in the formation of non-verbal predicates (3.6), as well as in the distinction between relativised and non-relativised clauses (3.7).
(3.6) Predication distinction

\[ \text{muyan\=á} \quad \text{(H\=OH)} \quad \text{‗woman‘} \]

\[ \text{mu\=yan\=á} \quad \text{(O\=OH)} \quad \text{‗it is a woman‘} \]

(3.7) Relativisation: object following relativised verbs (a.) and conjoint verbs (b.)

a. \text{mw\=á\=án\=á\=o\=nim\=ú\=já\=n\=ámb\=éd\=d\=d\=e} \quad \text{‗the child who is eating maize‘}

b. \text{mw\=á\=án\=á\=o\=nim\=ú\=já\=n\=a\=am\=bé\=dd\=d\=e} \quad \text{‗the child is eating maize‘}

Grammatical tones are also crucial in determining the tense of certain verb forms as will be developed in section 3.4 on verb tone patterns.

Finally, unlike many eastern Bantu languages such as Chewa, Swahili, Mwani (Devos 2008), Makonde (Manus 2003, Kraal 2005), Cuwabo is not subject to penultimate lengthening at the end of a prosodic unit (although the falling H may be viewed as reminiscent of a system formerly marked by penultimate lengthening, as already stated above).

### 3.2 Pitch levels

Tones have different characteristics of pitch realisation. In Cuwabo, two common downtrends are recurrently attested: automatic downstep (a.k.a. downdrift) and non-automatic downstep. Both refer to the lowering of H tones in certain contexts, such that the following H tone never returns to the pitch of the first H tones in the utterance. Each type is discussed below. Note that downstep is indicated by a superscript down arrow \[^{\downarrow}\] preceding the lowered mora.

#### 3.2.1 Automatic downstep (downdrift)

Automatic downstep refers to the lowering of a H after an overt L tone. The presence of a L tone thus triggers an “automatic downstep” of the pitch level of the following H tones. This lowering process is also known as downdrift (Hombert 1974, Yip 2002). In Cuwabo, this is first seen in the small domain of (\=O)H\=OH tone patterns, in which the second (lexical) H tone is radically downstepped, as shown in Figure 1, which the pitch contour representation of the example in (3.8), where \text{ka\=nl\=ó\=g\=á} ‘she does not speak’ has the underlying \=OH\=OH tone pattern.
We will see below in section 3.5.3 that Predicative Lowering represents a helpful way of identifying HØH tone patterns, since this final H tone clearly emerges in lowering contexts. By eliciting them into a PL environment such as ‘this is a + Noun’, the underlying final H tone on the noun clearly emerges (HH ØØH), although phonetically downstepped. It should be pointed out that such a radical downstepping of final H tones is common in some varieties of Makhuwa (Kisseberth p.c.).

Longer sequences with several consecutive H tones separated by a Ø-toned mora also illustrate automatic downstep. An example is provided in Figure 2, which illustrates the examples in (3.9), where the toneless negative prefix ka- triggers an automatic downstep of the following H tones.

(3.9)  
yéén’ éélóbwéyá kalógíle  
fyééné éłóbó = yá ka-łóg-íle  
3SG.PRO 9.thing = DEF NEG.1-say-PFV  
‘he did not tell the thing (the reason)’
3.2.2 **(non-automatic) downstep**

In addition to automatic downstep, Cuwabo also has another phonetic downward shift of H tones, which occurs in a series of consecutive H tones. Such a step lowering, called non-automatic downstep, results in tone terracing applied on the successive H moras. For instance, in Figure 3, which applies for the example in (3.10), the initial H tone of the second and the third verb forms ‘ánófúlá ‘are washing’ is downstepped vis-à-vis the preceding H-toned word. The overall pitch is thus gradually decreasing across the phrase.

(3.10) \[ \text{ánófúlá, áni-ófúlá, ánófúlá} \] 
\[ \text{á-ní-ófúlá \quad íá-ní-ófúlá} \]
\[ 2\text{-IPFV.DJ-15.wash \quad 2\text{-IPFV.DJ-15.wash}} \]
‘they are washing’
However, non-automatic downstep in a H sequence is not systematically heard in Cuwabo. For instance, the representation of (3.11) in Figure 4 shows no tone lowering through the H sequence. Interestingly, in this example, although the final toneless vowel of the possessive clitic is deleted (because of a fast speech rate), the floating Ø-tone resulting from this segmental deletion does not manifest itself through non-automatic downstep, as would be expected. Indeed, non-automatic downstep is often taken to be the manifestation of floating L tones (i.e. tone which are not associated with any syllable or mora), hence a lowering of the following H tones. In Cuwabo, it seems that non-automatic downstep, aside from being optional, only assumes a separative role between subsequent H tones.

(3.11)  

\[ m\text{úkwáý}’\text{ ónó} \text{óbúddúwa} \]  
\[ \text{múkwé} = \text{áye} \]  
\[ \text{ó-ní-óbúddúwa} \]  
1.friend = POSS.3SG 1-IPFV.DJ-15.go.out  
‘his friend went out’
3.2.3 Conditioned phonetic upsweep?

Compared to downdrift and downstep, phonetic upsweep is a reverse process, in which each H in a H-tone sequence surfaces at a higher pitch level than its predecessor. As downstep is attested in Cuwabo, upsweep is not expected. Yet a phrase-initial primary H tone tends to be not as high as its doubled H. It is rather realised as a mid-tone, i.e. as an intermediary tone between H and Ø. Examples with their corresponding spectrogram are provided below.

(3.12) āwéénē: aākāana mákán’ ááwa muðila

āwéénē a-ā-kāana mákání=áwa mu-dîla
3PL.PRO 2-PST.IPV-have 6.talk=POSS.3PL 18-9a.dila
‘they were having an argument on the way’

(3.13) vēnéval′ őórōm’ őôññfvarâ kurúmáanje

vēnéval̲e óń-rómá ō-mú-fwarâ kurúmáanje
16.EDEM.III 1-PFV.DJ-start 15-OM1-follow 1a.bee.sp
‘there she started to follow the bee.sp.’

(3.14) aárómá: oçákácá, ōcéyá rîbûgá:

a-ń-rómá oćkáca ōcëyá rîbûga
2-PFV.DJ-begin 15.cultivate.sp 15.sow 3.rice
‘they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice’
In each example, the second (doubled) H is higher than the first H. This means that this rise in pitch over sequences of two or more H tones is syntactically conditioned in that it only occurs on the first H in the sequence and in a phrase-initial position. This predictable realisation has a phonetic explanation, namely a word-initial H cannot reach straightforward the raised pitch of the doubled H which follows.

3.3 Tone patterns on nouns

3.3.1 Nouns in isolation

I am concerned here with the tone pattern of nouns under their citation form, i.e. nouns which are uttered in a sentence-final way. In this environment, the two phonological rules known as doubling and long-distance spreading may apply. The former consists in spreading a primary H minimally, i.e. only onto the next rightward mora, whereas the latter consists in repeating a H tone rightward on every available mora found between two primary H tones. As a first reminder, these surface Hs are not underlined in order to distinguish from the primary Hs. As a second reminder, in specific environments, namely at the right-boundary of a prosodic unit, a doubled H will surface with a falling pitch level, symbolically represented by a circumflex accent.

The basic tone melodies of Cuwabo nouns in their citation form are listed and exemplified in Table 11. As already seen, tone placement is dependent on moras rather than
syllables. This means that a disyllabic noun with one bimoraic syllable (e.g. mwáaná HØ.H ‘child’) may have the same tone pattern as a trisyllabic noun with monomoraic syllables (e.g. nífiünddó H.Ø.H ‘knot’). Further note that only prefixed nouns appear in this table. Nouns whose singular form belongs to class 1a or 5a, i.e. prefixless classes, will be discussed individually under each subsection. Of interest is the question of their plural formation, by means of the a- prefix. The addition of this plural prefix implies the addition of one mora to the tone pattern, which is necessarily modified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moras</th>
<th>Tone pattern</th>
<th>H/Ø</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>H-Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mú-ko</td>
<td>‘wood ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O-H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>e-bú</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ØHØ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>e-hība</td>
<td>‘hoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>HOH</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>ní-kalrá</td>
<td>‘charcoal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HFØ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mú-sólro</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ØHFØ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ni-gógöddó</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHHØ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>mú-dhógóddho</td>
<td>‘ant.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHHH</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>mú-téekú</td>
<td>‘navel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHÖÖÖ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mú-ñólwana</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ØHÖÖÖÖÖ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mu-kōlrôngòtto</td>
<td>‘loincloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>HHHHÖ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>ní-gúrgúru</td>
<td>‘shell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHHÖÖ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>mú-lánndéza</td>
<td>‘big hoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ØHHÖÓÓÖ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>e-rúbálakudde</td>
<td>‘beetle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHHHÖÖÖ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>má-áényárúge</td>
<td>‘herb.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ØHHÖÖÖÖÖ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ñ-tógólabalaga</td>
<td>‘first rains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHHHHHÖÖÖ</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>mwá-námáñndámání</td>
<td>‘neighbour’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two general observations arise from Table 11. First, nouns prefixes are definitely taken into account for tone assignment. The tone of the prefix is thus part of the tone pattern associated with the noun. This is generally not the case in Eastern Bantu languages, in which tones tend to be assigned exclusively on the stem, leaving aside the noun prefix (Philippson 1991). Nominal tonology thus involves pre-stem tone assignment, and tone patterns apply to the nouns as whole units. And interestingly, Cuwabo prefixes have the peculiarity to exhibit a H tone, whenever a noun is underlyingly H. This represents an exceptional property among P30 languages, only attested (so far) by Imitthupi, a northern Makuwa variety, spoken along the frontier between Tanzania and Mozambique. Compare in (3.15) Cuwabo and

26 « La strate lexicale où s'effectue l'association des tons dans les langues bantu de l'est concerne l'ensemble du thème. Il n'est donc pas nécessaire de tenir compte des divisions morphologiques internes à celui-ci. » (Philippson 1991: 84).
Imithupi (Kisseberth 2003), with two other Makhuwa varieties: Ikorovere (Kisseberth 2003) and Enahara (van der Wal 2009).

(3.15) Cuwabo Imithupi Ikorovere Enahara

\[ \text{mú-yaná} \quad \text{ní-thíyana} \quad n-thíyána \quad n-thíyána... \quad \text{‘woman’} \]

\[ \text{máyáru} \quad \text{má-aru} \quad \text{ma-áru} \quad \text{ma-áru} \quad \text{‘ear’} \]

Second, any noun surfaces with at least one H tone. As in most Bantu languages, nouns in Cuwabo have a lexical tone contrast. Ø-toned nouns (indicated by Ø in column 3) are underlyingly toneless and H-toned nouns (indicated by H in column 3) have one underlying H tone, namely the lexical tone.

### 3.3.1.1 H-toned nouns

Lexically H nouns comprise several tone patterns, which nonetheless all share the property to carry exactly two primary H tones, one in the noun stem (which is lexical) and one on the prefix. At this stage, it is not obvious why a lexical H tone in the noun stem should require the presence of a H tone on the prefix, although one suspects that its origin may rest with the H tone that historically was associated with the augment (or pre-prefix) in Proto-Bantu. It would seem likely that this augment H tone is also the source of the H tone that appears on lexically toneless noun stems. Synchronically, I propose that the prefix is associated with a H tone. I will systematically refer to this H tone as “prefixal H”. Since this prefixal H is regarded as being inherent, it is considered as a primary H, and will therefore be underlined in each subsequent example. Now, what differentiates one pattern from another is the placement of the lexical H as well as the phonological rule applied on the first primary H. Although the placement of the lexical H is not predictable, the penult mora pattern is far more recurrent than the ultimate mora pattern. Each pattern is examined in turn.

**Lexical H on PU:** \( \text{HHH}_0, \text{HHH}_0, \text{HHH}_0, \text{HHH}_0 \) and \( \text{HHH}_0 \)

Considering Table 11, four tone patterns display a lexical H on the penult mora: \( \text{HHH}_0 \) with \( \text{múdhoódho} \) ‘ant.sp’, \( \text{HHH}_0 \) with \( \text{nigurágúru} \) ‘shell’, \( \text{HHH}_0 \) with \( \text{máyényarúge} \) ‘herb.sp’, and \( \text{HHH}_0 \) with \( \text{múlándéza} \) ‘big hoe’. Among these H tone patterns, we note a further difference in the tone spreading pattern. In the \( \text{HHH}_0 \) pattern, the prefixal H

---

27 ‘…’ means that the noun is not phrase-final. This is of importance with respect to the possibility of H-tone doubling (see section 3.5.1 below for an analysis of High-Tone Doubling in Cuwabo).
spreads rightwards minimally, i.e. it only doubles onto the next mora. Inversely, the prefixal H in both HHHHØ and HHHHHØ patterns spreads rightwards in an unbounded fashion, forming a tone bridge (or plateau) with the lexical H on the penult. Note that the plural counterpart of the nouns presented respects identical tone patterns.

The tone patterns presented in this subsection are also attested with prefixless nouns, i.e. nouns from classes 9a/10a (e.g. HHHØ kókottélo ‘wooden peg(s)’), class 1a (e.g. HHHØ kábüngu ‘bucket’) and class 5a (e.g. HHHØ kárüńga ‘sickle’). In the absence of a prefix, the ‘prefixal’ tone associates to the first word mora. In the three aforementioned examples, the ‘prefixal’ H and the lexical H form a plateau. Longer nouns are very often built upon prefixation of the formatives ná- or/and má- to a nominal stem. Interestingly, those which start with má- usually exhibit a long-distance spreading of the first H till the lexical H on the penult, resulting in a plateau. Inversely, in the ná- or even námá- derived nouns, the first H is minimally restricted to doubling. Compare (3.16)a with (3.16)b.

(3.16) a. HHHHØ máambáli ‘parent’ HHHHHØ mwámunddímúwa ‘first wife’
   b. HHOHØ nánípwaättu ‘frog’ HHOOHØ námásuńziḥa ‘teacher’

As already mentioned above, the addition of the a-plural prefix to the class 1a and 5a singular forms modifies the surface tone patterns, as can be observed in Table 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12</th>
<th>Tone patterns of classes 1a (and 5a) nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 1a tone pattern</strong></td>
<td><strong>Class 2 tone pattern</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tones</td>
<td>example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHHØ</td>
<td>málágwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHHHØ</td>
<td>mwáángánéli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHOHØ</td>
<td>námásuńzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHOHØ</td>
<td>nőörǘiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In every case, the H tone carried by the added plural prefix is restrained from long-distance spreading, otherwise attested in certain singular forms. Instead, it is restricted to H-tone doubling onto the next mora. Consider málágwu ‘eel’. Its underlying representation is /malaąwu/, in which the lexical H is on the penult mora, the prefixal H docks on the first stem mora, with the sequence HØ... triggering a plateau on the surface. In the plural, the prefixal H remains on the plural prefix á- and the sequence H-ØØ... yields only doubling, not plateau.

The same occurs with mwáángánéli ‘guard’, underlyingly represented as /mwaángánéli/. The prefixal H in the singular docks on the first mora and a plateau is formed between both Hs in the structure HOOH... In the plural the prefixal H remains on the prefix, so we have...
the structure H-ØOH... without plateau. The question remains as to what is pertinent so that the plateau occurs or not. I have no clear answer at the moment. The seven occurrences I have of class 1a nouns with the HHHHO tone pattern all form their plural by means of a prefixal H which remains on the prefix and is restricted to doubling.

Finally, out of the 18 class 1a nouns attested in my database with the HHHHO surface tone pattern, nóória ‘chameleon’ is the only one which forms its plural the way one might expect, namely with a prefixal H. In all other forms, the prefixal H shifts to the second mora of the word, where it doubles onto the next mora, as in anámásuizá ‘teachers’. I leave this unexpected tone behaviour open for further research.

**Lexical H on Ultimate: ØH, HØH and HHHH**

A lexical H is also found on the ultimate mora in three patterns: ØH (with 21 items), HØH (with less than 200 items) and HHHH (with 40 items). In the latter pattern, the prefixal H doubles onto the next mora, as seen in Table 11 with múúdečú ‘navel’. In the case of HØH, the prefixal H spreads when the noun does no longer hold a phrase-final position. For instance, níkalra ‘charcoal’ in citation form surfaces as HHH when followed, e.g. níkalra źítí ‘this charcoal’ (see section 3.5.1 for an analysis of the constraints on H-tone doubling). In the case of ØH nouns, such as ebú ‘mosquito’, againt expectation, no prefixal H docks on the class prefix e-. This tone restriction is probably explained by an OCP effect, triggered by the immediate presence of the lexical H, which therefore blocks the prefixal H.

Now, Table 13 illustrates what happens with class 1a (and 5a) prefixless nouns which display these two patterns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a tone pattern</th>
<th>Class 2 tone pattern</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tones</td>
<td>example</td>
<td>tones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØH</td>
<td>rujé</td>
<td>0-ØH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kógó</td>
<td>H-ØH</td>
<td>á-kógó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HØH</td>
<td>páká</td>
<td>H-HØH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHHH</td>
<td>bwérubwerú</td>
<td>H-HHHH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námáfulá</td>
<td>Ø-HHHH</td>
<td>a-námáfulá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28 The OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) in its broadest sense disallows successive H tones. But it is in fact to be considered as a “family” of constraints, among which Meeussen’s rule (which avoids two adjacent primary H by deleting the second one).
In all these examples, the underlying representation implies a final lexical H tone: /rujé/, /paaká/, /bwerubwerú/ and /namafúla/, respectively. In the case of rujé ‘rat.sp’, again the prefixal H does not surface as a result of OCP. In every other longer form, the prefixal H in the singular docks on the first word mora and doubles in citation form only if there are two underlying toneless moras between the prefixal H and the lexical H. In the plural, different patterns are obtained. Strangely enough, no prefixal H is assigned on the plural prefix for more than half of the bimoraic nouns, which rather surface with a Ø-ØH pattern (e.g. arujé ‘rat.sp’). The other smaller half normally surfaces with a prefixal H on the plural prefix (e.g. ákogó ‘dog.sp’). There is no way that I can explain this difference of plural tone patterns.

With the HØH singular pattern, the prefixal H remains on the plural prefix and doubles, resulting in the H-HØH pattern, as shown with ápáká ‘cats’. However the situation with the HHØH pattern is more unexpected, in that two plural patterns are attested. The first follows the same process as H-HØH ápáká, with the prefixal H on the plural prefix affected by doubling. This is the case with ábwéruberú ‘shrimps’. The second plural pattern involves a shift of the prefixal H on the second word mora (i.e. the first of the noun stem), where it doubles, as shown with anámufulá ‘blacksmiths’. This unexpected plural pattern, largely more attested than the first one, reminds one of the plural form for most HHØHØ nouns mentioned in the upper subsection (exemplified with anámasuńza ‘teachers’).

### 3.3.1.2 Ø-toned nouns

Like H-toned nouns, Ø-toned (or toneless) nouns comprise several surface tone patterns discussed in turn.

**Prefixal H on M2: ØHØ, ØHFØ, ØHHØØ, ØHHØØØ**

On the surface, an underlying Ø-toned noun never appears as toneless. Instead a very regular pattern (and thus predictable) applies, in which a H tone surfaces on the second mora (M2) of the whole word. If the word has a class prefix, this H docks on the first mora of the stem, as in e-híba ‘hoe’ and mu-kólórítito ‘loincloth’. The tone pattern of their plural counterpart is identical, with respectively dhi-híba ‘hoes’ and mi-kólórítito ‘loincloths’. In citation form, H-tone doubling occurs depending on the number of rightward mora. If the prefixal H on M2 is followed by a single mora, as in ehíba ‘hoe’, it does not double. If it is followed by two moras, as in nigógoddo ‘bone’, it doubles but surfaces as lowered pitch in comparison to the first prefixal H (hence the circumflex accent). Now, if more than two
moras are present after the prefixal H, doubling occurs on the same pitch level, as in *mutúribunjú* ‘lizard’.

In case of prefixless nouns from classes 9a/10a, the second mora receives the H and there is no difference between singular and plural since they are morphologically identical, e.g. *ceńce* ‘fly/flies’ and *kabála* ‘rope/ropes’. The same pattern M2 applies with the prefixless singular nouns from class 1a and 5a, such as *kalába* ‘senior’, *naámbêdéde* ‘maize’, *namárogolo* ‘hare’, etc. This H tone can be traced back to the prefixal H tone in nouns with lexical H tones. However, toneless nouns imply that it surfaces on the next mora, i.e. the first stem mora (or M2 in prefixless nouns).

In Table 14, the plural forms of prefixless class 1a nouns are provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14</th>
<th>Tone patterns of classes 1a/2 nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 1a (SG) tone pattern</strong></td>
<td><strong>Class 2 (PL) tone pattern</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tones</td>
<td>example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØHØ</td>
<td>kalába</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØHFØ</td>
<td>naámbêdéde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØHHØØ</td>
<td>namárogolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØHHØØ</td>
<td>kanámúsasa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most plural forms, the prefixal H maintains an M2 position within the word, which also corresponds to the first stem mora. This is seen in *akálába* ‘olden’, *anáámbedde* ‘maize’ and *anámárogolo* ‘hare’. However, in my database, a few class 1a nouns with the pattern ØHHØØ may also form their plural with the pattern Ø-ØHHØØ, as seen with *akanámúsasa* ‘snake.sp’. According to Sérigo, my main consultant, both patterns are possible and occur in free variation in several cases, as illustrated in (3.17).

\[(3.17)\]  
| ØHHØØ | Ø-HHHØØ | Ø-ØHHØØ |
| namácérenga | a-námácérenga | a-namácérenga | ‘sailor’ |
| namárìbwatta | a-námárìbwatta | a-namárìbwatta | ‘owl.sp’ |

These Ø-ØHHØØ plural forms should be best understood as exceptions to the expected Ø-HHHØØ pattern.

### Prefixal H on M1: HØ, HFØ and HHØØ

While the tone pattern HHØØ (e.g. *múlbwana* ‘man’, with the underlying form /mulobwana/) is only attributed to a handful of nouns, HFØ (e.g. *mísôlro* ‘head’, with the underlying form /musolro/) and HØ (múko ‘wood ladle’, with the underlying form /muko/)
are much attested in my database, with almost 400 items for the former and more than 300 for the latter. The forms H-Ø and H-FØ may be understood as what mono- and bisyllabic toneless nouns look like. This would confirm the assumption made here that there is a prefixal H in all nouns, toneless and H-toned, and that in the H-Ø and H-FØ cases, this H does not shift but remains on the prefix. In citation form, this H doubles onto the first mora of the stem only with H-FØ nouns and with a falling pitch. The only descriptive problem then is why the prefixal H does not shift in the case of -ØØ but does in the case of -ØØØ, which mostly surface as Ø-HFØ. In comparison, the handful of H-HØØ (underlyingly Ø-ØØØ) examples can be regarded as exceptional, representing either cases where shifting unexpectedly does not occur, or where a final lexical H unexpectedly deleted. At this stage, the explanation for this is not clear.

In case of prefixless class 1a (and 5a) nouns, the prefixal H appears on the first word mora, as exemplified in Table 15 with ddáya ‘midwife’, nánddwe ‘frog’, mákázi ‘mistress’ and mámúni ‘husband’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a tone pattern</th>
<th>Class 2 tone pattern</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tones example</td>
<td>tones example</td>
<td>nb items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HØ ddáya</td>
<td>H-FØ á-ddáya</td>
<td>19 ‘midwife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HØ nánddwe</td>
<td>Ø-HØ a-nánddwe</td>
<td>6 ‘frog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HFØ mákázi</td>
<td>Ø-HFØ a-mákázi</td>
<td>24 ‘mistress’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HFØ mámúni</td>
<td>H-HØØ á-mámúni</td>
<td>5 ‘husband’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the plural, these bimoraic (HØ) and trimoraic (HFO) prefixless nouns can surface respectively in two different ways. First, most bimoraic nouns in my database form their plural by assigning the prefixal H on the plural prefix, which then doubles, as in áddáya ‘midwives’. For the 6 remaining forms, the prefixal H docks on the first stem mora, resulting in a Ø-HØ pattern. Inversely, most trimoraic nouns demand for their plural that the prefixal H dock on the first stem mora, as is in amákázi ‘mistresses’, whereas only 5 items (linked with kinship semantics), listed in (3.18), maintain the prefixal H on the plural prefix.

(3.18) HFØ HHØØ
  báábi á-báábi ‘father’
  mámúni á-mámúni ‘husband’
  móoli á-móoli ‘godfather/godmother’
  póósi á-póósi ‘co-wife, rival’
  sézéle á-sézéle ‘father-in-law’
3.3.1.3 Other minor remarks

Several lexical items display tone variation and may appear with either a high tone pattern or a toneless pattern. Some examples are provided in (3.19).

(3.19) baláme OR bálamé ‘bird’
nibálága OR nibálágá ‘grasshopper.sp’
cáńmpánga OR cáńmpánga ‘syphilis’
nińgo OR nińgo ‘razor’
obúlrángeya OR óbúlrángéya ‘be round’
olévéléla OR olévéléla ‘forgive’
okáttámiha OR ókáttámiha ‘make difficult’
orúgúnuca OR orúgúnuca ‘cause to walk around’

Nominal reduplication occurs before tone assignment: the reduplicated stem as a whole is assigned a tonal profile. Ø-toned reduplicated nouns are far more numerous than H-toned reduplicated nouns.

(3.20) Ø-toned reduplicated nouns H-toned reduplicated nouns
ñ-tálá-tala ‘caterpillar’ ní-gárí-gárú ‘shell’
e-báří-bari ‘truth’ é-țtuwa-țtuwa ‘crab.sp’
o-nóngó-nongo ‘skill’ bwérá-bwerú ‘shrimp.sp’
geddé-gédde ‘drum.sp’
nyizí-ńyízi ‘eyelash’

3.3.2 Nouns + modifiers

Depending on the modifier, the tone pattern of a noun may change. Several sequences are discussed in turn.

3.3.2.1 Nouns + possessives

Nouns followed by a possessive can surface in two ways. On the one hand, each constituent appears separately, preserving the tone pattern of their citation form and behaving as two prosodic units. This sequence is mostly attested in deliberate speech. On the other hand, contraction often occurs between both constituents, with a systematic shortening effect on the long vowel of the possessive pronoun. This contracted form, typically attested in spontaneous speech, constitutes one prosodic unit with a specific tone pattern. Table 16
Chapter 3 compares both forms. For each tone pattern proposed, nouns with different syllable structures are represented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Syll.struct.</th>
<th>Full form</th>
<th>Contracted form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HØ</td>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td>ttúmbi náaga</td>
<td>ttúmbínága</td>
<td>‘my bag’</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kóbé yáaga</td>
<td>kóbáaga</td>
<td>‘my trees’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØH</td>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td>dhíbú dháaga</td>
<td>dhíbúdhága</td>
<td>‘my mosquitos’</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ttugó wáaga</td>
<td>ttugwáaga</td>
<td>‘my civet’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØHØ</td>
<td>CVV.CV</td>
<td>mííyá dháaga</td>
<td>mííyádhága</td>
<td>‘my carts’</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>naámwé wáaga</td>
<td>naámwáaga</td>
<td>‘my bile’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CV.CV.CV</td>
<td>níkótí náaga</td>
<td>níkótínága</td>
<td>‘my neck’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>epúlí yáaga</td>
<td>epúláaga</td>
<td>‘my pan’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HØH</td>
<td>CVV.CV</td>
<td>níínó náaga</td>
<td>níínónága</td>
<td>‘my tooth’</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mwíihí wáaga</td>
<td>mwíiháaga</td>
<td>‘my belt’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CV.V.CV</td>
<td>níkívá náaga</td>
<td>níkívánága</td>
<td>‘my bone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>múkónó wáaga</td>
<td>múkónwáaga</td>
<td>‘my gift’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HFØ</td>
<td>CVV.CV</td>
<td>dháávúu dháaga</td>
<td>dháávúdhága</td>
<td>‘my nets’</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yááyu yáaga</td>
<td>yáávwáaga</td>
<td>‘my net’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CV.CV.CV</td>
<td>nízáyi náaga</td>
<td>nízáyínága</td>
<td>‘my egg’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>músolró wáaga</td>
<td>músolrwáaga</td>
<td>‘my head’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ØHFØ</td>
<td>CVV.CV.CV</td>
<td>neçpélo náaga</td>
<td>neçpélonaga</td>
<td>‘my wong’</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>koçbírí yáaga</td>
<td>koçbíryaaga</td>
<td>‘my money’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CV.CVV.CV</td>
<td>nísáála náaga</td>
<td>nísáálanaaga</td>
<td>‘my rag’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cengéne wáaga</td>
<td>cengénaaga</td>
<td>‘my cricket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHHØ</td>
<td>CVV.CV.CV</td>
<td>myáálágo dháaga</td>
<td>myáálágodhága</td>
<td>‘my spears’</td>
<td>(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>köólíyó wáaga</td>
<td>köólírywáaga</td>
<td>‘my hoe’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CV.CV.CV.CV</td>
<td>zúmbéglra náaga</td>
<td>zúmbéglránaga</td>
<td>‘my bag’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>étúúrí yáaga</td>
<td>étúúráaga</td>
<td>‘my shoulder’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHØØ</td>
<td>CV.CV.CV.CV</td>
<td>óttáambi wáaga</td>
<td>óttáambáaga</td>
<td>‘my shoulder’</td>
<td>(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>múlóbwana wáaga</td>
<td>múlóbanáaga</td>
<td>‘my man’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two tonal configurations can be drawn from the data proposed in Table 16. First, when contraction occurs, the possessive loses its H-toned mora, and then associates with the modified noun. In case the latter has a final primary H tone, a falling surface tone appears on the first mora of the cliticised possessive due to doubling process. All these expected cases are indicated by (i) in the right-edge column. In the second configuration, the same process of moraic deletion occurs on the possessive, but unexpectedly, an additional H tone emerges on the final mora of the modified noun. Coincidentally, the nouns affected by this process, indicated by (ii), all share the property to have a prefixal H which manifests on the
noun class prefix (or on the first word mora in case of prefixless nouns). Now the presence of the additional H on the noun final mora is difficult to account for. Regarding HFØ and HHØØ nouns, we may hypothesise that the H of the deleted possessive mora associates to the preceding mora, i.e. the noun final mora. But then the same pattern would be expected with ØHFØ nouns, which is not the case. Furthermore, this hypothesis does not satisfactorily account for the case of bimoraic HØ words, which surface with a ØH tone pattern when associated with the possessive, as further shown in the following examples extracted from stories.

(3.21) \[\ldots\] dd’ iijíl’ óobáága {mbílri.24}
  
  ddi  [o-j-ílé  obe = ága]rel
  1.COP  1-eat-PFV.REL  9a.fish = POSS.1SG
  ‘[\ldots] is the one who ate my fish’

(3.22) olima munddáýé: {ddingí.2}
  o-límá  munddá = áye
  NAR-cultivate  3.field = POSS.3SG
  ‘he cultivated his fields’

According to the aforementioned hypothesis, the H tone on the second mora would be the re-linked H originally from the deleted possessive mora. This newly assigned H enters in direct vicinity with the prefixal H tone, triggering a H-toned sequence usually not tolerated in Bantu and solved by the deletion of the second H tone (as an effect of Meeussen’s rule). But unexpectedly, in the present case, it is the first H tone which gets deleted. We could also choose to consider the new ØH pattern as a simple tonal metathesis, but this would not account for the additional H tone found in HFØ and HHØØ nouns, which respectively surface as HHH=FØ and HHØH=FØ when possessive clitics are added. In the absence of a more conclusive explanation, I leave this question of tone alternation open for further research.

### 3.3.2.2 Nouns + demonstratives

In the sequences noun-demonstrative, each constituent tonally behaves as an independent unit, i.e. no tone alteration is observed as the following examples show.

(3.23) mwáán’ óólíle kaádhówa omundda {mute.2}
  mwááná  ólíle  ka-á-dhówa  o-mundda
  1.child  1.DEM.III  NEG.1-PST.IPFV-go  17-3.field.PL
  ‘that child did not go to the field’
However, in a few cases, nouns followed by a demonstrative see their tone pattern change, and more precisely, the first primary H tone does not surface. This phenomenon, further developed in section 3.5.3 below, is known as Predicative Lowering (PL). All the examples attested in my database are provided below.

(3.27)

a. yaak’ ééjw’ éeńd  ddí  m
fun’ k sa m tt nga


‘next year, I would like to make a feast’

b. dha yí  kaddik mîle m
bonye yaak’ ééjîle

like.this.1  NEG-1SG-be.fat-PFV  but  9.year.PL  9.DEM.II

‘I am not fat the way I am, but last year (I was)’

c. [ésó dhi̱i̱ddívüüzéwé], kaddinásũ̀za, pečnó yaakw’ ééjw’ oíndha

ka-ddi-ná-sũ̀za  pečnó  yaaká  éjó  [e-ní-dha]REL

‘I have not studied yet [what you are asking me], maybe next year’

(3.28)

oomoni  aaní okápééla membeés’ áábàano ?

2SG-OM1-see-PFV.CJ  who  17-9a.church  4.morning.PL  2.DEM.I = PROX

‘who did you see at the church this morning?’

(3.29)

mwaadhowélíi  okúpa sumaán’ ééjílé , [mbwaná: ddaápa]

[mu-a-dhow-él-é = imi  okúpa  sumaáná  éjílé]REL
‘when I went fishing last week, [I caught (many fish)]’

(3.30) naámbédde, anáámúlimí ŋsaká ńttí; ŋsaká ńtto, anáámúlimí fola ▶ cit.form: ŋsaká {elic.}
naámbédde a-náá-mú-lím-e ŋsaká ńttí
1a.maize 2-FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR 5.period.PL 5.DEM.I
źńsaká ńtto a-náá-lím-e fola
5.period.PL 5.DEM.II 2-FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR 9.tobacco.PL
‘maize, they will cultivate this season; next season they will cultivate tobacco’

(3.31) ńzuwá: ńtto / muzogw’ oöddu, kaddińdhôwa ▶ cit.form: ńzuwá and muzógwe {semi-elic.}
źńzuwá ńtto ka-ddi-ní-dhôwa / muzógwe óddu
5.sun.PL 5.DEM.I NEG-1SG-IPFV.CJ-go 3.rain.PL 3.DEM.I
‘with this sun (/ with this rain), I am not going’

(3.32) mwènénmalé řńpule muweéddâáñi bagáádhôwa, dîl’ ééjíl’ aádhowíyé:, {maria.23}
[odhíl’ oonípàddwuél oosogólór waayé kûrumaanje] mwènénmalé řńpule mu-weéda=ni ba-gáá-dhowá dîlá éjíle
[e-á-dhowá=îyé]{rel} 9-PST.IPFV.CJ-go=3SG.PRO
‘There while going on this walking path, that way she was following, [a bee.sp came and
showed up in front of her.]

Semantically, most of these nouns have in common to express a temporal (or locative)
meaning, without any formal locative marking (typically indicated by the classes 16, 17 and
18). Syntactically, these noun-demonstrative sequences function as adjuncts, which could
potentially be introduced by the preposition na endowed with the meaning ‘by’, often found
in temporal expressions, as shown in (3.33).

(3.33) mwíínýú kuulóba: na mútáneēne, vohí kuúlóówá na mattí: {semi-elic.}
mwíínýú ka-olobá na mútâna=ēne vohí ku-ní-lób-úw-a
3.salt CF-15.ask.PL by 3.noon=INT because NEG.2SG-IPFV-ask-PASS-Fi
na mattí
by 6.night.PL
‘if you had asked for salt by noon (intd. ‘it would been nice’), because you cannot be asked
this by night’

The conditions under which the preposition na has the effect of lowering the tone pattern
of the following noun are not clear yet (see section 3.5.3.5 below), but the hypothesis that na is
implied in the noun-demonstrative sequences in (3.27)-(3.32) may explain why tone
lowering occurs on the noun. In (3.34), an equivalent sequence is found, but in a subject position. In this case, the addition of the preposition *na* would not be grammatical. It is therefore implicitly absent, and no tone lowering occurs on the noun. This relation between the preposition *na* and temporally-related noun-demonstrative sequences is obviously purely speculative, and there is no way I can prove it conclusively.

(3.34) *saábúdu fítfíle ni-hí-fiyá:*  
*saábúdu fítfíle ni-hí-fiyá*  
saturday 5.DEM.III 5-PFV.DJ-arrive  
‘that Saturday came’

### 3.3.2.3 Nouns + =ene ‘INTensive’ + demonstrative

When the intensive clitic =ene ‘INT’ intervenes between a noun and a demonstrative, the noun does not in principle undergo any tonal change, as illustrated in the following example.

(3.35) *mugaddíkóšela mabásèen’ aábó, [emfúnléenyu kalógáni]*  
*mu-ga-ddí-kós-él-a  mabásá =ene  ábó*  
2PL-SIT-OM1SG-do-APPL-Fi 6.work = INT 6.DEM.II  
‘when you achieve that task for me, [tell whatever you want]’

Still, ambiguous cases arise, particularly with the two existing nouns for ‘day’: *nsíku* and *nlábo*. While examples in (3.36) show an unchanged tone pattern on these nouns, predicative tone lowering occurs in (3.37). Note that *nsíku* and *nlábo* are commonly uttered *síku* and *lábo*, i.e. without the class 5 prefix *ni-* as is the case in the following examples.

(3.36) No tone alteration on the noun

a. *Nikúrébedha síkúnéne fittó oódha*  
*N.  síkú=néne  fittó* o-hí-dha  
D. 5.day = 5.INT 5.DEM.II 1-PFV.DJ-come  
‘Mr.Dugong came on that very day’

b. *pořtanto labó fítfíle, namárágolo [...] oómútelá mwánámwiyaná*  
*pořtanto  lábó  fítfíle* N. o-hí-mú-telá mwáná-mwíyaná  
therefore 5.day 5.DEM.III H. 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry 1.child-1.woman  
‘therefore, on that day, Mr.Hare [...] married the girl’
Tone alteration on the noun

a. sikünɛnɛ ṅɛntɛ, ɔbà ɓaayïleɛyɛ: [yaácɛmbeɛruwa mbílri]  {mbílri.17}

\[
sìkù = nène \quad ñɛntɛ \quad òbà \quad [e-a-p-flé = iye]_{\text{REL}}
\]

5.day.PL = 5.INT  5.DEM.I  9a.fish  9-PST-kill-PFV.CJ = 3SG.PRO

‘this day, the fish that he had caught [was called ‘mbílri’ fish]’

b. órómánà labónɛn’ ñtítíle par’ oosongółro, […]  {mute.19}

\[
órómá = ná \quad labó = nène \quad ñtítíle \quad \text{para} \quad \text{oosongółro}
\]

15.\=COM  5.day.PL = 5.INT  5.DEM.III  to  17.\=FUTURE.PL

‘from that day on’

3.3.2.4 Nouns + adjectives or numerals

Nouns followed by adjectives or numerals usually preserve their original tone pattern as in (3.38), albeit examples in (3.39) show that it can also be altered.

(3.38) No tone alteration on the noun

a. dîlə yîũna: yaáîl dîlə [yaávîr’ aánéénâm’ òóttiitàntíyànà]  {maria.30}

\[
dîlî \quad ë-\=ɪña \quad e-\=lí \quad dîlî
\]

9a.way  9-other  9-PST.IPFIN-be  9a.way.PL

‘the other path was a path [used by many different animals]’

b. mwa sîkù nimodhâ alòófyà  {maria.172}

\[
mwa \quad sîkù \quad ni-modhá \quad a-lé-òófyá
\]

18.\=IN  5.day  5-one  2-CE-15.arrive

‘they arrived in one day’

c. [jà kàájà.] lábò na ñtíétɛrɛ, malábò meeɛlì, malábò maaraàrù.  {body.16}

\[
làbò \quad na \quad ñtíétɛrɛ \quad \text{malábò} \quad \text{ma-ɪlì} \quad \text{malábò} \quad \text{ma-raarù}
\]

5.day  5.CON  whole  6.day  6-two  6.day  6-three

‘[He was no longer eating.] A whole day, two days, three days.’

(3.39) Tone alteration on the noun

a. masiku mëɛnjeɛné: nìihïvàlâgà: moottò:  {semi-elic.}

\[
\text{masiku} \quad \text{mà-ìñji = ènè} \quad \text{ni-hî-vàl-ag-å} \quad \text{moottò}
\]

6.day.PL  6-many = INT  1PL-NEG.ask.for-HAB-FI.SEQ  3.fire.PL

‘we did not ask for fire several days along’
b. *meerí mínddi ddihilógagá na mwámúnaga*  
\( \text{cit.form: } mwéerí \{\text{semi-elic.}\} \)  
\[ \text{meerí mi-nddi ddi-hi-lóg-ag-á na mwámúnaga} \]  
4.month.PL 4-two 1SG-NEG-speak-HAB-SEQ with 1.husband.POSS.1SG  
‘I have not spoken with my husband for two months’

### 3.3.2.5 Nouns + definite

A last example of tone variation is given with the definite modifier, enclitised to the head noun. In principle, the addition of this modifier does not trigger tone alteration on the noun as shown in (3.40). But again, counterexamples are attested and provided in (3.41).

(3.40) No tone alteration on the noun

a. *ddaahírí̱ṯi̱gí kabálayá: , bwenddé̱ná kaínáá̱lībe*  
\( \text{cit.form: } bwéndde \{\text{semi-elic.}\} \)  
\[ \text{ddi-a-hí-ří̱нт̱-ig-í kabála=yá bwenddé=ná ka-ni-náá-lib-e} \]  
1SG-SIT-NEG-weave-HAB-NEG 9a.rope=DEF 5.mat.PL=5.DEF NEG-5-FUT-be.strong-IRR  
‘If I do not weave this rope, this mat will not be strong’

b. *[kahíyó mwáha!]* *míyóto ddiřňfüńá ddimůžžwé múńánddaágáya*  
\( \text{maria.111} \)  
\[ \text{míyó=to ddi-ní-fúná ddi-mů-žw-é múńánddi=á̀gá=ya} \]  
1.SG.PRO=then 1SG-IPFV.DJ-want 1SG-OM1-know-SBJ 1.co-wife=POSS.1SG=DEF  
‘[No problem!] Then I want to know my co-wife.’

c. *alóóří̱yá sikú̱na nítt’ aal b g*  
\( \text{maria.143} \)  
\[ \text{a-łé-óří̱yá sikú=na níttlé a-łé-òbágá} \]  
1-CE-15.arrive 5.day=5.DEF 5.DEM.15.2-CE-15.leave  
‘they reached that d-day, they left’

(3.41) Tone alteration on the noun

a. *ddaahírí̱nṯï̱gí kabálayá: , bwenddé̱ná kaínáá̱lībe*  
\( \text{cit.form: } bwéndde \{\text{semi-elic.}\} \)  
\[ \text{ddi-a-hí-ří̱нт̱-ig-í kabála=yá bwéndde=ná ka-ni-náá-lib-e} \]  
1SG-SIT-NEG-weave-HAB-NEG 9a.rope=DEF 5.mat.PL=5.DEF NEG-5-FUT-be.strong-IRR  
‘If I do not weave this rope, this mat will not be strong’

b. *mwááddie̱hyé ojagámó namá’ éčjile*  
\( \text{mbíri.3} \)  
\[ \text{mwááddie̱hyé ye o-j-ag-á=mó namá=yá éčjile} \]  
1.wife=POSS.3SG NAR-eat-HAB-Fi=18.LOC 9a.game=9.DEF 9.DEM.11  
‘his wife used to eat that meat’

Although I do not have a conclusive answer these cases of tonal variation, I tentatively suggest that they are morphosyntactically conditioned. Noun-modifier sequences form a syntactic domain which can be subject to intonational boundary effects, resulting in a
modified tone pattern on surface. This tone modification (which implies either deletion of the first primary H or tone migration to the right-edged boundary of the first constituent) would serve to signal phrasal information. The interaction between prosody and morphosyntactic structures, although not developed in the present study, would certainly deserve a closer look.

3.4 Tone patterns on tensed verbs

As is often the case in Bantu languages, the association of tone(s) on tensed verb forms is more complex than on nouns, probably as a result of their rich morphology. Indeed, beside specific tense-aspect-mood markers, tensed verbs in Cuwabo exhibit different tone patterns assigned to the whole verb form. Unlike Makhuwa, a further difficulty is observed in Cuwabo verbs, in that their stems have retained a lexical tone contrast, which is effective in a certain number of tenses (while neutralised in other tenses). The interaction between both grammatical and lexical tones, as well as their presence or absence, respectively, gives rise to somewhat intricate patterns. In this section, I first distinguish tenses whose verb stems count no grammatical H (section 3.4.1) from tenses which have a grammatical stem tone (section 3.4.2). Each of these sections presents in turn different possible configurations. A summary of the different patterns is then proposed in section 3.4.3. Note that most data presented in this subsection come from Kisseberth and Guérois (2014), who compare the different verb tone patterns among P30 languages.

3.4.1 No grammatical stem H tone

3.4.1.1 Lexical H contrast

As already pointed out, Cuwabo has retained the contrast between Ø-toned and H-toned verb roots. While this contrast is commonly attested in Bantu, Cuwabo seems to be the only language among zones P and N to display such a property. Consider for instance the two reconstructed infinitive forms *-dım- ‘cultivate’ (toneless verb) and *-düm- ‘send’ (H-toned
verb), and compare their reflexes in Cuwabo (3.42)a and in a sample of Makhuwa dialects\(^{29}\) (3.42)b, extracted from Kisseberth and Cassimjee (unpublished).

(3.42) CB

\[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{a. Cuwabo} & o-líma & \text{Ø-HØ} & \text{ê-rumá} & \text{H-ØH} \\
\text{b. Eeratti} & o-líma & o-rúma & \\
\text{Iapala} & o-líma & o-rúma & \\
\text{Ikorovere} & o-líma & \text{Ø-HØ} & u-rúma & \text{Ø-HØ} \\
\text{Imeetto} & o-líma & u-rúma & \\
\text{Imitthupi} & o-líma & u-rúma & \\
\end{array} \]

The lexical H tone systematically emerges on the penult mora of the stem (or the ultimate mora in the case of a bimoraic stem), while low stems remain toneless. This lexical H is assumed to originally anchor to the first mora of the stem, but emerge on the penult (or ultimate) mora, probably to avoid confusion with a potential grammatical H assignment. There, it behaves as a primary H in that it may double onto the following mora in an appropriate context (see section 3.5.1 on H-tone doubling). The examples below list several tenses in which the stem only bears a lexical tone. For each tense, monosyllabic, trisyllabic and 5-syllable verb stems have been exemplified, with Ø verb roots on the left column, and H roots on the right column. Object markers are freely added, since their presence does not alter the tone pattern, either for Ø verbs or for H verbs. Note that in this section I repeatedly use the same verb stems, and that, for convenience, I will only gloss them once in the first example below.

(3.43) Situative (‘if/when I do’) ▶ morphological formula \(SM-a-(OM-)VB-a\)

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{Ø-toned verbs} & \text{H-toned verbs} \\
\text{ddaa-(mu)ja} & \text{‘if I eat (it)’} \\
\text{ddaa-(mu)lima} & \text{‘if I cultivate (it)’} \\
\text{ddaa-(mu)roromeliha} & \text{‘if I promise (it)’} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{ddaa-(mu)gulá} & \text{‘if I buy (it)’} \\
\text{ddaa-(mu)bubuluwêla} & \text{‘if I roll to (it)’} \\
\end{array} \]

(3.44) Past imperfective (‘I did’) ▶ \(SM-a-ni-(OM-)VB-a\)

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{ddgáni-(mu)ja} & \\
\text{ddgáni-(mu)lima} & \text{ddgáni-(mu)gulá} \\
\text{ddgáni-(mu)roromeliha} & \text{ddgáni-(mu)bubuluwêla} \\
\end{array} \]

---

\(^{29}\) Eeratti is spoken in the Eeratti district of Nampula province; Iapala is a variety of Central Makhuwa spoken in the town of Iapala; Ikorovere, Imeetto and Imitthupi are Rovuma dialects spoken on the frontier between Tanzania and Mozambique.
In the above data, the situative does not have a prefixal primary H tone, while the other tenses do. In these examples, the prefixal H is located at least two moras to the left of the macrostem, and doubles onto the following mora. When the verb is a Ø verb, the macrostem itself bears no surface H tone. When the verb is a H verb, the lexical H of the verb displaces to the final mora in the case of a bimoraic stem and to the penult in longer verbs. Note that the form *kaddínó-(mu)bubuluwela* ‘I am not rolling (it)’ in (3.45) presents a case of neutralisation of the H/Ø lexical contrast. This sporadically occurs with longer verbs, whose stem is then treated as toneless.

### 3.4.1.2 Toneless stem

Most negative tenses have no stem H at all, even in H verbs, which suggests that the loss of root Hs is not always triggered by an overt grammatical H. As an example, the negative infinitive is given below, in which the negative prefix -hí- bears a primary H tone which doubles onto the following mora.

(3.46) Neg. Infinitive (‘not to do’)  
ohí-(mû)ja  
ohí-(mû)lima  
ohí-(mû)roromeliha  
ohí-(mû)bubuluwela

Other tenses lack any grammatical H tone. In these forms, the tense-aspect-mood markers preceding the macrostem all bear an underlying H tone and express it on surface. Neither lexical H, nor grammatical H is found on the stem.

(3.47) Conjoint future imperfective (‘I will not be doing’)  
ddigá-(mû)ja  
ddigá-(mû)lima  
ddigá-(mû)roromeliha  
ddigá-(mû)bubuluwela

(3.48) Itive subjunctive (‘I should go and do’)  
ddá-(mû)je  
ddá-(mû)lime  
ddá-(mû)roromelihe  
ddá-(mû)bubuluwele
The fact that the stem remains toneless while the pre-macrostem mora is always H is probably not meaningless. In fact, it could be the case that a grammatical H tone was originally assigned to the first mora of the macrostem (MS1), but had to delete because of the preceding underlying H (Meeussen’s rule). This option is worth considering, although there is no data that provides empirical evidence for the MS1 H in such cases.

However, the two existing negative subjunctive forms in Cuwabo, one with the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* (3.50) and the other with the post-initial negative marker *hi-* (3.51), constitute exceptions to the aforementioned hypothesis, since they surface as completely toneless. This means that, beside stem tone erasure, the underlying H tone typically borne by the pre-MS negative marker *hi-* is not expressed on the surface in these tenses.

### 3.4.2 Grammatical H tone patterns

Four different positions on the macrostem are targeted by the grammatical H tone: the first (MS1) and the second (MS2) macrostem mora (which are the most recurrent), the penult (PU) and the final vowels. Note that the grammatical H has the effect of neutralising the lexical H tone contrasts on verbs: Ø and H verb forms exhibit the same tone pattern. This is true for every tone pattern, except MS1, in which the lexical tone contrast is maintained in spite of the grammatical H presence.
Several tenses attest the MS1 pattern in Cuwabo. This position is well evidenced with Ø-toned verbs: the grammatical H tone anchors to the first mora of the macrostem when there is an OM (here the class 1 OM *mu*), otherwise to the first mora of the stem, as shown in the two left-columns of examples (3.52) to (3.54). I underline this H toned mora since it doubles, just like any other primary H tone in Cuwabo.

(3.52) Infinitive (‗to do‘)  ➔ o-(OM-)VB-a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ø-toned verbs</th>
<th>H-toned verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ō-ja</td>
<td>o-múja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ľíma</td>
<td>o-múľíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-rórómelíha</td>
<td>o-múrórómelíha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.53) Disjoint present (‗I am doing‘)  ➔ SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a

| ddínó-őja     | ddínó-múja            |
| ddínó-ľíma    | ddínó-múľíma          |
| ddínó-rórómelíha | ddínó-múrórómelíha |

(3.54) Negative present (‗I do not do‘)  ➔ ka-SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a

| kaddiň-ja     | kaddiň-múja          |
| kaddiň-ľíma   | kaddiň-múľíma        |
| kaddiň-rórómelíha | ...-múrórómelíha |

Note that the grammatical H cannot double in the cases of ō-ja, o-múja or o-ľíma because a phrase-final vowel cannot accept doubling, but it can double in o-múľíma, yielding a falling pitch due to the phrase-penult nature of the mora following the OM (see section 3.5.1 below on H-tone doubling). In longer verb forms, doubling yields a H tone on the mora following the initial macrostem mora, as in o-rórómelíha and o-múrórómelíha.

The situation with H-toned stems on the two right columns in the examples above is more complicated, since the grammatical H appears in addition to the lexical H tone. Interestingly, this MS1 tone pattern is the only one which does not cancel the lexical tone contrast. The ‗co-habitation‘ of both lexical and grammatical H tones is not a simple one: the grammatical H has to move out of the macrostem and docks on the first pre-macrostem mora while the lexical H tone docks on the PU (as it does in the absence of a grammatical H, see subsection 3.4.1.1). This constraint on tone realisation is summarised in (3.55).

(3.55) Constraint on tone realisation:

A MS1 and a lexical H tone may not both occur in a macrostem. To avoid violating this constraint, the MS1 H tone retracts to the prefix immediately preceding the macrostem.
Once the grammatical H has retracted from the macrostem, two tone processes are possible according to the structure they are acting on. First, in the absence of an OM, the retracted grammatical H spreads rightward up to the lexical H on the penult (e.g. ó-búbúlúwèla), forming a H-tone plateau (or bridge). In case of bimoraic stems, similarly to H-toned nouns discussed in section 3.3.1, the lexical H tone does not emerge on the penult, but on the final mora, as in ó-gulâ. In this case, spreading does not occur in citation form (again, on account of a phrase-final effect), but is effective when the word is in medial position: ó-gulâ... Now, if an OM is marked on the verb, instead of spreading to the penult, the grammatical H only doubles onto the next mora, i.e. the OM itself. No H-tone bridge is formed. Such tone behaviour reminds the case of the additional plural prefix of class 1a nouns (e.g. class 1a HHHØ màlááwu ‘eel’ > class 2 H-HOHO àmáaláwu ‘eels’). The theoretical explanation for this behaviour is not obvious and in any case beyond the scope of the present study.

In contrast to verb forms discussed above, note that the “prefixed” imperative (with the formative ka-) also exhibits the MS1 pattern, but without any lexical contrast on the stem.

(3.56) Prefixed imperative (‘do!’) ▶ ka-VB-a

ká-ja
ka-lîmæ ka-gulæ
ka-rôrómelîha ka-búbûlûwèla

This pattern holds just in case there is no OM present (see the corresponding form with the OM in section 3.4.2.4). It is a puzzling but well-known fact that the presence or absence of an OM can drastically change the stem tone melody. Some tenses have a given melody only in the presence or absence of an OM. In (3.56), one could refer to the grammatical H tone as either a S1 H tone or as MS1 H tone since in the absence of an OM, the stem and the macrostem are the same. In cases like this, where the simple verb stem is assigned a grammatical H tone different from the case when an OM is present, I shall indicate this ambiguity by the symbol [M]S1.

The subjunctive too has a different tone pattern depending on whether an OM is present or not. Without any OM a grammatical H tone appears on [M]S2 (see (3.60) in section 3.4.2.2). However, when an OM is present, a primary H tone is assigned on the OM itself (which, of course, may double) and there is no grammatical H on the second mora as shown in (3.57).

(3.57) Subjunctive + OM (‘I should do [cl.1]’) ▶ SM-OM-VB-e

ddi-mûje
ddi-mûlîme
ddi-mûrôróromelihe

ddi-mûgûle
ddi-mûbûbuluwelile
Similar facts obtain in Makhuwa for this tense (Kisseberth and Guérois 2014). One could assume that in this tense, and this tense alone, the OM is specified with a H tone and that there is no grammatical H in the stem. However a simpler analysis is to consider the H on the OM to be an instance of the MS1 H tone.

3.4.2.2 Grammatical H assigned to MS2

Another important melodic pattern is one that targets MS2. It is illustrated in (3.58) with the conjoint past perfective, and in (3.59) with the negative perfective.

(3.58) Conjoint past perfective (‘I had done...’) → SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile

\[
\begin{align*}
ddaa-jìlê & \quad / \quad -mujìlê \\
ddaa-\text{lim}jìlê & \quad / \quad -\text{mulîm}îlê \quad \text{ddaa-gujìlê} & \quad / \quad -\text{mugûlîhîlê} \\
ddaa-\text{ror}\text{ömélîhîlîlê} & \quad / \quad -\text{mugûr}\text{ömélîhîlîlê} \quad \text{ddaa-bubûlîuwele} & \quad / \quad -\text{mubûbûlîuwele} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3.59) Negative perfective (‘I did not do’) → ka-SM-(OM-)VB-ile

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaddî-jîlê} & \quad / \quad -\text{mujîlê} \\
\text{kaddî-\text{lim}îlê} & \quad / \quad -\text{mulîm}îlê \quad \text{kaddî-guûîle} & \quad / \quad -\text{mugûûîle} \\
\text{kaddî-\text{ror}\text{ömélîhîlîlê}} & \quad / \quad -\text{mugûr}\text{ömélîhîlîlê} \quad \text{kaddî-bubûlîuwele} & \quad / \quad -\text{mubûbûlîuwele} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In both tenses, if the second stem mora corresponds to final position of the word, the grammatical H systematically retracts to the preceding mora, as seen in \textit{ddaa-jîlê} ‘I had eaten...’ and \textit{kaddî-jîlê} ‘I did not eat’. However, the MS2 position is clearly targeted in longer stems. Unexpectedly, an exception arises in (3.59) with the three-moraic stem \textit{kaddî-\text{lim}îlê} ‘I did not cultivate’, where the grammatical H appears on the \textit{first} mora rather than the second. The explanation for this is not clear.

Other tenses exhibit a grammatical H tone on MS2, but only in the absence of an OM. I refer to this situation as a [M]S2 H tone, as seen above.

(3.60) Subjunctive without OM (‘I should do’) → SM-VB-e

\[
\begin{align*}
ddi-jë & \\
ddi-\text{limme} & \quad \text{ddi-gûîle} \\
ddi-\text{ror}\text{ömélîlê} & \quad \text{ddi-bubûlîwele} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3.61) Habitual situative without OM (‘if/when I do’) → SM-a-VB-ag-a

\[
\begin{align*}
ddaa-j\text{-agà} & \\
ddaa-\text{lim-\text{agà}} & \quad \text{ddaa-gul-\text{agà}} \\
ddaa-\text{ror}\text{ömélîlhîlîlîgà} & \quad \text{ddaa-bubûlîuvel-\text{agà}} \\
\end{align*}
\]
In the subjunctive (3.60), again the grammatical H is not allowed to anchor on a word-final mora and is retracted to the preceding mora in the case of ddi-líme ‘I should cultivate’ and ddi-gúle ‘I should buy’. However, when the stem is monomoraic, and only has one available tone bearing unit, no retraction occurs and the grammatical H is assigned to the final vowel: ddi-jé ‘I should eat’. It seems that the [M]S2 grammatical H tone must dock to the stem, and avoids the final vowel only when there is an available alternative in the stem.

The habitual situative (3.61) corresponds to the situative SM-a-VB-a plus the habitual suffix -ag-, which adds a habitual or durative meaning. The addition of this suffix modifies the tone pattern from a lexical H contrast (see (3.43)) to a [M]S2 in (3.61). In this tense, the targeted MS2 position is very regular; even in bimoraic stems, the grammatical H does not retract to the penult (as in (3.58) and (3.59)), but rather anchors the word-final mora (ddaa-jagá ‘if/when I eat’). This may be due to a specific property of the suffix -ag-, but I leave this issue open for further investigation.

### 3.4.2.3 Grammatical H assigned to Penult

Three verb forms exemplify a pattern where a grammatical H is located on the penult mora of the verb (PU pattern). One of these tenses is the habitual situative (SM-a-VB-ag-a), already discussed above in (3.61), in its objectless form. When an OM is present, the grammatical H is located on the penult, as shown in (3.62).

(3.62) Habitual situative + OM (‘if/when I do [cl.1]’) ➤ SM-a-OM-VB-ag-a

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ddaa-mu-j-agá} \\
\text{ddaa-mu-lim-ága} \\
\text{ddaa-mu-roromelih-ága}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ddaa-mu-gul-ága} \\
\text{ddaa-mu-bubuluwel-ága}
\end{align*}
\]

The other two verb forms displaying the PU melodic pattern are worth mentioning. One is another habitual situative form with the morphological formula SM-gaa-VB-ag-a, in which the TAM prefix -gaa- is probably borrowed from Zone N languages (see section 8.2.5). Again, when the habitual suffix -ag- is added, it attracts the grammatical H, regardless of the presence or absence of an OM, resulting in a PU tone pattern on the stem.

(3.63) Durative situative (‘if/when I do’) ➤ SM-gaa-(OM-){VB-ag-a}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ddigaa-j-agá} & /-mú-j-ágá \\
\text{ddigaa-lím-ága} & /-mú-lím-ága \\
\text{ddigaa-roromelih-ága} & /-mú-roromelih-ága
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ddigaa-gul-ága} & /-mú-gul-ága \\
\text{ddigaa-bubuluwel-ága} & /-mú-bubuluwel-ága
\end{align*}
\]
Note that in addition to the PU pattern, the OM (when present) is also assigned a H tone, which spreads till the PU H tone, forming a plateau, as is made clear the long forms *ddigaa-múrómélíh-aga* ‘if/when I promise’ and *ddigaa-múbúbúlúwél-aga* ‘if/when I roll to’.

The sequential is another tense which is subject to a different tone pattern when an OM is present. The grammatical H goes from [M]S2 (see table section 3.4.3) to the penult as shown in (3.64). Furthermore, the OM bears a primary H, which spreads to the penult grammatical H tone (in the same ways as the durative situative in (3.63)).

(3.64) Sequential + OM (‘and I did [cl.1]’) ▶ (ba-)SM-OM-VB-a

(ba)ddi-múja
(ba)ddi-múlima
(ba)ddi-múrómélíhha
(ba)ddi-múbúbúlúwélha

The tenses in (3.63) and (3.64) are very interesting in that they group together in the macrostem two primary H tones, a MS1 H on the OM and the grammatical H on the PU. Thus, in contrast to the ban on lexical H ‘co-habitation’ summed up in the constraint in (3.55) (repeated in (3.65)), we must allow two grammatical H tones to co-occur in the same macrostem, as stated in (3.66).

(3.65) Constraint 1 on tone realisation:

A MS1 and a lexical H tone may not both occur in a macrostem. To avoid violating this constraint, the MS1 H tone retracts to the prefix immediately preceding the macrostem.

(3.66) Constraint 2 on tone realisation:

A grammatical H tone can ‘co-habit’ on a verb macrostem with another grammatical H tone (as long as it is not a lexical H tone).

It is furthermore interesting to note that this structure with two grammatical H tones in the macrostem triggers a tone-bridge, and thus helps us to identify the conditions under which tone spreading occurs in Cuwabo. If we compare tenses (3.63) and (3.64) with the tenses seen in section 3.4.1.1, where a tone bridge occurs between the (retracted) MS1 H tone and the lexical H tone, we note that a first condition needs to be respected so that spreading can occur; namely, the presence of a primary H tone on the penult mora of the stem. This H tone, be it grammatical ((3.63)-(3.64)) or lexical (section 3.4.1.1), seems to work as the target or as an “attractor” toward which spreading manifests.

(3.67) Constraint 1 on H spreading:

Spreading only occurs when a primary H tone (grammatical or lexical) is linked to the penult mora of the stem.
In section 3.4.1.1, we observed that spreading takes place when there is a MS1 H tone in addition to the lexical penult H. In (3.63) and (3.64) there is a MS1 H tone in addition to the PU H tone. Unlike the case in 3.4.1.1, the MS1 H tone does not retract to the pre-macrostem mora. Clearly, for spreading to take place, there must be two primary H tones, the first as a grammatical H and the second either as a lexical H or a grammatical H.

(3.68) Constraint 2 on H spreading:

Spreading is only triggered by a grammatical H tone preceding the penult H.

The grammatical H tone which triggers H tone spreading in (3.63) and (3.64) remains on the first mora of the macrostem, since there is no retraction in these cases. But when there is a lexical H in the stem, the MS1 H tone retracts to the prefix preceding the macrostem. In 3.4.1.1, we saw that when there is no OM present, tone spreading occurs. However, when an OM is present, the retracted H doubles onto the OM but does not spread further. Compare ó-búbúlúwéla ‘promise’ and ó-múbubuluwéla ‘promise it [cl.1]’, as well as the other examples in ((3.52)-(3.54)). This unexpected tone behaviour indicates that the two generalisations expressed in (3.67) and (3.68) need to be further refined. Although I do not have a conclusive answer, I propose the following account. The first mora of the stem proper represents a target for doubling when the preceding mora bears any sort of primary H tone (a prefixal H, a retracted MS1, an unretracted MS1). In ó-búbúlúwéla ‘promise’, the initial stem syllable is affected by doubling, whereas in ó-múbubuluwéla ‘promise it [cl.1]’ it is not. This suggests that H tone spreading occurs when the first mora of the stem proper bears either a primary H tone or a doubled H tone, as generalised in (3.69). Of course, it remains to be seen whether there is a theoretical account that can yield this result.

(3.69) Constraint 3 on H spreading:

Spreading is triggered by the first mora of the stem proper being H, either inherently or as a result of doubling.

3.4.2.4 Grammatical H assigned to Final

The last melodic H tone pattern targets the final vowel. Three tenses manifest this pattern, the bare imperative (3.70), the conjoint perfective (3.71) and the negative habitual situative (3.72), regardless of the inclusion or not of an OM. Note that in the case of the negative habitual situative, a prefix H is also assigned on the negation marker -hé.
(3.70) Bare imperative (‘do!’ with singular/plural subject) ➔ (OM-)VB-a

(mu-)já / ja = ní
(mu-)limá / lima = ní
(mu-)roromelihá / roromelihá = ní

(3.71) Conjoint perfective (‘I have done’) ➔ SM-(OM-)VB-ile

ddi-(mu-)j-ílē
ddi-(mu-)lim-ílē
ddi-(mu-)roromelih-ílē
ddi-(mu-)bubuluwel-ílē

(3.72) Negative habitual situative (‘if/when I do’) ➔ SM-hi-(OM-)VB-ag-a

ddihjága
/ddih-lím-agá
/ddih-róromelih-agá

-mújagā
/-múlim-agá
/-múroromelih-agá

/ddih-mú-bubuluwel-agá

Finally, the prefixed imperative marked for OM also displays a Final grammatical H (in contrast with a [M]S1 grammatical H when no OM is present, see section 3.4.2.1).

(3.73) Prefixed Imperative + OM ➔ ka-OM-VB-e

ká-mú-j-é
ká-mú-lím-é
ká-mú-roromelih-é

ká-mú-gul-é
ká-mú-bubuluwel-é

In (3.73), a primary H tone appears on the imperative prefix ka- and doubles onto the object marker while the grammatical H anchors to the final vowel.

3.4.3 Summary

The following table summarises the different tone patterns found in Cuwabo and the tenses they are attested in.
### Recapitulative of the different tone patterns in Cuwabo

#### Stem tone melodies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GramH</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Morph. structure</th>
<th>GramH</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Morph. structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>[M]S1</td>
<td>HAB.SIT w/o OM</td>
<td>SM-VA-ag-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DJ.PRS</td>
<td>SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>HAB.SIT w/o OM</td>
<td>SM-a-VA-ag-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CJ.PRS</td>
<td>SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>SBJ w/o OM</td>
<td>SM-VA-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CJ.NEG.PRS</td>
<td>ka-SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>SEQ w/o OM</td>
<td>(ba-)SM-VA-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DJ.PFV</td>
<td>SM-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PST.CONT</td>
<td>SM-a-ela-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical H</td>
<td>PFX.IMP w/o OM</td>
<td>ka-VA-a</td>
<td>[M]S2</td>
<td>HAB.SIT + OM</td>
<td>SM-VA-OM-VA-ag-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBJ + OM</td>
<td>SM-OM-VA-e</td>
<td></td>
<td>HAB.SIT + OM</td>
<td>SM-VA-OM-VA-ag-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Penult</td>
<td>SEQ + OM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
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<td></td>
<td>CJ.PFV</td>
<td>SM-OM-VA-ile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CJ.HYP</td>
<td>SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td></td>
<td>PFX.IMP + OM</td>
<td>ka-OM-VA-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>ka-SM-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td></td>
<td>BARE.IMP</td>
<td>VB-a</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG.PST.PFV</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NEG.HAB.SIT</td>
<td>SM-hi-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG.PFV.SIT</td>
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<td>ba-SM-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG.HYP</td>
<td>ka-SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Lexical H contrast (no grammatical H)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Morph. structure</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Morph. structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PST.IPFV</td>
<td>SM-a-ni-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>DJ.PST.PFV</td>
<td>SM-a-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>SM-a-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>DJ.HYP</td>
<td>SM-gaa-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>DJ.FUT.IPFV</td>
<td>SM-ga-ni-(OM-)VB-a</td>
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<td>o(-hi)-(OM-)VB-a</td>
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<td>NEG.PST.PRG</td>
<td>ka-SM-a-ila-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>CF</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Stem tone erasure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Morph. structure</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Morph. structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG.PFX.IMP</td>
<td>ka-SM-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>NEG.PST.IPFV</td>
<td>ka-SM-á-(OM-)VB-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.SBJ</td>
<td>SM-hi-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>NEG.SIT</td>
<td>SM-a-hi-(OM-)VB-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT.SBJ</td>
<td>SM-á-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>NEG.SIT</td>
<td>SM-ga-hí-(OM-)VB-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>SM-á-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>NEG.CF</td>
<td>ka-o-hí-(OM-)VB-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ.FUT.IPFV</td>
<td>SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>NEG.SEQ</td>
<td>(ba-)SM-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
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<tr>
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<td>NEG.CE</td>
<td>ka-SM-ná-(OM-)VB-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEG.INF</td>
<td>o-hí-(OM-)VB-a</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 Tone processes

As the great majority of Bantu languages, Cuwabo displays several tone processes, which have the effect of modifying considerably the contextualised surface tone patterns. Primary H tones are submitted to two general tone rules, known as High-Tone Doubling (as a specific manifestation of High-Tone spreading), High-Tone spreading and Predicative Lowering. Each process is discussed in turn.

3.5.1 High-Tone Doubling (HTD)

Cuwabo is a doubling language. This means that every primary H tone repeats or doubles onto the next mora, which thus becomes raised in pitch. Tone doubling is not to be confused with spreading, which affects at least two rightward moras (see section 3.5.2 below). Interestingly, Cheng and Kisseberth (1979: 44) observe that doubling languages usually impose three common types of restrictions on HTD at the right-boundary of a prosodic unit. Such restrictions are referred to as ‘Nonfinality’, ‘Long Fall’, and ‘Phrase-Penult constraint’. Nonfinality implies that a primary H does not double onto a phrase-final vowel (...CV.CV). Such a constraint is also referred to as Final Lowering (Van der Wal 2009). Long fall prevents a primary H tone to double onto the second mora of a bimoraic phrase-penult syllable (...C.CV.CV). Finally, in the Phrase-Penult constraint, a primary H tone does not double onto a monomoraic syllable in phrase-penult position (...CV.CV.CV). How does Cuwabo fit into this picture?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restrictions</th>
<th>Cuwabo</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonfinality</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>olíma</td>
<td>‘cultivate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Fall</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>ojgédhá</td>
<td>‘wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase-penult</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>ofúgulá</td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Table 18, the Nonfinality constraint operates in Cuwabo: in a word like olíma ‘cultivate’, there is no doubling because in isolation the vowel after the primary H tone is phrase-final. Now Cuwabo does not respect the Long Fall principle. Instead doubling occurs and interestingly the penult syllable does have a bit of a falling character, hence the falling doubled tone on the second mora. Still, such a fall is clearly different from a HØ syllable in penult position, such as vóó in nikóvéóvé ‘eel’, in which the second vowel may have some movement downwards, but without beginning at the height of the preceding
vowel. Transcribing tonally ojēđha as ØHFØ responds to a phonetic concern. Phonologically, the same word should be transcribed ØHHØ. Still, the falling property of the doubled tone is more precise and in fact interesting for comparative purposes, especially with other Makhuwa dialects. In (3.74), we see that in the same context, such a fall is also attested in Koti, spoken in Angoche, Nampula province, but not in Nlai, another coastal dialect spoken in Nampula province, which has an unrestricted doubling system (Kisseberth and Guérois 2014).

(3.74) Cuwabo ØHFØ ojēđha ‘wait’ Koti ØHFØ omââla ‘finish’ Nlai ØHHØ ohēêita ‘to not walk’

Finally, as Long Fall, the Phrase-penult constraint is not observed in Cuwabo. The primary H does double, and again, the doubled H on the penult mora is not a level H tone but a falling character, in that it falls from the height of the preceding syllable, as seen in ofiğula ‘open’. Now, in the case of HØH noun, such as ógulá ‘buy’, the penultimate syllable shows a slight descent in pitch that can be regarded as a falling tone or as the result of a phonetic rule. A possible account of this structure is that the H tone associated with the prefix is barred from spreading onto a phrase-penult syllable when the final syllable is H (which represents a case of the so-called Obligatory Contour Principle, see discussion below). However, when another word follows, ógulá will be pronounced HHH... since the penult syllable is no longer in phrase-penult position. In the case of a verb such as ógúlíha ‘sell’, the underlying tone is /HØHØ/ and the prefix H tone freely spreads onto the next vowel since this toneless mora is not phrase-penult.

Doubling generally does not care whether the mora following its target is itself H-toned. However, in certain environments observed on the phrase level, Cuwabo seems to exhibit an Obligatory Contour Principle30 (OCP) effect which blocks doubling. More particularly, such a doubling restriction correlates with the tone pattern of the elements combined at the phrase level. Consider first the case in which a verb has a primary H tone on the penult mora, such as ópa ‘kill’, olfíma ‘cultivate’ or ógúlíha ‘sell’. Does the primary H double onto the following mora when the following word has: i) an initial H tone; ii) an initial ØH sequence; iii) an initial sequence of toneless mora? Such cases are illustrated in (3.75) with monomoraic, bimoraic and trimoraic verb stems, but the same occurs with longer verb types.

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30 The OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) in its broadest sense disallows successive H tones. But it is in fact to be considered as a “family” of constraints, among which Meeussen’s rule (which avoids two adjacent primary H by deleting the second one).
The examples in (3.75)a suggest that a primary H tone on the penult mora does not double onto the next mora if the following noun is H-initial, probably on account of one of the OCP effects which consists in blocking a rule like doubling by not allowing a H tone to double onto a mora that is followed by a primary H tone. Such a restriction is interesting in that, in the same environment, it seems to not occur in any Makhuwa dialect (Kisseberth, p.c.). Now the examples in (3.75)b and (3.75)c suggest that doubling does occur when the following noun starts with ØH or ØØ sequences. Regarding the ØØ sequences, since nouns do have in their basic forms a H on the first or the second mora (as demonstrated in section 3.3.1 above), I had to resort to conjoint verb forms followed by tonally lowered nouns (through the Predicative Lowering process, see section 3.5.2 below), to obtain such a word-initial Ø-toned sequence.

In (3.76), the same enquiry is made with verbs which end in a primary H tone.

(3.76) Verb with a final primary H +

a. Noun with an initial H tone
   ógūľā nyûmba ‘buy a house’
   ōmūlobā mwājaną ‘ask a child’

b. Noun with an initial ØH sequence
   wūjā murībo ‘feel the intestine’
   ōmūlobā nahāna ‘ask a traditional healer’

c. Noun with an initial ØØ sequence
   ddīnjā njīfugi ‘I am eating a banana’
   oūlīmā mbuga ‘he is cultivating rice’

   oūgūľa mūllima ‘eat a fruit’
   oūmpa mūttu ‘kill someone’
   ōgūľīha wūttu ‘sell flour’

b. Noun with an initial ØH sequence
   ópā gulūwe ‘kill a pig’
   omūjā ḏambāya ‘eat potato’

c. Noun with an initial ØØ sequence
   oomūjā ṭmbu ‘sell flour’

The examples in (3.75)a suggest that a primary H tone on the penult mora does not double onto the next mora if the following noun is H-initial, probably on account of one of the OCP effects which consists in blocking a rule like doubling by not allowing a H tone to double onto a mora that is followed by a primary H tone. Such a restriction is interesting in that, in the same environment, it seems to not occur in any Makhuwa dialect (Kisseberth, p.c.). Now the examples in (3.75)b and (3.75)c suggest that doubling does occur when the following noun starts with ØH or ØØ sequences. Regarding the ØØ sequences, since nouns do have in their basic forms a H on the first or the second mora (as demonstrated in section 3.3.1 above), I had to resort to conjoint verb forms followed by tonally lowered nouns (through the Predicative Lowering process, see section 3.5.2 below), to obtain such a word-initial Ø-toned sequence.

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In (3.76), the same enquiry is made with verbs which end in a primary H tone.
Unsurprisingly, in (3.76)a, nothing happens, since there is no toneless mora for the final H to double onto. In (3.76)b, doubling fails due to the same OCP-effect observed in (3.75)a. In (3.76)c, doubling is perfectly allowed and attested.

Considering the same questions with the sequence noun subject + verb leads us to the same results, illustrated in (3.77) for nouns with a primary H tone on the penult mora, and in (3.78) for nouns with a final primary H tone.

(3.77) Noun subject with a penult primary H +
   a. Verb with an initial H tone
      \textit{múttu ónóójá} \quad \text{‘someone is eating’}
      \textit{nyaríngwe wéélóócuúca} \quad \text{‘a leopard was frightening’}
   b. Verb with an initial ØH sequence
      \textit{múttú oójá} \quad \text{‘kill a pig’}
      \textit{balámé kadhiwáíile} \quad \text{‘the birds have not flown’}

(3.78) Noun with a final primary H +
   a. Verb with an initial H tone
      \textit{mwáaná ónóójá} \quad \text{‘the child is eating’}
      \textit{námáábé wéélóowáágúva} \quad \text{‘the spitting cobra was hurrying up’}
   b. Verb with an initial ØH sequence
      \textit{mwáaná oójá} \quad \text{‘the child has eaten’}
      \textit{kúnguní kíváíile} \quad \text{‘the bedbug has not flown’}

In (3.77)a and (3.78)b, again the (respectively penult and final) primary H tones do not double onto the next mora on account of an OCP effect. In (3.78)a, conditions for doubling are not favourable, since no mora is available for receiving the doubled tone. This is not the case in (3.77)b, where the penult H on the noun does double when followed by an initial-ØH verb.

Space does not permit to repeat the same test for every phrase type. But the following examples are good illustrations of HTD, both word-internally and across word boundaries, including words that belong to different clause constituents. In (3.79), for instance, doubling occurs across the two verb clauses \textit{odhowá} ‘she went’ and \textit{ogulá} ‘she bought’. On the other hand, the penult H tone in \textit{orayíla} ‘she threw away’ does not double on account of the Nonfinality constraint, as \textit{orayíla} constitutes a whole sentence.
orayíla. odhow’ óógulú íína, odhana.
NAR-throw NAR-go NAR-buy 9-other NAR-go = COM
‘She threw it away, went and bought another one, and took it home.’

Ddóólriódd’ óottamág’ óodhowá vátákulu
Ddoolrinddo NAR-run NAR-go 16-9a.house
‘Ddoolrinddo ran, went back home’

Note however that constraints on HTD are not very strict. For instance, in the case of a noun phrase composed of a final-HØ noun and an initial-H demonstrative, doubling is not expected as attested in (3.81). Still in the same environment, it does occur in (3.82). Such a variation mostly depends on the speech rate: in fast speech as is the case in (3.82), the liaison tends to level the Ø-toned mora surrounded by H tones.

mbílr’ ij’ ańúna vaddíddi
mbírí e-a-hí-núna vaddíddi
9a.fish.sp 9-DIM.I 9-PST-PVF.DJ-be.fat much
‘that fish was very fat (i.e. healthy)’

ból’ éjíle wáńjugaári na múșóró:
bólá éjíle ó-á-ni-jugáári na múșóró
9a.ball 9-DIM.II 1-PST-IPFV.DJ-play with 3.head
‘he was playing with that ball with the head’

3.5.2 Tone long-distance spreading

Broadly speaking, tone spreading applies whenever a primary H is repeated on the following mora(s). In this respect, tone spreading includes HTD processes discussed above. However, in this study, it is distinguished from HTD in that it is strictly used to refer to long-distance spreading, i.e. to plateau or tonal bridge. More specifically, tone long-distance spreading consists in repeating a H tone rightward on every available mora found between two primary H tones. In Cuwabo, tone spreading only applies on nouns (3.83)a or verbs (3.83)b which are inherently H-toned, as was already discussed in the aforementioned sections on nominal and verbal tone patterns.

(3.83) a. mű-ńtürízu ‘lizard.sp’
b. ó-kwéttéńkwa ‘to limp’
In both müntúrúza ‘lizard.sp’ and ókwétténkwa ‘to limp’, a plateau is formed between the grammatical H on the prefix and the lexical H on the penult syllable.

Tone spreading is also attested in certain tenses. The reader is referred to section 3.4.2.3 for an in-depth discussion.

### 3.5.3 Predicative Lowering

“Predicative Lowering”, coined by Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000), is a tone process which consists in deleting the first underlying H of a word, usually a noun. As a matter of fact, it does not seem that the expression “Predicative Lowering” is the most appropriate one to describe such a process. First it is not limited to predicates as, for instance, the vocative cases (section 3.5.3.4) make clear. Second, tone deletion rather than tone ‘lowering’ occurs. An expression like “first-H deletion” would probably be less ambiguous to characterise this phenomenon. However, and because there is some sort of established tradition among descriptive works on P30 languages toward the term “Predicative Lowering”, I am using it here. As far as we know, this process is indeed restricted to P30 languages and was first discussed by Stucky (1979), followed by Kathupa (1983), Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000) and van der Wal (2006), covering different Makhuwa varieties. In Cuwabo, when a word undergoes Predicative Lowering (PL), its first primary H tone is deleted, along with the doubled H resulting from HTD. Importantly, PL only targets the first H tone, and leaves any other H tone unaffected. This means that if a word only contains one primary H tone, PL will produce a toneless word as in (3.84)a. However, when a word is underlyingly H and thus contains two primary H tones, it loses its first primary H, but retains the second, i.e. the lexical H, as in (3.84)b.

\[(3.84)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ØHØ } \text{musáno } \text{‘queen’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ØØØ } \text{musano } \text{‘it is a queen’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{HØH } \text{muyaná } \text{‘woman’} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ØOH } \text{muyaná } \text{‘it is a woman’}
\end{align*}
\]

In this respect, PL represents a helpful way of identifying and localising the lexical H tone in a H-toned noun, especially with HØH patterns in which the lexical H on the final mora is not always easy to hear, since there is a radical downstepping of the final H tone. By eliciting them into a PL environment such as ‘this is a + Noun’, the underlying final H tone on the noun clearly emerges (HH ØØH), although phonetically downstepped.

PL occurs in several different environments: 1) in non-verbal predication, to express a structure like ‘this is a + Noun’; 2) after conjoint verb forms; 3) after negative tensed verbs;
4) in vocative expressions; 5) after certain prepositions; 6) as a noun complement. Each of these environments is discussed in turn.

Following van der Wal’s line (2006), the first primary H tone of a noun in citation form is attributed to the augment (or the pre-prefix). PL thus corresponds to the absence of the augment. This is made clear if we compare P30 languages (which include Cuwabo and Makhuwa) with some Bantu languages which still have a formal manifestation of the augment, such as Soga (JE16), Luganda (JE15, Hyman and Katamba 1993) or Zulu (S42, Doke 1945). In her 2006 paper, van der Wal thus compares three different environments in which Makhuwa (Enahara) resorts to PL whereas Luganda and Zulu exhibit an augmentless form of the noun. By way of illustration, I repeat here some examples found in her paper.

(3.85) Environment 1: Non-verbal predication (‘this is …’)
Makhuwa namárokolo ‘hare’ ➔ namarokoló ‘it’s the hare’
Lusoga o-mú-géní ‘guest’ ➔ mu-géní ‘it is a guest’

(3.86) Environment 2: Focused constituent after a conjoint verb form
Makhuwa nakhúwo ‘maize’ ➔ kinthítá nakhuwó ‘I pound maize’
Luganda ebi-tábó ‘books’ ➔ ya-gúla bitábó ‘he bought books’

(3.87) Environment 3: Vocative expressions
Makhuwa mwánn’gka ‘my husband’ ➔ mwann’aká ‘husband of mine!’
Zulu abafána ‘boys’ ➔ baftána ‘boys!’

In these examples, the use of PL in Makhuwa and the deletion of the augment in Luganda and Zulu convey equivalent functional properties, hence the relevant link made by van der Wal. In the next subsections, I will show that Cuwabo functions as in Makhuwa, and will provide further evidence in favour of van der Wal’s PL/augmentless hypothesis with a fourth environment in which comparison can be drawn with other Bantu languages: negative tensed verbs (section 3.5.3.3).

3.5.3.1 PL and non-verbal predication

Predicative tone lowering represents one of the strategies used in Cuwabo to express non-verbal predication. This is commonly applied on nouns which thus become predicative nouns, as is the case in (3.84). Note that a Ø-toned predicative noun, supposed to surface as completely toneless, may receive a H tone when uttered in phrase-final position, as illustrated in (3.88), but such a boundary H tone is though not obligatory (3.89). Note that boundary H tones (discussed below in section 3.6) are not represented in the segmentation line.
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(3.88) \( k' \, \text{uúłe, ólélé \, ki namarogoló.} \) [\( k' \, \text{uúłe \, olí mudhúlí \, nípále} \)] {ddingí.19}
ku ñléle ñléle \, ki namarogoló
17.COP \, 1.DEM.III \, 1.DEM.III \, EMPH \, 1a.hare.PL

‘here it is, that one there is the hare, [that one there is at the top of the tree sp.]’

(3.89) [\( éélo \, ñfwar \, wíílél' \, aa pe, wíílél \)] nam r gol namapuja {ddingí.10}
namárógolo \, namapuja
1a.hare \, 1a.joker.PL

‘[they were following him to kill him, because] the hare is a joker’

When used in non-verbal predication, infinitives (3.90) and adjectives (3.91) may also be subject to PL.

(3.90) \( om\-\text{lágá \, mwááná: \, o\-\text{vadá}: \, }? \) {semi-elic.}
\( \text{o-mú-lágá \, mwááná \, o-mu-vadá} \)
15.OM1-educate \, 1.child \, 15.OM1-beat.PL
‘is beating a way to educate a child?’ (lit. ‘educate a child, it is beating him?’)

(3.91) \( \text{misúwo \, dha \, nyúmb} \, \text{éési \, dhi\-nddimúwa} \) {elic.}
\( \text{misúwo \, dha \, nyúmba \, éési \, dhi-nddimúwa} \)
4.door \, 4.CON \, 10a.house \, 10.DEM.I \, 4-small.PL
‘the doors of these houses are small’

Note that a detailed analysis of the non-verbal predication expressed by means of predicative tone lowering is proposed in section 9.2.1.

3.5.3.2 Conjoint verbs + PL

Predicative tone lowering is also attested after certain tensed verb forms, referred to as “conjoint” verb forms (in opposition to “disjoint” verb forms). In brief, conjoint and disjoint forms form a subset of tenses which function in pairs, encoding the same tense-aspect-mood (TAM) semantics by means of distinct TAM markers. The alternation between both forms is in fact linked with information structure. For an in-depth discussion of the conjoint/disjoint system in Cuwabo, the reader is referred to section 11.3. Of particular interest here is the fact that conjoint verbs cannot appear in sentence-final position and always introduce a constituent with a focus interpretation, toward which they entertain a strong relationship. Among the different elements which may occupy this focus position, certain necessarily undergo PL. This is very clear with nouns, as illustrated in (3.92).
In case of complex noun phrases, only the first element, i.e. the noun, undergoes PL. For instance, in (3.93), the adjective modifier énddímúwa 'small' appears as in citation form.

(3.93)  

\[
\text{míyó ddi-f n nyumb' éénddím wa vaddíddí} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{nyúmba (HØ)} \quad \{\text{maria.59}\}
\]

\[
\text{míyó ddi-n-fi nú m úná} \quad \text{nyúmba} \quad \text{é-nddímúwa vaddíddí}
\]

1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 9a.house.PL 9-big much

‘I want a very big and beautiful house, with everything in it’

Note that a HØH noun undergoing PL may still surface with the same tone pattern if the preceding conjoint form ends in a final primary H tone. For instance, in (3.94), the H tone anchored to the prefix of the lowered nominal predicate muyaná is doubled from the lexical H found on the final mora of the verb stem -oná ‘see’.

(3.94)  

\[
\text{onímóóna múyán w' oókóddéla vaddíddí} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{nyúmba (HØ)} \quad \{\text{maria.106}\}
\]

\[
\text{o-ní-mú-oná múyáná wa óókóddéla vaddíddí}
\]

1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see 1.woman.PL 1.CON 15.be.beautiful much

‘he sees a very beautiful woman’

### 3.5.3.3 Negative + PL

In Cuwabo, any constituent following a negative verb form undergoes PL. This is the case with nouns, adjectives, locative NP, infinitives, demonstratives.

(3.95)  

Negative + PL on nouns

\[
\text{kaddaájá abalácáwú, ók’ wíiyeléga} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ābálácáwú (HHÔHÔ)} \quad \{\text{semi-elic.}\}
\]

\[
\text{ka-ddi-á-já abalácáwú ókú oýeléga}
\]

NEG-1SG-PST.IPFV-eat 2.shrimp.PL 15.DEM.I 15.poverty.PL

‘I would not eat those shrimps sp., this is food for poor people’

(3.96)  

Negative + PL on adjective

\[
\text{ehíb’ ééjó kiíngwáddá derecetu nínga dhí’ína sabwáyá j’ aani ?} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{elic.}\}
\]

\[
\text{ehíbá ájó ki-ni-gwáddá derecetu nínga dhí’ína sabwá=yá}
\]

9.hoe 9.DEM.II NEG.9-IPFV-cut good.PL like 10-other because = DEF

ji aani
9.COP who

‘why does that hoe not cut as well as the others?’
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(3.97) Negative + PL on infinitive verb

\[\text{míyó kaddi-ní-vódhá waaméla} \rightarrow \text{wááméla (HHHØ)} \]
\[\text{míyó ka-ddi-ní-vódhá waaméla} \]
\[\text{1SG.PRO NEG-1SG.IPV-can 15.chase.PL} \]

‘I cannot protect it (lit. ‘I cannot chase’)

(3.98) Negative + PL on locative NP

\[\text{mwáán’ óólle kaádhówa omundda} \rightarrow \text{omúndda (ØHØ)} \]
\[\text{mwáánó óóle ka-á-dhówa o-mundda} \]
\[\text{1.child I.DEM.III NEG.1-PST.IPV-go 17-3.field.PL} \]

‘that child did not go to the field’

(3.99) Negative + PL on demonstratives

\[\text{wéélé keélé dhaawo} \rightarrow \text{dhaáwo (ØHØ)} \]
\[\text{[o-ór-ile]REL ka-ór-ile dhaawo} \]
\[\text{1-do-PFV.REL NEG.1-do-PFV like.this.II.PL} \]

‘Once upon a time (lit. ‘who did it did not do that way’)

Again, the PL observed in Cuwabo is most likely reminiscent of the lack of augment in negative contexts, as one finds in Luganda and Zulu. Buell (2006: 17) postulates for Zulu that “a negative verb followed by a bare (determinerless) noun is interpreted as negatively quantified”. The example he provides, angigqoke sigqoko, is thus understood as ‘I am not wearing any hat’. This bare or augmentless noun necessarily follows a conjoint negative verb form, which implies that the disjoint negative verb form is followed by an augmented noun. In Cuwabo, the conjoint/disjoint alternation is neutralised in negative forms. This means that for any given tense, only one negative form exists, resorting either to the pre-initial negative marker ka- (for independent tenses) or the post-initial negative marker -hi- (for dependent tenses). And as the aforementioned examples show, the element following a negative verb form systematically undergoes PL. However one tense can be considered as an exception, the subjunctive. This tense has two negative forms, an independent one (3.100)a, and a dependent one (3.100)b. Interestingly, the first triggers PL on the following object, whereas the second does not.

(3.100) a. Independent negative subjunctive

\[\text{kaddigulihle nígágádda (HHHØ)} \quad \text{kaddimukokole naámbêdde (ØHFO)} \]
\[\text{ka-ddi-gul-ih-e nígágádda ka-ddi-mu-kokol-e naámbêdde} \]
\[\text{NEG-1SG-buy-CAUS-SBJ 5.dry.cassava NEG-1SG-OM1-thresh-SBJ 1a.maize} \]

‘I cannot sell dry cassava’ ‘I cannot thresh maize’
b. Dependent negative subjunctive

\[ \text{ddihigule nigagádda (ØØHØ)} \quad \text{ddihimukolone naambedde (ØØØØ)} \]

\[ \text{ddi-hi-gul-ih-e nígagádda} \quad \text{ddi-hi-mu-koko-l-e naambedde} \]

1SG-NEG-buy-CAUS-SBJ 5.dry.cassava.PL 1SG-NEG-OM1-thresh-SBJ la.maize.PL

‗I cannot sell dry cassava‘  ‘I cannot thresh maize‘

The explanation for the presence or absence of PL depending on the negative subjunctive form is not clear, especially since there is no such a dichotomy with the affirmative subjunctive, which is never followed by a lowered predicate. Furthermore, the only other tense which exhibits two (independent and dependent) negative forms, the counterexpectational (also called the ‗not yet‘ tense), does not trigger PL on the following element, as shown in (3.101).

\[ \text{(3.101) a. Independent counterexpectational} \]

\[ \text{ka-ddi-ná-gul-ih-a nígagádda} \quad \text{ddi-hi-ná-gul-ih-e nígagádda} \]

NEG-1SG-CE-buy-CAUS-Fi 5.dry.cassava 1SG-NEG-CE-buy-CAUS-Fi 5.dry.cassava

‗I have not bought dry cassava yet‘  ‘before I sell dry cassava‘

Three other negative verb forms do not trigger PL on the following element: the prohibitive (3.102), the negative past continuous (3.103) and another form of negative counterexpectational (3.104).

\[ \text{(3.102) Prohibitive} \]

\[ \text{ddináágúlíhe nígagádda (HHHØ)} \]

\[ \text{ddi-náá-gul-ih-e nígagádda} \]

1SG-FUT-buy-CAUS-PROH 5.dry.cassava

‗I cannot buy dry cassava‘

\[ \text{(3.103) Negative past progressive} \]

\[ \text{kaddééloogulíliha nígagádda (HHHØ)} \]

\[ \text{ka-ddi-á-ila-ogul-íh-a nígagádda} \]

NEG-1SG-PST.IPFV-AUX-15.buy-CAUS-FI.PL 5.dry.cassava

‗I was not buying dry cassava‘

\[ \text{(3.104) Negative counterexpectational perfective} \]

\[ \text{kaddiílóogulíliha nígagádda (HHHØ)} \]

\[ \text{ka-ddi-á-ila-ogul-íh-a nígagádda} \]

NEG-1SG-CE-15.buy-CAUS-FI.PL 5.dry.cassava

‗I have not bought dry cassava yet‘
The last two forms in (3.103) and (3.104) are in fact analytical tenses, compound of an auxiliary and an infinitive lexical verb. In this case, PL does not occur on the object, since it already applied on the infinitive verb, which constitutes the second part of the compound verb form. Now to explain the absence of PL on the element following the prohibitive in (3.102), we need to compare sentence (3.102) with sentence (3.105). Formally, the two verb forms are strictly identical. The difference between both sentences lies in the tone pattern of the following object: the future, as a conjoint form, necessarily implies PL on nigágádda (< nigagádda). It is thus likely that the prohibitive form does not submit its object to PL in order to distinguish the two possible interpretations of this verb form.

(3.105) Conjoint future

ddiníágúlíhe nigagádda (ØØHO)
ddi-náa-gúl-íh-e nigagádda
1SG-FUT.CJ-buy-CAUS-IRR 5.dry.cassava.PL
‘I cannot buy dry cassava’

3.5.3.4 PL and vocative

The vocative is prosodically marked by PL on the noun. It is frequently attested in discourse, as illustrated in the following examples.

(3.106) saá, alobwána, ottólón’ uúkúl’ oökálá fúlọór’ iinnífá vacélání →  ámbwána {ddoo.25}
sá alobwána o-tóló = ni ókúle o-hi-kálá fúlọóri
INTER 2.man.PL 17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III 17-PFV.DJ-be 9a.flower
[e-ní-íbá va-célá = ní]REL
9-IPFV.CJ-sing 16-well = LOC
‘Ooh, men! There at the well there is a flower which sings in the well.’

(3.107) supeéyó supeéyo míyó ddírínfúná mulobwana → supeéyo (HHHO) {maria.62}
supeéyo supeéyo míyó ni-ní-fúná mulobwana
9a.mirror.PL 9a.mirror.PL 1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.CJ-want 1.man.PL
‘Mirror, mirror, I want a man’

(3.108) mwaadhagá, míyó ddínlótól’ oök’ úútákálu → mwáadhí (HØH) {maria.110}
mwaadhaga míyó ddí-ní-ótlá ókú o-tákálu
1.wife.POSS.1SG.PL 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-marry 17.DEM.I 17-outside
“My wife, I am marrying up there”
Interestingly, when the vocative expression is preceded by a 2SG personal pronoun, a short form of this pronoun may be cliticised to the vocative noun phrase, as shown in (3.110).

(3.110)  wéyó mwaanáwe oɔnyínddâ dhaáwó, kája! {semi-elic.}

wéyó mwaaná=we [o-ni-nyínddâ dhaáwó]REL ká-ja
2SG.PRO 1.child.PL =2SG.PRO 1-IPFV.CJ-oppose like.this IMP-eat
‘you, rebellious child, eat!’

As the vocative is typically restricted to a second person addressee, only the corresponding plural version nyúwó ayimá=nyu ‘you children’ is attested.

3.5.3.5  Prepositions + PL

It also seems that certain prepositions imply a PL on the following noun. Illustrating examples are found with na ‘and, with’ (3.111), sé ‘without’ (3.112), até ‘until’ (3.113), and para ‘till’ (3.114). Note that except for na, all have been borrowed from Portuguese (sé < PTG sem, até < PTG até, para < PTG para).

(3.111)  a.  olóótélúwá viñá na mulobwan’ oóddu   ➔ múlóbwana (HHØØ) {maria.176}

ó-le-ótel-úw-a viñá na múlóbwana óddu
1-CE-15.marry-PASS-fi too with 1.man.PL 1.DEM.1
‘she got married with that man’

b. ánólúpá rımúríí na kabala ➔ kabála (ØHØ) {elic.}

á-ni-ólúpa mu-múrí=ní na kabála
2-IPFV.DJ-15.pull 18-3.tree=LOC with 9a.rope.PL
‘they are pulling the tree with a rope’

(3.112)  a.  ddabunó: múlóbwana okala sé muyaná: ➔ muyaná (HØH) {mbílri.44}

ddabunó múlóbwana o-kala sé muyaná
then 1.man NAR-be without 1.woman.PL
‘then the man remained without any woman’
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b. oómútelá mwánámwíyaná sé kóobilri ▶ koóbîlri (ØHFØ) {mute.24}
o-hí-mú-telá mwáná-mwíyaná sé kóobilri
1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry 1.child-1.woman without 9a.money.PL
‘he married that girl with no money’

(3.113) nívíré voósálán’ aápá: até kóbel’ éjílé ya mwínji ▶ kobéla (ØHO) {mbíli.13}
ni-ví-ré va-osálú ni ápá até kóbelá éjíle ya mwínji
‘let’s go through this thread to the other bank of the river.’

(3.114) órómána labónén’ ittíle par’ oosongólro ▶ ósóngólro (HHHØ) {mute.19}
órómá ná labó néne ittíle para oosongólro
15.start = COM 5.day = 5.INT 5.DEM.III to 17.future.PL
‘from that day on’

3.5.3.1 PL and complement?

In the following examples, baařku ‘boat’ follows and modifies the noun nívávíha ‘pilot’. The tone modification on baařku (uttered baařku) in citation form) is somewhat unexpected in this context. The only possible explanation so far deals with the deverbal morphology of the noun nívávíha, derived from the verb ováva ‘fly’. It is may be the case that the tonally ‘lowered’ noun following the deverbal noun transposed the behaviour of a noun following a conjoint verb form (which necessarily undergoes PL in this context, see section 3.5.3). However, in absence of further illustrative examples, it is difficult to prove it conclusively.

(3.115) óddú nívávíha baařkú ol’ úwénéval’ óókúlé ▶ baářku (ØHFØ) {maria.150}
óddú nívávíha baařku o-li wénéwale ókúlé
1.DEM.I 1.pilot 1a.boat.PL 1-be 17.EDEM.III 17.DEM.III
‘the pilot is here’

(3.116) ólle namáváviya baařk’ úkúl’ aagadhow’ óófff  ▶ baářku (ØHFØ) {maria.145}
ólle namáváviya baařku ókúlé a-gaa-dhowá ufff
1.DEM.III 1a.pilot 1a.boat.PL 17.DEM.III 1-SIT-go IDEA
‘that pilot, going in there ‘fff’’
3.6 Intonation

In addition to the different tone patterns assigned on the different constituents of a sentence, and the tonological rules applied, additional tones may anchor to certain moras for intonational purpose. Ladd (2008: 4) defines intonation as “the use of suprasegmental phonetic features to convey ‘postlexical’ or sentence-level pragmatic meanings in a linguistically structured way.”

In Cuwabo, intonation is relevant in different environments: it marks non-finality of the sentence (section 3.6.1), it allows differentiating polar questions from declarative utterances (section 3.6.2), and it indicates rhetorical emphasis on certain constituents (section 3.6.3). Note that in each example, intonational H tones are indicated on the first phonetic-related tier (i.e. the first line), but not on the following segmentational tiers, since they are extraprosodic tones, i.e. non-primary H tones. More particularly, they apply regardless of the primary H already assigned on the words, and are not conditioned by any specific tone rule discussed in section 3.5 above, nor involved in their application.

3.6.1 Speech continuation

In a sequence of clauses or phrases, tones play an active role in indicating continuation between these syntactic units. In fact, continuation tones are best referred to as boundary tones, in that they participate in the recognition of prosodic units within the sentence (which are in many Bantu languages more easily identified by an automatic penultimate lengthening). The edgemost syllables on which boundary tones apply may belong to two different syntactic environments: the phrase and the clause. In each case, they (almost) systematically lengthen the final syllable to which they anchor.

Clausal boundary tones are commonly used to connect consecutive (3.117) or enumerated (3.118) actions, cause-consequence sequences (3.119), or an if-clause to the main clause (3.120). They can highlight a contrast between two clauses (3.121), or relate an interpolated clause to the rest of the sentence (3.122).
Chapter 3

(3.117) a. odhow’ óökíl’ owiikő, otapuul’ oósálu wááyčė; {mbírő.16}
oóróma iyéene múúnyénč otapuul’ oósálu wááye
NAR-go 17.DEM.III 17-river NAR-untie 14.thread 14.POSS.3SG
‘He went to the river, untied his thread and, as the boss, started to climb onto it.’

b. eñtáwu vénévalé mwańábwa ookáána ráyíva {páaká.34}
eñtáwu vénévalé mwańábwa o-hí-káána ráyíva
then 16.EDEM.III 1.dog 1-PFV.DJ-have 9a.rage
‘at that moment, the dog got nervous’

(3.118) ból’ éjíle wááryíva na múnsólő; waánjugaári na máráwő, waánjugaári {maria.152}
n’ itittúuđítő; waánjugaári ni méénč, waánjugaári na múntő;
bólá éjíle ő-á-ni-jugáári na múnsólro ... na máráwő
9a.ball 9.DEM.III 1-PST-IPFV.DJ-play with 3.head with 6.buttocks
na ñittúuđítő ... ni méénčo ... na púnó ... na méntő
with 5.shoulder with 6.tooth with 9a.nose with 6.eye
‘he was playing with that ball with the head, was playing with the buttocks, was playing
with the shoulder, was playing with the teeth, was playing with the nose, was playing with
the eyes’

(3.119) ōlé oniműtéyiha mwánągąrő, onómutelė {mute.7}
ōlé [o-ni-muu-té-yiha mwánąga]REL o-ni-ů-mú-telė
1.DEM.III 1-IPFV-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi 1.child.POSS.1SG 1-IPFV-15-OM1-marry
‘whoever makes my daughter laugh will marry her’

(3.120) akala ańńfńa avúpúttulėčė; mýó vińá ddbunó ddińńfńa
dduńpúttulęni mwétečene. {body.12}
akala ańńfńa a-ů-púttul-e mýó vińá ddbunó
if 1-IPFV.CJ-want 1-OM2SG-despise-SBJ 1SG.PRO too today
ddińńfńa ddińńfńa a-ů-púttul-e=ní múń=ene
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 1SG-OM2SG-despise-SBJ = PLA 2PL=all = INT
‘Then if he wants to annoy you, I do want too, both of you.’
(3.121) waabaál’ aánááwá eel’ áánááyanā : ñímodha ñíznáné waáli Maríyá: {doo.2}

ñímodha waáli Ddóólrínddo.
o-a-baalá  áná = áwá  a-ilí  áná-áyanā  mu-modha
NAR-OM2-give.birth  2.child = POSS.3PL  2-two  2.child-2.woman  1-one
ñízná = né  o-á-li  maríyá  mu-modha  o-á-li  ddóólrínddo
5.name = 5.POSS.3SG  1-PST.IPFV-be  maría  1-one  1-PST.IPFV-be  ddoolrinddo

‘They had two children, both girls: one was called Maria, the other was Ddoolrinddo.’

(3.122) ábáal’ aa Maríy’ aábalé; aatelúwée, aateléyilé aálígi vadéérctí; aádha  {maria.69}

ábáale  a  M.  ábale  [a-a-tel-úw-é]REL  [a-a-tel-éy-ilé]REL
[a-á-lígi]REL  va-dércéütú]REL  a-hí-dha
2-PST.IPFV-be.HAB  16-good  2-PFV.DJ-come

‘Maria’s sisters, those who were married and well married, who were in a comfortable place, came.’

In case boundary H apply on a word which already contains a primary H, they do not replace it but are simply added with a lengthening effect, as seen in (3.118) with máráwó ‘bottom’, méénó ‘teeth’, and méńtí ‘eyes’.

Further note that the additional length of the emphasised syllable is subject to display tone contrasts. This is visible with vénévalée: in (3.117)b, awúpúttulée: in (3.120) and aatelúwée: in (3.122). These words end in a HØH tone pattern, characterised by a short fall before an extra high pitch. This is clearly illustrated in Figure 6 in which the pitch contour for entáwu vénévalée: in (3.117)b is drawn.
Following are some examples of phrasal boundary tones.

(3.123) áyím’ aábé awúúnwúa vaṅgónó vaṅgónó n’ aabaabé vatákúluwávé va fúmú Juwáw’ úúdo.

‘These children grew up little by little in their parents’ house, at this Mr. João’s place.’

(3.124) vapambánón’ aápálé, aáfwánya dílá erídhów’ óökú [...] va-pambánó = ni ápále a-hí-fwánya dílá [e-ní-dhówá Ôkú]REL

‘at this crossroads, they found a path which goes here [...]’

(3.125) waákála maánddáákí gwéè vadíiddíí, máríí, yaálí díla y’ oonyákúwa viína

‘there were on it a lot of excrements, it was a dirty path’
In (3.125), the last syllables of *vaddiddiː* and *márriːː* receive a doubled H tone. In this case, the interaction with the boundary tone gives rise to the (already mentioned) fall-rise sequence țiː (HØH pattern).

Phrasal boundary tones commonly apply to express enumeration. In this case, if an exhaustive listing is presented, the last one has a phrase-final lowering to conclude the sentence, as shown in (3.126) with *manyálo* ‘feet’. On the other hand, if the list is non-exhaustive, as in (3.118) above and (3.127), a continuation H is also added on the last element to allow an endless effect, usually translated as ‘etc’ in English.

(3.126)  
waáli Méddá Érůīulu na Manyálo  
o-áli núdvá Érůigulu na manyálo  
1-PST-be 6.hand 9.belly and 6.foot  
‘there once was Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet’

(3.127)  
eítáwu, odhagavo afůmu báaláː , afůmüː dówuː , afůmüː tćeboːː  
then NAR-come-HAB-Fi = 16.LOC 2.mister 1a.bushbuck 2.mister 9a.elephant  
afůmüː ttćebo  
2.mister 9a.elephant  
‘then came Mr.Bushbuck, Mr.Elephant, Mr.Elephant, etc’

### 3.6.2 Polar questions

Unlike *wh*-questions, polar questions do not ask for a clausal content. Instead, they do raise a clausal content and enquire about its truth value, hence they are also called yes/no questions. In Cuwabo, no morphological device (e.g. the presence of a question particle) is used to mark a polar question. This means that the only way to distinguish polar questions from corresponding declarative sentences is by means of intonation, often combined with illocutionary force. More particularly, the final word is subject to a question melody final H tone, as shown in Figure 7, which illustrates the pitch contour of the question in (3.128).

31 Note however that conjoint verb forms are not allowed in polar question, but are rather restricted to *wh*-questions, since they enquire about some focused element. Conversely, disjoint verbs are only attested in polar questions and not *wh*-questions (see section 10.2 for more details on *wh*-questions).
Other examples of polar questions are provided below. In each case, the surface (intonational) H tone is indicated in bold on the first line.

(3.129) “owíwá Maríyá?” Maríya : “ddiwíwa”

[ó-hí-íwa maríyá]QUES. maríya [ddi-hí-íwa]ANSW.

2SG-PFV.DJ-hear maríya maríya 1SG-PFV.DJ-hear

‘did you hear, Maria? Maria : I did.’

(3.130) Maríy’ óowáávuúza : “míyó munódíziwá ?”


maríyá o-hí-á-vuúza [míyó mu-ñ-ó-ddí-ziwa]QUES.

maríya 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-ask 1SG.PRO 2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know


3PL.PRO INTER NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know 1SG.PRO NEG-2PL-OM1SG-know

ba-ilá [ká-ñ-ú-idhi]ANSW.

SEQ.1-say NEG-1PL-OM2SG.know

‘Maria, asked them: Do you know who I am? They: no, we don’t. You don’t know me? We don’t know you.’

Answers yes/no questions are either positive or negative. As can be seen from the examples above, positive answers usually repeat the verb affirmatively (3.129), while
negative answers repeat the verb in its negative form (3.130). In both cases, the answer may involve a change of person. And occasionally, it may be preceded by the positive particle ſiďde ‘yes’ (in case of affirmations), or the negative particle ſiie ‘no’ (in case of negations). More rarely, answers solely composed of the particle also occur, as in (3.131).

(3.131) owáávuuz’ áábl’ aáľivo. “ósál’ uúb’ úupáťůwa ?” můkwááye : “náda”  {mbíri.23}
o-hi-páńůwa můkwa = áye náda 14-PFV.DJ-break   1.friend = POSS.3SG   no
‘he asked those who were there: did this thread break? his friend: no.’

Note in the example above that the polar question is not marked by a final rising intonation, but only by the illocutionary force of extra H tones on the verb.

### 3.6.3 Rhetorical emphasis

In assertive sentences, differences in prominence may be noticed among syllables: certain moras have an extra high pitch. Such an intonational pattern is used to mark emphasis on the corresponding part of speech. A few examples are provided below.

(3.132) ma ýééne baahalá dhaawééné s’ ſetélůwa  
mas ýééne ba-a-halá dhaawó = éne sé ſetélůwa
but 3SG.PRO SEQ-1-stay like.that.II = INT without 15.get.married.PL
‘but she remained like this, without getting married’

(3.133) răpáási oovény’ óokobélá: , ooify’ óokoběľa:  
raápaási o-hi-vényá o-kóbelá o-hi-fiya o-kóbelá
1a.boy 1-PFV.DJ-leave 17-9a.bank 1-PFV.DJ-arrive 17-9a.bank
‘The boy (man) left the river bank and reached the other one.’

(3.134) ţółe ſîpóntářři: wëélootůñýa : “va Nikúrábedh’ áápáľe !”  
ţółe ſîpóntářři o-á-ila-otgóñýa va N. ápáľe
‘that tracker was indicating: Mr. Dugong is over there!’
Emphatic intonation is also found in vocative exclamations, as illustrated in (3.136).

(3.136) | wéyó ońfwařege kurúmáanje’ odddó
---|---
| wéyó | o-mú-fwár-eg-e | kurúmáanje = éne | óddó
| 2SG.PRO | 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ | 1.a.bee.sp = INT | 1.DEM.1
| ‘do follow this very bee.sp.’

‘Everything I produce, the one who enjoys is you.’
In the present chapter I discuss the morphology of the noun. As in other Bantu languages, the structure of the Cuwabo word consists of prefixes, root and some suffixes. More specifically, nouns in Bantu languages have this common property to belong to noun classes, marked by means of a noun class prefix attached to a noun stem. The form of this noun prefix and the agreement pattern it triggers on other grammatically associated words determines the noun class to which the noun belongs. An extensive study of the noun phrase constituents and their agreement system is undertaken in chapter 5. In the present chapter, I first describe this elaborate class system (section 4.1), including a discussion of some underlying semantic properties attributed to certain classes.

As an open lexical class, Cuwabo nouns are formally characterised by the types of inflectional and derivational morphological processes that their stems undergo. While inflectional morphology deals with the noun class system and is thus undertaken in section 4.1, section 4.2 discusses the different ways of incorporating new nouns into the language. Besides borrowing, which will be exemplified all along the chapter, mechanisms of derivation by affixation, compounding, reduplication are other strategies used in Cuwabo to enrich lexicon.

Remember that contrary to many Bantu languages, the pre-prefix, a.k.a. the augment, is not morphologically attested in Cuwabo. Instead, it manifests itself through tones, as mentioned in section 3.3.
Chapter 4

4.1 Noun classes

4.1.1 Noun class prefixes and their allomorphs

The noun class system has been viewed as an important aspect of Bantu linguistics, whose presence has sometimes been considered as “a litmus test for membership of the Bantu family” (Katamba 2003: 108). Cuwabo is no exception: each noun belongs to a noun class. Each noun thus consists of a noun stem preceded by a noun class prefix, which can have a null phonological shape in certain classes.

The noun class prefixes of Cuwabo are shown in Table 19, together with their numbering according to the system first established by Meinhof (1948) for comparative purposes across Bantu languages. Note that the prefixes are given in their basic form. Details of these gender pairings are discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>NP</th>
<th>Ex.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>múttu ‘person’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>áttu ‘people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>páká ‘cat’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ápáká ‘cats’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>múri ‘tree’</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>míri ‘trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>nifunddó ‘knot’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>máfunddó ‘knots’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>sekéso ‘sieve’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>masékêso ‘knots’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>enáma ‘animal’</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhi-</td>
<td>dhinámá ‘animals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ŋómbe ‘cow’</td>
<td>10a</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ŋómbe ‘cows, cattle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table, we observe that certain classes are arranged in singular-plural pairings, sometimes referred to as ‘genders’. For instance, the singular noun mú-ttu ‘person’ belongs to class 1, whereas its plural form á-ttu ‘people’ belongs to class 2. Among these paired classes, some are further divided in subclasses, indicated by the letter a, consisting of nouns
controlling the same agreement system, but having a null prefix. This is the case with class 1a páká ‘cat’, class 5a sekéső ‘sieve’, and classes 9a and 10a, with ūgómbe ‘cow(s)’.

Inversely, other noun classes occur only in a single noun class, i.e. they are not morphologically marked for singular or plural. This includes class 14 (abstract nouns) and class 15 (infinitives), as well as the three locative classes.

Cuwabo has thus thirteen such noun classes, eight of which are paired for singular and plural. This means that in comparison with the approximately twenty-four noun classes reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Katamba 2003: 104), Cuwabo has a reduced - but still canonical - noun class system. Augmentative and diminutive classes, which generally borrow nouns from other classes and derive them by means of a pre-prefix, are not attested in the language. Also note that classes 7/8 and 9/10 have merged. In this process, the consonant of the typical class 7 prefix ki- has evolved to Ø, which is an exceptional sound evolution in Eastern Bantu, only attested in Cuwabo and Makhuwa.

The prefix in itself is often a good indication of the noun class. However, and as Table 19 makes clear, it happens that two or more classes carry the same form of prefix. mu- is a good illustration as it is used in classes 1, 3 and 18. In such cases, the agreement system reflected in the associated parts of speech throughout the clause, allows distinguishing between the noun classes, and is usually taken as the fundamental basis for classification. Compare the three following sentences, presenting class 1, 3, and 18 agreement systems on nominal and pronominal prefixes, indicated in the interlinear translation by the noun class number.

(4.1)  

a. Class 1 agreement

\[
\text{íyééne münddimúw’ óddó oúnívuúza} \quad \{\text{adapted from maria.43}\}
\]

íyééne mú-nddimúwá óddó o-hí-mú-vuúza
3SG.PRO 1-old.man 1.DEM.II 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-ask
‘that old man asked her’

b. Class 3 agreement

\[
\text{muúzik’ ooów’ ooúrívá dhaáyi, oúnhá uuvi ?} \quad \{\text{ddingí.13}\}
\]

muúziká óbó [o-ni-zívá dhaáyi]₄REL o-ní-dhá uuvi
3.music 3.DEM.II 3-IPFV.CJ-be.nice like.this.1 3-IPFV.CJ-come where
‘such beautiful music, where does it come from?’

c. Class 18 agreement

\[
\text{rípule híhara, mukálá mwánénómá} \quad \{\text{oúnkúwéllìwa Nikúrábedhà}₄REL \}
\]

rípule mu-bará mu-hi-kálá mwáná-enómá
18.DEM.III 18-9a,sea.PL 18-PFV.DJ-be 1.child-9.animal
‘there in the sea, there is an animal [called Mr.Dugong]’
Chapter 4

The noun classes thus represent agreement markers, and as such, they function as part of a larger concordial agreement system ruled by the noun. This latter belonging to a given class indeed implies that every noun phrase constituent such as adjectives, pronouns and numerals agree with the noun class prefix. A noun class is therefore traditionally defined as a group of nouns that do not differ in prefix and that determine the same agreement patterns.

Note that for each noun prefix, different forms exist, which vary in function of the phonological features of the noun stem. These phonologically conditioned allomorphs are listed and illustrated in Table 20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 20</th>
<th>Noun classes allomorphs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Basic form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternation between these forms is highly predictable. First, the class prefixes \( mu- \) (classes 1, 3 and 18) reduce to \( m- \) before bilabial or labio-dental consonants, whereas the class 5 prefix \( ni- \) reduces to \( n- \) before coronal consonants (see section 2.3.1.2 on syllabic nasals). Second, \( mi- \) (class 4) and \( e- \) (class 9) prefixes get palatalised and are thus realised \([my]\) and \([y]\), respectively, followed by a vowel compensatory lengthening. Palatalisation occurs before any vowel-initial stem for the prefix \( e- \), but is restricted to stem-initial \( a, e \) or \( o \) for the prefix \( mi- \). Before stem-initial \( i \) and \( u \), vowel coalescence (mii) takes place. Now, regarding back-vowel prefixes, \( mu- \) (classes 1, 3 and 18) and \( o- \) (classes 14, 15 and 17) get labialised and appear as \([mw]\) and \([w]\), respectively. Again, this happens before any vowel-initial stem for \( o- \), but only before \( i, e \) and \( a \) in the case of \( mu- \). Elision (\( moo\)) and vowel coalescence (\( muu\)) apply with back vowels \( o \) and \( u \), respectively (see section 2.4.1 for a more detailed analysis of vowel processes).

Second, noun classes whose onset is a nasal consonant become nasal syllables before certain stem-initial consonants (labial consonants for \( mu- \) prefixes, coronal consonants for
ni- prefix). In this case, the nasal prefix is homorganic with the initial consonant of the stem (see section 2.3.1.2 for more details on the syllabic nasals).

In Cuwabo, as common in Bantu, noun classes serve number marking, and represent mainly a grammatical system. Still, although the assignment of nouns to specific classes involves a certain degree of arbitrariness (Maho 1999), a few tendencies toward natural categorisation can be highlighted, in that particular semantic concepts are often assigned to certain noun classes. For example, human and agent nouns tend to appear in classes 1 and 2; many animal nouns are hosted in classes 9(a) and 10(a), although they are not restricted to these classes and also appear elsewhere. The semantic characteristics of each class are further detailed in the next subsections.

A noun stem is normally assigned to a single noun class and its corresponding plural class, but it happens that some stems occur in several classes, forming words with different meanings, always based on the basic (concrete) concept displayed by the nominal stem. This derivational use is developed in section 4.2.1.1 below.

4.1.2 Classes 1/1a and 2

While a single prefix a- exists for class 2, class 1 is marked by a variation in the prefix forms (referred to as class 1 and class 1a), which nonetheless has no influence on the remainder of the agreement system. Consider first the typical class 1 prefix mu-. Class 1 marked by this prefix in semantically very coherent, and consists almost entirely of words denoting humans, human activities and kinship, as exemplified in the singular-plural pairs in (4.2).

(4.2) Class 1 and 2: Human and kinship denoting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwáadhí</td>
<td>áadhí</td>
<td>mwáaná</td>
<td>áaná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánábúru</td>
<td>ánábúru</td>
<td>ríbáali</td>
<td>ábáali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudháâri</td>
<td>adháâri</td>
<td>múddááwi</td>
<td>áddaáwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múdhuulu</td>
<td>ádhuulu</td>
<td>rímuíngiíwi</td>
<td>aímgííwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukúmbi</td>
<td>akúmbi</td>
<td>múkwe</td>
<td>ákwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múkwirí</td>
<td>ákwirí</td>
<td>múlámu</td>
<td>álámu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muláwûla</td>
<td>aláwûla</td>
<td>mulíba</td>
<td>álíba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múliví</td>
<td>álívi</td>
<td>múlóbwana</td>
<td>álóbwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulúgu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>rímmááro</td>
<td>amááro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rímûdhi</td>
<td>ámûdhi</td>
<td>múnânddi</td>
<td>ánânddi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘wife’          | ‘child’       | ‘same-sex sibling’ |
‘young lady’    | ‘sinner’      | ‘prisoner’        |
‘slave’         | ‘friend’      | ‘brother-in-law’  |
‘fisherman.sp’  | ‘owner’       | ‘man’            |
‘god’           | ‘friend’      | ‘co-wife’        |
Many agent nouns of classes 1 and 2 are productively derived from verbs (see section 4.2.1.2 below on the derivation of nominal stems), by means of the nominalising suffix -i, as exemplified in (4.3).

(4.3) Deverbatives classes 1/2 nouns

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{mbááli} & \text{‘brother/sister} & \text{obáála} \quad \text{‘give birth’} \\
\text{mmújâni} & \text{‘greedy} & \text{ója} \quad \text{‘eat’} \\
\text{mukúmbi} & \text{‘fisherman} & \text{okúmba} \quad \text{‘fish’} \\
\text{múlebí} & \text{‘who can write} & \text{ólébá} \quad \text{‘write’} \\
\text{mwéêddi} & \text{‘boyfriend} & \text{wéeddá} \quad \text{‘walk’} \\
\end{array}
\]

Very few non-human nouns belong to classes 1 and 2. (4.4) provides the full list extracted from my database.

(4.4) Class 1 and 2: Non-human denoting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwánâbwa</td>
<td>ánâbwa</td>
<td>mwánâku</td>
<td>ánâku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwáánâma</td>
<td>ánáma</td>
<td>mwánámündda</td>
<td>ánámündda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwáánéënáma</td>
<td>ánéënáma</td>
<td>mwáánéëttu</td>
<td>ánéëttu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpuérêka</td>
<td>apuérêka</td>
<td>murumíwi</td>
<td>árumíwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muzógwe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>muzógwe</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these nouns are compound words, built upon the human noun mwánâ ‘child’, whose long vowel has been reduced in the compounding process (see section 4.2.2 below on compound nouns).

In comparison, class 1a, which has a null morphological prefix, has a wider semantic range of references. First, as class 1, it serves to denote humans being as shown in (4.5).

(4.5) Class 1a and 2: Human denoting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwáaddâni</td>
<td>amwáaddâni</td>
<td>mwáängânéli</td>
<td>ámwáängânéli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwáásâno</td>
<td>amwáásâno</td>
<td>mwáazâmbó</td>
<td>ámáazâmbó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báâbi</td>
<td>ábáabi</td>
<td>cíwiwí</td>
<td>acíwiwí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cúwânga</td>
<td>acúwânga</td>
<td>ddâya</td>
<td>áddâya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúmu</td>
<td>áfúmu</td>
<td>kalába</td>
<td>akálâba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máâmbááli</td>
<td>ámbáambaáli</td>
<td>mákázi</td>
<td>amákázi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class 1a further has the particularity of designating a great number of animals (4.6). It is likely that these nouns were originally in class 9 and 10 but lost the typical nasal prefix from these classes and began to induce a class 1 agreement on its dependent elements, regardless of their lack of prefix. This is also reminiscent of the fact that, in many Eastern Bantu languages, the nouns which designate an animate entity tend to adopt classes 1/2 agreement patterns.

(4.6) Class 1a and 2: Animal nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bôngwe</td>
<td>ábôngwe</td>
<td>'monkey.sp'</td>
<td>bwérúbwerú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capúngu</td>
<td>acápûngu</td>
<td>'ray.sp'</td>
<td>cenéene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cívéévé</td>
<td>acívéévé</td>
<td>'swallow'</td>
<td>káárúnye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kába</td>
<td>ákába</td>
<td>'turtle.sp'</td>
<td>kanámúsasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogó</td>
<td>ákogó</td>
<td>'fish.sp'</td>
<td>kóónóono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koómbwe</td>
<td>akóômbwe</td>
<td>'shrimp.sp'</td>
<td>kúrúmáanje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaddé</td>
<td>akwaddé</td>
<td>'dog.sp'</td>
<td>máárwé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máalááwu</td>
<td>ámalááwu</td>
<td>'eel'</td>
<td>naáhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náfúwo</td>
<td>ánáfûwo</td>
<td>'mole'</td>
<td>námáábé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námamé</td>
<td>ánámamé</td>
<td>'bird.sp'</td>
<td>námárogolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nánddwe</td>
<td>anánddwe</td>
<td>'frog'</td>
<td>nyákúngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pááká</td>
<td>ápááká</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
<td>séeswé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, class 1a also includes a great deal of loans, mostly from Portuguese, usually indicating objects of a non-human character. (4.7) gives a sample of examples.

(4.7) Class 1a: loan words (from Portuguese)

| árigóra | argola | 'piercing' |
|________|________|________|
| bítšikó | bispo | 'bishop' |
| kácííbwi | cachimbo | 'pipe' |
| mááritiélu | martelo | 'hammer' |
| méésííri | mestre | 'master' |
| rápóóyo | repolho | 'cabbage.sp' |
| sızéélá | sisal | 'sisal' |

As seen in the various examples above, the plural form of these class 1a nouns requires the class 2 noun prefix, which thus constitutes an extraprosodic morpheme compared to the
singular prefixless form. In Cuwabo, this additional mora is underlyingly toneless, but adapts to the tone pattern of the singular form. For instance, if the noun is lexically H, the prefix a- will be assigned a H, which will in most cases spreads to the lexical H anchored on the penult mora. See section 3.3 for an exhaustive analysis of tones on nouns.

As is common in Bantu noun classes, the singular and the plural forms of some nouns may be cross-gendered, i.e. they belong to non-canonical pairings. It is thus common to have nouns with class 1a singulars forming their plural in class 6. This includes a few loanwords.

(4.8)  Cross-gender 1a/6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cibwéríbwe</td>
<td>macibwéríbwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gámboóyá</td>
<td>mágámboóyá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóólríyo</td>
<td>mákóólríyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyapéddo</td>
<td>manyépéddo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekérêke</td>
<td>masékéreke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baarku</td>
<td>mabáárku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabúddulra</td>
<td>makábúddulra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naángúra</td>
<td>manáángura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pápóóro</td>
<td>mápápoóro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Illustrations of the agreement pattern of class 1/2 nouns are given in (2.144) for class 1 and (4.10) for class 2.

(4.9)  Class 1 agreement system

\[ mwáán’ óóddó w’ óókóddélá oňkálá wuunddaaví \]  {elic.}

mwáána óóddó wa óókóddélá o-ni-kálá wuundda = ví
1.child 1.DEM.II 1.CON 15.be.beautiful 1-IPFV.CJ-remain 15.cry.PL = RESTR
‘this beautiful child does not stop crying’

(4.10)  Class 2 agreement system

\[ ÿýim’ aábew’ ááaraaw’ áańdhówá úúvi ? \]  {elic.}

áýíma ábó araaru a-ni-dhówá úúvi
2.child 2.DEM.II 2.three 2-IPFV.CJ-go where
‘where are these three kids going?’

4.1.3  Classes 3 and 4

Classes 3  *mu*- and 4  *mi*- include most of botanic names in Cuwabo, as illustrated in (4.11) with trees and plant nouns, and in (4.12) with nouns denoting parts of trees or plants.
## Classes 3 and 4: Trees and plants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwáadhí</td>
<td>myáadhí</td>
<td>mbízi</td>
<td>mbízi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múcécénddí</td>
<td>múcécénddí</td>
<td>múcérere</td>
<td>múcérere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náfūgi</td>
<td>nímfügi</td>
<td>mígáléego</td>
<td>mígáléego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múgáyi</td>
<td>mígáyi</td>
<td>múhále</td>
<td>múhále</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múrêre</td>
<td>múrêre</td>
<td>múinddú</td>
<td>múinddú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mujélêle</td>
<td>mujélêle</td>
<td>mukúddda</td>
<td>mukúddda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mubízi</td>
<td>mubízi</td>
<td>múróla</td>
<td>múróla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múcérére</td>
<td>múcérére</td>
<td>múróba</td>
<td>múróba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múróga</td>
<td>múróga</td>
<td>múrâba</td>
<td>múrâba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múcîci</td>
<td>múcîci</td>
<td>múríso</td>
<td>múríso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlîma</td>
<td>múlîma</td>
<td>múldho</td>
<td>múldho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múkombó</td>
<td>múkombó</td>
<td>múrlînga</td>
<td>múrlînga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlûbi</td>
<td>múlûbi</td>
<td>múrûtu</td>
<td>múrûtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlûbâda</td>
<td>múlûbâda</td>
<td>múritûtu</td>
<td>múritûtu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By extension, wood objects made from trees or plants also belong to classes 3 and 4.

## Classes 3 and 4: Tree or plant parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>múcêci</td>
<td>múcêci</td>
<td>mwîngá</td>
<td>mwîngá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múkombó</td>
<td>múkombó</td>
<td>mukúso</td>
<td>mukúso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlîma</td>
<td>múlîma</td>
<td>múlînga</td>
<td>múlînga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmîdho</td>
<td>mmîdho</td>
<td>mungûri</td>
<td>mungûri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipuddá</td>
<td>mipuddá</td>
<td>múrála</td>
<td>múrála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutádâmela</td>
<td>mutádâmela</td>
<td>mútûtu</td>
<td>mútûtu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Classes 3 and 4: Objects made from trees or plants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwáálágo</td>
<td>myáálágo</td>
<td>mwáándíya</td>
<td>myáándíya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîbádda</td>
<td>nîmbádda</td>
<td>nîmbíma</td>
<td>nîmbíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mugónnda</td>
<td>mugónnda</td>
<td>mícókólo</td>
<td>mícókólo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mugógo</td>
<td>mugógo</td>
<td>mígôyi</td>
<td>mígôyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwihi</td>
<td>mwihi</td>
<td>mwihi</td>
<td>mwihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mujánga</td>
<td>mujánga</td>
<td>mujégêle</td>
<td>mujégêle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mujére</td>
<td>mujére</td>
<td>mujânda</td>
<td>mujânda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By extension, wood objects made from trees or plants also belong to classes 3 and 4.
A property common to this semantic field of plants and trees deals with the shape of the objects, generally long, thin and extended. And interestingly, classes 3 and 4 also host a disparate set of other nouns with the same semantic feature. In the following examples, different semantic fields are exemplified: objects (4.14), animals (4.15), and (human or animal) body parts (4.16).

(4.14) Classes 3 and 4: Object with long, thin or extended shape

A property common to this semantic field of plants and trees deals with the shape of the objects, generally long, thin and extended. And interestingly, classes 3 and 4 also host a disparate set of other nouns with the same semantic feature. In the following examples, different semantic fields are exemplified: objects (4.14), animals (4.15), and (human or animal) body parts (4.16).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mímbêni</td>
<td>mímbêni</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
<td>muddîddîra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muddîddîra</td>
<td>muddîddîra</td>
<td>‘procession’</td>
<td>múcúrûru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mîntsi</td>
<td>mîntsi</td>
<td>‘drill’</td>
<td>mukítto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukúma</td>
<td>mukúma</td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>mukúpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukûrekûre</td>
<td>mukûrekûre</td>
<td>‘stream’</td>
<td>múnyâza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukwáso</td>
<td>mukwáso</td>
<td>‘path’</td>
<td>mûnâmâga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulíkîho</td>
<td>mulíkîho</td>
<td>‘anchor’</td>
<td>múnyímbíra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múmûsí</td>
<td>múmûsí</td>
<td>‘clay jar’</td>
<td>múno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mînôbi</td>
<td>mînôbi</td>
<td>‘beak’</td>
<td>múnyâza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mînôbî</td>
<td>mînôbî</td>
<td>‘bridge’</td>
<td>múrûtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûnûdî</td>
<td>mûnûdî</td>
<td>‘cigar’</td>
<td>mûnûlîlî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múttîtto</td>
<td>múttîtto</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
<td>múînjje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nouns

(4.15) Animals with long, thin or extended shape

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbóbo</td>
<td>mbóbo</td>
<td>‘long cobra’</td>
<td>moóngôlo</td>
<td>myoóngôlo</td>
<td>‘centipede’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mühêgu</td>
<td>mühêgu</td>
<td>‘antelope’</td>
<td>mühágo</td>
<td>mühágo</td>
<td>‘intestinal worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákáamba</td>
<td>mákáamba</td>
<td>‘shrimp’</td>
<td>múngu</td>
<td>míngu</td>
<td>‘caterpillar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múnyôka</td>
<td>múnyôka</td>
<td>‘earthworm’</td>
<td>mutípa</td>
<td>mitípa</td>
<td>‘maggot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mútundú</td>
<td>mítundú</td>
<td>‘leech’</td>
<td>mutúrûbu</td>
<td>mitúrûbu</td>
<td>‘lizard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.16) (Human or animal) body parts with long, thin or extended shape

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bôlo</td>
<td>mîmbôlo</td>
<td>‘penis’</td>
<td>mbûla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mmélo</td>
<td>mimélo</td>
<td>‘throat’</td>
<td>móonó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muléba</td>
<td>miléba</td>
<td>‘trunk’</td>
<td>móottó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulómo</td>
<td>milómo</td>
<td>‘mouth, lip’</td>
<td>murúbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mútâna</td>
<td>mîtâna</td>
<td>‘spine’</td>
<td>múteekû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múttênga</td>
<td>mîttênga</td>
<td>‘feather’</td>
<td>mwéddo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is thus coherent to state that classes 3 and 4 in Cuwabo are semantically mostly associated with long, thin and extended things. Such a semantic property associated with these classes has already been observed by Moxley (1998).

On the other hand, there is also a considerable number of classes 3/4 nouns whose classification cannot be accounted for on obvious semantic grounds. The list provided in (4.17), gathering both concrete and abstract nouns, underlines this semantic heterogeneity.

(4.17) Classes 3 and 4: Miscellaneous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwááléla</td>
<td>myááléla</td>
<td>‘sacrifice’</td>
<td>mwáálra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwámbo</td>
<td>myámbo</td>
<td>‘ritual rules’</td>
<td>mwánáasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwáangó</td>
<td>myáangó</td>
<td>‘mount’</td>
<td>múburó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mucésa</td>
<td>micésa</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
<td>múdhûdhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múhåla</td>
<td>mîhåla</td>
<td>‘madness’</td>
<td>mwíinyû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mujîla</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
<td>múkåka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múkkære</td>
<td>mîkkære</td>
<td>‘rice cake’</td>
<td>múkonó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múkôwe</td>
<td>mîkôwe</td>
<td>‘rust’</td>
<td>mukúkûta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múkûrâwe</td>
<td>mîkûrâwe</td>
<td>‘mould’</td>
<td>múláddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlrûvi</td>
<td>mîlrûvi</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
<td>mundûûra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múnowe</td>
<td>mînowe</td>
<td>‘ulcer’</td>
<td>nîpuló</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murábo</td>
<td>mîrûbo</td>
<td>‘cloud’</td>
<td>murádda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûrûdda</td>
<td>mîrûdda</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
<td>muttëngû</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (4.18) and (4.19), illustrate the agreement pattern of classes 3 and 4 nouns.
(4.18) Class 3 agreement system

\[
\text{mwírí óbó múnddímúw’ ōogwadduwé mwa masíkú ma-ngónôvi} \quad \text{(elic.)}
\]

mwírí óbó mú-n/ddímúwa o-gwadd-uw-é mwa masíkú ma-ngónó =vi

3.tree 3.DE M.II 3-old 3-cut-PASS-PFV.CJ 18.into 6.day 6-few = RESTR

‘that old tree was cut not long ago’

(4.19) Class 4 agreement system

\[
mírí ésó miráarú dhínddímúwa dhíttuuluwé yáak’ ééjîle \quad \text{(elic.)}
\]

mírí ésó mi-raarú dhí-n/ddímúwa dhí-ttuul-uw-é yáaká ééjîle

4.tree 4.DEM.II 4-three 4-old 4-uproot-PASS-PFV.CJ 9.year.PL 9.DEM.III

‘these three old trees were uprooted last year’

### 4.1.4 Classes 5 and 6

Like classes 1 and 1a, a prefix variation exists in class 5, between the prefix \textit{ni}- and a null morpheme (referred to as class 5a prefix). But unlike classes 1 and 1a, no semantic difference can be attributed to this variation in prefix.

Classes 5(a) and 6 cover a large semantic array. Still, a few semantic trends are observable. First, classes 5 and 6 usually denote paired body parts, as shown in (4.20).

(4.20) Class 5 and 6: Paired body parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>íyáru</td>
<td>máyáru</td>
<td>ícápo</td>
<td>macápo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nídhdhu</td>
<td>mádhádhu</td>
<td>néepélo</td>
<td>méepélo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibádda</td>
<td>mábádda</td>
<td>níbelé</td>
<td>mábelé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibída</td>
<td>mábída</td>
<td>nbódó</td>
<td>mábódó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nífíyo</td>
<td>máfíyo</td>
<td>nivéwu</td>
<td>mavéwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nálakálaka</td>
<td>malákálaka</td>
<td>nláda</td>
<td>máda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nígûgu</td>
<td>mágûgu</td>
<td>níkápwa</td>
<td>mákápwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikükúru</td>
<td>makükúru</td>
<td>nkúta</td>
<td>makúta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nálakálaka</td>
<td>malákálaka</td>
<td>nláwa</td>
<td>máláwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nínáyága</td>
<td>mányága</td>
<td>nínálo</td>
<td>manyálo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níráma</td>
<td>maráama</td>
<td>níráwó</td>
<td>márawó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirádha</td>
<td>marédha</td>
<td>sóko</td>
<td>masóko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nítúúdhí</td>
<td>máttúúdhí</td>
<td>níntó</td>
<td>méntó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other nouns from different semantic fields but still involving pairs are hosted by classes 5 and 6.
Nouns

(4.21) Classes 5 and 6: Nouns implying pairs of objects

- **nikúlúgano** makúlúgano: ‘crossroads’
- **nápálra** mápálra: ‘roof side’
- **ńśékëre** masékëre: ‘maracas’
- **ńkonó** mákonó: ‘armful of’ (measure)

Second, many class 5/6 nouns denote flat objects, which usually cover something. This includes most lexicon items referring to leaves and mats, as seen in (4.22).

(4.22) Classes 5 and 6: Flat and covering/protecting objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nikárâdha</strong> makárâdha: ‘dry leaf’</td>
<td><strong>nikúbáare</strong> makúbáare: ‘palm leaf’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nikúku</strong> makúku: ‘leaf’</td>
<td><strong>ntába</strong> matába: ‘leaf’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nibónnde</strong> mabónnde: ‘mat’</td>
<td><strong>bwéndde</strong> mábwéndde: ‘mat’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nípëse</strong> màpëse: ‘mat.sp’</td>
<td><strong>nísëse</strong> màsëse: ‘old mat’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kagâla</strong> makágâla: ‘mat’</td>
<td><strong>ńttáddo</strong> mättáddo: ‘mat.sp’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nikâńje</strong> makânje: ‘mat.sp’</td>
<td><strong>nikúkwe</strong> makúkwe: ‘carpet’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ńrēba</strong> marēba: ‘stretcher’</td>
<td><strong>ńtète</strong> matēte: ‘stretcher’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nikicëla</strong> makicëla: ‘fishing net’</td>
<td><strong>ńttëvi</strong> mâttëvi: ‘net’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nigogôro</strong> magogôro: ‘fencing’</td>
<td><strong>ńssitó</strong> masitó: ‘fencing’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nigârûgâru</strong> màgârûgâru: ‘shell, box’</td>
<td><strong>nigûrûgûru</strong> màgûrûgûru: ‘shell’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>níwôwo</strong> màwôwo: ‘penis skin’</td>
<td><strong>níkába</strong> makába: ‘crust, skin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>níkárárunya</strong> makákárunya: ‘fishing net’</td>
<td><strong>ńttâvi</strong> máttâvi: ‘net’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nígâraándhi</strong> makágâraándhi: ‘glass’</td>
<td><strong>ńnítáku</strong> mántáku: ‘stump’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nígulá</strong> màgulá: ‘tree bark’</td>
<td><strong>ńtûnuma</strong> mántûnuma: ‘anus’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Circular (and generally flat) objects are also much attested in classes 5 and 6, comprising round flat-bottomed baskets, winnowers, or frying pans, rings, holes, and other circular objects or body parts. An overview is given in (4.23).

(4.23) Classes 5 and 6: Circular objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>níkóbwa</strong> mákóbwa: ‘basket.sp’</td>
<td><strong>nápáva</strong> mápáva: ‘basket.sp’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sekëso</strong> masékëso: ‘winlower’</td>
<td><strong>ńttâťita</strong> màttâťita: ‘old winlower’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ńśiko</strong> masîko: ‘old frying pan’</td>
<td><strong>sîzáara</strong> màsîzáara: ‘clay frying pan’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ńttâddo</strong> mättâddo: ‘frying pan.sp’</td>
<td><strong>nigóddo</strong> màgóddo: ‘stump’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>níparâ</strong> màparà: ‘stump’</td>
<td><strong>ńttîku</strong> matîtîku: ‘stump’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nigangô</strong> màgangô: ‘ring’</td>
<td><strong>ńyêra</strong> màyêra: ‘ring.sp’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ńlrâwwâtti</strong> màlrâwwâtti: ‘ankle ring’</td>
<td><strong>kósa</strong> makósa: ‘bracelet’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ńlëje</strong> malëje: ‘hole’</td>
<td><strong>ńtôrôwo</strong> màtôrôwo: ‘hole’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ńjôma</strong> majôma: ‘snake hole’</td>
<td><strong>ńffundîdî</strong> màffundî: ‘knot’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nigâraândhi</strong> màgâraândhi: ‘glass’</td>
<td><strong>ńkâñuunga</strong> màkâñuunga: ‘sickle’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ńkàntûpe</strong> màkàntûpe: ‘old ball’</td>
<td><strong>ńtûnuma</strong> mántûnuma: ‘anus’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many names of trees in classes 3/4 have matching names for their fruits in classes 5/6, as illustrated in (4.24).

(4.24) Class 5 and 6: Fruits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nddîddu</td>
<td>maddîddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîbâle</td>
<td>nîbâgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîtûgî</td>
<td>nîtûgîda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîkâmwa</td>
<td>nîkâmwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîlrôwa</td>
<td>nîlrôwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñddîmwi</td>
<td>ñddîmwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîrîga</td>
<td>nîrîga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîvudhé</td>
<td>nîvudhé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘unripe coconut’</td>
<td>‘pumpkin.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘unripe mango’</td>
<td>‘sugar cane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘banana’</td>
<td>‘dry cassava’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rotten mango’</td>
<td>‘young coconut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td>‘flower (fruit)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lemon.sp’</td>
<td>‘shoot (plant)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pumpkin.sp’</td>
<td>‘fruit.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘watermelon’</td>
<td>‘pine cone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes 5 and 6 also serve to refer to landscapes, and natural elements or phenomena.

(4.25) Class 5 and 6: Landscapes, natural elements and phenomena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nadhâwûla</td>
<td>maddîddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîbâra</td>
<td>nîbâra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîkwâla</td>
<td>nîkwâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lîbwe</td>
<td>lîbwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîlûgu</td>
<td>nîlûgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nînîyo</td>
<td>nînîyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîporù</td>
<td>nîporù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîsîku</td>
<td>nîsîku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîttabó</td>
<td>nîttabó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîttûdda</td>
<td>nîttûdda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîttûtîmo</td>
<td>nîttûtîmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîzingô</td>
<td>nîzingô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîzuwâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘big wave’</td>
<td>‘plain, low land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sea, ocean’</td>
<td>‘dew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘milky way’</td>
<td>‘neap tide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stone’</td>
<td>‘echo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘desert’</td>
<td>‘echo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘storm’</td>
<td>‘dew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘foam’</td>
<td>‘whirl, swirl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hail’</td>
<td>‘time, season’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘day time’</td>
<td>‘fallow land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sky’</td>
<td>‘first rains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lake’</td>
<td>‘swamp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘storm’</td>
<td>‘plain, grassland’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td>‘still water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dust, dry soil’</td>
<td>‘confluent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘whirl’</td>
<td>‘plantation’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most diseases and physical abnormalities are hosted in classes 5 and 6.
### (4.26) Class 5 and 6: Diseases or physical abnormalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nibâba</td>
<td>mábâba</td>
<td>‘scar’</td>
<td>nîmbâzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîlêba</td>
<td>málêba</td>
<td>‘stain’</td>
<td>nîttôbôtôbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigûma</td>
<td>magûma</td>
<td>‘wound’</td>
<td>nîkwâdda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîkûrâbedha</td>
<td>makûrâbedha</td>
<td>‘lethal wound’</td>
<td>màányémba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyarûttûnddu</td>
<td>anyárûttunddu</td>
<td>‘disease.sp’</td>
<td>matówa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîpûddûwe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘fever, malaria’</td>
<td>nîpâda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîpunuddû</td>
<td>mápunuddû</td>
<td>‘himp, knot’</td>
<td>nîputté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîpîttu</td>
<td>màpîttu</td>
<td>‘virgin land’</td>
<td>nepwêsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîsîba</td>
<td>masîba</td>
<td>‘elephantiasis’</td>
<td>marêmâddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîtûtûnmwa</td>
<td>matûtûnmwa</td>
<td>‘swelling’</td>
<td>maváwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîtârââto</td>
<td>màtârââto</td>
<td>‘female hysteria’</td>
<td>màrânya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many nouns from classes 5 and 6 have abstract meanings, usually linked with cultural concepts and practices. Some examples are given in (4.27). Note that many of them are derived from verbs by means of the nominalising suffix -o (see section 4.2.1.2 below for more details on noun derivation).

### (4.27) Classes 5 and 6: Abstract nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nibása</td>
<td>mabása</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>nîbûga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rîcîga</td>
<td>màcîga</td>
<td>‘vengeance’</td>
<td>nîgâno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigûdúlano</td>
<td>magûdúlano</td>
<td>‘controversy’</td>
<td>nîhêlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîhimó</td>
<td>màhimó</td>
<td>‘tribe, ethnic group’</td>
<td>nîkâpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîkâtâtîmîho</td>
<td>makâtâtîmîho</td>
<td>‘problem’</td>
<td>nîlámûlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîl ávi</td>
<td>malâvi</td>
<td>‘misfortune’</td>
<td>nîlêbô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîlêjêlo</td>
<td>malêjêlo</td>
<td>‘greeting’</td>
<td>nîlêlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîlôbêlo</td>
<td>malôbêlo</td>
<td>‘petition’</td>
<td>nîlôgêlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîlôgo</td>
<td>malôgo</td>
<td>‘people’ generation</td>
<td>nîddâlraza manddâlraza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîpûddûwo</td>
<td>mapûddûwo</td>
<td>‘unexpected event’</td>
<td>nîpîkîrelô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîrânjûlo</td>
<td>marânjûlo</td>
<td>‘gain, profit’</td>
<td>nîrimá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîrîyo</td>
<td>marîyo</td>
<td>‘honor, dignity’</td>
<td>nîrûwâno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîsákûlano</td>
<td>masákûlano</td>
<td>‘preference’</td>
<td>nîségêdhô màségêdhô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîsóso</td>
<td>màsóso</td>
<td>‘suffering, torture’</td>
<td>nîtâábuco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîtôwa</td>
<td>màtôwa</td>
<td>‘curse’</td>
<td>nîttittîmîho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that certain abstract nouns only have a class 6 form, as illustrated in (4.28). Several of them are linked with cultural and ritual practices.
Another well-known property exclusively attributed to class 6 has to do with mass concepts, which includes most liquids and uncountables, as illustrated in (4.29). These nouns have no singular/plural opposition.

(4.29)  Class 6: Mass nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 6: Mass nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maánje ‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákurá ‘oil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mára ‘saliva’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manúna ‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masáza ‘water.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahúzi ‘hairs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mattáka ‘soil, sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maníngo ‘body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maróve ‘mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máddúgúddo ‘flour.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máddíguddo ‘flour.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákânya ‘coconut lees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mári ‘excrement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mári ‘excrement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máttâgu ‘pounded rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>márkúráttebo ‘ostrich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákúráttebo ‘ostrich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákúrúkumwa ‘wild cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákúrúkumwa ‘wild cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>májógôri ‘bird.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>májógôri ‘bird.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>májóro ‘fish.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>májóro ‘fish.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>májóná ‘barren land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>májóná ‘barren land’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns denoting such abstract and mass concepts rarely display singular-plural pairing. Still, not all the mass nouns systematically receive the class 6 plural marker as shown in (4.29), where liquids nouns belong to class 5.

(4.30)  Class 5: Mass nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5: Mass nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nikáme ‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nícíwó ‘vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñddíbwí ‘poison, venim’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many nouns of animals are also hosted in classes 5/6.

(4.31)  Class 5 and 6: Animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nikúrátebo ‘ostrich’</td>
<td>mákúrátebo ‘ostrich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikúrántá ‘butterfly.sp’</td>
<td>mákúrántá ‘butterfly.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikúwa ‘fish’</td>
<td>makúwa ‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñjóro ‘fish.sp’</td>
<td>majóro ‘fish.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkúrúkumwa ‘wild cat’</td>
<td>mákúríkumwa ‘wild cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nkúwi ‘eagle’</td>
<td>mákwi ‘eagle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njogóri ‘bird.sp’</td>
<td>majógóri ‘bird.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nluwa ‘wild cat’</td>
<td>málúwa ‘wild cat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

32 maize and coconut flour
33 water from cooked rice
In several cases, the class 5 prefix has disappeared. Such prefixless nouns represent a sub-class, referred to as class 5a. Their plural form is normally marked by class 6 prefixation. An illustrating list is given in (4.32). Note that many loans from Portuguese are found in classes 5a and 6, as shown in (4.33).

(4.32) Classes 5a and 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bwéndde</td>
<td>mábwêndde</td>
<td>‘mat.sp’</td>
<td>cáramba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cikwi</td>
<td>macikwi</td>
<td>‘a thousand’</td>
<td>cipóósi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cíttaáttu</td>
<td>mácíttaáttu</td>
<td>‘Wednesday’</td>
<td>gáta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geddégêdde</td>
<td>magéddégedde</td>
<td>‘drum.sp’</td>
<td>kagála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kálruúnga</td>
<td>mákálruúnga</td>
<td>‘sickle’</td>
<td>lénti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>língwaádda</td>
<td>málíngwaádda</td>
<td>‘cutlass’</td>
<td>ttúmbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póso</td>
<td>mapóso</td>
<td>‘food portion’</td>
<td>rittímûla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakáli</td>
<td>masákâli</td>
<td>‘torch’</td>
<td>sanjálra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekéso</td>
<td>masékéso</td>
<td>‘winnower.sp’</td>
<td>sizálra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súpíádda</td>
<td>másipíádda</td>
<td>‘cutlass’</td>
<td>ttúmbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zángo</td>
<td>mazango</td>
<td>‘bead’</td>
<td>zíza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zúmbéélra</td>
<td>mázúmbéélra</td>
<td>‘bag.sp’</td>
<td>zúngu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.33) Class 5 and 6: Portuguese loans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bóoní</td>
<td>mabóoní</td>
<td>‘hat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ddímííngu</td>
<td>maddííngu</td>
<td>‘Sunday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáraíííva</td>
<td>mágaráíííva</td>
<td>‘bottle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jánééla</td>
<td>májáneéla</td>
<td>‘window’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lañta</td>
<td>malañta</td>
<td>‘tin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lápizéra</td>
<td>málapizéra</td>
<td>‘pen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leño</td>
<td>maléño</td>
<td>‘tissue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lózha</td>
<td>malózha</td>
<td>‘shop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niívúru</td>
<td>manívúru</td>
<td>‘book’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of the agreement system displayed in classes 5 and 6 nouns are provided below.

(4.34) Class 5 agreement system

\[
\text{ńzáyi } \text{ńtt } \text{ní g } \text{no } \text{níng } \text{l w } \text{macíkú } \text{kumí} \quad \{\text{elic.}\}
\]

ńzáyi ńttó ni-ńgóóno ni-ń-gúl-úw-á ma-cíkú kumí
5.egg 5.DEM.II 5-small 5-IPFV.CJ-buy-PASS-Fi 6-50cts ten
‘this small egg costs 5 meticais’

(4.35) Class 6 agreement system

\[
\text{mážáy}’ \text{ábó } \text{maraarú } \text{oocéna } \text{ańgúltuwa } [\text{na } \text{múttengó } \text{múnddimúwá}] \quad \{\text{elic.}\}
\]

mážáyí ábó ma-raarú a oocéna a-ní-gúl-úw-a
6.egg 6.DEM.II 6-three 6.CON 15.be.white 6-IPFV.CJ-buy-PASS-Fi
‘these three white eggs are expensive’

4.1.5 Classes 9/10 and 9a/10a

Classes 9 and 10 are respectively marked by the prefixes e- and dhí-, as in ehíba ‘hoe’ and dhíhíba ‘hoses’, while the classes 9a and 10a have prefixless nouns, which thus have one form for both singular and plural. For example, mbúzi represents both class 9a ‘goat’ and class 10a ‘goats’. The distinction between the singular and the plural forms is determined only by the agreement marks on the depending elements, as is made clear in (4.36).

(4.36) a. Class 9a agreement system

\[
\text{mbúz’ } \text{íjo } \text{y’ } \text{ooríb’ } \text{écwuulúválá } \text{vaddíddí} \quad \{\text{elic.}\}
\]

mbúzí éjo ya oríbá e-wuulúválá vaddíddí
9a.goat 9.DEM.II 9.CON 15.be.black 9-be.old very
‘this black goat is very old’

b. Class 10a agreement system

\[
\text{mbúz’ } \text{íso } \text{taarú } \text{dhíyelé } \text{méémbeéséēnê} \quad \{\text{elic.}\}
\]

mbúzí íso ttaarú dhí-iyel-é méémbeésí = ene
10a.goat 10.DEM.II 10.three NEG-10-go.back-PFV 3.morning = INT
‘these three goats did not come back early’
Furthermore, if we compare the agreement systems of classes 9a/10a in (4.36) above with classes 9/10 in (4.37) below, we clearly see that classes 9 and 9a on the one hand, and class 10 and 10a on the other hand, require perfectly identical agreement markers. This is the reason why they are classified under the same noun class numbering.

(4.37) a. Class 9 agreement system

\[
\text{ehíb’ éjó y’ ooríbá } [ddivahiwé báddilí músuńží] \quad \{\text{elic.}\}
\]
\[
ehíbá \quad éjó \quad ya \quad ooríbá
\]
\[
9.\text{hoe} \quad 9.\text{DEM.II} \quad 9.\text{CON} \quad 15.\text{be.black}
\]
‘I was given this black hoe [when I was an apprentice]’

b. Class 10 agreement system

\[
\text{dhihíb’ éésó ttaaró dh’ óolápa dhírimeellé vóorúrímuca véeæ} \quad \{\text{elic.}\}
\]
\[
dhiíbá \quad éso \quad ttaaró \quad dhá \quad olápa \quad dhi-ripeel-illé
\]
\[
10.\text{hoe} \quad 10.\text{DEM.II} \quad 10.\text{three} \quad 10.\text{CON} \quad 15.\text{be.tall} \quad 10-\text{disappear-PVF.CJ}
\]
\[
vá-orúrímuca \quad véeæ
\]
\[
16-15-\text{startle} \quad 16.\text{INT}
\]
‘these three goats did not come back early’

Historically, nouns belonging to classes 9a/10a bear a nasal prefix. Synchronically, several Bantu languages have lost this nasal, except in front of voiced stops, where it is easily recognisable, in spite of its non-functional status. Some examples of prenasalised consonants are provided in (4.38) with a few cognate words of Sena (N44), extracted from Torrend (1900).

(4.38) CB reconstructions Sena

| *N-bego (CS 85) > mbeu | ‘seed’ |
| *N-gobó (CS 873) > nguwo | ‘cloth’ |
| *N-jidá (CS 940) > njira | ‘road, path’ |

In Cuwabo, the nasal prefix has also been dropped, but interestingly, and somewhat exceptionally, such a denasalisation process also applied in the vicinity of voiced stops, as shown in (4.39).

(4.39) CB reconstructions Cuwabo

| *N-bégó (CS 85) > béwu | ‘seed’ |
| *N-góbó (CS 873) > guwo | ‘cloth’ |
| *N-jídá (CS 940) > díla | ‘road, path’ |

The loss of the nasal prefix is part of a broader process in Cuwabo, namely the denasalisation of PB voiced prenasalised clusters. Such a phonological evolution represents
a strong divergence in relation to other Bantu languages, and is in fact an internal innovation shared by P30 languages, which brings evidence toward a genetic relationship between Cuwabo and Makhuwa. Note however the few exceptions in (4.40), in which class 9a words begin with a nasal cluster. It is likely that such words have been borrowed from other Bantu languages.

(4.40) Classes 9a/10a: Nasal-initial nouns

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nëbëri} & \quad \text{‘fish.sp’} & \quad \text{nëbërlë} & \quad \text{‘ditch, stream’} \\
\text{nëddálëma} & \quad \text{‘gold’} & \quad \text{nëddalë} & \quad \text{‘fight’} \\
\text{nëddë} & \quad \text{‘scare, spot’} & \quad \text{nëddëvë} & \quad \text{‘beard’}
\end{align*}
\]

The lexical items included in classes 9/10 and 9a/10a are quite heterogeneous semantically, encompassing inanimate objects or tools (4.41), body parts (4.42), animals (4.43), diseases and physical abnormalities (4.44), land cultivation and landscapes (4.45), and Portuguese loan words (4.46).

(4.41) Object or tools: classes 9 and 10

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaábâlo} & \quad \text{dhaábâlo} \quad \text{‘cloth’} & \quad \text{ebále} & \quad \text{dhibále} \quad \text{‘bowl’} \\
\text{ébëúwa} & \quad \text{dhibëúwa} \quad \text{‘sacrifice table’} & \quad \text{écinyúlo} & \quad \text{dhibínyúlo} \quad \text{‘toothpick’} \\
\text{eddýëlo} & \quad \text{dhiddýëlo} \quad \text{‘cork’} & \quad \text{édhúlëla} & \quad \text{dhídhúlëla} \quad \text{‘suspended triangle’} \\
\text{yëère} & \quad \text{dhéère} \quad \text{‘cellar.sp’} & \quad \text{efínëko} & \quad \text{dhífinëko} \quad \text{‘wallet’} \\
\text{ehëba} & \quad \text{dhihëba} \quad \text{‘hoe’} & \quad \text{ekálâgo} & \quad \text{dhikálâgo} \quad \text{‘pan’} \\
\text{ékàsi} & \quad \text{dhikàsi} \quad \text{‘calabash’} & \quad \text{émezó} & \quad \text{dhimezó} \quad \text{‘fishhook’} \\
\text{yoóbo} & \quad \text{dhoóbo} \quad \text{‘basket’} & \quad \text{éfímba} & \quad \text{dhímba} \quad \text{‘cage, trap’} \\
\text{epáno} & \quad \text{dhipáno} \quad \text{‘tool’} & \quad \text{épitë} & \quad \text{dhípitë} \quad \text{‘knife’s handle’} \\
\text{ésámúlo} & \quad \text{dhísámúlo} \quad \text{‘comb’} & \quad \text{étëlo} & \quad \text{dhítëlo} \quad \text{‘winnower’}
\end{align*}
\]

Object or tools: classes 9a and 10a

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bádho} & \quad \text{‘axe’} & \quad \text{hiyë} & \quad \text{‘stove’} & \quad \text{cebélo} & \quad \text{‘sharp iron’} & \quad \text{clíli} & \quad \text{‘stake’} \\
\text{fëbo} & \quad \text{‘sceptre’} & \quad \text{fëba} & \quad \text{‘mat.sp’} & \quad \text{ddóddo} & \quad \text{‘cudgel’} & \quad \text{gónëdda} & \quad \text{‘stick’} \\
\text{fugúlo} & \quad \text{‘key’} & \quad \text{fúti} & \quad \text{‘gun’} & \quad \text{gábëddà} & \quad \text{‘lock’} & \quad \text{góba} & \quad \text{‘cage’} \\
\text{gëwë} & \quad \text{‘cloth’} & \quad \text{jómbo} & \quad \text{‘boot’} & \quad \text{gütë} & \quad \text{‘drums.sp’} & \quad \text{kàbàla} & \quad \text{‘rope’} \\
\text{kùgùlù} & \quad \text{‘bed’} & \quad \text{karíko} & \quad \text{‘pan.sp’} & \quad \text{kàta} & \quad \text{‘wood cup’} & \quad \text{kóbe} & \quad \text{‘wood spoon’} \\
\text{sësëya} & \quad \text{‘adz.sp’} & \quad \text{nyëmba} & \quad \text{‘house’} & \quad \text{ëgömbo} & \quad \text{‘paddle’} & \quad \text{nuëndë} & \quad \text{‘hammer’} \\
\text{sëmé} & \quad \text{‘adz.sp’} & \quad \text{sëngëno} & \quad \text{‘needle’} & \quad \text{kwaëngwa} & \quad \text{‘axe’} & \quad \text{sùpiëya} & \quad \text{‘plane’} \\
\text{cipàla} & \quad \text{‘blacksmith’s tools’}
\end{align*}
\]

(4.42) Classes 9 and 10: Body parts

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yàlo} & \quad \text{dhaalë} \quad \text{‘nail, claw’} & \quad \text{ebùno} & \quad \text{dhibùno} \quad \text{‘finger’} & \quad \text{ebwi} & \quad \text{dhibwë} \quad \text{‘white hair’} \\
\text{ehàba} & \quad \text{dhihàba} \quad \text{‘viscera’} & \quad \text{ékàpi} & \quad \text{dhihàpi} \quad \text{‘eyelid’} & \quad \text{enàna} & \quad \text{dhinàna} \quad \text{‘bladder’} \\
\text{épëru} & \quad \text{dhipëra} \quad \text{‘fish’s tail’} & \quad \text{ësupí} & \quad \text{dhisupí} \quad \text{‘crest’} & \quad \text{ëttôto} & \quad \text{dhittôto} \quad \text{‘fish’s tail’} \\
\text{yàunù} & \quad \text{dhiùmù} \quad \text{‘waist’} & \quad \text{éttîli} & \quad \text{dhitîli} \quad \text{‘heel’} & \quad \text{ëttùri} & \quad \text{dhitùri} \quad \text{‘shoulder’}
\end{align*}
\]
Nouns

erúru dhirúru ‘chin’   éddûni dhíddûni ‘back’   érúgulu dhírúgulu ‘belly’
erittûma dhirittûma ‘chest’ etôtôkwa dhítôtôkwa ‘hoof’
egággúnyo dhíggúnyo ‘elbow’   éjongóóri dhíjongóóri ‘crest’
ézônddo dhízônddo ‘heel’ eddwâráddwara dhíddwâráddwara ‘chin’

Classes 9a and 10a: Body parts
júga ‘chest’   ttébe ‘skin’   nyàngâzi ‘mane’   nyizínyîzi ‘eyelash’
kóve ‘face’   púno ‘nose’   fwáfwa ‘liver’   belèbêdhû ‘kidney’
táku ‘thigh’   pîlu ‘testicle’   fínyínji ‘gizzard’   tomméla ‘fontanelle’
ttúmbo ‘womb’   pottóko ‘heel’   nyânga ‘cock’s spur’

Animals, and especially birds and fish, belong overwhelmingly to classes 9/10 and 9a/10a.

(4.43) Animals: classes 9 and 10
yáâdhu dháâdhu ‘flea’   ebú dhíbú ‘mosquito’
edáându dhíddáându ‘grasshopper’ édêdhí dhíddêdhí ‘owl’
egwíli dhígwíli ‘fly’   élíga dhílíga ‘pigeon’
enáma dhíináma ‘animal’   enví dhíinví ‘bee’
épângu dhípângu ‘eagle’   yuúkûru dhúúkûru ‘owl’
évíli dhívíli ‘puffadder’   erúnddûlu dhírúnddûlu ‘bird.sp’

Animals: classes 9a and 10a
bââla ‘gazelle’   baláme ‘bird’   ceńce ‘fly’   fúle ‘water turtle’
gúdūwé ‘bird.sp’   guluwe ‘pig’   gwenddé ‘mole’   kága ‘guinea fowl’
kangáhiwa ‘dove’   kála ‘crab’   kokótti ‘bird.sp’   kóro ‘monkey.sp’
kóloâwé ‘snail.sp’   kóru ‘snail’   kúci ‘cobra.sp’   kúve ‘mole’
kúnguní ‘bedbug’   ríbíri ‘fish.sp’   mbúzi ‘goat’   nówa ‘snake’
kwáli ‘partridge’   nári ‘buffalo’   ñgómbe ‘ox’   óba ‘peixe’
nyenéyle ‘ant’   nyíbu ‘zebra’   péndde ‘fish.sp’   pómbó ‘grasshopper.sp’
pénêmbe ‘lizard.sp’   ttáláakú ‘ant.sp’   ttôddwe ‘clam’   ttébo ‘elephant’
ttálááwa ‘louse’   ttúbo ‘louse’   kúrúwelé ‘shoveler’   pwéte ‘rhinoceros’

(4.44) Classes 9 and 10: Diseases and physical abnormalities
ébêdha dhíbêdha ‘ulcer’   ejiféjile dhíjiféjile ‘epilepsy’
ekótókoto dhíkótókoto ‘cough’   énddôko dhínddôko ‘gangrene’
enyéríyéri dhínyéríyéri ‘polyuria’   éreeddi dhíreeddi ‘disease’
éváda dhíváda ‘baldness’   évîddi dhívîddi ‘wound.sp’
évávu dhívávu ‘pimple’   ézîmba dhízîmba ‘elephantiasis’
Classes 9a and 10a: Diseases and physical abnormalities

- jiraro ‘hernia’
- pele ‘scabies’
- sisinya ‘blindness’
- kuru ‘hernia’
- kweme ‘hysteria’
- saangotula ‘disease.sp’
- sívindo ‘remedy.sp’
- tôba ‘smallpox’
- tonyola ‘smallpox’
- zóka ‘hysteria crisis’
- viriga ‘disease.sp’

Classes 9a and 10a: Land

- ebúumwa dhíbúumwa ‘land.sp’
- eháva dhíháva ‘land.sp’
- ekúdu dhikúdu ‘parterre’
- ettáya dhíttáya ‘soil, ground’
- yúúbwa dhúúbwa ‘raised land’
- elábo dhilábo ‘country, territory’

Classes 9a and 10a: Land

- ttáttámwa ‘plot’
- ddíma ‘plot to work’
- kárééra ‘plot to work’
- kokóla ‘wild forest’
- púdhúgu ‘wild forest’
- púgûru ‘wild forest’
- tákwa ‘forest’
- köttokwa ‘building land’

Classes 9a and 10a: Portuguese loans

- bárirí ‘barrel’ < barril
- bóla ‘ball’ < bola
- fölóóri ‘flower’ < flor
- kádééra ‘chair’ < cadeira
- kápéèla ‘church’ < capela
- párááto ‘plate’ < prato
- sítalé ‘hospital’ < hospital
- sítíáto ‘bicycle’ < bicicleta
- sítála ‘church’ < capela
- sítalé ‘hospital’ < hospital
- sítalé ‘hospital’ < hospital
- sítalé ‘hospital’ < hospital

Note that cross-gendered system happens with several class 9a nouns, which use the class 6 prefix *ma-* to form their plural. In the list given in (4.47), no semantic homogeneity among cross-gender 9a/6 is observed, still it contains many loans from Portuguese.

(4.45) Classes 9 and 10: Land

- ébúúmwa dhíbúúmwa ‘land.sp’
- eháva dhíháva ‘land.sp’
- ekúdu dhikúdu ‘parterre’
- ettáya dhíttáya ‘soil, ground’
- yúúbwa dhúúbwa ‘raised land’
- elábo dhilábo ‘country, territory’

(4.46) Classes 9a and 10a: Portuguese loans

- bárirí ‘barrel’ < barril
- bóla ‘ball’ < bola
- fölóóri ‘flower’ < flor
- kádééra ‘chair’ < cadeira
- kápéèla ‘church’ < capela
- párááto ‘plate’ < prato
- sítalé ‘hospital’ < hospital
- sítalé ‘hospital’ < hospital
- sítalé ‘hospital’ < hospital

Note that cross-gendered system happens with several class 9a nouns, which use the class 6 prefix *ma-* to form their plural. In the list given in (4.47), no semantic homogeneity among cross-gender 9a/6 is observed, still it contains many loans from Portuguese.

(4.47) Cross-gender 9a and 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 9a</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 9a</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fütti</td>
<td>mafütti</td>
<td>‘gun’</td>
<td>káni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kädééra</td>
<td>mákädééra</td>
<td>‘chair’</td>
<td>káni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëtte</td>
<td>mapëtte</td>
<td>‘ring’</td>
<td>tûna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñdáási</td>
<td>mándáási</td>
<td>‘scare’</td>
<td>fölóóri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáróóso</td>
<td>mágáróóso</td>
<td>‘caju nut’</td>
<td>kánúúnddu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.6 Class 14

Class 14 consists predominantly of abstract concepts derived from other nouns, from verbal bases, or even from adjectives. When attached to such elements, the prefix o- allows creating nouns which express the quality denoted by the element being derived. Examples are provided in (4.48).

(4.48) Class 14: Abstract concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óbûrë</td>
<td>‘harm’</td>
<td>&lt; bure (adv.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>océna</td>
<td>‘whiteness’</td>
<td>&lt; océna (cl.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odhââri</td>
<td>‘servitude’</td>
<td>&lt; mudhââri (cl.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òdhûulu</td>
<td>‘kinship’</td>
<td>&lt; múdhûulu (cl.1) ‘grandchild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òkwirí</td>
<td>‘black magic’</td>
<td>&lt; múkwirí (cl.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olápélana</td>
<td>‘distance’</td>
<td>&lt; olápa (cl.15) ‘be long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ólêddo</td>
<td>‘trip’</td>
<td>&lt; múlêddo (cl.1) ‘guest, traveler’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ónddímúwa</td>
<td>‘authority’</td>
<td>&lt; -ndimúwa (adj.) ‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óyîma</td>
<td>‘childhood’</td>
<td>&lt; áyîma (cl.2) ‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópa</td>
<td>‘pain’</td>
<td>&lt; ópa (cl.15) ‘hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópáli</td>
<td>‘youth’</td>
<td>&lt; rípáli (cl.1) ‘young man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópóosí</td>
<td>‘rivalry’</td>
<td>&lt; póósi (cl.1a) ‘rival, co-wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oréêla</td>
<td>‘richness’</td>
<td>&lt; oréêla (cl.15) ‘be rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ótáduwá</td>
<td>‘madness’</td>
<td>&lt; táduwá (cl.1) ‘mad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ówodhá</td>
<td>‘power’</td>
<td>&lt; ówodhá (cl.15) ‘can, succeed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ózômbwe</td>
<td>‘youth’</td>
<td>&lt; múzômbwe (cl.1) ‘young man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 14 also contains non-countable nouns, as shown in (4.49).

(4.49) Class 14: Mass nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waálûwa</td>
<td>‘drink.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáya</td>
<td>‘wire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôgôogo</td>
<td>‘marrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wíyi</td>
<td>‘honey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olíbo</td>
<td>‘birdlime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ólôgo</td>
<td>‘clay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôpûttu</td>
<td>‘drink.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otéga</td>
<td>‘drink.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôttu</td>
<td>‘flour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óza</td>
<td>‘pus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óyêma</td>
<td>‘palm wine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because they represent abstractions or mass concepts, most of these nouns have no plural forms, and class 14 constitutes by itself a “single class gender”. Still, a few may take the class 4 plural, as seen in (4.50). Interestingly, most of these nouns correspond to the semantic properties typically found in gender 3/4, that is long, thin and/or extended entities.
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(4.50) Classes 14 and 4: Long, thin and extended entities

ômbúlro óbu/ési ‘this/these dress(es)’
órèze óbu/ési ‘this/these fish.sp’
ósága óbu/ési ‘this/these necklace(s)’
ósâlu óbu/ési ‘this/these thread(s)’
óséeléle óbu/ési ‘this/these bird(s)’
osémbe óbu/ési ‘this/these crack(s)’

A few nouns in class 14 have two noun prefixes, formed by adding the class 14 prefix o- to a stem which already includes a prefix. The full list is given in (4.51).

(4.51) Pre-prefix

ômulugu ‘divinity’ < mulugu ‘god’
omuttu ‘mankind’ < muttu ‘person’
omwâni ‘infantilism’ < mwâná ‘child’
omwêne ‘supremacy’ < mwêne ‘head, chief’

An example of the agreement system displayed by class 14 nouns is given in (4.52).

(4.52) Class 14 agreement system

akâla ddi míyéene ósâlu óbu o-patúw-e
if 1.COP 1SG.PRO = INT 14.thread 14.DEM.I 14-break-SBJ
‘if it is me, may this thread break’

Class 14 nouns are morphologically identical with class 15 verb infinitives.

4.1.7 Class 15

Class 15 is another single class gender, used for infinitives, marked by the prefix o-, or its variant w-, when the verbal stem is vowel-initial. Class 15 concords the same way as class 14 but contains only verbal stems, which behave as nouns. Class 15 constitutes a particular class, made of infinitives or “verbo-nominal forms of verbs” (Dunham 2004). Infinitives indeed have nominal properties in that they induce class 15 agreement on their dependents. Such an agreement is shown on the connective in (4.53)a, and on the verbal predicate in (4.53)b.

---

34 Since the prefixes of classes 14 and 15 are identical, it would be coherent in a strict analysis to annotate 14/15 altogether, rather than 14 on one side and 15 on the other.
Nouns

(4.53)  
a. wííbá wa Maríya  
b. ótélá o-lí gari  
15.sing 15.CON Maria  
15.marry 15-be 9a.luck.PL  
‘Maria’s singing’ ‘get married is a luck’

See chapter 6 on verbal morphology for more details on the infinitive.

The agreement system displayed by class 15 nouns is exemplified in (4.52).

(4.54)  
Class 15 agreement system

wííbá bugákuw’ óónowáékupaár’ ãánámáândámáani
wííbá bu-gá-kuwá o-ni-o-á-kupaárí ãánámáândámáani
‘singing loudly annoys the neighbours’

4.1.8 Classes 16, 17 and 18: locative classes

Cuwabo retained the three historical proto-Bantu locative classes *pa (class 16), *ku (class 17), and *mu (class 18), realised as va-, o- and mu-, respectively. Certain nouns are inherently locative (section 4.1.8.1), while others are made locative by derivation (section 4.1.8.2). Of particular interest are the tendency toward double marking by means of an additional locative enclitic (section 4.1.8.3), and the question of agreement (section 4.1.8.4).

4.1.8.1 Inherent locative nouns

Synchronically, several stems inherently belong to the locative noun classes, i.e. the locative prefixes directly precede the nominal stem, without intervening noun class prefix. This means that the locative prefixes represent the primary noun prefixes, and that no corresponding non-locative form (i.e. the stem on its own) is attested in the language. The full list is given in (4.55).

(4.55)  
Inherent locative nouns

a. Class 16

vákûvi  ‘near’  
vaåri  ‘between, in the middle’  
valélo  ‘finally’  
valúli  ‘tooth hole’  
váñgóóno  ‘few, little’  
vatákûlu  ‘at home’  
vatí  ‘down, on the ground’  
vógo  ‘at some place’
b. Class 17

\[\begin{align*}
\text{odhúlú} & \quad \text{‘sky; above, at the top’} & \text{osongólro} & \quad \text{‘front, in the future’} \\
\text{owááni} & \quad \text{‘at home’ (birth place)} & \text{ováno} & \quad \text{‘now’} \\
\text{wále} & \quad \text{‘in the past, formerly’}
\end{align*}\]

c. Class 18

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ńíba} & \quad \text{‘inside’} & \text{mucíddo} & \quad \text{‘below, at the bottom’} \\
\text{munddúni} & \quad \text{‘behind, back, in the past’} & \text{mwaáno} & \quad \text{‘in the mouth’} \\
\text{mwaári} & \quad \text{‘inside, into’} & \text{mwaawonó} & \quad \text{‘this year’}
\end{align*}\]

Some are grammaticalised forms derived from body parts, e.g. \textit{munddúni} ‘behind’ < \textit{eddúni} ‘back’. All these locative expressions are usually analysed as adverbs or prepositions with a specific locative meaning. In order to denote location, they may be used on their own (4.56), but are more often inserted into a connective construction toward a reference object designating a place (4.57). In this case the connective relator correspondingly agrees with the preceding locative noun.

\[\begin{align*}
(4.56) & \quad \ldots \text{moonélíiyé: mánééra aácéya namárógolo nbúga,} & \{\text{mute.16}\} \\
& \quad \text{bagá-zúgúńúca mícíc’ uudhútú mááníya vatí, […]}. & \\
& \quad \text{mánééra [a-á-céya namárógolo nbúga]_{REL} ba-gá-zúgúńúca} & \\
& \quad 6.\text{way} 6-\text{PST.IPV.CJ-sow} 1a.\text{hare} 3.\text{rice} \text{SEQ.1-SIT-turn} & \\
& \quad \text{mícící} \quad \text{odhúlíú máání=ya vatí} & \\
& \quad 4.\text{root} 17.\text{top} 6.\text{herb=DEF} 16.\text{soil} & \\
& \quad ‘[…] the way the hare was sowing rice, turning the roots up and the leaves down the soil’
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
(4.57) & \quad \text{a. Class 16} & \\
& \quad \text{oofiýá vaári: va yiíkó} & \{\text{mbíri.30}\} \\
& \quad \text{o-hí-fiyá vaári va yiíkó} & \\
& \quad 1-\text{PFV.DJ-arrive} 16.\text{middle} 16.\text{CON} 9.\text{river} & \\
& \quad ‘she reached the middle of the river’
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
(4.57) & \quad \text{b. Class 17} & \\
& \quad \text{ovítómeya odhúlíú wa muyére} & \{\text{ddingf.10}\} \\
& \quad \text{o-ví-tómeya odhúlíú wa muyére} & \\
& \quad \text{NAR-REFL-hang.up 17.\text{top} 17.\text{CON} 3.\text{tree.sp}} & \\
& \quad ‘he climbed up the tree.sp’
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
(4.57) & \quad \text{c. Class 18} & \\
& \quad \text{nówá yaávólówa ńíba mwa múzúgu} & \{\text{elic.}\} \\
& \quad \text{nówá e-a-hí-vólówa ńíba mwa múzúgu} & \\
& \quad 9a.\text{snake} 9-\text{PST-IPV.DJ-enter} 18.\text{in} 18.\text{CON} 1.\text{European} & \\
& \quad ‘the snake had entered into the white man’s house’
\end{align*}\]
4.1.8.2 Derived locative nouns

While inherent or primary locative nouns are fossilised forms, a very productive way of forming new locative expressions is by prefixing a locative noun class to already existing nouns. In Cuwabo, as in many Bantu languages, there are three locative class prefixes corresponding to classes 16, 17 and 18. Their pre-prefix position is made clear in (4.58), where they attach to nouns which already bear a lexical class prefix. Note that most non-human nouns may acquire a locative meaning by means of the locative prefixation (in principle, every noun may be shifted to a locative class, except proper names of people and animates in general).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.58</th>
<th>Class 16</th>
<th>Class 17</th>
<th>Class 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vamúríní</td>
<td>omusíka</td>
<td>rìbìyàni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-múrí = ni</td>
<td>o-musíka</td>
<td>mu-bìyà = ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-3.tree = LOC</td>
<td>17-3.market</td>
<td>18-9a.stove = LOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘at the tree’</td>
<td>‘to the market’</td>
<td>‘in the stove’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each locative prefix is commonly associated with a general locative meaning, normally rendered by prepositional phrases in English. Class 16 va- indicates nearness (4.59) or adjacency (4.60), specific place (very often ‘at a house’) (4.61); it usually involves a contact (4.62), but not necessarily (4.63).

4.59 okupuwavo màánjé váttolón’ áápálé

{o-kup-uw-a = vo} máánjé vá-ttoló = ni áápálé
‘they took the water out of that well’

4.60 aafìyá vapambánóoni

{a-hi-fíyá va-pambánó = ni}
2-PFV.DJ-arrive 16-9a.croosroads = LOC
‘they arrived at a crossroads’

4.61 òlëekà Nikúrubedha, olí vátákùlváye

{o-łe-ekà N. o-lí va-tákùlú = vaye}
1.DEM.III-alone D. 1-be 16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG
‘There is Mr.Dugong, he is in his house’

4.62 kurúmáanji oonecelóómwerela vañlúgúni

{kùrùmáanje o-nàa-ilà-ómwerela va-nilúgù = ni}
1a.bee.sp 1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL 16-5.stone = LOC
‘the bee.sp will land on a stone’
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(4.63) **pááká ovirilé vâdhúlú va mééza** {elic.}

pááká o-vir-ilé vâ-dhúlú va mééza
1a.cat 1-go.through-PFV.CJ 16-top 16.CON 6.table
‘the cat jumped over the table’

Class 17 o- indicates remoteness, unspecific location, a relative distance with sight (4.64). It is also much used with motion verbs, to express actual localisation (‘at, in’), departure (‘from’), and purpose (‘to, toward’). This semantic extension is illustrated in (4.65) and (4.66). Note in (4.65) that the locative prefixes are also prefixed to names of places.

(4.64) **ol’ úumabásáni, kańzíw dhiñpáddúwa vatákúlvaye** {maria.121}
o-lí o-mabásá = ni ka-ní-zíwá [dhi-ní-páddúwa va-tákúlú = vaye]REL
1-be 17-6.work = LOC NEG.1-IPFV-know 10-IPFV.CJ-happen 16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG
‘he is at work, he does not know what is happening at home.’

(4.65) **míyó ddílí oMokúbá, ddińdhán’ ooCuwábo, ddívirilé oNikúwádala** {elic.}
míyó ddí-li o-Mokúbá ddi-ní-dhána o-Cuwábo
1SG.PRO 1SG-be 17-Mocuba 1SG-IPFV.CJ-bring 17-Quelimane
ddí-vir-ilé o-Nikúwádala
1SG-go.through 17-Nicoadala
‘I am in Mocuba, I come from Quelimane, I passed through Nicoadala’

(4.66) **râpáási oovény’ óokobélá: , ooñíy’ óokobélá:...** {mbírri.22}
râpáási o-hi-vényá o-kobélá o-hi-fíya o-kobélá
1a.boy 1-PFV.DJ-leave 17-9a.bank 1-PFV.DJ-arrive 17-9a.bank
‘The boy (man) left the river bank and reached the other one.’

While class 16 vatákulu means ‘at home’, class 17 otákulu means ‘outside’, as shown in (4.67).

(4.67) **kamáh’ áaanğán’ ootákůlú, onímónâ múyanâ [w’ oökóddéla vaddíddí]...** {maria.106}
kamáhíni a-ańgh-e o-tákůlú o-ní-mú-oná múyaná
barely 1-look-SBJ 17-outsie 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see 1.woman.PL
‘barely had he (the dugong) looked outside (outside the sea, toward the beach) when he sees a [very beautiful] woman’

In some cases, the semantic distinction between class 16 and class 17 is not clear. By comparing (4.68) with (4.62) above, we note that the object on which the bee lands can be introduced by both class 16 and class 17.
‘he (had) landed on a round thing like this (i.e. a fruit)’

Class 18 *mu*- denotes withinness, interiority, enclosed place (e.g. in a house), as shown in (4.69), or an object surrounded by an entity (4.70). The context and the semantic value of the verbs help in determining the direction.

### (4.69) Withinness, interiority

- **a. éjí yaapíléew’ éénééw na m m daní:**
  
  éjí [e-ap-ilé = ewe]REL  
  [e-ná = éwé = na]mu-mááda = ní]REL  
  9.DEM.1 9-pluck-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO 9-have = 2SG.PRO = COM 18-6.hand = LOC  
  ‘what (the fruit) you plucked and now have in your hands’

- **b. aádhówá r’mátákuulu mwááwá:**
  
  a-hí-dhówá mu-mátákuulu mwááwá  
  2-PFV.DJ-go 18-6.home 18.POSS.3PL  
  ‘they lived in their houses’

### (4.70) In the middle of some entity

- **a. oomótéla r’máánjéni “kíbíí:”**
  
  o-hí-mótt-él-a mu-máánjé = ní kíbíí  
  1-PFV.DJ-fall-APPL-Fi 18-6.water = LOC IDEO  
  ‘she fell into the water “splash!”’

- **b. oshága ononìpémblíra múttu, mwíílabôni**
  
  oshága o-ní-o-mú-pémblír-ih-a múttú mu-elábô = ni  
  ‘cleverness often benefits man in our society’

In a few cases, the locative prefix triggers noun class prefix deletion. Here are some illustrating examples:

### (4.71) Class prefix deletion

- **o-tóló = ni ókúle** ‘there at the well’ < *ítítólo* (cl.5) ‘well’
- **va-célá = ni** ‘at the well’ < *ńcélá* (cl.5) ‘well’
- **wiíko, mwiíko** ‘to the river, in the river’ < *yíiko* (cl.9) ‘river’ (> e-iko)
- **ólóbo** ‘on something’ < *ólóbo* (cl.9) ‘thing’

The reason for noun class prefix deletion is not clear. Both nouns in (4.71) belong to class 5, but this cannot be the reason why the nasal prefix gets deleted, since there are several
counterexamples whereby the nasal is maintained when the locative prefix is added, e.g. *o-n-
túkú = ni* (cl.5) ‘to the stump’ *va-ú-lúgú = ni* (cl.5) ‘on a stone’. At this point I remain unsure what significance should be attributed to these cases. A more systematic investigation on this issue would be needed to determine the contexts in which such a deletion may occur or not.

Regarding tones, the presence of the locative prefix does not alter the tone pattern found before locative derivation. The locative prefix is thus not treated as being part of the word when tones get assigned, and may thus be considered as a proclitic.

Locative markers can be used with the verb *omála* ‘finish, complete’ (or a derived form) to form temporal adverbs, as seen in the two following examples.

(4.72) a. *ímomalélaní: ñńfiyá ŋásáká na wúúnúwá:*               {maria.10}
    mu-mal-él-á = ní  ni-hi-fiyá  ŋásáká na wúúnúwá
    18-finish-APPL-F = LOC 5-PFV.DJ-arrive 5.time 5.CON 15.grow
    ‘Then came the growing phase’

b. *eítáwú, omamálélolowa ofíyílé ddi fúmú Namárógolo*       {mute.9}
    eítáwú o-mamáléló = wa  [ɔ-фи-и]=REL ddi fúmú namárógolo
    then 17-6.end = 17.DEF  l-arrive-PFV.REL  l.COP  la.mister  la.hare
    ‘finally the one who came is (was) mister Hare’

In a general way, class 17 allows forming temporal adverbs derived from verbs like ‘start’ or ‘finish’ as seen above in (4.72)b (*mamáléló* ‘end’ > *omála* ‘finish’), but also locative adverbs derived from motion verbs. In this case, the adverb indicates the place where the action expressed by the verb takes place, as shown in (4.73) with *oméyéléló* ‘on the way back’ derived from *wííyéla* ‘come back’. See section 4.2.1.2 for further details on this derivation process.

(4.73) *oméyélél’ oóku [...], kurúmáanje* *oonceelóómerela vańítgúini*       {maria.47}
    oméyéléló  ōku  kurúmáanje  o-naa-ilá-ómerela  va-ñítgú = ni
    17.way.back 17.DEM.1 1a.bee.sp 1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL 16-5.stone = LOC
    ‘On the way back [...], the bee.sp will land on a stone.’

Locative markers can be used with the temporal adverb *mángwáána* ‘tomorrow’, as seen in (4.74).

(4.74) *niönángwánáním’ oottamágúw’ óódha*               {maria.113}
    mú-mángwánáná = ní = mwa  o-ttamágá  o-dha
    18-tomorrow = LOC = 18.DEF  NAR-run  NAR-come
    ‘The next day, he went (to the seaside) running.’ (lit. he ran and went)
4.1.8.3 The enclitic  

So far, I focused on the left-periphery of the locative derivational process, i.e. on the prefixation of one of three locative prefixes *va-, *o- and *mu-. However, a second aspect of locative derivation must be taken into account, namely the suffixation of the locative enclitic  

This clitic, considered as the grammaticalised form of *ini ‘liver’ (Samsom and Schadeberg 1994), is widespread in Eastern Bantu languages, where it supposedly originates, but is also well attested in Southern Bantu. This formal innovation is normally complementary to the historical locative prefixes, i.e. a language does in principle not exhibit both markers on a same lexical item. For instance, in Swati (Nguni group, Swaziland and South Africa), locative phrases are marked either by the class 17 locative prefix ku-(4.75), or by the prefix e- (4.75)b, productively combined with the clitic =ini (4.75)c. These examples, extracted from Marten (2010), are originally from Taljaard, Khumalo and Bosch (1991).

(4.75)  
a.  
   bafana  ‘boys’  >  ku-bafana  ‘to/at the boys’  
b.  
   sitolo  ‘shop’  >  e-sitolo  ‘at the shop’  
c.  
   indlu  ‘house’  >  e-ndl=ini  ‘at the house’

In Cuwabo, both locative prefixes and the clitic =ni do co-occur in most locative expressions, as evidenced in the different examples mentioned so far. This double locative marking, which represents an innovation shared by P30 languages (Makhuwa group), is an exceptional feature in Bantu languages.

Still, note that this enclitic =ni is not systematically suffixed to all nouns. The following lists provide examples of locative phrases with (4.76) and without (4.77) =ni. All are extracted from narratives.

(4.76)  
Locative phrases with =ni  

mu-baárúku=ní  
   (cl.1a)  ‘in the boat’
riápule mí-mú-rúdda=ní  
   (cl.3)  ‘there in the village’
ókúle o-mu-yérê=ní  
   (cl.3)  ‘there at the tree.sp’
o-ñ-ttúkú=ni  
   (cl.5)  ‘to the stump’
mu-máánjé=ní  
   (cl.6)  ‘in the water’
mu-kásháwú=ní  
   (cl.9)  ‘in the box’
mwiilábô=ní  
   (cl.9)  ‘in society’
mu-dho j=ní  
   (cl.10) ‘in that food’
va-ó-sálú=ní ápa  
   (cl.14) ‘to that thread’
mu-weédda=ní  
   (cl.15) ‘on the walking path’
Locative phrases without \( =ni \)

- va-takúlu (cl.9a) ‘at home’
- mu-díla (cl.9a) ‘on the way’
- wiíkó / mu-íko (cl.9 yíko) ‘to the river’ / ‘in the river’
- rípúle mu-úlíilo (cl.9a) ‘there in the sea’
- ókúle mu-ttémbo (cl.9a) ‘there in the village’

a. nípu=nó mü-makúúzi 6-máttíyu oku=no \{mbírí.1\}
    18.DEM.I=PROX 18-Macuse 17-6.night 17.DEM.I=PROX
    ‘here in Macuze, at night’

b. o-mundá o-mabásá=ní \{body.11\}
    17-3.field 17-6.work=LOC
    ‘on the field, at work’

c. rapáási o-hi-vényá o-kobéla o-hí-ffíya o-kobéla \{mbírí.22\}
    1a.boy 1-PFV.JJ-leave 17-9a.bank 1-PFV.JJ-arrive 17-9a.bank
    ‘the boy left the river bank and reached the other one’

d. o-a-hí-mwérela 6-lóbo dhaáyí ya obúrúna va-múri=ní \{marí.44\}
    1-PST-PFV.JJ-land 17-(9.)thing like.this.1 9.CON 15.make.round 16-3.tree=LOC
    ‘he (had) landed on a round fruit in a tree’

e. adhowilén vool péla na na ńbára \{marí.172\}
    a-dhow-ilé=ná va-olápéllána na ńbára
    2-go-PFV.CJ=COM 16-14.distance with 5.sea
    ‘they went away at some distance from the beach’

For the word pápóóro ‘boat’ (from Portuguese vapor), both forms are attested.

\[ (4.77) \]

For the word pápóóro ‘boat’ (from Portuguese vapor), both forms are attested.

\[ (4.78) \]

The conditioning for this apparent variability is difficult to account for. The semantic load of the derived words may play a role in determining the addition of the locative enclitic: a word inherently locative may not require to carry further locative information, and vice versa. Another hypothesis would consist in tracking the different pragmatic situations in which the locative phrases occur, so that some dynamic considerations may also possibly be involved. These are research directions to be further explored.
4.1.8.4  Agreement

Within the noun phrase, the question of agreement on the locative phrases’ modifiers is interesting in that two patterns exist, which differ according to the modifiers. In most cases, the modifier agrees with the locative noun class (and not the inherent class of the noun). This is illustrated with the possessives (4.79), the demonstratives (4.80), and the adjectives (4.81).

(4.79)  Locative agreement on possessives
va-tákulu  váawa  osogólro  waaye  m=mátákulu  mwáawa
‘at their home’  ‘in front of her’  ‘in their houses’

(4.80)  Locative agreement on demonstratives
va-tákulu  ápa  o-ttolo-ni  ókó
16-9a.house  16.DEM.I  17-well = LOC  17.DEM.II
‘at this house’  ‘at that well’

(4.81)  Locative agreement on adjectives
olába  vógó  va-dérééttú  … [a-á-lgi  va-dérééttú]REL
15.work  16.place  16-good  2-PST.IPFV-be.HAB  16-good
‘work in a good place’  ‘…who were in a comfortable place’

Now, in connective constructions headed by locative phrases, the connective relator does not agree with the locative class, but with the inherent noun class of the head constituent (4.82), unless the locative form of the head noun carries inherently the locative prefix and is endowed with what is commonly considered an adverbial reading (4.83).

(4.82)  a.  va-méémbeésí  wa  ddabuno  b.  o-mízéréré=ni  dha  ddímííngu
‘this morning’  ‘at Sunday ceremony’ (elic.)

c.  mu-sidádi  ya  o-Maputo
18-9a.city  9.CON  17-Maputo
‘in the city of Maputo’ (elic.)

(4.83)  a.  vaárí  va  yiíkó  b.  odhúlú  wa  muyére
16.middle  16.CON  9-river  17.top  17.CON  3.tree.sp
‘at the middle of the river’  ‘to the top of the muyére’

c.  mwaárí  mwa  máattádda  d.  ríbá  mwa  ōmmáání
18.inside  18.CON  6.lake  18.home  18.CON  1.my.mother
‘inside the lakes’ (elic.)  ‘into my mother’s house’
Still, *vatákulu* ‘at home’ constitutes one exception to examples in (4.82), since it seems to function as an inherent locative noun, thus implying locative agreement, as shown in (4.84). This may indicate that *vatákulu* has achieved the final step of locative derivation, and must synchronically be considered as an inherent locative noun, rather than a derived locative noun. The fact that the basic stem *tákulu* ‘home, household’ is rarely attested in my data supports this hypothesis.

(4.84) va-tákulu va ábáabe
16-9a.house 16.CON 2a.parent
‘at the parents’ house’

Locative noun phrases may also function as subjects in inverted constructions, known as locative inversion. In this case, the three-way morphological contrast (class 16 va-, class 17 o-, and class 18 mu-) found on the locative head operates on agreeing subject markers, as shown in (4.85). See section 11.1.4 for more details on locative inversion in Cuwabo.

(4.85) a. Class 16 locative inversion

\[
\text{vattólóní vámellé foloóri énddímúwá} \quad \{\text{ddoo.23}\}
\]
\[
\text{va-ttoló=ní vá-mel-ilé foloóri é-nnddímúwá}
\]
\[
16-\text{well}=\text{LOC} 16-\text{blossom-PFV.CJ} 9a.\text{flower.PL} 9-\text{big}
\]
‘there at the well a big flower blossomed’

b. Class 17 locative inversion

\[
\text{ottólón’ uúkúl’ oóktálá fúlóóri} \quad \{\text{ddoo.25}\}
\]
\[
\text{o-ttoló=ní ókúlé o-hi-kálá fúlóóri}
\]
\[
17-\text{well}=\text{LOC} 17.\text{DEM.III} 17-\text{PFV.DJ-be} 9a.\text{flower}
\]
‘there at the well there is a flower’

c. Class 18 locative inversion

\[
\text{múpúle níbara, muukálá mwánénénámá oinkúwéélíwa Nikúrábedha} \quad \{\text{maria.104}\}
\]
\[
\text{múpúle mu-bará mu-hi-kálá mwánénénámá} [\text{o-ní-kúwél-if-a} N.]_{\text{REL}}
\]
\[
18.\text{DEM.III} 18-9a.\text{sea.PL} 18-\text{PFV.DJ-be} 1.\text{child-9.animal} 1-\text{IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi D}
\]
‘There in the sea, there is an animal called Mr.Dugong.’

### 4.1.9 Agreement in coordinate noun phrases

In coordinate noun phrases, several situations arise: first, if the two nouns belong to the same class, the agreement is made with the corresponding plural prefix. For instance, two
coordinated class 1 nouns imply a class 2 plural agreement on the verb, whether they are animate (4.86)a or not (4.86)b.

\[(4.86)\] \(\text{Class 1 + Class 1 = class 2 agreement}\)
\[\text{a. } \text{báábe na mááye aazívéliwa} \quad \{\text{mute.18}\}\]
\[\text{báábe } \text{na } \text{mááye } \text{a-hi-zívéliwa}\]
\[1\text{a.father and 1.mother 2-PFV.DJ-like}\]
\[\text{‘the father and the mother liked (it)’}\]

\[\text{b. } \text{mácááddó na kóólriyó awííndééya} \quad \{\text{elic.}\}\]
\[\text{mácááddó } \text{na } \text{kóólriyó } \text{a-hí-índ-ééy-a}\]
\[1\text{a.axe and 1a.big.hoe 2-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi}\]
\[\text{‘the axe and the big hoe are broken’}\]

Now, when coordinate noun phrases belong to different noun classes, a gender conflict arises, which seems to be resolved in quite a regular way in Cuwabo: irrespective of the semantics of the two nouns involved in coordination (human or not, animate or not), it is normally the plural class of the second in the sequence which triggers agreement on the following verb, as shown in (4.87). Note that most sentences were obtained through elicitation, since such coordinate noun phrases are not very productive in spontaneous speech.

\[(4.87)\] \[a. \text{Class 1a + class 5 = class 6 agreement}\]
\[\text{pááká na ñíçílú anoshágâ vaddíddí} \quad \{\text{elic.}\}\]
\[\text{pááká } \text{na } \text{ñíçílú } \text{a-ni-oshágâ } \text{vaddíddí}\]
\[1\text{a.cat and 5.rat 6-IPFV.DJ-15.be.clever much}\]
\[\text{‘the cat and the rat are clever’}\]

\[b. \text{Class 1a + class 9a = class 10 agreement}\]
\[\text{poddógóma na nári dhíívíra} \quad \{\text{elic.}\}\]
\[\text{poddógóma na nári } \text{dhi-hí-víra}\]
\[1\text{a.lion and 9a.buffalo 10-PFV.DJ-pass}\]
\[\text{‘the lion and the buffalo passed by’}\]

\[c. \text{Class 3 + class 10 = class 10 agreement}\]
\[\{\text{waábulélá vaddíddí,} \text{ musébweéé , } \text{pélé kadhaááníma}\} \quad \{\text{maria.6}\}\]
\[\text{musébwe } \text{pélé } \text{ka-dhi-á-mú-mala}\]
\[3\text{.measles 10a.scabies NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-stop}\]
\[\text{‘[she always got sick:] measles, scabies never stopped (with her).’}\]
4.2 Derivational processes

Several derivational morphological processes contribute to the formation of new nouns in Cuwabo. The most common and most productive consists in modifying noun or verb stems by derivational suffixes and/or class prefixes (section 4.2.1). Other Cuwabo nouns may stem from compounding (section 4.2.2) or reduplication (section 4.2.3) of existing forms in the languages. Finally, some Cuwabo nouns are also formed by means of specific formatives prefixed to the stem; these are complex nouns (section 4.2.4).

4.2.1 Noun derivation by affixation

Nouns may be derived either from action verbs or from other nouns by adding various derivational affixes. This section discusses three derivation processes: noun-to-noun (section 4.2.1.1), verb-to-noun (section 4.2.1.2), and (although more rarely attested) adjective-to-noun (section 4.2.1.3).

4.2.1.1 Noun-to-noun derivation (by means of class alternation)

Although the majority of nouns belong to a single class only, some may be hosted by more than one class: the change of class prefix implies a change in meaning. More specifically, while the core meaning of the basic nominal stem is preserved through such a noun-to-noun derivation, the class prefixation brings shades of semantic categorisation. Several instances are provided here, always in form of pairs. First, names of trees in classes 3/4 have matching names for their fruits either in classes 5/6 (4.88), or in class 9a/10a (4.89).

(4.88) Class 3/4 for trees and 5/6 for fruits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nifûgi</em> ‘banana tree’</td>
<td><em>nifûgi</em> ‘banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>münddimwi</em> ‘lime tree’</td>
<td><em>iddimwi</em> ‘lime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>murâga</em> ‘pumpkin plant’</td>
<td><em>îrâga</em> ‘pumpkin.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>muttîyêélê</em> ‘tree.sp’</td>
<td><em>îttîyêélê</em> ‘fruit.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mûyêébe</em> ‘pine tree’</td>
<td><em>nîyêébe</em> ‘pine cone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Furthermore and as already seen in section 4.1.6, class 14 nouns typically derive from other nouns, which typically belong to classes 1/2 or to class 15. A few examples are given in (4.90).

(4.90)  Class 14: Abstract concepts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Class 14: Abstract concepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>odháâri</td>
<td>‘servitude’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókwirí</td>
<td>‘black magic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópâli</td>
<td>‘youth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ótâduwá</td>
<td>‘madness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olápêlana</td>
<td>‘distance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópa</td>
<td>‘pain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orêêla</td>
<td>‘richness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ówodhá</td>
<td>‘power’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphologically, the aforementioned examples show nominal stems which shift from one class to another. Still, another derivation process exists, in which the whole noun (including its class prefix) is transferred into another class. The obtained derived noun thus carries two class prefixes. This derivation process is less common and only occurs with a few abstract words derived from human referees, as illustrated in (4.91).

(4.91)  Pre-prefixation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre</th>
<th>Class 14: Abstract concepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>omúlûgu</td>
<td>‘divinity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ómûttu</td>
<td>‘mankind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ómwâni</td>
<td>‘infantilism’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ómwêne</td>
<td>‘supremacy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.1.2 Verb-to-noun derivation

Nouns may be deverbative, i.e. derived from verbal bases, by adding an appropriate noun class prefix, as well as a nominalising suffix, which comes and replaces the stem final vowel -a. Each of these nominalising suffixes hints toward some semantic categorisation of the
noun. The three different deverbal noun suffixes -i, -a, and -o, attested in Cuwabo, are developed in turn. Note that in every case, the derived nouns maintain the tonal structure of the verbal stems.

-\textit{i}

Many agent nouns hosted in classes 1 and 2 are derived from verbs by means of the nominalising suffix -i. This derivation is a productive process in the language, which applies to both transitive and intransitive verb stems. Different examples are listed in (4.92).

(4.92) Suffix -\textit{i}: Agent nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent noun</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>múddááwi</td>
<td>óddááwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwíimélëli</td>
<td>wíimëla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rímuújáni</td>
<td>ója</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rímpááwi</td>
<td>ópááwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rímpáddúci</td>
<td>opáddúca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rímpémbéélri</td>
<td>ópémbéélra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukúmbi</td>
<td>okúmba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlébí</td>
<td>ólebá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múrééélí</td>
<td>órééla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múgbéélri</td>
<td>ógááwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múyéélégi</td>
<td>óyééléga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the noun múbáali ‘brother/sister’, derived from óbáála ‘give birth’ in a similar agentive morphological pattern, is a semantic exception to the agentivity rule in that it does not refer to the agent of the action performed by the verb. According to the meaning of the verb óbáála ‘give birth’, we would expect múbáali to mean ‘genitor’.

-\textit{a}

Other agent nouns hosted in classes 1/1a and 2 are attested in my database with the final vowel -a. Examples are provided in (4.93), followed by the verb used for derivation.

(4.93) Class 15 for infinitive verbs and class 1/1a for agent nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent noun</th>
<th>Verbal stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ddangúrânya | oddángúrânya | ‘chat, lie’
| jebérúwa    | ójébéruwa   | ‘prostitute’
| mápitëla    | ópítëa      | ‘hide’
| muláwûla    | oláwûla     | ‘foretell’

Note that the noun múbáali ‘brother/sister’, derived from óbáála ‘give birth’ in a similar agentive morphological pattern, is a semantic exception to the agentivity rule in that it does not refer to the agent of the action performed by the verb. According to the meaning of the verb óbáála ‘give birth’, we would expect múbáali to mean ‘genitor’.
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-\(\text{e}\)

Derivation by means of the suffix -\(\text{e}\) added to a verb root is not productive at all in Cuwabo. The only attested examples are given in (4.94), where this suffixation seems to indicate a state, at least with kwette\(\text{e}\)kwe ‘crippled person’.

(4.94) kwette\(\text{e}\)kwe ‘crippled person’ < okwette\(\text{e}\)kwa ‘limp’
élávelave ‘insatisfaction’ < olávelava ‘disobey’
imááluwe ‘echo’ < waálûwa ‘scatter’

-\(\text{o}\)

The derivational suffix -\(\text{o}\) is very frequent and productive. It allows creating nouns with vague or abstract meaning usually denoting the result (action or state) of the verbal action or process. Unlike noun stems formed with the suffix -\(\text{i}\), noun stems formed with the suffix -\(\text{o}\) may be associated with different classes, as shown in (4.95), even though a majority belong to classes 5/6.

(4.95) Suffix -\(\text{o}\): Abstract nouns

a. Class 5

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{Verb} & \\
\text{nilúmò} & ‘richness’ < ólúmá ‘be rich’ \\
\text{nigáno} & ‘law, rule’ < ogána ‘decide’ \\
\text{nikáttámiho} & ‘problem’ < okáttámíha ‘make difficult’ \\
\text{nikókómezo} & ‘advise’ (n) < okókómeza ‘advise’ (v) \\
\text{nikúmbílo} & ‘request’ (n) < ókúmbíla ‘ask, request’ \\
\text{ñlámûlo} & ‘law, duty’ < olámûla ‘order’ \\
\text{ñlêbô} & ‘writing’ < òlêbá ‘write’ \\
\text{ñléjélo} & ‘greeting’ < oléléla ‘greet’ \\
\text{ñlélo} & ‘education’ < oléla ‘educate’ \\
\text{ñlógélö} & ‘request’ < ólógélá ‘implore’ \\
\text{nipáddûwo} & ‘unexpected event’ < opáddûwa ‘happen’ \\
\text{nipikîrlëlo} & ‘promess’ (n) < opîkîrlëla ‘promess’ (v) \\
\text{ñránjúlo} & ‘profit, gain’ (n) < oránjûla ‘profit, gain’ (v) \\
\end{tabular}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>árúwáño</td>
<td>‘insult’ (n)</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>órúwána</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ásákúlano</td>
<td>‘preference’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>osákúla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñségéđhó</td>
<td>‘problem’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>óségéđha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñsóóso</td>
<td>‘suffering, torture’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ósóósa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñtáábuco</td>
<td>‘punishment’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ótáábúca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñtíttíitimího</td>
<td>‘glory’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ottíttíimiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekálêlo</td>
<td>‘behaviour’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>okála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éléméélêlo</td>
<td>‘habit’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>óléméélêla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enónêlo</td>
<td>‘meaning’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>onóna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epánêlo</td>
<td>‘death throes’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>opána</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>épitaálo</td>
<td>‘hide-and-seek’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>òpitá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esámbêlo</td>
<td>‘menstruation’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>osámba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éttáwêlo</td>
<td>‘way to flee’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>óttawá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeéddêlo</td>
<td>‘behaviour’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>weédda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukálêlo</td>
<td>‘behaviour’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>okála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecínyúlo</td>
<td>‘toothpick’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ócínyúla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eddíyêlo</td>
<td>‘stopper’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>oddíya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>élógélo</td>
<td>‘language’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ólogá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émezó</td>
<td>‘fishhook’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ómezá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésámúlo</td>
<td>‘comb’ (n)</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ósámüla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etélo</td>
<td>‘winnow’ (n)</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>otéla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fugúlo</td>
<td>‘key’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ofúga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>togólo</td>
<td>‘point, tip’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>otógóla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaábâlo</td>
<td>‘cloth’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>waábâla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukúpo</td>
<td>‘fan’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>okúpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rifönddo</td>
<td>‘drill’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>oföndda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intúguo</td>
<td>‘handle’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ofúga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múlebó</td>
<td>‘card’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>ólebá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulikího</td>
<td>‘anchor’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>olijke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impímo</td>
<td>‘measure tool’</td>
<td>-ó</td>
<td>opíma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In combination with classes 9(a)/10 (4.96)a and 3/4 (4.96)b, but more rarely 5/6 (4.96)c, the suffix -o also forms nouns which denote instruments that are involved in the activity described by the verb. (4.96)
Nouns

músáméélo ‘support’ < ósámééla ‘lean against’
múséélo ‘broom’ < óscééla ‘sweep’
musúgûlo ‘strainer’ < osúgûla ‘strain, filter’
muttíddêlo ‘handle’ (n) < ottídda ‘handle’ (v)
múwásúlo ‘whip’ (n) < owásúla ‘whip’ (v)
mwéddo ‘leg’ < weédda ‘walk’
c. Class 5 Verb
nífuló ‘anvil’ < ófulá ‘work iron’

Note that in this derivational process, a few instrument nouns are added the applicative extension -el-, while it is not contained in the verbal base. And interestingly, several -elo (applicative + -o) nouns belong to the locative class 17, with a temporal (4.97)a or locative (4.97)b adverbial meaning.

(4.97) Class 17 -elo derived nouns

a. omágómélo ‘at the end’ < ógómá ‘finish’
omamálêlo ‘at the end’ < omála ‘finish’
omamámîhelo ‘at the end’ < omámîha ‘finish’
omáromélo ‘at the beginning’ < óromá ‘begin, start’
b. omáándálêlo ‘place to spread crops’ < wáándála ‘spread, extend’
omadhéélo ‘to the East’ < odhéêla ‘come to’
omáddóówélo ‘to the West’ < óddóówéla ‘lay down, set (sun)’

4.2.1.3 Adjective-to-noun derivation

Out of the seven adjectives attested in Cuwabo (see section 5.4), only two allow noun formation: -nddimúwa ‘big, old’ (4.98)a, and -ńgójóno ‘small’ (4.98)b.

(4.98) a. múnddimúwa (cl.1) ‘chief’ < -nddimúwa ‘big, old’
ońnddimúwa (cl.14) ‘greatness’ < -nddimúwa ‘big, old’
b. óńgójóno (cl.14) ‘smallness’ < -ńgójóno ‘small’

4.2.2 Compound nouns

Besides derivation, compounding constitutes another word formation strategy. Compounding consists in combining two words, generally both nouns, with different meaning into one with a new meaning. Contrary to many Bantu languages, Cuwabo has lost its diminutive
noun class prefixes (usually classes 12/13). Instead, a productive pattern of nominal compounding in Cuwabo consists in juxtaposing the class 1 head element *mwáná*- to a common noun (with its nominal prefix), as shown in (4.99).

(4.99) **nsáká nimodhá waákálawo mwánámwíyaná mwánánámwáli,** {mute.1} 
[woonúwíle vatákúlu vaábáabé.] 
nsáká ni-modhá o-á-kála=wo mwáná-mwíyaná mwáná-námwáli 
5.time 5.one 1-PST(IPFV-be=17.LOC 1.child-1.woman 1.child-1a.girl
‘once upon a time, there was a girl [who grew up in the parent’s house]’

In such compounds, the first element modifies the second, and it always controls agreement on the dependent constituents. Tonally, it bears a high tone on its first mora, which doubles on the next mora, while the second noun exhibits the same tone pattern as in isolation.

The origin of the diminutive *mwáná-* is the lexical word for ‘child’ *mwáaná*, reconstructed as *yánà ‘child’ (Guthrie’s CS 1922). Three arguments support this assertion: first, there is a clear phonological similarity between the diminutive prefix and the word for ‘child’. When assuming its function of “relational term” (Schadeberg 1992: 12), the element *mwááná* is in fact reduced to *mwáná*. Second, the association between this diminutive formative and the word for ‘child’ has long been established from a diachronic viewpoint over the Bantu domain (Güldemann 1999, Creissels 1999, among others). The third argument deals with semantic grounds. Cross-linguistically, the head noun ‘child’ used in compounding is considered as a diminutive, and as such, is commonly associated with an interpretation of smallness, assigned to an object or a quality. Jurafsky (1996: 534) defines the diminutive as “any morphological device which means at least ‘small’”. In Cuwabo, this meaning is attested to the diminutive *mwáná-* as shown in (4.100).

(4.100) **Smallness**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound noun</th>
<th><em>mwáná</em> ‘child’ +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwánámündda</td>
<td>‘garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánááká</td>
<td>‘little cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánáípáddo</td>
<td>‘small bench’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánáílägu</td>
<td>‘small stone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the diminutive *mwáná-* is not confined to smallness, and in fact displays various other interpretations. For instance, *mwáná-* may suggest the meaning ‘young’, usually applied on a human or an animal, as shown in (4.101). Note that this idea of offspring displays a close semantic relation to the aforementioned concept of smallness, as young entities are usually expected to be of smaller size.
(4.101) ‘young’ (offspring)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound noun</th>
<th>mwááná ‘child’ +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwánábůru</td>
<td>‘young lady’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánámúyaná</td>
<td>‘young woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánánámwâli</td>
<td>‘young lady’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánákâándhůnî</td>
<td>‘orfan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánčénámána</td>
<td>‘animal, offspring’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, membership is a common source for diminutive compounding, and is in fact the most attested meaning evidenced by the prefix mwááná-. The entities referred to are part of a semantic group or category, denoted by the base word. In particular, nouns expressing a physical or social condition are much attested, as exemplified in (4.102). Such forms no longer convey the idea of smallness as part of their meaning.

(4.102) Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound noun</th>
<th>mwááná ‘child’ +</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwánákâlába</td>
<td>‘old person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánámágulá</td>
<td>‘customer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánámóóvi</td>
<td>‘assistant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánámúkatti</td>
<td>‘messenger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánámúlûgu</td>
<td>‘albino’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánámûrâla</td>
<td>‘host’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánáweéddda</td>
<td>‘foreigner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánówááni</td>
<td>‘noble person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwánámánddámâni</td>
<td>‘neighbour’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in various examples above, the second compounding element, the one which is modified, is not always recognisable in isolation, and may in fact no longer exist in the current lexicon. Two examples are given in (4.103), and compared to Guthrie’s proto-form, as well as surrounding languages in which such short forms exist: Sena (Anderson 1897, Torrend 1900) and Ngazija (Lafon 1991).

(4.103) Cuwabo Unattested PB Sena Ngazija

| lbwá | #bwa | *-bóá (CS 174) | mwánnambwa | mbwá |
| lbáku | #ku | *-kókó (CS 1203x) | nkuku | nkûhù |
Chapter 4

4.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication represents another widespread word formation strategy, which involves repetition of the noun stem, with a H tone reassignment. Two types of reduplication are distinguished, total or partial, which differ according to the portion (complete or not) of the duplicated form. In Cuwabo, only total reduplication is attested, and although a certain number of nouns are affected, nominal reduplication is not a productive process. The following sets of examples illustrate total reduplication applied on disyllabic stems (4.104) and on trisyllabic stems (4.105). As the examples show, reduplication affects all the major words classes, but does not involve semantic homogeneity among the variety of words created by this process. Note that, in most cases, the base of the word is not attested synchronically in the language.

(4.104) Total reduplication with disyllabic stems

a. Classes 1(a)/2
   nań-píta-pita ‘hide-and-seek’ nań-púra-pura ‘plant.sp’
   nań-péla-pela ‘medicinal water’ nań-lóko-loko ‘larynx’
   neé-ttúku-ttuku ‘watermelon’ nń-púrú-puru ‘bird.sp’
   bwérú-bwerú ‘shrimp.sp’ koró-kóro ‘fish.sp’

b. Classes 3/4
   mú-kúre-kúre ‘brook, stream’

b. Classes 5/6
   ní-gárú-gáru ‘shell’ ní-gúrú-gúru ‘shell’
   ní-kátá-káta ‘beeswax’ má-kéwa-kéwa ‘gossip’
   ḥ-n-láká-laka ‘fin’ ḥ-n-tálá-tala ‘caterpillar’
   ḥ-n-tóbó-tobo ‘stain, mark’

d. Class 9/10
   e-bárá-bara ‘width’ e-báři-bari ‘truth’
   e-ddáría-ddwara ‘chin’ e-dhúlú-dhulu ‘in the north’
   e-jílè-jílè ‘epilepsy’ e-gónì-gonì ‘talent’
   e-gúddá-guddu ‘dusk, twilight’ e-kótó-koto ‘cough’
   e-kótó-kotto ‘wrist’ e-kwású-kwasu ‘whip’
   e-kúmá-kuma ‘sadness’ e-lávé-lave ‘insatisfaction’
   e-lókó-loko ‘desire’ e-móní-moni ‘glow-worm’
   e-nwé-rí-nwéru ‘joy, laugh’ e-náři-nari ‘nausea’
   e-ngáyí-ngáyí ‘enraged dog’ e-ngwíró-ngwíró ‘clarity’
When the nouns are prefixless (in class 1a and 9a/10a), the whole word appears as reduplicated. Further note that, in rare cases, reduplication may apply to the whole noun including the nominal prefix. For instance, the nasal prefix in the class 5 noun ñttúkúttuku ‘concern’ is also projected in the reduplicate.

With regard to tones, the reduplicated noun does not imply a specific new tone pattern, but rather adopts one of the different tone patterns attested for nouns (see section 3.3). This shows that reduplication necessarily occurs before tones are distributed, since reduplicated nouns are considered as units for tone assignment. The only exception is found with the word nyangara-nyángâra ‘goose bumps’.

### 4.2.4 Complex nouns

Complex nouns consist of a stem (nominal or verbal) preceded by one or two formatives or “medians” (Meeussen 1967: 95), which do not exist otherwise on their own, i.e. as lexical roots. There are two formatives in Cuwabo: na- (and its variant nya-) and ma-. Most are attested in class 1a nouns, which thus form their plural with the additional class 2 prefix a-. Diachronically, the formatives may represent an outer noun prefix, but synchronically, they should be considered as part of the noun stem, as the great majority of the complex nouns are non-segmentable from a semantic point of view.
4.2.4.1 Formative na- or nya-

Note that a subgroup of class 1a/2 nouns contain a formative *na-* or *nya-* stem-initially. This recurrent element is also attested in Makhuwa (Kisseberth 2003, van der Wal 2009). These formatives do not seem to be used productively; still they appear in several items generally linked with animals or human condition, as illustrated in the (4.106) for the formative *na-* and (4.107) for the *nya-.*

(4.106) *na-* formative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nábili</td>
<td>‘hyena.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nábúya</td>
<td>‘lord’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhána</td>
<td>‘trad. healer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nákamúla</td>
<td>‘sacrifice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nánkûno</td>
<td>‘twins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nákóli</td>
<td>‘desert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nánápwaáttu</td>
<td>‘frog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namúshíña</td>
<td>‘loincloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namúñgu</td>
<td>‘trad.healer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námvílú</td>
<td>‘young virgin woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náníttúba</td>
<td>‘uncircumcised man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.107) *nya-* formative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyáccéngwa</td>
<td>‘ostrich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyákárízi</td>
<td>‘centipede’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyákáttá</td>
<td>‘alcoholic man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyákáwa</td>
<td>‘instructor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyákóko</td>
<td>‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyàngáséra</td>
<td>‘fishing basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyarúngwe</td>
<td>‘leopard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already mentioned, these class 1a nouns form their plural with the class 2 prefix *a-*, which bears a H when the word is lexically H, and remains otherwise toneless, as in *anákôno* ‘twins’ (see section 3.3 on tones). A very restricted number of class 1 words, i.e. prefixed with *mu-*, contain the formatives *na-* or *nya-*. The full list is provided in (4.108).

(4.108) *na-/*nya- in class 1 nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>munáfûtu</td>
<td>‘dark mulatto’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munýákóddo</td>
<td>‘soldier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munýámázi</td>
<td>‘commoner’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems that there is no semantic difference between *na-* and *nya-* and free variation between the two formatives may in fact occur, as shown in (4.109).
Free variation between \emph{na-} and \emph{nya-}

\begin{align*}
\text{nyarúbí} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{narúbí} \quad \text{‘undertaker’} \\
\text{nyáttánddo} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{nátánddo} \quad \text{‘okra’}
\end{align*}

Note that the formatives \emph{na-} and \emph{nya-} may appear with a long vowel, as shown in (4.110). In most cases, such a vowel lengthening seems attributable to the adjacency of prenasalised consonants. However, this generalisation does not permit to account for words like \emph{naáddínddi} ‘bird.sp’, \emph{naálîya} ‘baby’ \emph{nyákúngu} ‘crow’, and \emph{nyáávánga} ‘sharp object’.

\begin{align*}
\text{naáddínddi} & \quad \text{‘bird.sp’} \quad \text{naálîya} \quad \text{‘baby’} \\
\text{naámábáaru} & \quad \text{‘abscess’} \quad \text{naámbeďde} \quad \text{‘maize’} \\
\text{naámibírolro} & \quad \text{‘main root’} \quad \text{naámbné} \quad \text{‘bile’} \\
\text{naánço} & \quad \text{‘vagina’} \quad \text{naángólri} \quad \text{‘big saw’} \\
\text{naángómbó} & \quad \text{‘water okra’} \quad \text{naángúddumula} \quad \text{‘nasal mucus’} \\
\text{naángüra} & \quad \text{‘anchora’} \\
\text{nyáákúngu} & \quad \text{‘crow’} \quad \text{nyáávánga} \quad \text{‘sharp object’}
\end{align*}

**4.2.4.2 Formative \emph{ma-}**

The formative \emph{ma-} is used in another set of class 1a nouns. Some examples are given in (4.111).

\begin{align*}
\text{magwédde} & \quad \text{‘white person’} \quad \text{majábwára} \quad \text{‘fat woman’} \\
\text{mákázi} & \quad \text{‘mistress’} \quad \text{máláwu} \quad \text{‘eel’} \\
\text{nimálabó} & \quad \text{‘outsider’} \quad \text{mámééri} \quad \text{‘nun’} \\
\text{mámúni} & \quad \text{‘husband’} \quad \text{mápitéla} \quad \text{‘spy’} \\
\text{máráfulá} & \quad \text{‘dead person’} \quad \text{nimárála} \quad \text{‘outsider’} \\
\text{mawányérdha} & \quad \text{‘selfish person’}
\end{align*}

Similarly to the formatives \emph{na-} and \emph{nya-}, \emph{-ma} may undergo vowel lengthening when followed by prenasalised consonants, or even by the bilabial nasal [m], as shown in (4.112). In this respect, \emph{mámééri} ‘nun’ and \emph{mámúni} ‘husband’ would constitute two exceptions. More examples would be needed to establish more systematic correlations.
(4.112) Class 1a nouns with the formative *maa-*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>maáñácíri</em></td>
<td>‘pregnant woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maánmíma</em></td>
<td>‘second wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maáñándtímmúwa</em></td>
<td>‘first wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maáñgómbo</em></td>
<td>‘water okra’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maáñgóyí</em></td>
<td>‘unfortunate person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the two formatives *maa-* and *naa-* may be used to express ‘water okra’, resulting in the two complex nouns *mááñgómbo* and *nááñgómbo*, respectively.

The formative *ma-* is also attested in one class 5 noun, namely *nimáluwe* ‘echo’, which is clearly derived from the verb *waálûwa* ‘scatter’. Also note that the several class 17 nouns already seen in deverbal derivation in -elo (in (4.97), section 4.2.1.2 above, but repeated here in (4.113)), all make use of *ma-*.  

(4.113) Class 17 *o- + ma- + verb root + -elo*

a. *omágómélo* ‘at the end’ < *ógomá* ‘finish’
   *omamálêlo* ‘at the end’ < *omála* ‘finish’
   *omamárhelo* ‘at the end’ < *omáríha* ‘finish’
   *omáromélo* ‘at the beginning’ < *óromá* ‘begin, start’

b. *omándálélo* ‘place to spread crops’ < *wáándálá* ‘spread, extend’
   *omadhéélo* ‘to the East’ < *odhééla* ‘come to’
   *omáddóówélo* ‘to the West’ < *óddóówéla* ‘lay down, set (sun)’

4.2.4.3 Combination of *na- + ma-*

Interestingly, the prefix *ma-* may also be pre-prefixed by *na-*, giving rise to poly-compound nouns. Note that *náma* means ‘chair’ or ‘game’, and ‘animal’ when the class 9 *e-* is prefixed (*enama*). This may explain why the combination of *na- and ma-* applies almost exclusively for nouns of animals, some of which are listed in (4.114).

(4.114) *na- + ma- + noun stem*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>námáábé</em></td>
<td>‘spitting cobra’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námágúbu</em></td>
<td>‘drum.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námáiávo</em></td>
<td>‘eel.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námákoopočeła</em></td>
<td>‘vulture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námáliwa</em></td>
<td>‘weaver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namáribwatta</em></td>
<td>‘night bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namáágala</em></td>
<td>‘heron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namágúru</em></td>
<td>‘beetle.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námákáyo</em></td>
<td>‘grinding stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námákúbi</em></td>
<td>‘vulture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námamé</em></td>
<td>‘fish.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namáríyani</em></td>
<td>‘chameleon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When preceding a verb stem, the combination *na-ma-* refers to human entities, which execute the action or represent the condition (or state) expressed by the verb. In this respect, this complex noun formation constitutes an alternative strategy to the aforementioned formative *mwáná-* in compound words (see section 4.2.2).

(4.115) *na-* + *ma-* + verb stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>namárgólo</em></td>
<td>‘hare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namáríkudha</em></td>
<td>‘insect.sp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namááibá</em></td>
<td>‘green cobra’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námáombíyo</em></td>
<td>‘praying mantis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>namáttábwá</em></td>
<td>‘weevil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>námáyíva</em></td>
<td>‘squirrel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When preceding a verb stem, the combination *na-ma-* refers to human entities, which execute the action or represent the condition (or state) expressed by the verb. In this respect, this complex noun formation constitutes an alternative strategy to the aforementioned formative *mwáná-* in compound words (see section 4.2.2).
In order to fully appreciate the nature of the noun (studied in detail in the previous chapter), one has to consider the principle of agreement, one of the most characteristic features of Bantu languages, which represents a formal bond of relationship between the elements of a set. This chapter focuses on the noun phrase structure and presents the different classes of words that typically form phrasal constituents with head nouns, to which they are similarly connected via identical or functionally equivalent prefixes. These noun modifiers subsume the connective (section 5.1), demonstratives (section 5.2), possessives (section 5.3), adjectives (section 5.4), quantifiers (section 5.5), numerals (section 5.6) and other pronouns (section 5.7). Most of them share the following properties: they usually follow the head noun with which they exhibit class agreement, and they are considered as functional items, part of closed word categories, i.e. they are not likely to welcome new words. This also concerns adjectives which, although being lexical forms, represent a closed class in Cuwabo.

5.1 Connective

The connective is a ‘relator’ (Dik 1989) used to link syntactically and semantically two nominal constituents together. The second one, which modifies the first, is introduced by a connective element (also referred to as associative, connexive or genitive). The monosyllabic
connective element is composed of the stem -a preceded by a pronominal prefix, which agrees in noun class with the head noun. The connective relator depends on a (pro)nominal head noun and can in principle not appear on its own. The surrounding constituents involved in the connective construction are usually nouns or noun phrases, but not only, as will be shown below. The order of the connective construction is head - connective - modifier.

It is common in Bantu descriptions to write the connective relator and the modifier as one morphological word, in which the first element is cliticised to the second. This tight bond is explained by both syntactic dependency and phonological linkage between both elements. Van de Velde (2013: 219) considers this bonding as “being intermediate between that of a word boundary and that of an affix boundary.” I chose in this study to write the connective as a separate particle, and not a proclitic form to the following item. I fully recognise the high degree of bonding between both elements: syntactically, no element can intervene between them, and phonologically, when the modifier is vowel-initial, vowel coalescence occurs between vowels and a long vowel is produced. Still, and as the first transcription line of every example of this thesis shows, phonological bonding between separate words is omnipresent in Cuwabo: it does not seem stronger in connective constructions than in other constructions such as a noun plus a demonstrative (see section 5.2.1). Furthermore it is generally assumed that no pause can intervene between the connective and the second noun, but prosodic pause may happen as illustrated in the sentence in (5.1), followed by a spectrogram representation (extracted from the program Praat), which clearly reveals a long pause between the connective relator ya ‘9.CON’ (which refers to gáhálá ‘story’) and the demonstrative pronoun óddûle ‘that one’. Such a pause underlines the originally independent status of the connective relator that I therefore consider as a particle. Being toneless, the connective does not influence the tone realisation of the following noun.

(5.1) gáhálá: enlógá: ya: óddûle: oñtôta náma vaddîddî
   gáhálá e-ní-lógá ya óddûle [o-ní-tôta náma vaddîddî]rel
   9a.story 9-IPFV.CJ-tell 9.CON 1.DEM.III 1-IPFV.CJ-hunt 9a.game much
   ‘The story tells about a great hunter.’

Table 21 presents the connective stem in all noun class agreement patterns.
In Cuwabo, the connective construction conveys different semantic relations, which mostly depend on the meaning of the two linked constituents. All the examples of this section, in which the abbreviation CON serves as ‘connective’, present an overview of these semantic relations.

### 5.1.1 Property-denoting relations

The connective construction is mostly used to denote properties or qualities, which can otherwise be expressed by adjectives in other languages. In such constructions, while the head represents a noun or a pronoun, the modifier can be a noun, an invariable adjective, or an infinitival verb. All these possibilities are exemplified below, starting with the nominal modifiers in (5.2).

(5.2)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>múlóbwana wa koóbîtri</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>ésîle dha sagáñpira</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.man</td>
<td>1.CON 9a.money</td>
<td>9a.DEM.III 9a.CON 1.artist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘a rich man’ (lit. ‘man of money’)</td>
<td>‘his show’ (lit. ‘that (thing) of artist’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>námá ya gulúwe</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>máttádda a náówa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pork meat’</td>
<td>‘cursed lakes’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The modifier designates an entity when considered in isolation, but denotes a property or quality as soon as it entertains a connective relationship with a head (pro)noun, fulfilling the role of an adjective. More examples are given below, in which the connective construction informs on which material the head noun is made of.

(5.3)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>múrfyó wa tábwa</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>málruwatti a ndárâma</th>
<th>c.</th>
<th>bîyá dha ólógo</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>gúwó ya tûrîle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘wooden plate’</td>
<td>‘gold medal’</td>
<td>‘clay stoves’</td>
<td>‘satin cloth’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

The next example in (5.4) show that invariable adjectives are necessarily linked with the head via the connective relator.

(5.4) épáddé modha ya déréétú, épáddé yiína ya búre
épáddé modha ya déréétú épáddé é-ína ya búre
‘one side is good, the other is bad’

Infinitival verbs in (5.5) are also much used in connective constructions.

(5.5) a. dhílóbo dh’ oómwa b. múlóbwaná w’ oorééla
dhílóbo dha ómwa múlóbwaná wa orééla
10.thing 10.CON 15.drink 1.man 1.CON 15.be.rich
‘things to drink’ ‘rich man’
c. gáráí y’ oobáála d. múyááná w’ oorúúca
gáráí ya óbáála múyááná wa orúúca
9a.chance 9.CON 15.give.birth 1.woman 1.CON 15.steal.off.stove
‘the chance to be parents’ ‘woman who steals off the stove’

Such constructions, in which the infinitival verb has adjectival properties, constitute another strategy of relativisation (see chapter 10 on relativisation). Still, it may convey verbal features, such as the presence of an object marker and the applicative extension (5.6), or the presence of the causative extension (5.7). It may also be accompanied by an object (5.8).

(5.6) bagákála ŋínga múttú w’ oómvvuzzédha
ba-gá-kála ŋínga múttú wa ó-mú-vvuz-édh-a
SEQ.1-SIT-be like 1.people 1.CON 15-OM1-ASK-APPL-Fi
‘he looked like he was giving her a greeting’ (lit. ‘he was like someone of greeting her’)

(5.7) (... ósalu w’ oosásánýaga) dhílóbo dh’ oókóddélihána vatákúlu
dhílóbo dha ókóddél-íh-a = na va-tákúlu
10.thing 10.CON 15.be.beautiful-CAUS-FI = INSTR 16-9a.house
‘(... a thread to make) things to embellish the house’

(5.8) nyúwó w’ ookááncé’ oówáli munááwane
nyúwó wa okáán-ec-a ówáli mu-náá-wan-e
2PL.PRO 1.CON 15.have-DUR-Fi 14.rage 2PL-FUT-fight-PROH
‘you who are so fierce, don’t fight!’
While nothing may intervene between the connective relator and the modifier, the head and the connective can be separated by the defective verb -li ‘to be’ (5.9), by the negative copula (5.10), or by the conjunction of coordination nínga ‘like’ (5.11).

(5.9) méńtó ááye álí a matába a mánddímwi
méntó ááye a-lí a matába a mánddímwi
‘his eyes are green’

(5.10) cíí! wéyo kayíye wa Maríya?
cíí wéyo kayíye wa maríya
INTER 2SG.PRO NEG.COP 1.CON maria
‘ohh, are you not maria?’

(5.11) mírí nínga dha múgáyi
mírí nínga dha múgáyi
4.tree like 4.CON 4.tree.sp
‘trees like the múgáyi’

In (5.11), it is easy to consider that ellipsis of the noun mírí ‘trees’ took place between nínga and the connective, in order to avoid redundancy. The implied sentence would thus be mírí nínga mírí dha múgáyi, meaning literally ‘trees like trees of múgáyi’, hence the corresponding class 4 agreement on the connective. Now, if such an ellipsis is easily interpretable, since the múgáyi tree represents an entity among the aforementioned trees category, in (5.10), the presence of the connective is somewhat unexpected. A possible explanation may arise if we consider that the word múttu ‘person’ is implied between the negative copula and the proper name Maríya. The implicit sentence would thus be Wéyo kayíye múttú wa Maríya?, whose literal translation is ‘are you not the person of Maria?’.

Eventually, two subsequent connective constructions can function as modifiers of the same head noun, as in (5.12).

(5.12) nípáddó dh’ ogíláatí dha dereetu
nípáddó dh’ ogíláatí dha dereetu
4.chair 4.CON 15.sit 4.CON well
‘confortable chairs’
5.1.2 Genitive, partitive and measure relations

Three other common types of relation expressed by the connectives are what might be called genitive, partitive and measure, although the delimitation between these notions is not always clear, as will be evidenced below.

So-called genitive relations include possession or ownership (5.13), and kinship relations (5.14). In such genitive constructions, the possessee participant is always the first constituent of the sequence, i.e. the head noun, while the possessor always follows the connective.

(5.13) mbírí ya fúmu / koóbírí dha báába / múróbo wa Júwǎò
9a.fish.sp 9.CON 1a.master 10.money 10.CON 1a.father 3.medicine 3.con João
‘master’s fish.sp’ ‘father’s money’ ‘João’s medicine’

(5.14) ábáale a Maríaya / mwámúna wa Maríaya
2.sister 2.CON Maria 1.husband 1.CON maria
‘Maria’s sisters’ ‘Maria’s husband’

Note that the connective construction cannot be used when the possessor is a personal pronoun, such as ‘the child of mine’. Instead, a possessive pronoun is used (see section 5.3).

In case the possessee is a kinship term and the possessor a proper name, a juxtaposed construction (5.15) does not differ semantically from the connective construction, which becomes optional. Thus, another way of expressing mwámúna Maríaya ‘Maria’s husband’ in (5.15)a is mwámúna wa Maríaya. The same appositive construction with a common name (5.16)a is considered non-grammatical in Cuwabo, as well as the apposition of a term not related to kinship with a proper name (5.16)b.

(5.15) a. na mulobwan’ oódu mwámúna Maríaya
   na mulobwana óddu mwámúna maríya
   with 1.man.PL 1.DEM 1.husband maria
   ‘with that man, Maria’s husband’

   b. baamúttúkula mwáádhí Nikúrábédhá:
      ba-a-mú-ttúkula mwáádhí Nikúrábédhá
      SEQ-1-OM1-take 1.wife Dugong
      ‘he took Mr.Dugong’s wife’

(5.16) a. *mwámúna múnânddi b. *mukúkúttá Júwǎòw
   ‘co-wife’s husband’ ‘João’s car’

Beyond a strict meaning of possession, genitive constructions can also link an infinitive verb with its agent as in (5.17).
The noun phrase

(5.17) *balámé e-nl-léléhá ofíya wa álêddo* {elic.}

balámé  e-nl-léléhá  ofíya  wa  álêddo
9a.bird  9-IPFV.CJ-announce  15. come  15.CON  2.visitor
‘the bird is announcing the coming of visitors’

The partitive indicates partialness or ‘part of’ relations, either of whole entity (5.18) or of a larger set (5.19). The partitive constituent (or subset) is always the first constituent in the sequence, i.e. the head noun, whereas the whole entity or larger set referred to always follows the connective.

(5.18) *musúwó wa nyúmba / dhírási dha múri / érútta ya kálruûnga*

‘the door of the house’  ‘the branches of the tree’  ‘the handle of the sickle’

(5.19) *nimódha wa áyîma*

‘one of the children’

Note that the definite marker (see section 7.1.3.1) can be encliticised to the head noun as shown in (5.20).

(5.20) *musúwóya wa nyúmba ónópárúwa* {semi-elic.}

musúwó = ya  wa  nyúmba  ó-ni-ópárúwa
3 door = DEF  3 CON  9a house  3-IPFV.DJ-15.split
‘the door of the house is splitting’

Eventually, measure relations denote the measure of some entity, delimited by the content possibility of the first constituent.

(5.21) *éfiníngo ya mázâyi / múziyó wa óba*

‘basket of eggs’  ‘plate of fish’

Note that in some cases, the partitive and measure relationships are closely linked from a semantic point of view. For instance, in *enyényéri ya múkkatté* ‘fragment of rice cake’, both readings are possible, since *enyényéri* represents both a part of a whole and a measure unit.

5.1.3 Time and space constructions

Temporal (5.22) and locative (5.23) relations also make use of the connective construction.
(5.22) a. mūdhídi obúle w’ootámbíra / mūdhídu w’oōfũmũdha
mūdhídi obúle  wa  otámbíra  /  mūdhídu  wa  ōfũmũdha
3.time 3.DEM.III 3.CON 15.receive  /  3.time 3.CON 15.rest
‘time to get paid / time to rest’

b. íasáká na wále
5.time 5.CON formerly
‘a long time ago’

(5.23) a. Fránsísco olí épádde ya Jóao
Fránsísco o-lí epádde ya Jóao
Fransisco 1-be 9.side 9.CON Joao
‘Fransisco is next to Joao’

b. wéyo onózíwá dílá y’oocélaní?
wéyo o-ni-ózíwá dílá ya o-céla=ní
2SG.PRO 2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.know 9a.way 9.CON 17-well=LOC
‘do you know the way to the well?’

As already mentioned in section 4.1.8.4, when the head noun bears a locative prefix, the connective relator agrees with the inherent noun class of the head constituent (5.24), unless the head noun is inherently locative and functions mainly as an adverb (5.25).

(5.24) a. va-músólró wa mwáána
vaárí va yiíkó
16-3.head 3.CON 1.child
16.middle 16.CON 9.river
‘on the child’s head’ ‘at the middle of the river’

b. o-mízéréré=ni dha ddímmíngu
odhulú wa muyére
17-4.ceremony=LOC 4.CON 9a.Sunday
17.top 17.CON 3.tree.sp
‘at Sunday’s ceremony’ ‘to the top of the muyére’

Interestingly, v’ ooméémbeésí ‘this morning’ in (5.26) presents a situation in which two locative prefixes are attached to the lexical noun. In this case, the connective agrees in class 17, i.e. with the locative which is more closely attached to the noun stem.

(5.25) a. vaárí va yiíkó
16.middle 16.CON 9.river
‘at the middle of the river’

b. o-mízéréré=ni dha ddímmíngu
odhulú wa muyére
17.top 17.CON 3.tree.sp
‘to the top of the muyére’

(5.26) va-o-méémbeésí wa ddábuño
16-17-6.morning 17.CON today
‘this morning’
5.1.4 Ordinal numeral constructions

The connective is also needed in the formation of ordinal numerals (see section 5.6.2 below).

(5.27) míyó ddínkála nyúmbá y’ oóromá ya díla
      míyó  ddí-ni-kála  nyúmbá  ya  órómá  ya  díla
 ‘I live in the first house of the street’

(5.28) mwáánága wa náwóraarú dd’ oolápa
      mwáánága  wa  ná-o-raarú  ddi-a  olápa
     1.child.POSS.1SG  1.CON  PFX-14-three  1.COP-CON  14.be.tall
 ‘my third child is tall’

As in (5.12) above, note in (5.27) that two subsequent connective constructions function as modifiers of the same head noun nyúmbá ‘house’.

5.1.5 Complement and prepositional constructions

More rarely, the connective relator develops into prepositions meaning ‘via, through’ or ‘by’ (5.29); ‘for, in order to’ to introduce a purpose clause (5.30). Van de Velde (2010: 245) reports similar cases in several other Bantu languages.

(5.29) Juúlíú oñjá řπílra wa manyálo
       Juúlíú  o-nj-já  řπílra  wa  manyálo
    Julius  1-IPFV.CJ-eat  3.ball.PL  3.CON  6.foot
 ‘Julius is shooting the ball’

(5.30) ddaahígúlihi mafugi, koóbílri y’ oógúl’ óóba ddináádhéna wuuví ?
       ddi-a-hí-gůl-i  mafugi  koóbílri  ya  ógúlá  óba
    ddi-náá-dh-é = na  uuvi
    1SG-FUT.CJ-come-IRR = COM  where
 ‘if I do not sell bananas, where will I find money to buy fish?’

The connective relator is also commonly used in addition to the conjunctions ttángu (5.31) and sábwa (5.32) both meaning ‘because (of)’, which introduce a clause that functions as a complement. It is likely that both ttángu and sábwa were originally class 9 nouns, which
then grammaticalised to conjunctions. This would explain why the agreement prefix on the connective operates in class 9.

(5.31)  
\[
\text{ddi\text{-}hi\text{-}mála súmáána ddi\text{-}hi\text{-}súnz\text{-}ag\text{-}á} \quad \text{(semi-elic.)}
\]
\[
ddi\text{-}hi\text{-}mála \quad \text{súmáána} \quad \text{ddi\text{-}hi\text{-}súnz\text{-}ag\text{-}á} \quad \text{1SG\text{-}PFV\text{-}complete} \quad \text{9a.week} \quad \text{1SG\text{-}NEG\text{-}study\text{-}HAB-Fi}
\]
\[
\text{ttángú ya óréddá [o-ddi-fwány\text{-}ile]\text{REL}}
\]

because \text{9.CON 14.disease 14\text{-}OM1SG\text{-}found\text{-}PFV.REL}

‘I have been off from school a week because I got sick’ (lit. ‘because of the illness which found me’)

(5.32)  
\[
múlóbwana okalá sé muyaná: sábwa y’ oómútelá múyáná w’ oorúúca \quad \text{(mbíri.44)}
\]
\[
múlóbwana \quad \text{o-kala sé muyaná} \quad \text{sábwa ya} \quad \text{ó-mú\text{-}telá}
\]
\[
\text{1.man NAR\text{-}be without 1.woman.PL because 9.CON 15\text{-}OM1\text{-}marry}
\]
\[
múyáná wa orúúca
\]
\[
\text{1.woman 1.CON 15\text{-}steal\text{-}off.stove}
\]

‘the man remained without any woman because of his marrying a woman who steals off the stove.’

When used with the complementiser ñíllá ‘that’, the class 9 connective relator may precede the complementiser (5.33)a, but is ungrammatical on its right side (5.33)b. This connective-complementiser construction, although perfectly acceptable, is not often attested in my data, whereas the single use of the complementiser (5.33)c is very common.

(5.33)  
\[
a. \text{oока́námwí’ ya wíllá anóne ba aáni onjéssázmw’ ísáv’ íjíle} \quad \text{(mbíri.5)}
\]
\[
o	ext{-kaáná = mó ya wíllá a
\text{nón\text{-}é ba aáni 1\text{-}have = 18.LOC 9.CON CMP 1\text{-}know\text{-}SBJ 2.COP who}}
\]
\[
[o\text{-ni\text{-}j\text{-}és\text{-}á = mo ēsáví ájíle}\text{REL}]
\]
\[
1\text{-IPFV\text{-}eat.DJ\text{-}DUR\text{-}Fi = 18.LOC 9\text{-}relish 9.DEM.III}
\]

‘he has inside (the will) to know who keeps eating that relish’

\[
\text{b. *ока́námó wíllá ya anóne ba aáni onjéssámo ēsáví ájíle} \quad \text{(elic.)}
\]

\[
\text{c. ока́намо wíllá anóne ba aáni onjéssámo ēsáví ájíle} \quad \text{(elic.)}
\]
5.1.6 Pronominalised connective relator

The connective relator can be used pronominally, assuming an anaphoric reference, either to an aforementioned entity in the discourse (endophoric reference), as in (5.34),

(5.34)  \textit{mirí gaaní dhinóóna wéyo ? dha vatákulu}  \textit{[elic.]}
\text{mirí gaaní [dhi-ní-óna wéyo]}_{\text{REL}} \text{ dha va-tákulu}
\text{4.tree which 4-IPFV-see.CJ 2SG.PRO 4.CON 16-9a.yard}

‘which trees are you seeing? (those) from the garden’

or to an element not explicitly referred to in the discourse (exophoric reference), but whose interpretation is easily made by the listener(s), due to their prior knowledge or because they are simply being shown the element in question, as in (5.35)a. These exophoric references are commonly attested with the locative classes when referring to time or location, or with classes 9/10 to refer to things, probably on account of the class 9 \textit{élóbo} ‘thing’ and class 10 \textit{dhílóbo} ‘things’ (5.35)b.

(5.35)  a.  \textit{va Nikúrábedha pa ápa}  \textit{[maria.147]}
\text{va nikúrábedha \textit{pa} ápa}
\text{16.CON 5.dugong 16.COP 16.DEM.1}

‘Here is Mr.Dugong’s’

b.  \textit{y’ oókósá kaddiná}  \textit{[elic.]}
\text{ya ókósá ka-ddi-ná}
\text{9.CON 15.do NEG-1SG-have}

‘I have nothing to do’

5.1.7 Connective relator used with copula

The connective may occur between a copula and an infinitive as a strategy of non-verbal predication expressing adjectival quality (see section 9.2.2 for more details on copular constructions).

(5.36)  a.  \textit{músólro wa mwááná óddu b’oolápa}  \textit{[elic.]}
\text{músólro wa mwááná óddu \textit{bu-a} olápa}
\text{3.body 3.CON 1.child 2.DEM.1 3.COP-CON 15.be.big}

‘the head of this child is big’
5.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can be sub-categorised in two types: the first groups together the basic demonstratives (section 5.2.1), and the second corresponds to emphatic demonstrative constructions (section 5.2.2). Both types share the typical three-series division of demonstratives.

5.2.1 Basic demonstratives

In Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, there are three series of demonstratives given in Table 22, which are distinguished in terms of spatial and temporal deixis, with regard to the point of reference and the direct availability for the speaker during a speech act. Beyond this distance aspect, the demonstratives respond to discourse functions, involving anaphoric reference within the linguistic context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>This I</th>
<th>That II</th>
<th>That III</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mwáana</td>
<td>óddu</td>
<td>óddo</td>
<td>óddûle / ólle ‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>áaná</td>
<td>ába</td>
<td>ábo</td>
<td>ábâle ‘children’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>musúwo</td>
<td>óbu</td>
<td>óbo</td>
<td>óbûle ‘door’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>misúwo</td>
<td>ési</td>
<td>éso</td>
<td>ésîle ‘doors’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>nízáyi</td>
<td>nítti</td>
<td>nítto</td>
<td>níttîle ‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mázáyi</td>
<td>ába</td>
<td>ábo</td>
<td>ábâle ‘eggs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ehíba</td>
<td>éji</td>
<td>éjo</td>
<td>éjîle ‘hoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhihíba</td>
<td>ési</td>
<td>éso</td>
<td>ésîle ‘hoses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>olíbo</td>
<td>óbu</td>
<td>óbo</td>
<td>óbûle ‘birdlime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ópa</td>
<td>óku</td>
<td>óko</td>
<td>ókûle ‘pain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ápa</td>
<td>ápo</td>
<td>ápâle</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>óku</td>
<td>óko</td>
<td>ókûle</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>múpu</td>
<td>múpo</td>
<td>múpûle</td>
<td>‘in there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Series I, corresponding to English ‘this’, correspond to a demonstrative of proximity, semantically related to the speaker’s surrounding, i.e. the entity or location referred to is directly available to the speaker (5.37), or is the current topic of conversation, referring to some entity that has already been introduced in the discourse (5.38).

(5.37) a. akala ddi míyéene ősál’ ūub’ úupatúwe
   akala ddi míyó=ene ősálú ôbú o-patúw-e
   if 1.COP 1SG.PRO=INT 14.thread 14.DEM.I 14-break-SBJ
   ‘if it is me, may this thread break’

b. nootééne iy’ öotíviveéri vatákül’ aápa, …
   ni-öté=éné iyó [o-ní-viveéri va-tákulu ̱ápa]REL
   1PL-all=INT 1PL.PRO 1-IPFV.CJ-live 16-9a.house 16.DEM.I
   ‘all of us who live in this house, …’

(5.38) síkú nímodh’ oolóóvénya, múkwáág’ ōdd’ ̱úna péle
   síkú ní-modha o-lé-óvénya múkwé=ága ôddú [o-na péle]REL
   5.day 5-one 1-CE-15.leave 1.friend=POSS.1SG 1.DEM.I 1-have 10a.scabies
   ‘One day she left, this friend of mine who has scabies.’

Series II represents a medial demonstrative translated by ‘that’ in English, and often associated to the addressee’s surrounding. The entity/location referred to is not necessarily remote from the speaker, but is not directly available or under his control.

(5.39) a. wëyó: ōutfwárege kurúmáanje’ ōddo
   wëyó o-mú-fwär-eg-e kurúmáanje=éné ôddo
   2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ 1a.bee.sp=INT 1.DEM.II
   ‘follow this very bee.sp.’

b. omünddaaw’ ōóólógíinyú, [...]  
   o-mündda=wa ôkó [ó-ní-lógá=ínyú]REL
   17-3.field=17.DEF 17.DEM.II 17-IPFV.CJ-say=2PL.PRO
   ‘in this plantation you are referring to, […]’

Series III is the distal demonstrative, translated as ‘that (over there)’ in English. It refers to entities or locations relatively distant (and often non-visible) from both speaker and listener involved in discourse, thus implying a third person. It is much used in narratives with an anaphoric reading.
As expected, series I and II are more commonly heard in direct speech, while series III is more used for internal reference in the narrative structure of the text, as exemplified in (5.41).

(5.41)  íyéén’ ówaapa, múyan’ óölle waapa  {maria.34}
iyééne o-apa múyaná óölle o-apa
3SG.PRO NAR-pluck 1.woman 1.DEM.III NAR-pluck
‘she plucked, that woman plucked’

The functional difference between class 1 óddûle and óölle ‘that,III’ is not clear since they are freely interchangeable. Still the second, close to the Makhuwa equivalent óle (van der Wal 2009), is used much more frequently in my database than the first.

While all the aforementioned examples exhibit an attributive function, demonstratives are also used anaphorically as free pronouns, in which case they function as heads and trigger respective noun class agreement on each dependent constituent in the sentence (5.42), including cleft-like constructions (5.43).

(5.42)  a. ábá celî [...] aêtélûwa  {maria.11}
ábá a-ilî a-hî-tél-úw-a
2.DEM.I 2-two 2-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-F
‘those two [...] got married’

b. Maríyá balogá : “néeé, apa kávalí mwáha”  {maria.96}
maríyá ba-logá néeé apa ká-va-li mwáha
maria SEQ.1-say no 16.DEM.I NEG-16-be 3.reason.PL
‘Maria said : Here there is no problem.’
Interestingly, the locative demonstrative ókúle in (5.43)b controls the agreement on the dependent relativised verb (see section 10.1 on relatives and agreement matters).

As expected, demonstrative pronouns may have a resumptive function restating an aforementioned event as a whole and placing at the head of a relative construction, as shown in (5.44).

Demonstratives pronouns are typically used to refer back to inanimate entities, which are rarely alluded to by personal pronouns, mostly available with animate entities. In (5.45), éji refers to a fruit plucked by Maria.

Another use of the demonstrative pronouns occurs in expressions like ‘like this’ or ‘like that’, in which the demonstrative follows the invariable nínga ‘like’ and agrees with the head noun, as illustrated in (5.46).
A similar reading is obtained with the specific demonstrative forms dhaáyi ‘like this.I’, dhaáwo ‘like that.II’ and dhaáyile ‘like that.III’, developed below in section 5.2.2.2.

Demonstratives may obtain an emphatic reading by postponing the intensifier wéene ‘INT’ (5.47)a, or its cliticised form =ene (5.47)b. See section 7.1.3.2 for a full analysis of (wé)éne).

This means that emphatic demonstratives are not rendered by reduplication of the demonstrative stem as seen in several languages of the region (van der Wal 2009, Devos 2008). The only reduplicated demonstrative attested in my database in shown in (5.48), and reveals location as an approximation, translated as ‘around’ or ‘about’ in English.

Regarding word order, all the previous examples show that the demonstratives typically follow the noun they modify. Still, they may precede it when they are used as pronouns and are, for clarification purposes, followed by the referred entity (5.49) or location (5.50), optionally inserted in an appositional noun phrase as in (5.49)b.
b. ábále, ábáalé éená: áánímunyapwaaríya

ábále ábáalé á-iná á-á-ni-mu-nyapwaaríya

2.DEM.III 2.sister 2-other 2-PST-IPFV.DJ-OM1-despise

‘those ones, the other sisters, despised her.’

(5.50) a. odhow, okuwá rípûlé tumúruddani

o-dhowá o-kuwá rípûle mu-múrudda=ni

NAR-go NAR-shout 18.DEM.III 18-3.village=LOC

‘he went and shouted there in the village’

b. odhow’ ókûl’ owùkói:

o-dhowá ókûle o-ìko

NAR-go 17.DEM.III 17-river

‘they went there to the river’

When other modifiers are present, the reader is referred to section 5.8.2 below.

Eventually, the three locative demonstrative pronouns assume discourse-linking expressions like ‘then, so, therefore, that is why’. In this function, they typically occur in phrase-initial position, as illustrated in (5.51).

(5.51) a. ápá múkwaága waadhèél’ ója komiíd’ ësilé:

ápá múkwé=a ága o-a-dh-eél-é oja

16.DEM.I 1.friend=POSS.1SG 1-PST-come-APPL.PFV.CJ 15.eat.PL

komiída ësilé

9a.food.PL 9.DEM.III

‘this way my friend was coming to eat that food!’

b. ókw’ álóbwana ánókûkúma ánöttámága

ókû álóbwana á-ni-ókûkúma á-ni-óttámága

17.DEM.I 2.man 2-IPFV.DJ-15.flee 2-IPFV.DJ-15.run

‘At this point, the men are fleeing, running’

The clitics =no ‘PROXimity’ expresses direct temporal or spatial proximity. It exclusively attaches to a demonstrative form, be it a locative pro-form (5.52) or a noun modifier (5.53). The same formative =no is attested in Ekoti (Schadeberg and Mucanheia 2000), in the same environment, and with a similar meaning associated with closeness to the speaker.

(5.52) a. mudhé ! ókûno. muwilīwa: ?” ayí’ : “nìwî́wa”

mu-dh-é ókû =no mu-hí-íwá ayíma ni-hí-íwa

2PL-go-SBJ 17.DEM.I =PROX 2PL-IPFV.DJ-hear 2.child 1PL-IPFV.DJ-hear

‘Come! Right here. Did you hear? The girls : Yes, we did.’
b. oñtágiyá ddi míyó Féréderikú, mỳpunó míMakúúzi, ómáltity’ okuno \{mbíri.1\}

\[\text{[o-ni-tágiyá]}_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{ddi} \quad \text{míyó} \quad \text{feréderiko} \]

1-IPFV.CJ-tell 1.COP 1SG.PRO frederico

\[\text{mùp} = \text{nò} \quad \text{mù-makúúzi} \quad \text{ó-máltityu} \quad \text{oku} = \text{no} \]

18.DEM.1 = PROX 18-Macuse 17-6.night 17.DEM.1 = PROX

‘who is telling is Frederico, here in Macuse, at night.’

(5.53) a. mättiý’ áábáno mwátáye mábûgu, mángwáán’ nilúve mábwêndde \{semi-elic.\}

mättiýú \text{ábá} = \text{no} \quad \text{mu-á-táy-e} \quad \text{mábûgu}

6.night 6.DEM.1 = PROX 2PL-IT-tear-SBJ 6.reed

mángwáána ni-lúw-e mábûndde
tomorrow 1PL-weave-SBJ 6.mat

‘tonight go and unravel the reed so that tomorrow we weave mats’

b. yaák’ éjín nó ningá ddilíme mínddá miraarú \{semi-elic.\}

yaáká \text{éj} = \text{nò} \quad \text{nìngá} \quad \text{ddi-lím-e} \quad \text{mínddá} \quad \text{mi-raarú}

9.year 9.DEM.1 = PROX like 1SG-cultivate-SBJ 3.field 3-three

‘this year, I might harvest three times’

5.2.2 Emphatic demonstratives

5.2.2.1 Emphatic locative demonstratives ‘EDEM’

For each basic locative demonstrative corresponds an emphatic form made of the connective (with locative classes agreement) + the cliticised form of the intensifier morpheme =ene (see section 7.1.3.2)+ the connective again + the demonstrative suffixes (series I, II, III). Thus a form like \text{wénéwalé} ‘right there.III’ can be segmented in \text{wa-ene-wa-le}, in which the output of the vocalic sequence between \text{wa} and \text{ene} is shortened to a single vowel.

All the emphatic locative demonstratives are given in Table 23.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>EDEM I</th>
<th>EDEM II</th>
<th>EDEM III</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>vénêva</td>
<td>vénêvo</td>
<td>vénévalé</td>
<td>‘right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>wénêwa</td>
<td>wénêwo</td>
<td>wénéwalé</td>
<td>‘right there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mwénêmwa</td>
<td>mwénêmo</td>
<td>mwénémalé</td>
<td>‘right in there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the simple forms, these emphatic demonstrative forms have either a locative or temporal meaning (5.54), or a discourse-linking function (5.55).

(5.54) Locative or temporal meaning

a. ólílééne [oójíl’ éésáv’ iijí] oneelóómutidda vénèva
do.  ólílééne  o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-ttidda  vénèva
‘that very one [who ate the relish], it will catch him straight away’

b. Nikúrábedh’ oonáángánávi wénèwal’ oökúl’ oodbłu
do.  o-ní-ängáná = vi wénèwale  ókúle  oodbłu
D. 1-IPFV.CJ-look = RESTR 17.EDEM.III 17.EDEM.III 17.top
‘Mr. Dugong is still looking right above.’

c. mwénémwalé ńúpúle muweéddááni bagáádhowá [...]
do.  mwénémwalé ńúpúle mu-weéddá = ni ba-gáá-dhowá
18.EDEM.III 18.EDEM.III 18-15.walk = LOC SEQ.1-SIT-go
‘(right) there, while going on this walking path [...]’

(5.55) Discourse-linking function

eítáwu wénèwalééčéé’, pákáa ottukula sháv’ ćejíle

eítáwu wénèwalé  pákáa  o-ttukula  shávi  ējíle
then 17.EDEM.III 1a.cat  NAR-take 9a.key 9.DEM.III
‘Then, Mr. Cat remained with that key’

Note that class 16 emphatic deomonstrative is much more commonly used than the others, and that a variant which substitutes the nasal consonant by a liquid (vénèva > vélèva) is often attested, as shown in (5.56).

(5.56) a. vélèvéo nikúrábedha woóóbuwela maare
do.  vélèvéo  N.  o-á-óbuwela  maare
‘There, Mr. Dugong was thinking of an idea’

b. vélèval’ ééyeén’ oolóowáhá majáángar’ aábálé:
do.  vélèvalé  iyééne  o-lé-ó-á-vahá  majángára  ábálé
‘There he gave them the certificates’
5.2.2.2 Emphatic demonstratives of manner: ‘like this, like that’

The three emphatic demonstratives of manner *dhaáyi*, *dhaáwo*, and *dhaáyîle* refer to the manner in which an action is performed and can be considered as adverbs. Again, the demonstrative suffixation indicates the deictic dimension (proximal, medial, distal). In English, they are translated as ‘like this/that’ or ‘this/that way’.

(5.57) a. *[ji gáh’l’ éénfínéél’ úútágííha íyò ddabuno vénêvá.] erómílé dhááyi : {mbílři.6}

e-rom-ilé dhááyi
9-start-PFV.CJ like.this.1
‘[This is the story we want to tell here today.] It starts this way.’

b. weéřlé keéřlé dhaawo {maria.1}

[o-ér-ilé]REL ka-ér-ilé dhaawo
1-say-PFV.REL NEG.1-say-PFV like.this.1.PL
‘once upon a time (lit. ‘who said it did not say that way’)

As illustrated in (5.58), the intensifier *wéene* ‘INT’ (see section 7.1.3.2) can be cliticised to the demonstratives of manner to obtain an emphatic reading, with the effect of shortening the demonstrative stem long vowel and shifting the H tone onto the next mora, i.e. onto the demonstrative suffix.

(5.58) a. *kakúnúulani kórmiídá : ofwanyilémó dhayéëne* {páaká.27}

ka-kúnmula = ni kórmiídá o-fwany-ilé = mó dhaayí=ene
IMP-uncover = PLA 9a.food 1-meet-PFV.CJ = 18.LOC like.this.1 = INT
‘when he uncovered the food, he found it like this’

b. weeddaga *dhawéëné* burebúre [waádhówííyé: kańźíwaawo] {maria.21}

o-edd-ag-a dhawó=ëne burebúre
NAR-walk-HAB-FI like.this.11 = INT at.random
‘she walked like this at random, [she did not know where she was going].’

5.3 Possessives

In Cuwabo, there are six possessive pronouns: two (singular and plural) for each speech act participant and two for the third person. Diachronically, the two latter forms are clear reflexes of classes 1 and 2, whose use progressively extended and became generalised to every noun class (as will be exemplified below). In this context whereby the distinction of classes is neutralised, the forms -*aye* and -*awa* are glossed as 3SG and 3PL, respectively.
The possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed, via the pronominal prefix already found with the connective relator (see section 5.1 above). In the interlinear translation of the examples in (5.59), the noun class number of the possessed entity precedes the gloss POSS, while the reference to the possessor (indicated by the person) follows it.

\[(5.59) \quad \text{ìmpàddó dhiáye} \quad \text{mákága áaye} \]
\[6.\text{oracle} \quad 6.\text{POSS.3SG} \quad \text{his oracle} \quad \{\text{mbílri.12}\} \]

\[9a.\text{task} \quad 9.\text{POSS.3SG} \quad \text{his task} \quad \{\text{body.22}\} \]

In case of a locative-derived noun, the pronominal prefix agrees with the locative class and not with the inherent noun class of the possessed noun, as shown in (5.60).

\[(5.60) \quad \text{va-tákúlu vááye} \quad \text{osogólró waayé} \quad \text{ń-mátákulu mwááwa} \]
\[16-9a.\text{house} \quad 16.\text{POSS.3SG} \quad 17.\text{front} \quad 16.\text{POSS.1SG} \quad 18-6.\text{home} \quad 18.\text{POSS.3PL} \]

In this respect, \text{osogólró waayé} ‘in front of her’ in (5.60) constitutes an exception case, and I will not try to account for it here.

When the possessive pronoun follows infinitive head nouns, the possessor becomes the agent of the action expressed by the infinitive verb (5.61). A lexical object can be inserted, but only after the possessive pronoun (5.62)a, and not directly following the verb, in which case the sentence is considered ungrammatical (5.62)b.

\[(5.61) \quad \text{ńfúná wááwo} \quad \{\text{mbílri.34 & 36}\} \]
\[15.\text{want} \quad 15.\text{POSS.2SG} \quad \text{as you wish} \quad (\text{lit. ‘wish your’}) \]

\[(5.62) \quad \text{a. Ėsáźáyá okwééta wááye óba ddi-a bure} \quad \{\text{elic.}\} \]
\[\text{Osanzaya} \quad 15.\text{fish} \quad 15.\text{POSS.3SG} \quad 10a.\text{fish} \quad 1.\text{COP-CON \ much} \]

‘Osanzaya’s (way of) fishing fish is bad.’

\[\text{b. *Ěsáźáyá okwééta óba wááye ddi bure} \quad \{\text{elic.}\} \]
When the possessor represents a noun from noun classes other than 1/2, the possessive pronoun corresponds to class 1 form -aye when the modified noun is a singular entity, and to class 2 form -awa when the modified noun is a plural entity. As Table 25 shows, classes 3, 5, 9, 14, 15 plus the locative ones enter in the first case, while classes 4, 6 and 10 fit in the second case.

Table 25  Possessives attributed to classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>‘the price of + Noun’</th>
<th>‘its / their price’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mútténgó wa mwánâku ‘chicken’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mútténgó wa ánâku ‘chicken’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mútténgó wa múri ‘tree’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mútténgó wa míri ‘trees’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mútténgó wa ŋázíi ‘egg’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mútténgó wa mázíyi ‘eggs’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mútténgó wa ehíba ‘hoe’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mútténgó wa dhihíba ‘hoes’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>mútténgó wa olíbo ‘birdlime’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mútténgó wa ópa ‘pain’</td>
<td>mútténgó wáâye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possessives have most of all an attributive function, i.e. they modify a noun which is possessed. In such cases, the possessive and the noun enjoy a close relationship and form a prosodic unit. Several arguments confirm this assertion.

5.3.1  Contraction

In discourse, Cuwabo speakers tend to contract the possessive noun phrase, which reduces by one mora. The deleted mora varies according to the phonological value of the pronominal prefix. When this one has a consonant value, i.e. in classes 4 and 10 for dhi-, class 5 for ni-, class 16 for va-, class 18 for mu-, it remains and the vowel sequence which follows shortens to one vowel, as shown in (5.63). Now, when the pronominal prefix represents a vowel, i.e. in classes 1, 3, 14, 15, 17 for o-, classes 2 and 6 for a-, and class 9 for e-, triggering a three-vocalic sequence, it gets deleted and resyllabification process occurs, as shown in (5.64).

(5.63)  vatákúluvaga  dhírúgulúdhâga  nikótítínaga
va-tákúlu = vaga   dhírúgulú = dhâga   nikótítí = naga
16-9a.home = 16.POSS.1SG 10.belly = 10.POSS.1SG 5. neck = 5.POSS.1SG
‘at my home’ {maria.97} ‘my bellies’ {elic.} ‘my necks’ {elic.}
The noun phrase

(5.64) naámbéddaaga  
naámbédde = aga  1a.maize = POSS.1SG
‘my maize’ {ddingí.26}

kurúmánjaáwo  
kurúmáanje = áwo  1a.bee.sp = POSS.2SG
‘your bee.sp’ {maria.53}

ózúgwáaye  
ózúgu = aye  14.whiteness = POSS.3SG
‘her whiteness’ {maria.64}

In this reduction process the noun and the possessive form a prosodic unit affected by a tone modification (see section 3.3.2.1). According to Creissels (2006a: 31), “le fait qu’une forme liée impose à sa base de rattachement des processus phonologiques autres que ceux se produisant régulièrement à une frontière de mots peut être considéré un critère d’affixation.” I thus decided throughout this work to attach both forms in a single word, where the possessive is encliticised to the noun.

Full paradigms of contracted and encliticised possessives on trisyllabic nouns are given in Table 26 below.

Table 26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>delictative speech</th>
<th>informal speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vatákúlu váâga</td>
<td>vatákúlú = vâga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatákúlu váâwo</td>
<td>vatákúlú = vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatákúlu váâye</td>
<td>vatákúlú = ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatákúlu véêhu</td>
<td>vatákúlú = vêhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatákúlu véênyu</td>
<td>vatákúlú = vênyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatákúlu váâwa</td>
<td>vatákúlú = váwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhöré wââga</td>
<td>muhörwáaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhöré wââwo</td>
<td>muhöré = wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhöré wââye</td>
<td>muhöré = we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhöré véêhu</td>
<td>muhöréehu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhöré véênyu</td>
<td>muhöréenyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muhöré wââwa</td>
<td>muhörwáawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that all the possessive forms for the second person singular and for class 1 are respectively shortened to -o and -e, preceded by the pronominal prefix which agrees in noun class with the head noun. (5.65) shows examples in context.

(5.65) a. rìmodha ńzíné waalí Maríyá rìmodha wàálí Ddóólrínddo  {ddoo.2}  
uu-modha ńzín = né  o-à-ílí  M. uu-modha o-á-li  D.  
1-one 5.name = POSS.3SG 1-PST.IPFW-be  M. 1-one 1-PST.IPFW-be  D.  
[‘He had two children, both girls:] one was called Maria, the other was Ddoolrinddo.’
Recall that when the modified noun is disyllabic, the tone pattern on the noun changes from HØ to ØH, with HTD on the next mora, as illustrated in (5.66).

\[(5.66)\]  
\begin{align*}
\text{bolá}=áye & < \text{bóla} \\
\text{mundd}=áye; & < \text{múndda} \\
\text{obá}=ága & < \text{óba}
\end{align*}

9a. ball = POSS.3SG 
3. field = POSS.3SG 
9a. fish = POSS.1SG 

‘his ball’ \{maria.151\} 
‘his field’ \{ddingí.2\} 
‘my fish’ \{mbírì.2\}

\begin{align*}
\text{ddimá}=áwa & < \text{ddima} \\
\text{bwenddé}=náye & < \text{bwéndde}
\end{align*}

9a. plot = POSS.3PL 
5. mat = POSS.3SG 

‘their plot’ \{maria.70\} 
‘her mat’ \{maria.102\}

Full paradigms of contracted and encliticised possessives on disyllabic nouns are given in Table 27 below.

**Table 27**  
Contraction and encliticisation of the possessive in disyllabic nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articulated speech</th>
<th>Usual speech</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bwéndde náaga</td>
<td>bwenddé=nága</td>
<td>‘my mat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwéndde náawo</td>
<td>bwenddé=no</td>
<td>‘your (2sg) mat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwéndde náaye</td>
<td>bwenddé=ne</td>
<td>‘her mat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwéndde néehu</td>
<td>bwenddé=níhu</td>
<td>‘our mat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwéndde néenyu</td>
<td>bwenddé=nínyu</td>
<td>‘your (2pl) mat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwéndde náawa</td>
<td>bwenddé=náwa</td>
<td>‘their mat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíbo yáaga</td>
<td>jibwáága</td>
<td>‘my song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíbo yáawo</td>
<td>jibwéwo</td>
<td>‘your (2sg) song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíbo yáaye</td>
<td>jibwéye</td>
<td>‘her song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíbo yéechu</td>
<td>jibwééhu</td>
<td>‘our song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíbo yéenyu</td>
<td>jibwéényu</td>
<td>‘your (2pl) song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíbo yáawa</td>
<td>jibwááwa</td>
<td>‘their song’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A contextualised example is given in (5.67).
The noun phrase

(5.67) Maríy’ óomál’ oófül’ óottükülä guwódh’ óódhówa vatákulu {ddoo.16}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>argument</th>
<th>argument</th>
<th>argument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maríyá</td>
<td>o-hi-mála</td>
<td>óófülá</td>
<td>o-hi-ttükülä</td>
<td>guwó=dhé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>1-PFV.DJ-finish</td>
<td>15.wash</td>
<td>1-PFV.DJ-take</td>
<td>10a.cloth = 10.Poss.3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-hí-dhówa</td>
<td>va-tátkulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-PFV.DJ-go</td>
<td>16-9a.house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Maria finished to wash, took her clothes, and went home’

Last, the prosodic unit formed by the noun and the possessive is confirmed by the examples in (5.68), in which Predicate Lowering (PL) applies to the whole forms kovááye ‘her face’ and jíbweyé ‘his song’, and not only to the nouns kóve ‘face’ and jíbo ‘song’.

(5.68) a. agaanğána’ nááñgána kovaaye {maria.55}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>argument</th>
<th>argument</th>
<th>argument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-gaa-añgána</td>
<td>o-ní-añgána</td>
<td>kove=aye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-SIT-look</td>
<td>1-IPFV.CJ-look</td>
<td>9a.face = POSS.3SG.PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘when she looks, she is seing her face’

b. ddabunó wiibilé jíbweyé: {ddingí.9}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>argument</th>
<th>argument</th>
<th>argument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ddabunó</td>
<td>o-ib-ilé</td>
<td>jíbo=ye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>1-sing-PFV.CJ</td>
<td>9a.song = POSS.3SG.PL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘then, he trained his song’

5.3.2 Kinship terms

Many kinship terms are (almost) systematically used with a possessive pronoun, which is cliticised to the noun, in accordance with the principles exposed above. Full paradigms of báaba ‘father’, tíma ‘mother’, mwáaná ‘child’, mámûni ‘husband’, and mwáadhí ‘wife’ are given in Table 28.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 28</th>
<th>Contraction and encliticisation of the possessive with kinship nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>báâbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>báaba/bábáani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>báabó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>báabé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>bábííhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>bábíínyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>báâba/bábííwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>tíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>tíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>tíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>máyííhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>máyíínyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>tíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>mwáaná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>mwánâga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>mwánâwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>mwánaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>mwánîhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>mwánînyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>mwánâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>mámûni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>mámûnaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>mámûnawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>mámûnaye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>mámûnîhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>mámûnînyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>mámûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>mwáadhí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>mwáadhaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his</td>
<td>mwáadhwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>mwáadhíye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>mwáadhinyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>mwáadhawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several interesting observations arise from this table. A first general one is that the short possessive forms -o and -e are found again for the second person singular and for class 1. Examples in (5.69) give two occurrences in context.

(5.69) a. mìyó ǹnódhána münânddo

mìyó ni-ni-ódhá = na münânddo
1SG.PRO IPL-IPFV.DJ-15.come = COM 1.co-wife.Poss.2SG
‘I will bring your co-wife’

b. Mariyá olówiyééléla vatákül’ úúóókála na mwámúné:

M. o-lé-ó-iyél-él-a va-tákulú ó-lé-ókála na mwámúné
‘Mary went back home, she remained with her husband’

A second observation concerns the shortening of the outputs resulting from vowel sequences when the nouns and the possessive assemble. It is seen in Table 28 with the paradigms for mwáaná ‘child’, mámúni ‘husband’, and mwáadhí ‘wife’. This means that beyond the deletion of one mora in the possessive stem, another mora deletion occurs with the shortening of the long vowel. The resulting tonal pattern suggests that the deleted mora corresponds to the final vowel of the noun, which originally bears a H tone, missing in the contracted form. Furthermore, and even more unexpectedly, the words mwáaná ‘child’ and báâbi ‘father’, when suffixed by the possessive markers, are submitted to the shortening of their long stem vowel. I am unsure at present what significance to attribute to these cases.

Thirdly and finally, a special pronominal possessive stem exists with two kinship terms, namely báâbi ‘father’ and tìma ‘mother’, but only for the first person singular, with the forms báâání ‘my father’ (5.70), and tìmaáni ‘my mother’. The form báâba is attested for both ‘my father’ and ‘their father’, as seen in (5.71). The remaining persons are normally inflected. This seems to point towards a system in which inalienable possession used to play a role.

(5.70) mukwéle báâání ddaagonágá ddiŋkál’ óomurohávi

[mu-kw-él-e báâání]REL ddi-a-gon-ág-á
18-die-APPL-PFV.REL 1a.my.father 1SG-SIT-sleep-HAB-Fi
ddi-ni-kálá o-mu-rohá = vi
1SG-IPFV.CJ-be 15-OM1-dream = RESTR
‘s since my father died, while sleeping, I keep dreaming of him’
The noun phrase

(5.71) a. koowunúwa ḏdīgaa-ttīyedhúw’ őomwéné wa máráfula báába  {semi-elic.}
ka-o-unúwá  ḏdi-gaa-hí-ttīy-edh-ůw-á  őomwéné  wa  máráfula
CGE-15-grow 1SG-HYP-PFVDJ-leave-APPL-PASS-Fi 17.chieftainship 17.CON 1a.dead
báába
1a.my.father
‗if I was a grown-up, I would stay with the chieftainship of my dead father‘

b. áyín’ aábá aŋkáléca na báábá, [agoonúwa, agáánsema vaddíddi]  {semi-elic.}
áyíma  ábá  [a-ni-kál-éc-a  na  báábá]_{REL.}
2.child 2.DEM.I 2-IPFVCJ-be-HAB-Fi with 1a.their.father
‗these children who are always with their father, [when they grow up, they will be good carpenters]‘

In (5.72), the suffixation on múkwáága ‘my friend’ of the =ya definite clitics further confirms the prosodic unity between the noun and its possessive.

(5.72) kadhánáto mḵwáágáaya óddo, mwáádmíy’ oódóó  {maria.118}
ka-dhá = ná = to  múkwé = ágá = ya  óddo  mwáádmí = ya  óddó
IMP-go = COM = then 1.friend = POSS.1SG = DEF 1.DEM.II 1.wife = DEF 1.DEM.II
‗bring then that friend of mine, that wife‘

Also note that each of these relation terms exist without a pronominal possessor, e.g. to express a generic meaning, but their use is far less attested. For example, múkwe ‘friend’ as such is only attested once (5.73) in my narratives, whereas it appears 17 times with a possessive clitics. We conclude that kinship terms usually require the possessor to be internal.

(5.73) múkwé kańdiškóbírir’ iiilobwééne  {páaká.16}
múkwé  ka-ni-diškóbírirí  elobó = éne
1.friend  NEG.1-IPFV-find.out 9.thing.PL = INT
‗the friend does not find out anything‘

5.3.3 Anaphoric function

The possessives can also be used anaphorically (5.74)a, with a possibility of reduplication (5.74)b,
(5.74)  
a. *rióbénáága oółíméélá, káddiébóléyé waawo*  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rióbéní} &= \text{ága} & \text{hí-ríméélá} &= \text{ká-ddí-bólé-é} & \text{waawo} \\
\text{knife} &= \text{POSS.1SG} & \text{PFV.DJ-disappear} &= \text{IMP-OM1SG-lend-Fi} & \text{3.POSS.2SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘my knife is lost, lend me yours’

b. *nátíápódtásu okaála múttú yááyeyáýaye*  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nám} &= \text{podugi okála múttú} & \text{yááyeyáýaye} \\
\text{can.HAB} &= \text{1.person.9.POSS.3SG-RED} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘it cannot be every man for himself’ (speaking of body parts)

or be nominalised, referring to belongings with a class 10 agreement (5.75), or referring to some personal place with a locative class agreement (5.76).

(5.75)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dhááwo dhoodhéné ddabunó, mäsöóso” ááw’ ootééné ddabunó aamála} \\
\text{dhááwo} &= \text{dhi-oté = dhéné ddabunó mäsöóso ááwo} \\
\text{10.POSS.2SG} &= \text{10-all = 10.INT today 6.suffering 6.POSS.2SG} \\
a-oté &= \text{éné ddabunó a-hi-mála} \\
6-all &= \text{INT today 6-PFV.DJ-finish} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘everything you have today, all your suffering today is over’

(5.76)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ddííndhówá ddávééde vágavéné v’ ookála} \\
\text{ddí-ní-dhówá ddi-á-véd-e vágá = véné va okála} \\
\text{1SG-IPFV.CI-go 1SG-IT-search-SBJ 16.POSS.1SG = 16.INT 16.CON 15.live} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘I will go and look for a place of mine to stay’

### 5.4 Adjectives

Dixon (2004: 3-4) identifies seven semantic types typically expressed by adjectives from a typological perspective: dimension, age, value, colour, physical property, human propensity, and speed. In Cuwabo all these adjectival concepts are expressed by several different strategies: (i) by a lexical adjective (section 5.4.1); (ii) by some nouns or infinitival verbs combined with an agreeing connective relator (section 5.4.2); (iii) or even by verbal inflection developed in other chapters of this thesis: the perfective of stative verbs (see section, 8.1.1.2 but exemplified here in (5.77)) and relativisation (see section 10.1, but exemplified here in (5.78)).
Among these strategies, one should note the importance of the verbal element in expressing adjectival meanings, which suggest that Cuwabo is an “adjectival-verb language” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 16). These miscellaneous strategies reveal that the division between word classes is not always straightforward. Some words that are intuitively assumed to be nouns or verbs happen to be used as noun modifiers in adjectival constructions.

5.4.1 Lexical adjectives

The lexical adjectives comprise a small closed class of six members, namely -nddímúwa ‘big’ (5.79), -ńgóóno ‘small, little’ (5.79), -inji ‘much/many’ (see section 5.5.3 on quantifiers), -ina ‘other’ (5.80), -ği ‘unripe’ (5.81), -gumi ‘healthy’ (5.82). The semantic range of these adjectives is partly consistent with Dixon (1977)’s assertion that closed-class adjectives (found in some world’s languages) more commonly denote dimensions, colour, age, and value. The underrepresentation of lexical adjectives is widespread across Bantu languages.

These adjectival stems take a H-toned concordial prefix which agrees in noun class with the modified noun, as shown in Table 29.
Table 29  Agreement on adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>-nddimúwa</th>
<th>-ina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mwááná</td>
<td>múnddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>áná</td>
<td>ánddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>músołoro</td>
<td>múnddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>misóloro</td>
<td>dhínddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>níñtó</td>
<td>nínddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mééntó</td>
<td>mánddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>chíbá</td>
<td>énddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhíííba</td>
<td>dhínddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ógóógó</td>
<td>múnddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ópa</td>
<td>ónddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>vaárí</td>
<td>vánddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>odhúlú</td>
<td>ónddimúwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>munddúní</td>
<td>múnddimúwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are a few examples.

(5.79) Mosambíki elabw’ cënddimúwa, Portugal elabo éíggóóno  
(Mozambique is a big country, Portugal is a small country)

(5.80) ddinódhówá obára múdhídhi mwíína  
('I will go to the beach later (at some other time)'

(5.81) nífúgi nííti / máfúgi mééti  
('unripe banana / unripe bananas'

(5.82) áweéne a-gumí: ? mwááná baáhí mu-gumi  
('are they alright? only the child is alright’

Note that -gumi ‘healthy’ is typically used for animate entities. In (5.82), it is used for a plural entity (class 2), as a (non-verbal) predicate by means of Predicative Lowering (see section 3.5.3).
When lexical adjectives refer to persons, as shown in (5.83), they are usually inserted into a connective construction whose concordial prefix corresponds to the subject marker of each person: *ddi-* for 1SG, *o-* for 2SG, *ni-* for 1PL, and *mu-* for 2PL. Different strategies are at play to resolve such vowel sequences, but the output is always shortened. The adjective is then submitted to Predicative Lowering (PL) and agrees in class 1 for the two singular persons, and class 2 for the two plural persons.

(5.83)  | PERS.PRO. | SM-CON | Adjective.PL |
--------|----------|--------|--------------|
 míyó   | dda      | munddimúwa / mugumí | ‘I am tall / healthy’ |
 wéyó   | wa       | munddimúwa / mugumí  | ‘you (sg) are tall / healthy’ |
 íyó    | na       | anddimúwa / agumí    | ‘we are tall / healthy’ |
 nyúwó  | mwa      | munddimúwa / agumí    | ‘you (pl) are tall / healthy’ |

Qualifying nationality also induces classes 1 (for singular persons) and class 2 (for plural persons) agreement on the adjective as well as PL.

(5.84) míyó *ímosambikááno* / íyó *amosambikááno* {elic.}
míyó mu-mosambikááno íyó a-mosambikááno
1SG.PRO 1-Mozambican.PL 1PL.PRO 2-Mozambican.PL
‘I am Mozambican / we are Mozambican’

Certain adjectives may be reduplicated, to insist on the quality denoted by the adjective. In my database, the most recurrent example is with the adjective *-ńgóono* ‘small’ or its variant *-ńgíní*. As (5.85) shows, the long vowel of the adjectival stem is shortened, and the High tone pattern is reproduced on the reduplicated segment.

(5.85) a. *mćeñó*: *má-ńgóono-ńgóono* {elic.}
6.tooth 6-little-RED
‘small teeth’

b. *ńngá dda mwaaná múńgínínńgíní*, [...] {ddingí.8}
ningá ddi-a mwaaná múńgínínńgíní
as 1SG.COP-CON 1.child 1-little-RED
‘because I am small, [...]’

Finally, lexical adjectives can be used anaphorically as pronouns.
Chapter 5

5.4.2 Connective constructions

A very productive adjectivisation process is made through the agreeing connective relator, followed in most cases by a noun or an infinitive verb, which become adjectival nouns and verbs or noun- or verb-like adjectives. Concepts such as (i) colour (5.87); (ii) temporal periods (5.88); (iii) physical qualities (5.89); and (iv) present state (5.90) are expressed by adjectival nouns and/or verbs.

(5.87) Color concepts via adjectival nouns (a-b) and adjectival verbs (c)

a. méntó ááye alí a matába a mánddîmwi

méntó ááye a lí a [matába a mánddîmwi]
‘his eyes are green’ ▶ green = ‘lime’s leaf’

b. mattáká ba músúzí wa nyémaba

mattáká ba [músúzí wa nyémaba]
6.soil 6.CON 3.gravy 3.CON 9a.bean.sp
‘the soil is brown’ ▶ brown = ‘beans gravy’

c. ńzáýí n’ oocéna / mázóyí ooríba / kabálá dh’ oóíflá

ńzáýí na oocéna mázóyí a ooríba kabálá dha óóíflá
5.egg 5.CON 15.be.white 6.egg 6.CON 15.be.black 9a.rope 9.CON 15.be red
‘a white egg’ ‘black eggs’ ‘a red rope’

(5.88) Temporal periods

áínsáká na wále ńráíká na savála ńráíká na wááluwála
5.time 5.CON past.times 5.time 5.CON 9a.hunger 5.time 5.CON 15.be.old
‘old times’ ‘time of hunger’ ‘old age’

(5.89) Physical qualities

ńúmbá y’ oókóddéla / kabálá dh’ oolápa

ńúmbá ya óókóddéla kabálá dha olápa
9a.house 9.CON 15.be.beautiful 10a.rope 10.CON 15.be.long
‘a beautiful house’ ‘long ropes’
(5.90) Present state

*nífúgi na wííttwa* \{elic.\}

*nífúgi na wííttwa*

5.banana 5.CON 15.be.ripe

‘a ripe banana’

Connective constructions are also needed with certain quantifiers presented below in section 5.5, and other modifiers including invariable (borrowed) adjectival forms, such as *aka ‘same, equal’* (5.91), *paáma ‘good, fine’* (5.92), and *déréétu* (< Portuguese *direito*) ‘good, fine’ (5.93).

(5.91)

a. *oókos’ áákakéène*

{o hí-kösá ya aka-ká=éne}

1-PFV.DJ-do 9.CON same-RED = INT

‘he did the same’

b. *múttú w’ akakéène owííya mukúkúta wa mwánága*

{o hí-íya mukúkúta wa mwánága}

1.person 1.CON same-RED = INT 1-PFV.DJ-steal 1.car 1.CON 1.child.POSS.1SG

‘the same person stole my son’s car’

(5.92) *ba aaní ońj dha paámâdha*

{mbíri.10}

ba aani [o-ní-já dha paámã=dhã] \{REL\}

2.COP who 1-IPFV.CJ-eat 10.CON good = 10.DEF

‘who keeps eating the tasty part’

(5.93) *aája dhílóbo dha déréétu*

{maría.82}

a hí-já dhílóbo dha déréétu

2-PFV.DJ-eat 10.thing 10.CON well

‘they ate good things’

Adjectival concepts expressed by connective constructions can also be used anaphorically as pronouns, as shown in (5.94).

(5.94) *kaddiizívéliwa guwo y’ oófiila, muddíváhe y’ ooríba*

{elic.}

di ni-zívéliwa guwo ya oófiila

NEG.1SG-IPFV-like 9a.cloth.PL 9.CON 15.be.red

mu-di-váh-e ya oríba

2.RESP-OM1SG-give-SBJ 9.CON 15.be.black

‘I don’t like the red garment, give me the black one’
5.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are a subset of adjectives, which refer to certain amounts of entities. Notions like ‘all’, ‘much/many’, ‘few, little’ are expressed by quantifiers. They represent a small set in Cuwabo, which covers only very basic concepts, given in the following list.

(5.95) \(\text{o}t\acute{e} / \text{et}\acute{e} (\text{=ene})\) ‘all, whole’

\(\text{k\ddot{a}dda}\) ‘each’
\(\text{-inji}\) ‘many, much’
\(\text{vadd\ddot{d}ddi}\) ‘much’
\(\text{(va)-j\ddot{g}\dtil{o}no}\) ‘little, few’
\(\text{-eka}\) ‘alone’

While all the quantifiers function as a noun modifiers, they differ in their morphological anchoring in the noun phrase. Some behave as lexical adjectives and take a (specific) concordial inflection, while others remain invariable. Each case is discussed below.

5.5.1 \(\text{o}t\acute{e} / \text{et}\acute{e}(\text{=ene})\) ‘all, whole’

The universal quantifier \(\text{o}t\acute{e}\) ‘all, whole’ always follows the noun it modifies. It may be realised \(\text{et}\acute{e}\), as a free variation. Such a vowel-initial alternation between e/o is well attested among Bantu (see Angenot-Bastin 1977). It functions with specific prefixes agreeing in class with the head noun. The full agreement paradigm is given in Table 30.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>dhi</td>
<td>dhi</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, \(\text{o}t\acute{e}\) is very rarely attested on its own in my database. Instead the intensive clitics \(=\text{ene}\) is systematically suffixed, usually accompanied with an agreeing prefix (see section 7.1.3.2 for a detailed analysis of the agreement pattern of the clitic \(=\text{ene}\)).

(5.96) \(\text{ddino}\ddot{o}g\acute{w}v\ddot{a} \text{\ddot{n}l\acute{a}nya m\ddot{a}s\acute{a}k\acute{a} oot\acute{e}n}\ddot{e}\) {elic.}

\(\text{ddi-ni-o\ddot{g}w}v\ddot{a} \text{\ddot{n}l\acute{a}nya m\ddot{a}s\acute{a}k\acute{a} a-ot\acute{e}=\ddot{e}ne}\) 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.drink 5.coco.juice 6.day 6-all = INT

‘I drink coco juice every day’

(5.97) \(\text{ja\ddot{a} n\acute{n}n\acute{g}\acute{o} n\acute{e}c\acute{t}\acute{\ddot{e}}n}\acute{e} k\acute{a}n\acute{c\acute{e}}\ddot{d}d\acute{\ddot{d}}\acute{\ddot{f}}\acute{\ddot{l}}e \ddot{v}\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{n}\ddot{a}\) {body.14}

\(\text{ja \ddot{n}n\acute{g}\acute{\ddot{o}} ni-ot\acute{e}=\ddot{e}ne ka-ni-\acute{\ddot{e}}\ddot{d}d-\acute{f}\ddot{l}e \ddot{v}\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{n}a}\) no.longer 5.body 5-all = INT NEG-5-walk-PFV too

‘the whole body no longer worked (walked)’
Because it has an inclusive meaning, *oté* typically modifies a plural participant. Still, it is also found with singular nouns to express wholeness, as in the following examples.

(5.100) **özómbwe wáaga wootééne tdaágúla koko**
özómbwe wáaga o-oté = éne ddi-á-gúla koko
14.youth 14.POSSG.1SG 14-all = INT 1SG-IPFV.CJ-buy 10a.coconut.PL
‘during my whole childhood, I used to buy coconut’

(5.101) **olóóępóndda baárk’ uillé na múșólro wooténe**
olóóępóndda baárk’ uillé na múșólro o-oté = éne
1-CE-15-OM1-knead 1a.boat 1.DEM.III with 3.head 3-all = INT
‘he destroyed that boat with his whole head’

(5.102) **elábó’ éjí yooténe kaávó ñbava w’ oopítta miyo**
elábó’ éjí e-oté = éne kaá = vó ñbava
9.country 9.DEM.I 9-all = INT NEG.COP = 16.LOC 1.thief.PL
wa oopítta miyo]REL
1.CON 15.surpass 1SG.PRO
‘in this whole place, there is no thief better than me’

Beyond the attributive function displayed in the aforementioned examples, *oté* can also be used anaphorically, as a pronoun, as shown in (5.103).

(5.103) a. **mukwélíiyé, akwilé cetééne**
[mu-kw-él-e = iye]REL a-kw-ilé a-oté = éne
18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 2-die-PFV.CJ 2-all = INT
‘when he died, all died’

b. **owaávahá dheetédhéné**
o-hi-á-vahá dhi-eté = dhéne
1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give 10-all = 10.INT
‘she gave them everything’
An alternative form for ‘whole’ is also found - though more rarely - with the modifier inteiro, borrowed from the Portuguese adjective inteiro ‘whole, full’, and linked with the noun by means of the connective relator, as shown in (5.104).

(5.104) lábó na inteéró, malábó meelí, malábó maraarú
lábó na inteéró malábó ma-ilí malábó ma-raaru
5.day 5.CON whole 6.day 6-two 6.day 6-three
‘a whole full day, two days, three days.’

5.5.2 kadda ‘each, every’

A frequent strategy to express ‘each’ or ‘every’ is the use of the invariable quantifier kadda ‘each, every’, borrowed from the Portuguese cada. It always precedes the modified noun.

(5.105) a. kádda múttú ‘úuídh’ óoónila [...] {ddingi.4}
     kádda múttú [o-ní-dhál] o-ní-fla
     each 1.man 1-IPFV.CJ-come 1-IPFV.CJ-say
     ‘everyone coming says [...]’

     b. kadd’ célóbó, eekál’ cettongélúuwááni {body.19}
     kadda élóbó e-hí-kála [e-ttóng-él-uw-é=ánl]REL
     each 9.thing 9-PFV.DJ-remain 9-order-APPL-PASS-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO
     ‘every part of the body has its function’

     c. kadda múttú níbasá nikósílééye, baloga [...] {maria.181}
     kadda múttú níbasá [ni-kós-ilé=fye]REL ba-logá
     each 1.person 5.work 5-do-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO SEQ.1-say
     ‘each one, for the work done, said [...]’

Besides this Portuguese loan, another internal means to express ‘each, every’ is by reduplication of the modified noun, as shown in (5.106). Note that the presence of the class 18 connective mwa in (5.106)a and (5.106)b is not acknowledged by all my constulants. Whereas Sérgio uttered these sentences with the connective relator, in the same context, Agostinho prefers its absence.

(5.106) a. dhiddumeyiwé (mwa) nyúmbányúmba {elie.}
dhi-ddumey-íw-é mwa nyúmbá-nyúmba
10-burn-PASS-PFV.CJ 18.CON 10.house-RED
‘every/each house was burnt’
The noun phrase

b. *kaddináwódhé weengesela (mwa) níívúruniívûru*  
   ka-d-dí-náá-wódh-é  weengesela  mwa  níívúruniívûru  
   NEG-1SG-FUT-succeed-IRR  15.read.PL  18.CON  5.book-RED  
   ‘I will not be able to read every/each book’

c. *múttúmúttú waáttámbilra makúmí maaarú mwa nívbáá nikósílééye*  
   1.people-RED  1-PST.CJ-receive  6-nine  6-three  18.CON  5.work  
   [ni-kós-ilé = fyé]REL  
   5-do-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO  
   ‘each/every one received 30 meticais for the work done’

5.5.3  *-inji* ‘many, much’  /  *-ńgóóno* ‘few, little’

The indefinite quantifier *-inji* ‘many, much’ is used to describe a high quantity or amount of some entity, while *-ńgóóno* (or *-ńgóóno* depending on the speakers) ‘few, little’ characterises a small one. Both function as lexical adjectives and take the class concord of the head noun, which can in turn be a count noun (3.39) or a mass noun (5.108).

(5.107)  a. *masiku ménjée: nihív lag moottó:*  
   masiku  má-inji=éne  ni-hí-vál-ag-á  moottó  
   6.day  6-many=INT  1PL-NEG.ask.for-HAB-Fi  3.fire.PL  
   ‘we did not ask for fire several days along’

   b. *balámé dhi-ńgóónoví: s’ oócéna*  
   balámé  dhi-ńgóóno = vi  si-a  oócéna  
   10a.bird  10-few = RESTR  10.COP-CON  15.be.white  
   ‘a few birds are white’

(5.108)  a. *waalima mbúga mwínjí, ocettíhe máttánga a báábo*  
   o-a-líma  mbúga  mú-inji  o-cett-íh-e  máttánga  a  
   báábo  
   1a.father.POSS.2SG  
   ‘if you produce a good amount of rice, organize a ceremony for your father’
b. *ddinoôgwa máánjé maŋgónóvú: kadda múdhdí {elic.}

ddi-ni-ôngwa máánjé maŋgónó = vi kadda múdhdí
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.drink 6.water 6-little = RESTR each 3.hour
‘I drink a little water every hour’

Note that the restrictive clitics =vi always follows the quantifier -ŋgó(ó)no, and its deletion would make the sentence ungrammatical, as shown in (5.109), elicited from (3.39)b and (5.108)b above.

(5.109) a. *balámé dhiŋgoño s’ oocéna {elic.}
‘there are few white birds’

b. *ddinoôgwa máánjé maŋgónó: kadda múdhdí {elic.}
‘I drink a little water every hour’

-inji is typically used after múttengó ‘price’ when referring to something expensive.

(5.110) nyúmb’ éjí eekáána mútténgó mwínji {elic.}

nyúmba éjí e-hi-káána mútténgó mú-inji
9a.house 9.DEI.I 9-PFV.DJ-have 3.price 3-much
‘this house is expensive’

Furthermore, -inji is also used to express both quantifying expressions ‘several’ and ‘most, the majority of’, as shown in (5.111).

(5.111) nyúmba dhiündjí dhiündumëyiwa {elic.}

nyúmba dhi-inji dhi-hi-ddumëy-í-wa
10a.house 10-many 10-PFV.DJ-burn-PASS-F
‘several / most houses were burnt’

Both quantifiers also function anaphorically, as pronouns. For instance, the utterance in (5.112) refers to the previously mentioned class 6 noun mázáyi ‘eggs’. Interestingly, the restrictive clitic =vi (see section 7.1.2.1) is necessarily needed after maŋgóóno. I have no explanation for this constraint. The utterance in (5.113), elicited from the one in (5.108)a, pronominalises the already-known constituent mbúga ‘rice’ via the quantifier.

(5.112) ddiígulá méénjí / maŋgóónóví {elic.}

ddi-hi-gulá má-inji / má-ŋgónó = vi má-ŋgóóno
1SG-PFV.DJ-buy 6-many 6-few = RESTR
‘I bought many of them / few of them’
The noun phrase

(5.113) waalima mwíínjí, ocettíhe máttánga a báábo {elic.}
o-a-líma mú-injí o-cett-ìh-e máttánga a báábo
2SG-SIT-cultivate 3-much 2SG-danse-CAUS-SBJ 6.party 6.CON 1a.father.POSS.2SG
‘if you produce a lot of it (rice), organise a ceremony for your father’

5.5.4 vaddíddi ‘much’ /vaŋgóóno ‘little’

Beyond -inji and -ńgóóno, two more quantifiers carry the same meanings, but remain invariable: vaddíddi ‘much’ (5.114) and vaŋgóóno ‘little, few’ (5.115), which also function as adverbs (see section 7.2.4). Although they are synchronically non-segmentable, the class 16 prefix va- is easily identifiable.

(5.114) a. [gâhâlî: cîlhàgà: ya] óddâle oítóta náma vaddíddi {mbírî.2}
óddâle [o-ni-tóta náma vaddíddi]REL
1.DEM.III 1-IPFV.CJ-hunt 9a.game much
‘[the story tells about] a great hunter’ (lit. ‘that one who hunts a lot of game’)

b. wéy’ óokáàna gárí vaddíddi {marïa.45}
wéyó o-hi-káàna gárí vaddíddi
2SG.PRO 2SG-FV.DJ-have 9a.luck much
‘you are very lucky’

(5.115) èsó dhînóñfiná mááñjí na múróñntí vaŋgóóno {elic.}
èsó dhí-ni-óñfiná mááñjí má-injí na múróñntí vaŋgóóno
4.DEM.II 4-IPFV.DJ-15.want 6.water 6-much and 4.shadow little
‘those need a lot of water and a little shadow’

Unlike -inji and -ńgóóno, vaddíddi and vaŋgóóno cannot follow count nouns, as illustrated in the following ungrammatical examples (5.116)a and (5.116)b, respectively based on the grammatical ones found in (3.39)a and (5.108)b.

(5.116) a. *masiku vaddìddì nihîvàlagà moottò {elic.}
‘we did not ask for fire several days along’

b. *ddínoója máfügí vaŋgóóno kadda malâbo {elic.}
‘I eat a few bananas every day’

In certain cases, vaddíddi may express ‘too (many/much)’, in reference to an adjective (5.117)a, or to nouns (5.117)b.
Another common strategy to refer to large quantities is the use of the ideophones *gwe* (5.118) and *fwa* (5.119), both of which always follow the modified count or mass noun. A more exhaustive list of ideophones is given in section 7.3.

Note that *vaddíddi* is often postponed - still optionally - to *gwe* to obtain a more emphatic meaning.
### 5.5.5 -eká / -oká ‘alone’

Similarly to *oté/eté ‘all’* analysed in section 5.5.1, the quantifier *eká/oká ‘alone’* has its own agreement paradigm. The resulting forms, given in Table 31, are difficult to segment. The two personal forms *meeká ‘1SG.alone’* and *yeeká ‘1.alone’* seem to be built upon the personal pronouns *miyo ‘1SG.PRO’* and *weyo ‘2SG.PRO’*, respectively, while the others forms have the same agreement prefixes than those found with *oté/eté*.

**Table 31** Agreement prefixes for *eká ‘alone’*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Class</th>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Person/Class</th>
<th>Ex.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>meeká</td>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>nooká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>weeká</td>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>mooká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>ooká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>wooká</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>dhooká</td>
</tr>
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<td>ooká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yooká</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhooká</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Unpaired classes**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>wooká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>vooká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>wooká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mooká</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also note the variation in the mid-vowels e and o: the [-back] is restricted to the persons (including classes 1 and 2), while the [+back] applies to all the remaining classes. In the same way as *oté/eté ‘all’*, the equally widespread *eká/oká* among Bantu is well-known for the vowel-initial alternation between e/o (Angenot-Bastin 1977).

Several examples in context are provided in (5.121).

(5.121) a. *ońjá weeká páraní?*  
{o-ní-já  weeká  pára-nil}  
2SG-PRS.CJ-eat  2SG.alone  for=what  
‘why do eat on your own?’
b. [...] onimútétba ddi míyo. kanééddá yéeka

[o-ni-mú-téba]\REL ddi míyo ka-ní-éédá yéeka
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-carry 1.COP 1SG.PRO  NEG.1-IPFV-walk 1.alone
‘I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.’

c. [...] adh’ áámáríha dhoója ajá eeká

a-dhá a-marlíha dhoója a-já eeká
2-come.SEQ 2-finish.SEQ 10.food 2.eat.SEQ 2.alone
‘(the cat) came to finish the food alone’

d. ážáyi nooká ni-li mìmulálá niivúdda

níz yi nooká ni-li mìmulálá=ni ni- hi-vúdda
5.egg 5.alone 5-be 18.3.basket=LOC 5-PFV.DJ-be.rotten
‘the single egg which is in the basket is rotten’

Furthermore, eka associates with the demonstrative pronoun ôlle ‘that.11’ to express the discursive expression ‘there it is’.

(5.122) ôlleeká Nikůräbedha, olí vatákúlú váaye

ôlle=eká N. o-lí va-tákúlú váaye
1.DEM. III = alone D. 1-be 16-9a.house 16.POSS.3SG
‘there is Mr. Dugong, he is in his house’

5.6 Numerals

5.6.1 Cardinal numbers

5.6.1.1 Bare counting

Cuwabo has a quinary numeral system, composed of distinct stems for the numerals from 1 to 5, and compound forms from 6 onwards. Numerals from 6 to 100 are built through adding 5 and 10. Some elements are juxtaposed while other are separated by na. Cardinal primary numerals 1 to 20 and cardinal numerals for the higher round numbers are listed in Table 32. These numerals correspond to the bare counting forms, i.e. when no particular entities are enumerated, and then no concordial agreement precedes the numeral stem.
Because some tonal variations seem to exist among speakers, tone marking may at some point lack consistency. A detailed study of numerals tone pattern is not provided here.

### Table 32  Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th></th>
<th>Numerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(rn)módha</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>kümí na modha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bíili</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>kümí na bíili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ttáarú</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>kümí na ttáarú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ñnáyi</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>kümí na: ñnáyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tánnú</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>kümí na tánnú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tánnú modha</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>kümí na táná modha³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tánnú biili</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>kümí na táná biili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tánnú ttáarú</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>kümí na táná ttáarú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tánnú ñnáyi</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>kümí na táná ñnáyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kúmi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>mákúń’ meelí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numeral stems from 5 up to 9 are formed according to the pattern 5-and-1 for 6, 5-and-2 for 7, etc, with the preposition na ‘and, with’ between both numeral unities. Such constructions induce certain morphophonological changes: (i), syllable reduction commonly occurs, switching from tánú na modha to táná modha. Deletion operates on the syllable nu. In this deletion process, the underlying high tone onto nu seems to not relink to any other mora; (ii) the long vowel of táanú ‘five’ gets reduced when followed by a further unity.

The numeral kúmi for 10 is the reflex of the proto-form *-kómi, well-known across Bantu. The numerals from 11 to 19 consist of 10 plus 1, 2, 3, etc, forming a three-word numeral via the preposition na. The same addition process applies for the other tens.

Multiples of 10 up to 90 are formed with the plural form of kúmi, i.e. mákumí (class 6), followed by the multiplying numeral, which agrees in class with mákumí, e.g. méelí /má-ilí/ for 20³⁷. In this word sequence, the final vowel [i] is commonly deleted, giving rise to a bilabial nasal cluster whose first element becomes moraic, inherits the high tone of the deleted vowel, and is henceforth the coda of the preceding syllable. Other numerals between the tens are built as combinations of numerals for tens and the single numerals from 1 to 9.

The words zána ‘hundred’ and cíkwi ‘thousand’ are uncommon in Cuwabo. Their Portuguese equivalents cem and mil are rather used in everyday life. Like kúmi ‘ten’, the multiples of these numerals are class 6 nouns, with the prefix ma-. While the origin of cíkwi

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³⁵ kümí na táná modha = kümí na tánú: na modha
³⁶ makúń’ meelí: na modha = makúń’ meelí na modha
³⁷ This morphological change between bíili to méelí for 20 is explained diachronically: Proto-Bantu *b>Ø, except with class 9/10 words, historically preceded by a nasal, *Nb>b.
is widely attested in Eastern Bantu (Chewa, Kuria, Chaga, Comorian, Digo, Sena, etc), but reconstructed neither by Guthrie nor by Meeussen, *zána* may be attributed to the proto-form *-gànà*, but the inconsistency of the Cuwabo sound correspondence suggests it rather to be a loan.

Regarding tones, note that in bare counting process, the ultimate mora usually receives a prosodic high tone while the underlying H tones get lowered. This tone change is unsurprisingly the result of the enumeration process.

### 5.6.1.2 Agreement on numerals

Only the single numerals (1 up to 9) function as adjectives and take a numeral agreement prefix, consistently with the modified noun, that they obligatorily follow. An exception though is found with classes 9/10, for which the (expected) concordial prefixes *e-* and *dhi-* respectively, are not applied on the numerals. Instead, they make use of the invariable forms found in bare counting. As the numerical system of Cuwabo is based on five, only the stems involving the numerals from 1 to 5 show class agreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num.</th>
<th>Classes 1/2</th>
<th>Classes 3/4</th>
<th>Classes 5/6</th>
<th>Classes 9/10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mu-/a-</td>
<td>mu-/mī-</td>
<td>ni-/ma-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ŭmŏdha</td>
<td>ŭmŏdha</td>
<td>nŏmodha</td>
<td>mŏdha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ēeli</td>
<td>mĭli/mĭnddi</td>
<td>mēeli</td>
<td>bĭli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>araarū</td>
<td>mīraarū</td>
<td>maraarū</td>
<td>ttaarū³⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>aňnayi</td>
<td>mĭnăyi</td>
<td>maňnayi</td>
<td>ãnayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>atāănu</td>
<td>mĭtăănu</td>
<td>mătăănu</td>
<td>tăănu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The agreement system on numerals affects every (added) single numeral from 1 to 9, and an interesting particularity of Cuwabo, especially in case of high numerals, is that the modified noun is optionally repeated after the preposition *na*, and most of the time in front of the final single numerals (5.123)a, but not necessarily (5.123)b.

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³⁸ For *g*, the reflexes [g] or [Ø] are expected in Cuwabo, rather than [z].

³⁹ As for *bĭli* to *mēeli* seen above, the morphological change between *tăarū* to *nărū* is explained diachronically: Proto-Bantu *t>r*, except with class 9/10 words, in which *Nt>t*. 

---
(5.123) a. ṭmúráddani mweehū, mukál’ áttu cíkwí na mazáná maraarú {elic.} 
na mákúr’ maññayí: na áttu ēeli 
mu-múrúdda = ni mu-evú mu-kálá áttu cíkwí na 
18-3.village = LOC 18-POS.3SGPL 18-be 2.people 5.thousand and 
ma-záná ma-raarú na má-kúmí ma-ññayí na áttu á-ili 
6-hundred 6-three and 6-ten 6-four and 2.people 2-two 
‘in our village, there are 1,342 people’

b. dhikálámo mírí macíkwí maraarú na mírí mazáná matáánú {elic.} 
na mírí mákúř’ maraarú na mitáánú mi-raarú 
dhi-kálá=mo mírí ma-cíkwí ma-raarú na mírí mazáná 
4-be = 18.LOC 4.tree 6-thousand 6-three and 4.tree 6.hundred 
ma-táánú na mírí má-kúmí ma-raarú na mi-tánú mi-raarú 
6-five and 4.tree 6-ten 6-three and 4-five and 4-three 
‘there are 3,538 trees’

Sentences in (5.123) confirm the agreement of the numeral 1 to 5 with the class of the quantified noun, while the stems used for the tens kúmí, the hundreds zána, and the thousands cíkwí are independent and only take the classes 5/6 prefixes, irrespective of the class of the word to be quantified.

A common - and generally preferred - variant of -ili ‘two’ (5.124) is -inddi (5.125), which is only attested with the class 4 prefix.

(5.124) yááká ená meéri kúmí nà millé {elic.} 
yááká e-ná meéri kúmí na mí-li 
9.year 9-have 4.month ten and 4-two 
‘a year has twelve months’

(5.125) a. meerí minddi: ddihílogagá na mwámúnaga {semi-elic.} 
meerí mf-inddi ddi-hí-log-ag-ā na mwámúnaga 
4.month 4-two 1SG-NEG-speak-HAB-Fi with 1.husband.POSS.1SG 
‘I have not spoken with my husband for two months.’

b. oddivahilé mikátte minddi baáhi, dditákúna {semi-elic.} 
o-ddi-vah-ilé mikátte mf-inddi baáhi ddi-hí-tákúna 
1-OM1SG-give-PFV.CG 4.rice.cake 4-two only 1SG-PFV.DJ-chew 
‘he gave me two rice cakes and I have already eaten them’

The numeral -módhá ‘one’ can be used adverbially meaning ‘together’, when it is preceded by the class 16 locative marker va-.
(5.126) a. kamwaadhowíléwo vamodhá ?
  ka-mu-a-dhow-ilé = wo va-modhá
  NEG-2PL-PST-go-PFV = 17.LOC 16-one
‘did not you go there together?’

b. aagíláatí vamodháavi góddógoddo
  a-hi-gíláatí va-modhá = vi góddó-goddo
  2-PFV.DJ-sit 16-one = RESTR IDEO-RED
‘they sat all together’

No other cases of numerals agreeing with locative classes are attested in the language, and when the numeral depends on a derived locative noun, it agrees with the inherent noun class, as shown in (5.127).

(5.127) íyééné ogina-nilé vadhúlú va kúgulu biili
  íyééné o-gína-nilé vadhúlú va kúgulu biili
  3SG.PRO 1-sit-PFV.CJ 16.top 16.CON 10a.bed 10.two
‘he is lying on two beds’

Numerals can modify demonstrative pronouns (5.128), or personal pronouns (2.138) with a class 2 agreement whenever the pronoun is plural.

(5.128) ábá celí: […] aítélúwa
  ábá a-ilf a-hí-tél-úw-a
  2.DEM.II 2-two 2-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-Fi
‘those two […] got married’

(5.129) ngáni nyúwó celí érúgulu, na máda; odhúlú ókó muńlógáwóní ?
  ngáni nyúwó a-ilf érúgulu na máda
  VOC 2PL.PRO 2-two 7.belly and 6.hand
  odhúlú ókó mu-ní-lógá = wó = ní
  17.top 17.DEM.II 2PL-PRS.CJ-speak = 17.LOC = what
‘You two, Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, what are you talking about upthere?’

Numerals can also be used as pronouns, with a previously mentioned or implied reference to the entity being pronominalised. In (5.130)a, ímmodha refers to one of the animals chasing the hare, while in (5.130)b, it refers to each of the members of the family submitted to the father’s test. And finally, in (5.130)c, araarú clearly refers to the aforementioned noun múttu ‘person’.
Finally, numerals may be inserted into a nominal structure, by means of the prefix of class 14 o-, then preceded by agreement prefixes, which pattern with those found with the adjective oté/été ‘all’, as shown in the following examples.

(5.130) a. alóóttébéluwa muksháwáuni, óóraáru
   a-le-óttébél-uwa mu-kásháwú=ní á-ó-a-raáru
   2-CE-15.carry-PASS-Fi 18-9a.box = LOC 2-14-2-three
   ‘they were carried in the coffin, the three of them’

b. with míri ‘trees’ (class 4): dhóómíraáru = dhí-ó-mi-raáru = 4-14-4-three

c. with mázâyi ‘eggs’ (class 6): óómaraáru = á-ó-ma-raáru = 6-14-6-three

d. with gulúwe ‘pigs’ (class 10): dhóóttaáru = dhí-ó-ttaáru = 10-14-10.three

5.6.2 Ordinal numerals

In Cuwabo, the two concepts ‘first’ and ‘last’ are expressed by the connective agreeing with the head nouns they modify followed by the infinitives óromá ‘begin, start’ (5.132) and omáríha ‘finish’ (5.133), respectively.

(5.132) a. múttú w’ óóromá
   múttú wa óóromá
   1.people 1.CON 15.start
   ‘first person’

b. ízáyi n’ óóromá
   ízáyi na óóromá
   5.egg 5.CON 15.start
   ‘first egg’
The other ordinal numerals also make use of the connective agreeing with the head noun, followed by a nominalised cardinal numeral.

(5.134)  

mwááná wa náwíili  
‘second child’

mwááná wa náwúraaru  
‘third child’

mwááná wa náwúñayí  
‘fourth child’

mwááná wa náwútaanu  
‘fifth child’

These nominalised cardinal numeral forms are derived from the cardinal stems by means of two prefixes: first the nominal pre-prefix ná- (see section 4.2.4.1) and the class prefix o-, which is probably from class 14. An epenthetic glide is then inserted between both prefixes, with the effect of making the second vowel /o/ [+high].

(5.135)  

mwánága wa náwúraaru ðd’ oolápáya  
{elic.}

mwánága wa ná-ó-raaru ðdî olápá = ya  
1.child.POSS.1SG 1.CON PFX-14-three 1.COP 15.be.tall = DEF  
‘my third child is tall’

(5.136)  

síkú na nóónay’ uudhow’ óóvikomá řípule mwaári  
{maria.119}

síkú na ná-ó-nayí o-dhowá o-vi-komá řípule mwaári  
5.day 5.CON PFX-14-four NAR-go NAR-REFL-position 18.DEM.111 18.inside  
‘the fourth day, he went and positionned himself there into the sea’

5.7 Other pronouns

The pronoun is a word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase, hence it is also called ‘substitutive’ (Devos 2008, Schadeberg 1990). Among the world’s languages, various subtypes of pronouns may be distinguished, among them personal, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, indefinite, relative, and interrogative, several of which are not treated in this subsection for different reasons. The demonstratives, for example, have already been treated above in section 5.2.1. Regarding reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, both interpreted as coreferential with another nominal (a co-occurring one in the case of the reciprocal) (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 26), Cuwabo, as most Bantu languages, lacks them and
typically expresses equivalent meanings through the use of affixes on the verb, which remain invariable regardless of the person or number of the co-referred nominal (see section 6.3 on verbal morphology). Eventually, the issue and discussion of the relative and interrogative pronouns are deferred until chapter 10. The two remaining subtypes, namely personal and “indefinite” pronouns, are discussed in turn below.

5.7.1 Personal pronouns

In order to avoid lexical repetitions within a continuous text or discourse, nouns with a human referent can be subsumed by personal pronouns, which then function as anaphora and fill the syntactic slots of the replaced nouns. Personal pronouns distinguish three persons: a first referring to the speaker(s), a second referring to the person(s) spoken to, and a third referring to some other person(s) or thing(s) previously mentioned or whose referent(s) is/are made clear by the context. For each of these persons, two numbers (singular and plural) exist. Similarly to the possessive forms analysed above, the distinction between classes got neutralised with personal pronouns, and the forms íyééne ‘3SG’ and áwééne ‘3PL’ are synchronically used as the personal pronouns of every class. This neutralisation is commonly attested across Niger-Congo languages.

The full paradigm of personal pronouns is given in Table 34.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>míyo</td>
<td>íyó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>wéyo</td>
<td>nyúwo (+ resp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>íyééne</td>
<td>áwééne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both 3rd persons íyééne ‘3SG’ and áwééne ‘3PL’ seem to result from the roots íye and áwe modified by the intensifier clitic =ene (see section 7.1.3.2). Still, the fact that both íyééne and áwééne are synchronically non-decomposable reveals a high degree of grammaticalisation.

Note that the second person plural nyúwo (glossed as 2.PL) has a double function, in that it is also used as a form of polite address toward a single person⁴⁰ (glossed as 2.RESP), as illustrated in (5.137).

⁴⁰ Polite address also involve 2PL agreement on verbs and possessives.
As common in Bantu languages, a pronominal subject can be interpreted even in case no overt subject is present, thanks to subject marker prefixed on the tensed verb. Commonly such pronominal prefixes on the verb may co-occur with the non-affixal or free unbounded forms found in Table 34 when the pronominal subject (or object) is being emphasised (5.138).

(5.138) \(wéyó: \text{orífwárege kurúmáanje’ oódodo}\) \{maria.25\}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wéyó} & \quad \text{o-mú-fwár-eg-e} \\
\text{kurúmáanje} & \quad \text{= éne} \\
\text{oódodo} & \quad \text{1a.bee.sp = INT} \\
\text{2SG.PRO} & \quad \text{1a.bee.sp = INT} \\
\text{2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ} & \quad \text{10a.money = 10.pdf} \\
\text{1a.bee.sp = INT} & \quad \text{10.pdf} \\
\text{1a.bee.sp} & \quad \text{10.pdf} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘do follow this very bee.sp.’

This redundancy is also functional in discourse, at it helps to orientate the acting participation of an aforementioned character. For example, in (5.139), a first event (balogá) referring to a plural entity (ábálé) is presented and, in order to mark a character switching, the following sentence starts by the topic pronoun íyééné.

(5.139) \(ábálé balogá : “ookááná koóbírí dh’ oopícá ?” \) íyééné belá : “ddinópica” \{maria.133\}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ábálé} & \quad \text{ba-logá} \\
\text{ho-kááná} & \quad \text{koóbírí} \\
\text{dha} & \quad \text{opícá} \\
\text{2.DEM.III} & \quad \text{SEQ.2-say} \\
\text{2SG-OM1-have} & \quad \text{10a.money} \\
\text{10.pdf} & \quad \text{15.pdf} \\
\text{fyééné} & \quad \text{ba-ilá} \\
\text{ddi-ni-opícá} & \quad \text{3SG.PRO} \\
\text{SEQ-1.say} & \quad \text{1SG-OM1-have} \\
\text{15.pdf} & \quad \text{15.pdf} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘Those said : Do you have money to pay? He said : I will pay.’

Personal pronouns typically function as subject (5.140), preposition complements (5.141), and (more rarely) verb complements, post- (5.142)a or pre-verbally (5.142)b, in addition to object markers on the verb for emphatic topicalisation (see chapter 11 for a more detailed analysis on information structure). Note that personal pronouns do not differ with respect to their function in the sentence, be they subject or object of the verb.
The noun phrase  243

(5.140)  mító  ddínóvólówa  mutákwnání  {maria.17}
mító     ddí-ni-ovólówa     mu-tákwa=ni
1SG.PRO  1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.enter  18-9a.forest=LOC
‘I am going into the forest’

(5.141)  ᕧkwááye  abaálíwe  na  iyééne  [ahímála  ótélúwa  inmuruddání  mpúlé]:  {mute.4}
ákwé=áye  [a-baal-iw-e  na  iyééne]REL
2.friend=POSS.3SG  2-give.birth-PASS-PFV.REL  with  3SG.PRO
‘the friends who were born at the same time (lit. ‘with her’) [were already married in the village]’

(5.142)  a.  kaávó  mutt:  ońtóönyá:  ba addípítá  mító  {maria.180}
kaá=vó    muttu    [o-ni-tóónyá  ba-a-ddí-pítá  mító]REL
NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC  1.people.PL  1-IPFV.CJ-show  SEQ-1-OM1SG-surpass  1SG.PRO
‘there is no one who is better at tracking the way than I’

b.  mító  munóddízíwá:  ?”  [...  “kanuwíídhi”  “mító kamuddíídhí:  ?”  }{maria.86}
mító     mu-ni-ó-ddí-zíwá    ka-ni-ú-idí
1SG.PRO  2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know  NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know
mító     ka-mu-ddíídí
1SG.PRO  NEG-2PL-OM1SG-know
‘Do you know who I am? No, we don’t. You do not know me?’

A personal pronoun with a subject function may be separated from the verb by the entity referred to, which is likely to serve as a reminder or an emphasis (5.143). In the English translation, this lexical entity is indicated in apposition after the pronoun.

(5.143)  iyééne  múnddímúw’  óólé  oónívuíza  {maria.43}
fyééne    múnddímúwá    óólé    o-hí-mú-vuíza
3SG.PRO  1.old.man  1.DEM.III  1-PFV.DJ-OM1-ask
‘he, that old man, asked her’

A personal pronoun in sentence-initial position of direct addresses may have a vocative function, with (5.144) or without (5.145) the lexical repetition of the addressee, which is in this case subject to PL as seen in section 3.5.3.4.

(5.144)  wéyó  mwaanáwe  oonyínddá  dhaáwó,  kája!  {semi-elic.}
wéyó     mwaaná=we     o-hí-nyínddá     dhaáwó     ká-ja
2SG.PRO  1.child.PL = 2SG.PRO  2SG-PFV.DJ-oppose  like.this.II  IMP-eat
‘you, rebellious child, eat!’
Chapter 5

(5.145) *nyúwó karómáni wiíméláani!* {maria.72}

\begin{align*}
\text{nyúwó} & \quad \text{ka-rómá} = \text{ni} \quad \text{wiímélá} = \text{ni} \\
2\text{PL.PRO} & \quad \text{IMP-start} = \text{PLA} \quad 15.\text{stand} = \text{PLA}
\end{align*}

‘you, stand up first!’

Note in (5.144) that a short version =we of the personal pronoun wéyo is encliticised to the addressee noun. Interestingly, in the same context, the equivalent short personal pronouns do not exist for the remaining persons, except for the 2pl as (5.146) shows. =we for 2sg and =nyu 2pl are thus the only short personal pronouns attested in Cuwabo, specifically and only used in vocative expressions, in which they function as emphasisers or reactivation of the addressee. Other cases are illustrated in (5.147).

(5.146) 1SG *míyó mwaaná = mi 1PL *fyó ayimá = i \\
2SG wéyó mwaaná = we 2PL nyúwó ayimá = nyu \\
3SG *fyééne mwaaná = ye 3PL *áwééne ayimáw = a

(5.147) wéyó mwanabúru = wé ! ‘you (2SG), young lady!’ \\
nyúwó ayimá = nyu! ‘you (2PL), children!’

Both these bound personal pronouns =we and =nyu are not to be confused with the series of encliticised pronominal forms found exclusively on the verb of non-subject relative clauses, as shown in (5.148). Their distribution is different and there are six forms, one for each person. For more details on this specific and conditioned use of personal pronouns, see section 10.1.3.

(5.148) akósé dhinífünééyêye {semi-elic.}

\begin{align*}
\text{a-kós-} & \quad \text{[dhi-ní-füná = fyé]}_\text{REL} \\
1-\text{do-SBJ} & \quad 10-\text{IPFV.CJ-want = 3SG.PRO}
\end{align*}

‘he can do whatever he wants’

This means that, unlike Makhuwa and other languages in that area, independent short personal pronouns are not attested in Cuwabo.

As already mentioned above, the distinction between classes got neutralised. This means that nouns with a non-human referent can only be replaced by the forms fyééne ‘3SG’ and áwééne ‘3PL’, which function both for animate (5.149) and inanimate nouns (5.150). Note however that such a pronominalisation of non-human entities is rarely attested in spontaneous speech. Furthermore, it is more or less accepted among my consultants: whereas Sérgio acknowledges it, Agostinho rather restricts the use of the two pronouns to human entities only.
(5.149) *mbúzi dhiimúnígala mwáána: ? sabwaní : cííni epaddúwilé ?* {elic.}
áwéénéya aámúttawá poddogoma
mbúzi dhi-hi-mú-nyígala mwáána sabwa=ní cííni
10a.goat 10-PFV.DJ-OM1-squash 1.child because=what 7.COP.what
[e-paddúw-ilé]REL áwééné = ya a-á-mú- ttawá poddogoma
9-happen-PFV.REL 3.PL.PRO=DEF 2-PST.IPFV.CJ-OM1-flee 1a.lion.PL
‘Some goats squashed a child? Why, what happened? They were running from the lion’

(5.150) *múrí oomótta = íyééné oomótta* {elic.}
múrí / íyééné o-hi-mótta
3.tree / 3SG.PRO 3-PFV.DJ-fall
‘the tree fell / it fell’

Generic pronoun translated as *one* in English or *on* in French does not exist as such in Cuwabo. Instead, the 2SG person *wéyo* ‘you’ can be used (5.151) or, more commonly, a passive construction is formed (5.152).

(5.151) *kumwe bugáttékenya / waattekényága kumwe* {elic.}
ku-mw-e bu-ga-tekenya / o-a-tekény-ág-a ku-mw-e
NEG.2SG-drink-SBJ SEQ.2SG-SIT-drive / 2SG-SIT-drive-HAB-Fi NEG.2SG-drink-SBJ
‘one cannot drink while driving’

(5.152) a. *múyaná óbe mwáána ka-ní-vád-íw-a* {elic.}
múyaná óbe mwáána ka-ní-vád-íw-a
1.woman or 1.child NEG.2PFV-beat-PASS-Fi
‘one cannot beat neither woman nor child’ (lit. ‘woman and child are not beaten’)

b. *vanófwányúwa mátténga a kangáhîwa* {elic.}
va-ni-ofwány-úw-a mátténga a kangáhîwa
16-IPFV.DJ-15.find-PASS-Fi 6.feather 6.CON 10a.pigeon
‘one finds pigeons’ feathers there’ (lit. ‘there are found pigeons’ feathers’)

### 5.7.2 “Indefinite pronouns”

Both agent and patient participants of a verb can be indefinite, i.e. they are non-referential. Indefinite pronouns such as ‘somebody/nobody’, ‘something/nothing’, ‘sometimes/never’, and ‘somewhere/nowhere’ do not exist as such in Cuwabo. Instead, they are expressed via nominal or specific verb forms. For example, *múttu* ‘person’ (5.153) is generally used for the indefinite pronouns of person somebody/nobody, as well as the existential verb *okála*
‗be‘, followed by a relative clause (5.154), with the meaning of ‘there is who + V‘, which is equivalent to ‘someone + V‘.

(5.153) a. *ddinímfüná mútt* uuúźíwá wííyá vaddííddi

\[
\text{ddi-ní-mú-funá} \quad \text{méttu} \quad \text{[o-ní-zíwá wííyá vaddííddi]}_{\text{REL}}
\]

1SG-IPFV.CJ-OM1-want 1.person.PL 1-IPFV.CJ-know 15.steal much

‗I want someone who steals a lot, (who is) a thief‘

b. *kadhîlévó muttu*

\[
\text{ka-dh-îlé=vó} \quad \text{méttu}
\]

NEG.1-come-PFV = 16.LOC 1.person.PL

‗nobody came‘

(5.154) *ookálá wííyíle rìpádd* óoškóóla wééhu

\[
\text{o-hi-kálá} \quad \text{[o-fy-ile rípáddó o-škóóla wééhu]}_{\text{REL}}
\]

1-PFV.DJ-be 1-steal-PFV.REL 3.bench 17-9a.school 17.POSS.1PL

‗there is somebody who has stolen a bench from our school‘

‗something/nothing‘, which are indefinite pronouns in English, are rendered in Cuwabo by the noun *élôbo* ‘thing‘ (5.155)a, or its reduced form *élo* ‘thing‘ (5.155)b. As for ‘nobody‘ in (5.153)b, the negative meaning of the pronoun is rendered by a negated main verb.

(5.155) a. *míyó kaddináálógé: ddihváhíwe elo bo*

\[
\text{míyó} \quad \text{ka-ddi-ná-lóg-é} \quad \text{ddi-hi-váh-íw-e} \quad \text{elóbo}
\]

1SG.PRO NEG.1SG-FUT-speak-IRR 1SG-NEG-give-PASS-SBJ 9.thing.PL

‗I will not speak if you do not give me something‘

b. *kaddímíñíûn* écêlo

\[
\text{ka-ddi-ní-fúná} \quad \text{élo}
\]

NEG.1SG-IPFV-see 9.thing.PL

‗I do not want anything‘

Note that another common way to express negative indefinites is the negative copula, as shown in (5.156). See section 9.2.4 for a more detailed study of the negative copula.

(5.156) *kaáwó odhileewó:*

\[
\text{kaá = wó} \quad \text{o-dh-ile = wo}
\]

NEG.COP = 17.LOC 1-come-PFV.PL = 17.LOC

‗nobody came‘

The locative expressions ‘somewhere’ and ‘nowhere’ are mainly expressed through the locative noun *vogo* ‘at some place’ (class 16) or *wogo* ‘to some place’ (class 17).
Finally, to translate temporal expressions like ‘sometimes’, Cuwabo makes use of the noun phrase *müdhídhi mwíína*, as shown in (5.157).

(5.157) *ddinódhówá: obárá: müdhídhi mwíína*  
\[
\text{ddi-ni-ódhówá} \quad \text{o-bárá} \quad \text{müdhídhi} \quad \text{mü-ína}
\]
\[1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.go \quad 17-9a.beach \quad 3.time \quad 3-other\]

‘I sometimes go to the beach’

Regarding ‘never’, it is best expressed through a specific verb tense, namely the counterexpectational (see section 8.1.8 for more details), as exemplified in (5.158).

(5.158) *míyó kaddinádhówag’ oobara*  
\[
\text{míyó} \quad \text{ka-ddi-ná-dhów-ag-a} \quad \text{o-bará}
\]
\[1SG.PRO \quad \text{NEG-1SG-CE-go-HAB-Fi} \quad 17-9a.sea.PL\]

‘I have never been at the beach’

Finally, the indefinite series ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’, ‘wherever’, and ‘whenever’ is discussed in the context of relative clauses (see chapter 10).

### 5.8 Multiple modifiers and word order

This subsection presents the sequential ordering of co-occurring modifiers, and more particularly when possessives and demonstratives are involved.
5.8.1 Including a possessive

When a noun phrase includes several modifiers, one of which is a possessive, the latter typically occurs in the position immediately following the modified noun, where it may optionally be cliticised. It thus comes before a demonstrative pronoun (5.159), before a connective construction (5.160), or before an adjective (5.161).

(5.159) naámbéddaag’ oóddu                kurúmáanjaay’ oólé
   naámbédde = aga  óduu               kurúmáanje = aye  ólé
1a.maize = POSS.1SG 1.DEM.I 1a.bee.sp = POSS.3SG 1.DEM.III
‘this maize of mine’ {ddingí.25}  ‘that bee.sp of hers’ {maria.37}

(5.160) a. Júwão ol’ úúmóóóní wáága w’ óója
       Júwão  o-lí  o-móóní = ni  wáága  wa  ója
       João  1-be  17-3.arm = LOC 17.POSS.1SG 17.CON 15.eat
       ‘John is on my right side’

       b. ózómbwe wáága wootééne ddaágúla kokó
           ózómbwe  wáága  o-oté = éne  ddi-á-gúla  kokó
           ‘during all my childhood, I used to buy coconut’

(5.161) lívúrinaga ñnddimúwa
       lívúrú = naga  ññnddimúwa
       5a.book = 5.POSS.1SG 5-big
       ‘my big book’

Still, this word order is not so strict since it can be reversed, e.g. in (5.162) which constitutes a counterpart of (5.160)a.

(5.162) Júwão olí omóóníni wa ójá wáága
       ‘John is on my right side’

Furthermore, (5.163) and (5.164) also constitute exceptions to this ordering pattern. In (5.163), the noun and the possessive are separated by the demonstrative pronoun ába. My main consultant Sérgio considers this ordering “more natural” than the (more expected) maníngo áaga ába.
The noun phrase

(5.163) ńnga muńddóněnlínyú, maníngw’ ááb’ áaga: [...] maníngw’ áága ali dháyééne {maria.40}

[nínga mu-ní-ddi-on-él-a = inyu]REL

maníngó ába áaga

as 18-IPVF.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-Fi = 2RESP.PRO 6.body 6.DEM.1 6.POSS.1SG

maníngó áága a-lí dhááyí = éné
6.body 6.POSS 6-be like.this.1 = INT

‘As you can see me, this body of mine, [...] my body is like this.’

In (5.164), the possessive precedes the noun it modifies: ááye mabásá in (5.164)a and yáaga nyúmba in (5.164)b. This unexpected order seems to have the pragmatic purpose of “answering provocation”, according to Sérgio, with a somewhat disdainful connotation. This could likely be translated in French as le guide, le sien de travail est fini! and je construirai la mienne de maison! Of course, in both cases, the noun-possessive order is possible (respectively, mabásá áaye and nyúmba yáaga), to denote simple affirmations.

(5.164) a. baáhi rífíyedhán’ oökúlé: rípóointáári ááye mabás’ áalógóma {maria.149}

baáhi [mu-fíy-edh-é = ání okúlé]REL rípóointáári
only 18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 2PL.PRO 17.DEM.III 1.tracker

áaye mabása a-lé-ógoma
6.POSS.3SG 6.work 6-CE-15.finish

‘now that they arrived there, the tracker’s work was done.’

b. kattíyáni, ddagul ñddebé, ddin m g y aga nyúmba {semi-clic.}

ka-ttíya = ni ddi-a-gulá ñddebé ddi-ni-ómágá yáaga nyúmba
IMP-stop = PLA 1SG-SIT-buy 5.plot 1SG-IPVF.DJ-15.build 9.POSS.1SG 9.house

‘leave me alone (stop it), when I buy a plot of land, I will build it, my house!’

5.8.2 Including a demonstrative

The demonstrative pronoun is the second after the possessive to have a close relationship with the modified noun. It thus comes before a connective construction (5.165), or before an adjective (5.166).

(5.165) a. Mariýa nikómé áttile na bárá noot’ ónólímihá: {maria.64}

mariya nikómé áttile na bárá ni-otó ó-ni-ólím-ih-á
maria 5.bank 5.DEM.III 5.CON 9a.sea 5-all 1-PFV.DJ-15.cultivate-CAUS-Fi

‘Then along the whole sea bank, Maria has people cultivating.’
5.9 Summary of agreement system in NP

As was shown throughout this chapter, the different constituents of the noun phrase are systematically associated to the noun through agreement prefixes. Table 35 aims to summarise the agreement system found in the noun phrase, listing all the sets of concordance seen in this chapter, serving to relate syntactically modifiers to nouns. Note that the allomorphs are not indicated in this table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 35</th>
<th>Agreement prefixes in the noun phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOUN PFX</td>
<td>CON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/1a</td>
<td>mu- /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 / 9a</td>
<td>e- / Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 / 10a</td>
<td>dhi- /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Along with nouns, verbs constitute an open word class, which prototypically denotes actions, processes or states. They display several morphological and syntactic properties that distinguish them from other word classes. First, their agglutinative morphology involves an association of morphological processes, typical of Bantu languages, in such a way that a verb form may function on its own as a complete sentence. Second, verbs function as the heads of verbal clauses, and thus have a specific distribution in clauses.

In this chapter, I am concerned with verb morphology in Cuwabo. I adopt the canonical structure of the Bantu verb proposed by scholars such as Barrett-Keach (1986), Mutaka and Hyman (1990), Downing (1997), and Ngunga (2000), among others. Such a structure consists of the morphosyntactic constituents represented in (6.1).
A detailed description of the derivational and inflectional system will thus be provided. Verbal derivation (which in Cuwabo is limited to verb-to-verb derivation) is confined to the extension slot of the verb structure, where productive as well as non-productive extensions are attached to the verb root. This type of derivation will be discussed in section 6.1. Section 6.2 is concerned with another type of morphological process, namely reduplication. Finally, in section 6.3, I give a detailed account of verbal inflection, which involves the remaining verb slots, covering the inflectional stem, the macrostem, and the pre-stem. Note that the question of tense-aspect-mood (TAM) is treated in-depth in chapter 8.

6.1 Derivational verb stem

6.1.1 Verbal base: root + extension(s)

Verb forms in Cuwabo consist of a verbal base together with an obligatory suffix, referred to as the ‘final’. Because of its particular properties, the final suffix is discussed later in section 6.3.7. We are concerned here with the derivational stem, i.e. the verbal base, which consists of a root followed by a variable number of optional affixes, referred to as ‘extensions’. In (6.2), the stem, the base and the root of the verb ógúlîha ‘sell’ are shown.
The verbal base generally represents the lexical core of the verb in Bantu languages. Its minimal segmental form, the root, is an abstract entity, which never occurs on its own but is rather embedded in a larger morphological unit, namely the verb stem. Verb roots, since they are underived, are always monomorphemic. (6.3) shows the possible shapes for Cuwabo verb roots (indicated without tones).

As can be seen in (6.3), verb roots are invariably consonant-final. They are minimally constituted of one consonant and, conversely, have in my data a maximum size of three syllables. The monosyllabic roots with a C- or VC-structure comprise a small set of verbs. The majority of roots have the canonical shape CVC. The three longest shapes are rarely attested as underived (or lexical) verb roots.

The second constituent of the derivational stem corresponds to the verb extensions, which directly follow the verb root, to ‘extend’ it and form verbal derivates. A common property of the Cuwabo verbal extensions listed in Table 36 is that they all end in a consonant, like the verb root. Most have a VC shape, which corresponds to the canonical shape of the Bantu verbal extensions. Others have the shape VVC, which probably results from a VCVC structure, in which the original VC extension underwent reduplication, and then lost its first consonant.

Table 36  Verbal derivational extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Productive extensions</th>
<th>PB</th>
<th>Non-productive extensions</th>
<th>PB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>-ih-/ec-</td>
<td>*-ic-</td>
<td>Separative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applicative</td>
<td>-el-/eel-</td>
<td>*-id-</td>
<td>Impositive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-edh-/eedh-</td>
<td>*-ib-u-</td>
<td>Positional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>-iw-/uw-</td>
<td>*-ik-</td>
<td>Tentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter/Neutro-passive</td>
<td>ey-</td>
<td>*-ik-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>*-an-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several observations stand out from Table 36. First, neuter/neutro-passive and impositive are formally identical in Proto-Bantu with the form *-ik-, but they are usually distinguished by their semantic and syntactic properties.

Furthermore, verbal extensions are not equally productive. Some are highly productive and can in principle apply in a transparent way to any verb semantically compatible with the extension. These are the causative, applicative, passive, neuter (or neutro-passive), and reciprocal. These extensions typically alter the valency of the verb, by adding or removing an argument and by redistributing the semantic roles assigned to the constituents. On the contrary, other extensions have been lexicalised (or fossilised) in such a way that they are synchronically frozen onto verb roots. In other words, such verb roots do no longer exist in their simple forms, i.e. without extension. These non-productive extensions are the separative, the impositive, the positional and the tentive.

The properties of each extension, productive and non-productive, are discussed in turn, as well as their possibility to combine with each other. Finally note that the verb extensions do not bear an inherent tone, but rather adapt to the tone pattern of the verb root.

6.1.2 Non-productive extensions

6.1.2.1 Separatives -ul- (tr.) and -uw- (itr.)

The separative extensions -ul- and -uw-, are also known as ‘reversive’ (Meussen 1967 and Guthrie 1967-71), or ‘inversive’ (Meinhof 1899). The term ‘separative’ (Schadeberg 1982), is probably the most adapted from a semantic point of view, since it allows to predict which verb should bear the extension, namely the one which leaves from an original position or state, or in Schadeberg (1992)’s words, the one which ‘take[s] apart or come[s] apart’. A typical verb including a separative extension is ofúgûla ‘open’ (tr.), derived from ofúga ‘shut’. Semantically, each verb is the ‘reversive’ or ‘inversive’ of the other, but only ofúgûla has a ‘separative’ meaning vis-a-vis ofúga, and not the other way around.

Typically, two separative extensions exist, -ul- and -uw-, which work in pair. The first is the reflex of the Proto-form *-ud-, and renders a transitive meaning to the verb, e.g. ofúgûla ‘open’ (tr.). The second comes from Proto-Bantu *-uk- and brings an intransitive reading to the verb, e.g. ofúgûwa ‘be opened’ (itr.).

My lexical database contains many examples of separative verbs. A representative list of separative examples is provided in (6.4). Note that in most cases, the separative suffix is
synchronously frozen\(^4\), i.e. it can no longer be separated from the simple verb form, and acquires an idiosyncratic meaning. Still, in each form below, the “separative” meaning is obtained.

(6.4) \(-ul/-uw-\) Separative extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oddémûla</td>
<td>oddémûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofûkûla</td>
<td>ofûkûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofûrûmula</td>
<td>ofûrûmuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofûttûkula</td>
<td>ofûttûkuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógábûla</td>
<td>ógábûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogáfûla</td>
<td>ogáfûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogûgûrûla</td>
<td>ogûgûruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogûjágûla</td>
<td>ogûjáguwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógûjûlula</td>
<td>ógûjûluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiûnûla</td>
<td>wiûnûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ójéddûlula</td>
<td>ójéddûluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojígûlula</td>
<td>ojígûlwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojírímula</td>
<td>ojírímuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókûmûla</td>
<td>ókûmûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okûttûlula</td>
<td>okûttûluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opáwûla</td>
<td>opáwûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osáddûla</td>
<td>osáddûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otátâmula</td>
<td>otátâmuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuûbûla</td>
<td>wuûbûwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wûúngûsûla</td>
<td>wûúngûsûla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óvûgûla</td>
<td>óvûgûwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already seen in section 2.2.4, the separative extensions \(-ul-\) and \(-uw-\) have two respective allomorphs, namely \(-ol-\) and \(-ow-\), whose distribution is restricted to a mid-back vowel context. This means that these o-forms only occur when the verbal root contains o. For all the remaining vocalic contexts, the u-forms are used. An illustrating list of verbs with the \(-ol-\) and \(-ow-\) separative extensions is given in (6.5).

(6.5) \(-ol-/ow-\) Separative extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ógóbóla</td>
<td>ógóbówa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\) “frozen” here must be interpreted in a broad meaning, since both separative extensions are nonetheless commutable.
This case of mid-back vowel harmony is the only one attested with the verbal extensions in Cuwabo, which would seem to confirm Hyman (1999: 245) according to whom the [+back] and [-back] harmony processes are independent of each other.

Interestingly, for each verb containing the transitive separative extension -ul-, the corresponding intransitive form with -uw- is not necessarily attested in the languages. The list in (6.6) illustrates this absence of commutation.

(6.6) No commutation cases: -ol- but no -ow-

- woóbôla ‘redeem’
- órómóla ‘pronounce’
- osómôla ‘savor, sip’
- ósópóla ‘tear from hands’
- otógôla ‘sharpen’
- ótórórólô ‘collect beans’
- ovóddôgorola ‘pound’
- ovóógola ‘straighten’
- owóddóbola ‘uproot’
- ówóróla ‘collect (maize or banana)’
- óbódhóla ‘be impotent’
- ócókóla ‘stab’
- ógôvéla ‘peck’
- ójóróla ‘prick; dazzle’
- okótótôla ‘shatter’
- ókóvéla ‘grind’

The reverse situation whereby intransitive separative verbs do not have a corresponding transitive separative form, is also found, as shown in (6.7), although less common.

(6.7) No commutation cases: -ow- but no -ol-

- okórónowa ‘snore, growl’
Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>olódhôwa</td>
<td>‘be a guzzler’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onyólólowa</td>
<td>‘be sticky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ónyowá</td>
<td>‘lose weight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópóttówa</td>
<td>‘evade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ótótówa</td>
<td>‘be destroyed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óvólówa</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although they are far less attested in my database, long separatives also exist, with the shape -uul- and -uuw- (no example was found with the mid-back vowel), as shown in (6.8). Such forms probably result from a reduplication of the short extension, then shortened by the deletion of the first consonant (Schadeberg 1992).

(6.8) -uul- / -uuw- long separative extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-uul- (tr.)</th>
<th>-uuw- (itr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wiínyüula</td>
<td>wiínyüwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>wiíttüwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókánüula</td>
<td>ókánüwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opénüula</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otápüula</td>
<td>otápüwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ottüula</td>
<td>ottüwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owáula</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reduplicated separative extension also exists, but is only attested for intransitive meanings. The resulting form is -uluw-, and not the expected -uwuw-, as shown in (6.9). The expected transitive form -ulul- is also not attested as a verbal extension.

(6.9) -uluw- long separative extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-uluw- (itr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óbúbúluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojúbúluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onyágúluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opúlúluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ottúluwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It does not seem that the length of the separative extension has any consequence on its meaning.

6.1.2.2 Impositive -ey-

In many Bantu languages, the neuter (see section 6.1.3.4 below) and the impositive extensions are morphologically identical, as reflexes from the PB form *-ik-*. It is also the
case in Cuwabo, whose both impositive and neuter suffixes consist of the segment -ey-. The impositive, also called neutro-active (in opposition to ‘neutro-passive’, another label for the neuter), often indicates an active positional process rendered by causation. It is best translated in English as ‘put (sth.) into a certain position’ (Schadeberg 2003). Typically, the impositive is found in a very small number of verbs, listed in (6.10), which are as expected all transitive.

(6.10)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óddûmêya</td>
<td>‘burn sth’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojêjêreya</td>
<td>‘disturb’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opårêya</td>
<td>‘half-open’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osâddêya</td>
<td>‘rebuke’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otômêya</td>
<td>‘hang up’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîlêya</td>
<td>‘say or do again’ (tr.) &gt; wîlá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these examples, otômêya ‘hang up’ is particularly interesting since its impositive extension contrasts with the separative extension in otômôla ‘untie, take off’. Further note that the last form wîlêya ‘say/do again’ expresses a repetition of the action expressed by the verb.

### 6.1.2.3 Extensive -a(a)l-

The intransitive extensive extension -a(a)l- comes from the proto-form *-al-. It is not frequently attested in Cuwabo and its meaning usually suggests “to be in a spread-out position” (Schadeberg 2003: 77), as shown in (6.11)a. The three examples in (6.11)b are semantically more obscure, though. These a priori exhaustive lists indicate that the long form is more attested than the short one.

(6.11)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. waábâla</td>
<td>‘dress, wear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ódhââla</td>
<td>‘be full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ólámââla</td>
<td>‘be paralysed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ónyââla</td>
<td>‘be straight, smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wûlââla</td>
<td>‘be very dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. óddûwââla</td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otânââla</td>
<td>‘think about, be concerned about’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corresponding underived verbs seem to no longer exist in the language, suggesting that this derivation lexicalised or froze some time ago.
6.1.2.4 Positional -am-

Faithful to the Proto-form *-am-, the positional extension -am- was originally applied on verbs in order to denote a certain stationary condition or position, linked to the body as well as the mind. Note that none of the original stems from which forms below derived is attested synchronically. It thus seems that the simple forms have all died out. Like the extensive -aal-, the resulting verb forms are always intransitive.

(6.12)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waáddáma</td>
<td>‘be neighbor, approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obúráma</td>
<td>‘crouch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocíkáma</td>
<td>‘limp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okúddáma</td>
<td>‘be dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onyáma</td>
<td>‘follow discreetly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otáláma</td>
<td>‘sleep on one’s back, spread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óttúláma</td>
<td>‘bend down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wúúráma</td>
<td>‘smoke on the other side’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waátáma</td>
<td>‘open one’s mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocácáma</td>
<td>‘avoid, keep a low profile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogúláma</td>
<td>‘walk with a bent back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókúnáma</td>
<td>‘sleep on one’s stomachs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opúttáma</td>
<td>‘bend down, stoop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óttúmbáma</td>
<td>‘float’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovédáma</td>
<td>‘be crooked’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.2.5 Positional -aan-

Another stative-positional extension semantically similar to -am- is -aan-. No Proto-form is known for this extension, which is only attested in the four frozen verb forms in (6.13), which are also all intransitive.

(6.13)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ódábáána</td>
<td>‘be tangled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókómbáána</td>
<td>‘bend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókórómáána</td>
<td>‘be crooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otédémaana</td>
<td>‘bend down, stoop’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.2.6 Tentive -att-

The tentative extension (also referred to as contactive) -att- comes from the Proto-form *-at-. As the term evokes, this extension gives an idea of contact between two or more entities, as shown by the four verbs attested in my corpus, given in (6.14). Again, the underived forms have been lost in the languages.
(6.14) ókúbáttta ‘hug, embrace’
ópápáttta ‘arrange pastry in the plate with the fingers’
ottápáttta ‘seize, grasp’

6.1.3 Productive extensions

6.1.3.1 Causatives -ih- and -ec-

Causative -ih-

The Cuwabo causative extension -ih-, from Proto-Bantu *-ic-i, indicates that a subject makes or causes someone (or something) to do (6.15) or become (6.16) something. This is usually translated in English by the independent causative verbs ‘make’ or ‘cause to’.

(6.15) wéyó nínga oónímwodhá ómúlogíha omútétíya mwnánágá;
    oneelómutilalá mwnánága
    wéyó nínga o-hí-mú-wodhá ó-mú-log-ff-a
    2SG.PRO like 2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-succeed 15-OM1-speak-CAUS-Fi
    o-mú-téy-ff-a mwnánágá o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-télá ... 
    15-OM1-laugh-CAUS-Fi 1.child.POSS.1SG 1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-marry.PL ... 
    ‘Since you succeeded in making my daughter speak and laugh, you will marry her’

(6.16) osásinyaga dhílóbo dh’ oókóddéélíhana vatákulu
    osásiny-ag-a dhílóbo dha ókóddéel-ff-a = na va-tákulu
    15.make-HAB-Fi 10.thing 10.CON 15.be.beautiful-CAUS-Fi = INSTR 16-9a.house
    ‘to make things to embellish the house’

Causative thus increases the valency of the verb, in introducing a new subject (wéyó ‘2SG.PRO’ in (6.15), and dhílóbo ‘things’ in (6.16)), which is semantically the agent, and more specifically the ‘causer’ of the action expressed in the predicate. The former subject of the corresponding underived verb, the causee (or caused one), becomes syntactically the object of the causative verb (mwnáná ‘child’ in (6.15), and vatákulu ‘at home’ in (6.16)). In case of transitive underived verbs, the causative form comes to have two objects, the causee (which always occupies the first position) and the former object (which occupies the second position). Two examples are provided below.
Verbs 261

(6.17) **ddiyaájíha ápáaká naámbèdde**  
{elic}  

ddi-hi-áj-íh-a ápáaká naámbèdde  
1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi 2.cat 1a.maize  
‘I made the cats eat maize’

(6.18) **ddiyaáguliyedhíwa naámbèdde álêddo**  
{elic}  

ddi-hí-á-gul-íh-edhíw-a naámbèdde álêddo  
1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-APPL-PASS-Fi 1a.maize 2.guest  
‘I made the maize be sold to the guests’

A few selected examples of causative verbs are listed in (6.19).

(6.19) Causative Derived form  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wáámwíha</td>
<td>‘breastfeed’</td>
<td>&lt; wáamwá ‘suckle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obwíníha</td>
<td>‘dip, soak’</td>
<td>&lt; obwína ‘dive, sink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ódhihá</td>
<td>‘cause to come’</td>
<td>&lt; ódha ‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógóníha</td>
<td>‘cause to sleep’</td>
<td>&lt; ógoná ‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógúlíha</td>
<td>‘sell’</td>
<td>&lt; ógulá ‘buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ójihá</td>
<td>‘feed’</td>
<td>&lt; ója ‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okítíha</td>
<td>‘lower’</td>
<td>&lt; okíta ‘go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókwíívíha</td>
<td>‘lengthen’</td>
<td>&lt; ókwííva ‘be low’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olápíha</td>
<td>‘show’</td>
<td>&lt; olápa ‘be long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ósúńíha</td>
<td>‘teach’</td>
<td>&lt; ósúntza ‘learn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óváyíha</td>
<td>‘deepen’</td>
<td>&lt; óvayá ‘be deep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causative verbs are very productive and quite regular, both semantically and syntactically. The corresponding underived verbs are much attested, except for the few forms reported in (6.20), whose simple forms have been lost, and in (6.21), for which the semantic relation between the causative form and the underived form has been obscured.

(6.20) No underived verb  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underived</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>osígíha</td>
<td>‘anoint’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otágiha</td>
<td>‘imitate, repeat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óttééttíha</td>
<td>‘threaten’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6.21) Obscure semantic relation between causative and underived verbs  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underived</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>omáriha</td>
<td>‘finish, complete’</td>
<td>&gt; omára ‘coat, plaster’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osúmiha</td>
<td>‘invite to eat’</td>
<td>&gt; osúma ‘complain, denounce’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentence shows that the causative extension is taken into account for tone assignment, occupying the penult position and thus bearing the lexical H.
(6.22)  
\[ \text{poddógóma wéélooddíttámagíha} \] \hspace{1cm} \{\text{semi-elic.}\} 
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{poddógóma} & \quad \text{o-á-ila-o-ddí-ttámag-řh-a} \\
1\text{a.lion} & \quad 1\text{-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\text{‘the lion made me run’}

\textit{Causative -ec-}

The causative extension -ec- constitutes a variant of the causative -ih- seen above. The difference between both suffixes is that while the latter is fully productive, -ec- became fossilised onto the verb roots to which it attached. Such roots are no longer attested in the language, such that causative forms in -ec- are no longer considered derived synchronically. Two examples in context are provided below. In (6.23), the protagonist (referred to by íyééne ‘3SG.PRO’) causes a few people (referred to by the class 2 object marker -a-) to stop walking, by means of the verb wííméca ‘build up, strengthen’. In (6.24), the proud man causes self-destruction through the reflexive verb form óvítotóca ‘destroy oneself’.

(6.23)  
\[ \text{bagádhowá íyééne waawiméca: “nyúwó karómáni wiíméláani!”} \] \hspace{1cm} \{maria.72\} 
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{ba-gá-dhowá íyééne} & \quad \text{o-a-iméca} \\
\text{SEQ.1-SIT-go} & \quad \text{3SG.PRO NAR-OM2-rigidify} \\
\text{nyúwó ka-rómá} & = \text{ni wiímélá} = \text{ni} \\
\text{15.stand} & = \text{PLA} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\text{‘While they were going, she made them stop: You, stand up first!’}

(6.24)  
\[ \text{oinpánélá: onóvítotóca} \] \hspace{1cm} \{body.23\} 
\[ \begin{align*} 
[\text{o-ni-pánélá}]_{\text{REL}} & \quad \text{o-ni-ó-ví-totóca} \\
\text{1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud} & \quad \text{1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\text{‘whoever is proud destroys himself’}

As can be seen in (6.24), the vowel of the causative -ec- assimilates in backness with the vowel found in the verb root. Further examples of this vowel harmony are provided below, with the high back vowel [u] in (6.25) and with the mid-back vowel [o] in (6.26), in comparison with [-back] vocalic environment in (6.27).

(6.25)  
\[ \text{[ec] \rightarrow [uc] / [u]} \]  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{obúlúguca} & \quad \text{‘turn around’ (tr.)} \\
\text{ógúgúruca} & \quad \text{‘rummage, search’} \\
\text{okúcůkuca} & \quad \text{‘shake liquid’} \\
\text{okúrûca} & \quad \text{‘drag’} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{óbúrúca} \quad \text{‘extract’} \\
\text{ógúrúmuca} \quad \text{‘spread’ (tr.)} \\
\text{ókúlúkúca} \quad \text{‘shake water in mouth’} \\
\text{wúúbúca} \quad \text{‘remind, make remember’} \]

(6.26)  
\[ \text{[ec] \rightarrow [oc] / [o]} \]  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{ológóca} & \quad \text{‘charge, make pay’} \\
\text{óvólóca} & \quad \text{‘introduce, make s.o. in’} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \text{ótólóca} \quad \text{‘destroy’} \\
\text{owówólóca} \quad \text{‘carry heavy weigh’} \]
These harmonic patterns are quite regular, except for the two verb forms in (6.28). Instead of onónëca ‘know a lot’ and opígírica ‘(make) twist’, the forms onónôca and opígíreca are expected.

With regard to argument structure, the causative extension -ec- does not differ from -ih-, in that it allows forming transitive verbs. In this respect, the transitive causative commutes with two different patterns of intransitive derived verbs: the neuter (6.29) and the intransitive separative extension (6.30).

(6.29) Commutation between the impositive -Vc- and the neuter -ey-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative -ec- (tr.)</th>
<th>Neuter -ey- (itr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obáláleca ‘spread’</td>
<td>obáláleya ‘spread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obúrámeça ‘spread’</td>
<td>obúrámeya ‘spread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otátáreca ‘crush’</td>
<td>otátáreya ‘fall down, spread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opígírica ‘twist, make twist’</td>
<td>opígíreya ‘twist’ (itr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6.30) Commutation between the impositive -Vc- and the separative -uw-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative -ec- (tr.)</th>
<th>Separative -uw- (itr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waábûca ‘make cross’</td>
<td>waábûwa ‘cross’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óbwáddúca ‘make fade, make lose color’</td>
<td>óbwáddúwa ‘lose color, fade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oddúrúmuca ‘break’</td>
<td>oddúrúmuwa ‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olréngûca ‘dilute, dissolve’</td>
<td>olréngûwa ‘be liquid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onyákûca ‘make dirty’</td>
<td>onyákûwa ‘be dirty, ugly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onyágíluca ‘melt’</td>
<td>onyágíluwa ‘melt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opáddûca ‘create’</td>
<td>opáddûwa ‘occur, happen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orúrúmuca ‘startle, surprise’</td>
<td>orúrúmuwa ‘wake up, be startled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ótáábûca ‘punish’</td>
<td>ótáábûwa ‘suffer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otádûca ‘make crazy’</td>
<td>otádûwa ‘get crazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otámûca ‘make jump’</td>
<td>otámûwa ‘jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovúlûca ‘safe’</td>
<td>ovúlûwa ‘escape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ózúgúnúca ‘turn’</td>
<td>ózúgúnúwa ‘turn round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óvólóca ‘introduce, make s.o. in’</td>
<td>óvólówa ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.1.3.2 Applicatives -el- and -edh-

As the causative, the applicative increases the valency of the verb, by introducing an additional argument to the verb. More particularly, the applicative basic function is to ‘apply’ the action expressed semantically by the verb to someone or something. The new or ‘applied’ object immediately follows the verb, without any preposition or function marker. Semantically, it is most often identified as a beneficiary (6.31), or a recipient (or goal) (6.32), but depending on the basic meaning (or semantics) of the verb, it may also have the thematic roles of purpose (6.33), or location (6.34), indicating that the action takes place towards some place. The causative is usually translated in English by means of the prepositions ‘to’ or ‘for’.

(6.31) Beneficiary

a. bíríńkw’ úísí dhiddigúlèle wóó: {mbíri.33}
   bíríńku  úísí  [dhi-ddi-gúl-él-ile  wéyo]REL
   10.earring  10.DEM.I  10-OM1SG-buy-APPL-PFV.REL  2SG.PRO
   ‘these earrings you bought me’

b. míyó ddintúná: ddíttíye owúsánpela {body.5}
   míyó  ddi-ní-fúná  ddi-ttíty-e  o-ú-sáp-él-a
   1SG.PRO  1SG-IPFV.CJ-want  1SG-stop-SBJ  15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi
   ‘I am going to stop feeding you’

(6.32) Recipient, goal

onjéédel’ áákwááy’ aageelá: {maria.150}
   o-ní-jéédh-él-a  áákwé = áye  a-ga-ilá
   1-IPFV.CJ-wait-APPL-Fi  2.friend = POSS.3SG  2-SIT-say
   ‘he is waiting for his friends to say […]’

(6.33) Purpose

a. aadhél’ óólímela {maria.69}
   a-a-dh-él-é  óólím-él-a
   2-PST-come-APPL-PFV.CJ  15.cultivate-APPL-Fi.PL
   ‘they come to work’

b. ésé áwééné akoselé wí ańpúttule Mariya {elic.}
   áísí  áwééné  a-kos-él-é  wí  a-mú-púttul-é  maríya
   9.DEM.I  3PL.PRO  2-do-APPL-PFV.CJ  CMP  2-OM1-offend-SBJ  maríya
   ‘they did this to offend Maria’
Verbs

(6.34) Location

/osál/ ‘up/ub’ /úupatúw’ /opatúwéle mwíiko

/osálú óbú o-patúw-e o-patúw-él-e mu-ïko


‘may this thread break, break to the river’

In a few cases, the applicative suffix conveys a reversal meaning, e.g. with /onúkêla/ ‘smell good’, derived from /onúka/ ‘smell bad’. This specific semantic relationship is widespread among Eastern Bantu.

Similarly to the causative, when the applicative extension is suffixed to a transitive verb, the derived verb has two objects, as shown in (6.35). The reader is referred to section 9.1.2.3 for an in-depth analysis of double-object constructions with applied verbs.

(6.35) Osánzaya ónówáápyela áléddó mwánåku

/osánzaya ó-ni-ó-á-piy-él-a áléddó mwánåku

osanzaya 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-F 2.guest 1.chicken

‘Osanzaya is cooking the chicken for the guests’

As can be seen from the examples above, the applicative derivation is formed by means of the suffix -él-. Yet, another applicative form -edh- exists, depending in part on the quality of the preceding consonant. Whereas -él- seems to appear in most contexts (6.36), the occurrences of the form -edh- are more restricted, in that it is mostly used after the causative extension -ih- (6.37)a. But the forms in (6.37)b show that the choice between both applicative variants is not fully predictable on phonological grounds since they may be found in the same consonantal contexts. It may be that -edh- was originally a combination of two extensions, the applicative -él- and probably the short causative -i-. But it is difficult on a synchronic level to pronounce a firm judgment on the question, and -edh- may be better considered as a frozen extension, with an applicative function.

(6.36) [b, p, d, dj, t, g, s, ð, l, m, n, p, w, y] + -él-

olába ‘work’ ➔ olábêla ‘work for’
osápêla ‘provide food for’ ➔ osápa ‘provide food’
óvadá ‘hit’ ➔ óvádéla ‘hit to/at’
waádda ‘inform, tell’ ➔ waáddêla ‘inform to’
omóttá ‘fall’ ➔ omóttêla ‘fall to’
oöttámâga ‘run’ ➔ oöttámágéla ‘run after’
oñosá ‘do’ ➔ oñosáela ‘do for’
ojéêdha ‘wait’ ➔ ojéêdhaela ‘wait for’
oogulêla ‘buy for’ ➔ oogulâ ‘buy’
olíma ‘cultivate’ ➔ olímêla ‘cultivate for’
obwínêla  ‘sink to’  ➤  obwína  ‘sink’
onyela   ‘defecate to’ ➤  ónya  ‘defecate’ (*ónyedhá ‘drizzle’)
opátîwa  ‘break’ (itr.) ➤  ópátîwêla  ‘break to’ (itr.)
opíya    ‘cook’ ➤  opíyêla  ‘cook for’

(6.37)  a. Causative + -edh-
wiínjívíha  ‘increase, add, multiply’ ➤  wiínjívíhédha  ‘add to’
ottábwîha  ‘make worse’ ➤  ottábwíhedha  ‘worsen because of’
ógulíha  ‘sell’ ➤  ógulíhédha  ‘sell to’
osúńziha  ‘teach’ ➤  ósusúńžiéhédha  ‘teach to/for’

b. [t, ʈ, ʔ, ð, c, m, ɲ, y] + -edh-
woóta  ‘lie’ ➤  woóta edh  ‘slander’
obéhá  ‘get up early’ ➤  obéhédha  ‘get up early for’
weénjédha  ‘increase’ ➤  weénjédhedha  ‘re-add on top of’
wiýêla  ‘come back’ ➤  wiýélíhédha  ‘give back’
ótúpûca  ‘immerse’ ➤  ótúpûcedha  ‘immerse to’
ógomó  ‘stop’ ➤  ógómédha  ‘stop at’
orfíya  ‘arrive’ ➤  orfíyêdha  ‘arive to’

Furthermore, free variation between both applicatives may be observed for a few verbs given in (6.38). Such a free variation suggests that the original nuance between the forms -el- and -edh-, the second of which may combine the short causative -i-, gradually attenuated, and the form -edh- has since then adopted a full applicative function.

(6.38)  Free variation between -el- and -edh-
ómágédha or ómágêla  ‘slander’ < ómagá  ‘tie’
omídhêdha or omídhêla  ‘soak the rice’ < omídha  ‘soak the rice’
ósísâmedha or osísâmela  ‘snivel’ <
óvúúzêla or óvúúzédha  ‘greet’ < óvúúza  ‘ask’

Now a problematic example is given in (6.39), in which both applicative forms -edh- and -el- appear in a sequence. I have no explanation for this anomaly.
Verbs

(6.39) *osasanyuw’ óóvahedhelúwa*

o-sasany-uw-á ó-vah-\textit{edh}-el-úw-a

NAR-build-PASS-Fi NAR-give-APPL-APPL-PASS-Fi

‘it was built and given to him’

Several verbal stems with the applicative extension appear as being lexicalised, meaning that no underived verb form is attested synchronically (6.40). And interestingly, some of these forms seem to have acquired completely new or specialised meanings, which do not display the expected argument structure of applicative verbs, since they are intransitive.

(6.40) Lexicalised formal applicatives

\begin{align*}
\text{waánêla} & \quad \text{‘smoke, dry fish’} \\
\text{óbúléla} & \quad \text{‘suffer, groan’ (itr.)} \\
\text{ócéélêla} & \quad \text{‘give up’ (itr.)} \\
\text{ogwèsêla} & \quad \text{‘get old’ (itr.)} \\
\text{ókúbááêla} & \quad \text{‘hug’} \\
\text{órímééla} & \quad \text{‘disappear’ (itr.)}
\end{align*}

Such lexicalised verb forms are then used as derivational bases for receiving other extensions. For instance, \textit{órímééla} ‘disappear’ is further derived with causative (\textit{óríméélíha ‘make lose’}), and passive (\textit{óríméélíwa ‘lose’}). The examples listed in (6.41) show that even new applicative derivation is possible on what seems to be (or apparently) frozen applicative verbs, although it is synchronically difficult to determine whether the second syllable of these verbs is really an applicative or not.

(6.41) Lexicalised formal applicative + derivational applicative extension

\begin{align*}
\text{wááméla} & \quad \text{‘chase, fasten’} & \quad \text{wáámélêla} & \quad \text{‘defend, protect’} \\
\text{oddúbêla} & \quad \text{‘swear’} & \quad \text{oddúbélêla} & \quad \text{‘swear to’} \\
\text{wííméla} & \quad \text{‘stand’} & \quad \text{wíímélêla} & \quad \text{‘stand to’} \\
\text{wiíyêla} & \quad \text{‘go back’} & \quad \text{wiíyélêla} & \quad \text{‘go back to’} \\
\text{ókóddéla} & \quad \text{‘be beautiful’} & \quad \text{ókóddélêla} & \quad \text{‘please’} \\
\text{ólémééla} & \quad \text{‘adapt’} & \quad \text{óléméélêla} & \quad \text{‘get used to’} \\
\text{olíbêla} & \quad \text{‘swear’} & \quad \text{olíbélêla} & \quad \text{‘swear to’}
\end{align*}

In addition to the ‘short’ applicative extensions -el- and -edh-, two corresponding ‘long’ applicative extensions exist, namely -eel- and -eedh-, as shown in (6.42), accompanied by the derived verb form on the right column, whenever attested.
(6.42) Long applicatives -eel- and -edhd-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wiídeélæ} & \quad \text{‘spy on’} & < & \text{wiída} & \quad \text{‘hide, conceal’} \\
\text{oléjéélæ} & \quad \text{‘greet, bow’} & & & \\
\text{ópóttéeélæ} & \quad \text{‘coil for’} & < & \text{ópottá} & \quad \text{‘coil’} \\
\text{ósáméélæ} & \quad \text{‘lean against’} & < & \text{ósamá} & \quad \text{‘park’ (itr.)} \\
\text{öttídédhæla} & \quad \text{‘hold in hand’} & < & \text{öttídæ} & \quad \text{‘hold’} \\
\text{waábéeélæ} & \quad \text{‘dry’} & < & \text{waába} & \quad \text{‘dry’} \\
\text{ópídédhæla} & \quad \text{‘trample on, oppress’} & < & \text{ópidá} & \quad \text{‘stamp, seal’} \\
\text{óttinyéédhæla} & \quad \text{‘penetrate, sink into’} & < & & \\
\text{ódhéeélæ} & \quad \text{‘come to’} & < & \text{ódha} & \quad \text{‘come’}
\end{align*}
\]

Still, short applicatives are far more productive than long applicatives. Again, it is likely that this long extension is derived from shortening by haplology on the reduplicated short extension. No -eel- or -edhdh- extension sequences is attested. Still, another possible origin for the long applicative extensions deals with the deletion of the proto consonant [k] (from impositive *-ik-) when followed by the applicative extension. Once [k] has deleted, the remaining vowels merge and form a long vowel [ee], as shown in the examples in (6.43), already discussed in section 2.2.2.

(6.43) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{óvéleélæ} & \quad *\text{-pědík} \text{-} (\text{CS 1463}) & & \text{‘accompany’} \\
\text{ókúnéélæ} & \quad *\text{-kúm} \text{-} (\text{CS 1268a}) & & \text{‘cover’} \\
\text{oabééddæ} & \quad *\text{-yàmb} \text{-} (\text{CS 1918}) & & \text{‘cook, boil’ (Cuwabo: ‘dry’)}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that the applicative extension is very often attested in relative constructions (mostly with locative classes 18, more rarely with 16) with a temporal adverbial interpretation, as illustrated in (6.44).

(6.44) a. \textit{eńtáwî mukwélîiyé, akwilé eetééne} \{body.17\}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eńtáwî} & \quad [\text{mu-}\text{kw-} \text{e} = \text{iye}]_{\text{REL}} & \quad \text{a-kw-ilé} & \quad \text{a-eté} = \text{éne} \\
\text{then} & \quad 18\text{-die-APPL-PFV.REL} = 3\text{SG.PRO} & \quad 2\text{-die-PFV.CJ} & \quad 2\text{-all} = \text{INT} \\
\text{‘Then when he died, all died.’}
\end{align*}
\]

b. \textit{vańg médhíimí ddi \textit{ígóma}} \{maria.17\}

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{va-} \text{nî-góm}-\text{édh-} \text{á} = \text{imdi}]_{\text{REL}} & \quad \text{ddi-hi-gómá} \\
16\text{-IPFV.CJ-stop-APPL-Fi} = 1\text{SG.PRO} & \quad 1\text{SG-PFV.DJ-stop} \\
\text{‘where I stop, I stop’}
\end{align*}
\]
6.1.3.3 Passives -iw- and -uw-

Passive constructions are typically used to exclude or detopicalise the agent of a transitive phrase. They imply a reversal of grammatical functions, whereby the internal argument (theme/patient) of a transitive verb is promoted to the subject position. In this position, it controls agreement on the verb. In the meanwhile, the agent, represented by the grammatical subject in the active clause, is demoted in the passive to an oblique position marked by the preposition na ‘by’ (6.45). Still, the agent is not obligatory encoded, and very often, it remains unexpressed (6.46).

(6.45)  
\[ \text{o-tib-} \text{uw-a} \quad \text{na ehiba} \]
\[ \text{NAR-dig.out-PASS-Fi with 9.hoe} \]
‘it was dug out with a hoe’

(6.46)  
\[ \text{naámbedd’ oónójúwáávi} \]
\[ \text{naámbedde ó-ni-ój-úw-á = vi} \]
\[ 1.a.\text{maize 1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi = RESTR} \]
‘maize keeps being eaten’

Many Bantu languages have two forms of passive extensions, -w and -iw; typically referred to as ‘short form’ and ‘long form’, respectively. In these languages, the long form -iw is systematically attested with monosyllabic stems (Schadeberg 1982). In Cuwabo, two forms of passive also exist, but no distinction is made between short and long forms. The two passive suffixes -uw- and -iw- both have a VC structure, and interestingly, their distribution does not seem to depend on the syllabic shape of the verbal stem: both appear in monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic verb stems, as shown in (6.47).

(6.47)  
\[ \text{a. mírí, [dhikokòwile matábayá,] dhínójúwá na nyenyéle} \]
\[ \text{mírí dhí-ni-ó-j-úw-á na nyenyéle} \]
\[ 4.tree 4-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi by 10a.ant} \]
‘the trees, [whose leaves have already fallen,] are being eaten by the ants’

\[ \text{b. mwááná oópíwá na ñzúwa} \]
\[ \text{mwááná o-hí-p-úw-á na ñzúwa} \]
\[ 1.child 1-IPFV.DJ-kill-PASS-Fi by 5.sun} \]
‘the child was killed by the sun’

Neither does it seem that the choice between the two passives depends on the phonetic value of the final segment of the verbal root. The following examples, all extracted from narratives, show different phonological environments in which both passive extensions
occur. As is made clear, -uw- is used in more contexts than -iw-, still not in a predictable way. And although certain verbs are only attested with one of the two passives (e.g. óbáála ‘give birth’ systematically occurs with -iw-), other verbs allow free variation as seen with ótelá ‘marry (tr.)’, indicated in bold below.

\[(6.48)\]

- uw-  
  b. otibuwá ‘it was dug out’ ónólábúwa ‘she is being worked (for)’  
  p. okupuwavo ‘it was fished’  
  d. onlvédúwa ‘who is being searched’  
  t. ónójúwái ‘it keeps being eaten’  
  o. osilidhúwa ‘he was annoyed’  
  z. ovuuźíwa ‘she was asked’  
  l. bagéélúwa ‘they were said’ aátélúwa ‘they got married’  
  ootúkúluwa ‘she was told’ alóóttébéluwa ‘they were carried’  
  r. yaácémbelruwa ‘it was called’  
  n. oonsásányuwa ‘where are built’  
  w. oodhówáiwe ‘there is being gone’  

- iw-  
  p. oopíyíwa ‘has been cooked’  
  d. ovédiwé ‘so that he was looked’  
  g. eloégíwé ‘what was told’  
  ?i. olóóváhíwa ‘he was offered’ baavóhiwa ‘they were given’  
  l. aabálíiwé ‘who we were born’  
  ótélíwa ‘to be married’ ońkúwélíwa ‘who is called’  
  s. kanákósiwaga ‘have never been done’

Another example of variation between both passive extensions is provided in (6.49), with the verb ólogá ‘say, tell’, uttered by the same speaker (Sérgio), in the same story.

\[(6.49)\]  
Case of free variation between -iw- and -uw-  

a. aáfwángá ñlígu ñttó ñlóguwegé  
  a-hí-fwángá ñlígu ñttó [ni-lóg-uw-é]REL  
  2-PFV.DJ-meet 5.stone 5.DEM.II 5-tell-PASS-PFV.REL  
  ‘they met the stone they were told about’

b. míy’ élogíwé ddiúñfári kurúmánje  
  míyó [e-log-fw-é]REL ddi-mú-fwár-é kurúmánje  
  3SG.PRO 9-tell-PASS-PFV.REL 1SG-OM1-follow-SBJ 1a.bee.sp  
  ‘Me, what I was told was to follow the bee.sp.’
The -uw- passive extension must not be confused with the intransitive separative suffix -uw- presented in section 6.1.2.1 above.

Regarding argument structure, any transitive verb can in principle be converted into an intransitive verb by means of the passive extension. Intransitive verbs may also be passivised once they undergo a process of transitivisation, made possible by means of causative or applicative (6.50) derivation, so that an object gets assigned to the derived verb.

(6.50)  ba aaní oñipýélula mwánáku na ṭósáźáya ? \{elic.\}
  ba aaní [o-ñi-píy-él-uw-a mwánáku na ṭósáźáya]\rel.
2.COP who 1-IPFV.CJ-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi 1.chicken by osanzaya
‘who is the chicken cooked by Osanzaya for?’

Interestingly, intransitives which have a locative complement may also be passivised, as shown in (6.51).

(6.51)  a. áyíma áñósúńza sikóóla éji \{elic.\}
  áyíma á-ñi-ósúńza sikóóla éji
2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.study 9a.school 9.DEM.1
‘children are studying in this school’

b. sikóóla éji váñósúńzíwa \{elic.\}
  sikóóla éji vá-ñi-ósúńz-fw-a
9a.school 9.DEM.1 16-IPFV.DJ-15.study-PASS-Fi
lit. ‘this school there-is being studied’

In (6.51)a, the locative can be assimilated to the object of the transitive verb ṭósúńza ‘study’, which then becomes subject of the passivised verb in (6.51)b.

It happens that the passive extensions attach ditransitive verbs, which select two objects as internal arguments. In this case, each object may function as the subject of the passivised clause (see section 9.1.2.3 for more details).

6.1.3.4 Neuter -ey-

In Cuwabo, the neuter or neutro-passive (sometimes referred to as ‘stative’) is expressed by means of the extension -ey- (glossed ‘NTR’), from Proto-Bantu *-ik-. Like the passive, the neuter extension always attaches to a transitive verb, which is in turn converted into an intransitive verb. In (6.52)a, the neuter verb ótweyá ‘break’ (itr.) is derived from the transitive verb ótwa ‘break’. The single argument of the verb (here unexpressed lexically but present through the subject marker on the verb) is identified as the patient or theme, i.e. it is
affected by the action expressed by the verb, without assuming the status of agent. In fact, and unlike the passive, no agent can be expressed with the neuter, as shown in (6.52)b. This explains why the neuter is often assumed to be a “non-agentive passive” (Watkins 1937). In this respect, the label “neutro-passive” is considered to be more precise from a semantic and syntactic viewpoint (Schadeberg 2003). The same exclusion of the agent stands in English as seen in the translation.

(6.52) a. enótwéya {maria.49} e-ni-ötwa-éy-a 9-IPFV.DJ-15.break-NTR-Fi ‘it is going to break’
   b. * enótwéya na ŋlůgů {elic. from maria.49} e-ni-ötwa-éy-a na ŋlůgů 9-IPFV.DJ-15.break-NTR-Fi by 5.stone ‘it is going to break by the stone’

The following list presents neuter verb forms, as well as the transitive verbs they derive from.

(6.53) Neuter extension -ey-

-ey- (itr.) derived verb (tr.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neuter form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transitive form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wááséya</td>
<td>‘be clean’</td>
<td>&gt; wáasá</td>
<td>‘take off leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópigidhéya</td>
<td>‘be dirty’</td>
<td>&gt; ópigidha</td>
<td>‘dirty’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofűgęya</td>
<td>‘shut’ (itr.)</td>
<td>&gt; ofűga</td>
<td>‘shut’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>odűbiđęya</td>
<td>‘be dim’ (itr.)</td>
<td>&gt; odűbiđa</td>
<td>‘make dim’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ódűdűréya</td>
<td>‘bang’ (itr.)</td>
<td>&gt; ódűdűra</td>
<td>‘hit’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogűgűnyęya</td>
<td>‘have first birth pangs’</td>
<td>&gt; ogűgűnya</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wíindééya</td>
<td>‘break’ (itr.)</td>
<td>&gt; wíindá</td>
<td>‘break’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ókókéya</td>
<td>‘hang’ (itr.)</td>
<td>&gt; ókóká</td>
<td>‘hang’ (tr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okúpęya</td>
<td>‘be purified’ (itr.)</td>
<td>&gt; okúpá</td>
<td>‘purify’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olávéya</td>
<td>‘be cursed’</td>
<td>&gt; oláva</td>
<td>‘curse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ónóóngęya</td>
<td>‘be spoilt’</td>
<td>&gt; ónóónga</td>
<td>‘destroy, spoil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onyóónęya</td>
<td>‘be upset’</td>
<td>&gt; onyóónęya</td>
<td>‘annoy, disturb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opádhęya</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
<td>&gt; opádhad</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opěrěđęya</td>
<td>‘graze (skin)’</td>
<td>&gt; opěrěđha</td>
<td>‘graze (skin)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópigidhęya</td>
<td>‘be dirty’</td>
<td>&gt; ópigidha</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ósűvęya</td>
<td>‘be cut, hurt’</td>
<td>&gt; ósuvá</td>
<td>‘cut, hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ótsąátęya</td>
<td>‘be smashed’</td>
<td>&gt; ótsąática</td>
<td>‘mash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ottíddęya</td>
<td>‘be retained’</td>
<td>&gt; ottíddá</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ovápéya</td>
<td>‘be different’</td>
<td>&gt; ovápa</td>
<td>‘vary’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ozířěźireya</td>
<td>‘be polish’</td>
<td>&gt; ozířěźira</td>
<td>‘polish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen with the verb wíindééya ‘break’ (itr), the neuter extension may have a long vowel (indicated in bold on wíindééya ‘break’ in (6.53)). This is rarely attested though.
With the neuter derivation, a connotation linked to potential may arise: the subject may potentially (or is liable to) undergo the action expressed by the verb, i.e. it is ‘verb-able’, e.g. ‘not visible’ in (6.54).

(6.54) mwáán’ óotámélúwá koonéyîle

mwááná o- hi-támél- uw- á

1. child 1-PVF.DJ-look.for-PASS-Fi NEG.1-see-NTR-PVF

‘the child was being looked for, she could not be seen (was not visible)’

The verbs given in (6.55) clearly exhibit this potentiality meaning.

(6.55) Potential meaning of -ey-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived verb (tr.)</th>
<th>-ey- (itr.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ógulá   ‘buy’</td>
<td>óguléya ‘be cheap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wóoná ‘see’</td>
<td>wóónéya ‘be visible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ója  ‘eat’</td>
<td>ójeyá ‘be edible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orórómela ‘believe in’</td>
<td>oró rákaseya ‘move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oró rámeleya ‘be trustful’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, and contrary to what has been said above, it happens that the two neuter verbs in (6.56) derive from intransitive verbs, and not transitive verbs.

(6.56) ófwááséya ‘get calm’ (itr.) > ófwásǻ ‘be calm’ (itr.)
óravá ‘spread’ (itr.) > órávéya ‘be contagious’ (itr.)

6.1.3.5 Reciprocal -an-

The reciprocal extension -an- is identical to PB *-an-. A list of reciprocal verbs, usually translated in English as ‘V each other’, is given in (6.57), followed by illustrating sentences.

(6.57) wááddámana ‘be neighbour’ waándåna ‘be friend’
wááddikána ‘plan together’ obéédéigulåna ‘analyse each other’
obiídigulelåna ‘insult each other’ odúngúnyåna ‘hate each other’
ecéédéyåna ‘be trustful’ ogúmåna ‘assemble, meet’
wííwánåna ‘agree’ ofíjîtülåna ‘argue’
okángåna ‘argue’ oláddåna ‘resemble’
olágåna ‘befit, suit’ olígåna ‘be equal’
omwálåna ‘divorce’ ópågåna ‘plan together’
oópanå ‘kill each other’ orárúcåna ‘copulate’
The reciprocal applies to transitives which then lose their object and become intransitives. The reciprocal is productive, but less common, in that it cannot be used productively with any verb, but only those which are compatible with the aforementioned semantic interpretations. Furthermore, for several verbs listed in (6.57), lexicalisation took place, and no underived form is synchronically known.

### 6.1.4 Combinations of extensions

Typically, several extensions can co-occur within one verbal base, each one respecting a certain position in the string. This possibility is mostly determined by the syntactic properties of each derivational suffix. As seen above, some extensions have a lexical function in that they only alter the meaning of the verb. These extensions are usually non-productive and tend to directly follow the verb. On the other side, other extensions operate on the syntactic level and alter the valency of the verb stem from transitive to intransitive and vice versa. Consider for instance the applicative and causative. Both are transitivisers in that they add one argument to the structure, and both readily co-occur, as shown in (6.60) and (6.61). Note that the combination of both extensions invariably follows the order causative + applicative, always taking the form -ih-êdh-, and not -ih-el-.

(6.58)  
`ddi-ní-fú-ná ógum-an-a na ólë [o-ní-ddí-fwará]_{REL}`  
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 15.bump.into-REC-Fi with 1.DEM.3III 1-IPFV.CJ-OM 1SG-follow

'I am going to bump into the one who is following me'

(6.59)  
mírí dhiwaáddám-an-a  
4.tree 4-PVF.DJ-be.neighbour-REC-Fi

'the trees are next to each other'

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic verb stem</th>
<th>Causative + Applicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wíyéla 'come back'</td>
<td>wíyéł-ih-êdh-a 'give back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ósúńza 'educate, teach'</td>
<td>ósúńz-ih-êdh-a 'cause to educate for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wóoná 'see'</td>
<td>wóón-ih-êdh-a 'cause to see for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ógulá 'buy'</td>
<td>ógul-ih-êdh-a 'sell to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(6.61) *míy’ áápa vaňhdówíími pa vélévo baanyaálıhedha vélévale.*  
{naria.137}

*míyó ápá [va-ní-dhówá = ími] rel pa vélévo*

1SG.PRO 16.DEM.I 16-IPFV.CJ-go = 1SG.PRO 1.COP 16.EDEM.II

*ba-a-nyaál-fh-édh-a vélévale*

SEQ-1-be.straight-CAUS-APPL-Fi 16.EDEM.III

‘Where I go is where I go, straight to the point.’

A few three-suffix combinations are attested, which involve causative and applicative plus passive (and possibly reciprocal). In such series, illustrated in (6.62), the passive extension always comes last, before the final inflection, with the effect of reducing the valency of the verb by one argument.

(6.62) Causative + Applicative + Passive

*wiíyéla*  
‘come back’

*wiíyél-fh-édh-a*  
‘give back’

*wiíyél-fh-édh-fw-a*  
‘get back, regain’

Contrary to causative and applicative, the passive, neuter and reciprocal extensions are detransitivisers, i.e. they remove one argument from the structure. They cannot co-occur. Among the two transitivisers, the applicative may combine with any detransitiviser in a sequence of two suffixes, as shown in (6.63), (6.64) and (6.65).

(6.63) Applicative + Stative

*ozúzúma*  
‘be preoccupied’

*ozúzúm-el-a*  
‘be preoccupied by’

*ozúzúm-el-ey-a*  
‘require attention of’

(6.64) Applicative + Reciprocal

*ceedelän: omáálro waakungíláani*  
{páaká.36}

*a-edd-el-án-é omáálro [o-a-kung-ilé = ani] rel*

2-hate-APPL-REC-PFV.CJ 14.friendship 14-PST-build-PFV.CJ = 3PL.PRO

‘they came to hate each other for the friendship they had built’

(6.65) Applicative + Passive

*a. “míyó ddímífuná oddígúlele bóla. ” ogucluíwa bóla.*  
{maria.139}

*ddi-ní-fúná o-ddí-gúl-el-e bóla o-gul-el-úw-a bóla*

1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2SG-OM1SG-buy-APPL-SBJ 9a.ball NAR-buy-APPL-PASS-Fi 9a.ball

‘I want you to buy me a ball. He was bought a ball.’
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b. ñsáká na wále ópa efúwo waáñvitelúwa áyíma  {semi-elic.}
   ñsáká na wále ópa efúwo ó-á-ni-vit-el-ôw-a áyíma
   5.time 5.CON formerly 15.kill 7.animal 15-PST-IPFV.DJ-hide-APPL-PASS-Fi 2.child
   ‘a long time ago, killing a domestic animal was hidden from children’

Such combinations are more restricted with the causative, since only the passive is attested, as shown in (6.66).

(6.66)  Causative + Passive
a. ddiímugulihíwá naámbédde (na Maríya)  {elic}
     ddi-hí-á-gul-ôw-a naámbédde na maríya
     1SG-PFV.DJ-OM-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi la.maize by maria
     ‘I made the maize be sold (by Maria)’ (intd. ‘I caused Maria to sell the maize’)

b. muteléluwééyé , kan b ala, p' o f n' attam gíhiwe  {semi-elic.}
     [mu-tel-él-uw-éc = ñyê]REL ka-ná-báala ápo
     18-marry-APPL-PASS-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO NEG.1-CE-give.birth 16.DEM.I
     o-ní-funá a-tamág-ôw-e
     1-IPFV.CJ-want 1-run-CAUS-PASS-SBJ
     ‘Since she has been married, she does not give birth, then he wants to throw her out’ (lit.
     ‘he wants her to be caused to run’)

6.2  Reduplication

Verbal reduplication is a process whereby a copy of the verb stem is added to the basic verb form. The copy can be total or partial. Partial reduplication can be manifested in several ways. The most typical case of partial reduplication consists in repeating the first CV syllable of the root, as shown in (6.67). It may also involve alteration of the final vowel, which in fact assimilates to the medial vowel of the root (6.68), or consonant dissimilations (6.69).
Verbs

(6.67) Partial reduplication: first CV syllable repeating

- **obábáreya** ‘be obese’
- **océcéreca** ‘carry heavy weight’
- **ódédédéréca** ‘chew’
- **oddóddóma** ‘fail’
- **ófófónya** ‘suck; kiss’
- **ofúfûma** ‘prosperate’
- **ógógádda** ‘slice’
- **ogúgûma** ‘stutter’
- **ogwágwânya** ‘cross’
- **ójéjéla** ‘shiver, be scared’
- **ókákátta** ‘cut open’
- **okókôra** ‘kneel’
- **okúkûsa** ‘gather’
- **ónyényéréca** ‘crumble’
- **opápása** ‘touch, palpate’
- **orórómela** ‘believe in’

(6.68) Partial reduplication: alteration of the final vowel

- **okúcúkuca** ‘shake (liquid)’
- **ókútúkúta** ‘shake fruit’

(6.69) Partial reduplication: consonantic dissimilation

- **opwárápwa** ‘console, comfort’
- **ókálákáta** ‘move’
- **ókolóko** ‘swing’
- **ókúlúkúca** ‘shake water in mouth’
- **okúrúkusa** ‘shake’

Note that partial reduplication is not productive. All the verbs above have been lexicalised and no non-reduplicated corresponding form is synchronically attested in my database. Semantically, some partially-reduplicated verbs appear to denote repetitive or pluractional actions, such as ‘cut’, ‘slice’, or ‘shake’.

In total reduplication, the whole basic stem is repeated, including the final vowel -a.

(6.70) Total reduplication

- **ókátákáta** ‘struggle’ (se débattre)
- **okwíyákwiya** ‘sharpen iron’
- **oláválava** ‘disobey’

Total reduplication is slightly more productive, in that it has a semantic effect, namely intensify the meaning of the verb. For instance, in (6.71) reduplication of the verb **óttíyána** ‘be different’ insists on the different types of animals which have been walking on the path. This reduplicated verb is attested only in connective constructions, i.e. under an infinitive form. In other words, it cannot be inflected for tense-aspect-mood or subject.

(6.71) *díla yíína: yaalí dila yaávír’ aánêénám’ oóttíyánóttíyána* {maria.30}

- **díla** 9a.way
- **é-ína** 9-other
- **e-á-li** 9a.way.PL
- **dila** 9a.way
- **[e-á-víra] 9 PST.IPFV.CJ-be**
- **9 PST.IPFV.CJ-pass**
- **áná-enáma** a
- **[óttíyán-óttíyána] REL**
- **2. child-9.animal** 2.CON
- **15. be.different-RED**

‘the other path was a path used by many different animals’
Note that although no systematic investigation on verbal reduplication was carried out in this study, reduplication is not much attested in Cuwabo, hence the scarcity of contextualised examples in this subsection. The intensifier particle =ene is far more productive.

Tonally, reduplicated verb stems behave the same way as simple verb stems. For H-toned verbs, tone spreading occurs from the pre-stem mora to the penult mora where the lexical H tone is anchored (e.g. ónyényéréca ‘crumble’). For Ø-toned verbs, a grammatical H tone is assigned on the first mora of the stem, and then doubles onto the next mora, while subsequent moras behave like extensions and remain low (e.g. okwákwxáttwa ‘stumble’). This means that, in the same way as nominal reduplication (section 4.2.3), tones get assigned on verbs once reduplication process is carried out.

### 6.3 Verbal inflection

Once the stems are formed, they are attached different types of affixes, and words are then formed. Cuwabo, as a typical Bantu language, has an agglutinative morphology, in which verbal inflection consists of an elaborate string of several elements, ordered in slots, around a stem nucleus. These elements bring grammatical information, including person and number, polarity (positive vs. negative), tense, aspect, mood. The different positions or slots in the inflected verb form are organised in the order presented in (6.72).

\[(6.72) \quad \text{Template of the inflected verb stem} \]

\[\text{VB (derivational process)} \]
\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{(NEG)} \quad \text{SM} \quad \text{(NEG)} \quad \text{TAM} \quad \text{(OM)} \quad \text{root (ext.)} \quad \text{(TAM)} \quad \text{Fi} \quad \text{(PLA)} \quad \text{CL}
\end{array}\]

As already seen in section 6.1.1, the verbal base (VB) is the basis of every inflected verb form. It represents the lexical core of the verb, and it can be subdivided into a root and possible (derivational) extensions. Together with the final suffix (Fi) it forms the inflected verb stem. In (6.73)a, the singular imperative consists of only two morphemes: the verb root and the final suffix. It represents the shortest verbal word in Cuwabo. Inversely, (6.73)b illustrates one of the more extended possible verb forms, for which the slots are almost all used.
This section aims to present the different inflectional categories presented in (6.72). Each slot is discussed in turn.

### 6.3.1 Pre-initial negative marker

In Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, the negative markers respect fixed positions in the verb form: one (ka-, discussed here) is always pre-initial, i.e. before the subject marker (SM) slot, while the other (-hi-, discussed in section 6.3.3 below) appears post-initially, i.e. after the SM. The pre-initial marker ka-, from Proto-Bantu *(n)ka- (Nurse 2008: 32), is used in most Cuwabo tenses to negate the verb form. The full list of negative verb forms is given in Table 37, accompanied with illustrative examples. Each tensed verb form is further discussed in chapter 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>kaddínóonya</td>
<td>‘I am not defecating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual present</td>
<td>kaddinzívéluwa</td>
<td>‘I do not like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>kaddijilé</td>
<td>‘I did not eat’ (pfv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past perfective</td>
<td>kaddaafülle</td>
<td>‘I had not washed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past imperfective</td>
<td>kaddaásúwa</td>
<td>‘I did not clean’ (ipfv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>kaddilime</td>
<td>‘so that I do not cultivate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past continuous</td>
<td>kaddééloosúńza</td>
<td>‘I was not studying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>kaddináátéle</td>
<td>‘I will not marry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future continuous</td>
<td>kaddigágula</td>
<td>‘I will/would not be buying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypothetical</td>
<td>kaddigaalogíle</td>
<td>‘I would not have spoken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>counterexpectational</td>
<td>kaddíloovuúza</td>
<td>‘I did not ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>counterexpectational</td>
<td>kaddinádhówa</td>
<td>‘I have not left yet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beside the negative marker ka-, other pre-initial morphemes exist in Cuwabo. The most common is ba- ‘sequential’, attested in several (usually dependent) verb forms with different TAM markers, to express the idea of a sequential event. This formative is fully analysed in section 8.2.6. There are two other pre-initial morphemes, ka- ‘CF’ (counterfactual) and na-
‘resumptive’, which attach to infinitive verb forms. These formatives are also developed in chapter 8, section 8.3.4 and 8.3.3, respectively.

### 6.3.2 Subject marker

In Cuwabo, as in Bantu languages in general, the slot for subject marker (SM) marks inflectional agreement on the verb and is obligatorily filled in, except in non-finite verb forms, such as the infinitive (see section 8.3.1), the narrative (see section 8.3.2), and the imperative (see section 8.2.1). For all other finite verbs, cross-reference for the participants (in person and number), as well as for all the classes, including the locative ones, is obligatorily made by means of the SM. In case the overt subject NP remains unexpressed, the SM is interpreted as a pronominal subject. More generally, the expression of subject (and object) pronouns through verbal affixation is a widespread linguistic phenomena in the languages of the world (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 25).

Table 38 shows the different paradigms of SM in different morphological environments.
As already seen in section 2.3.1.2, the subject markers which contain a nasal onset are reduced to syllabic nasals in certain contexts: *mu-* (2PL and class 18) reduces to *m-* before bilabial or labio-dental consonants (6.74), and *ni-* (1PL and class 5) reduces to *n-* before coronal consonants (6.75).

(6.74)  *mamunagá* ṭumoón’ óölle, ṭumóón’ óölle, ṭumoón’ óölle.  {maria.154}

*mamunagá* mu-mú-ón-é óölle
1.husband.POSS.1SG.PL 2.RESP-OM1-see-SBJ 1.DEM.III
‘My husband, look at that one, look at that one, look at that one!’

(6.75)  ḏówe náaredhe  {páaká.4}

ni-dhów-e ni-á-áredh-e
1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ
‘let’s go and have fun’

Furthermore, and as can be seen in Table 38, all subject markers have phonologically conditioned allomorphs, depending on the nature of the two vowels in contact. For instance, before the vocalic TAM marker -a-, which expresses a past, certain SM vowels (/e, o, u/) glide and vowel lengthening occurs, as seen in (6.76). Other vowels /i/ and /a/ respectively undergo elision (6.77) and coalescence (6.78), again with a long vocalic output. In this
respect, subject markers in verb forms constitute a good illustration of hiatus resolution (see section 2.4.1).

(6.76) Gliding process

a. *ka-*mwaadhowíléwo vamodhá ?
   ka-*mu-a-dhow-ílé = wo va-modháº
   NEG-2PL-PST-go-PFV = 17.LOC 16-one
   ‘did not you go there together?’

b. *mbírí yáámúná*
   mbírí  e-a-hí-núná
   9a.fish.sp  9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat
   ‘the ‘mbírí’ fish was fat’

(6.77) Elision process

ddaagaél’ ōokúl’ úwa cívéeve
   ddi-a-g-él-e oku le wa cívéevé
   ISG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ 17.DEM.III 17.CON 9a.swallow
   ‘I was there at Mr.Swallow’s (house)’

(6.78) Coalescence process

aámóona ńnga múzúgu
   a-a-hí-mú-ona ńng a múzúgu
   2-PST-PFV.DJ-OM1-see like 1.European
   ‘they had seen her as a white person’

From Table 38, it is also interesting to observe the complete vowel assimilation of the perfective TAM marker -hi- with the preceding SM. (6.79) provides a few examples in context.

(6.79) Vowel assimilation of -hi-

a. *ora y’ árímoós’ éfìyá, árímoós’ ópìyíwá*
   ora ya árímoósó e-hí-Áływá árímoósó o-hí-píyíw-á
   9.hour 9.CON 1a.lunch 9-PFV.DJ-arrive 1a.lunch 1-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi
   ‘Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked’
b. ɗaɓiyána mágáddu ɗábálé: aatábélúwá ɗàpi’ ɗajá dercétu

\texttt{a-hi-fiýá = na mágádda ábálé a-hi-ttábél-úw-á}

\texttt{2-PFV.DJ-arrive = COM 6.dry.cassava 6.DEM.III 2-PFV.DJ-rejoice-PASS-Fi}

\texttt{a-hi-píyá a-hí-já dercétu}

\texttt{2-PFV.DJ-cook 2-PFV.DJ-eat well}

‘they arrived with that dry cassava, they were well received, they cooked it and they ate well’

Finally, the two right-side columns of Table 38 indicate that all the subject markers which have no nasal onset amalgamate to the pre-initials \textit{ka-} (negative) and \textit{ba-} (sequential) in quite an irregular way, since the output is always (or very often) a short vowel. Note that the loss of a segment (and thus of a mora), has no implications on tone assignment, since the verb forms involved by the formatives \textit{ka-} and \textit{ba-} never exhibit H tones on these initial morphemes. To follow some contextualised examples.

(6.80) \textit{ka-} or \textit{ba-} + single-vowel SM

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. ábáal’ ágá: ánóddínyapwaaríyá karídífúná: \texttt{{maria.19}}
    \texttt{abáálagá á-ni-ó-ddí-nyapwaaríyá ka-ní-ddí-fúná}
    \texttt{2.sister.POSS.1SG 2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-despine NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want}
    ‘My sisters despise me, they do not want me’
  \item b. olóóńpóndda baArk’ úllé na músóro wooténe bańpónddá, bańpónddá: \texttt{{maria.174}}
    \texttt{o-łé-ó-mú-póndda baArk ku óllé na músóro o-oté = ene ba-mú-pónddá}
    \texttt{1-CE-15-OM1-knead 1a.boat 1.DEM.III with 3.head 3-all = INT SEQ.1-OM1-knead}
    ‘He destroyed that boat with his whole head, he destroyed it, destroyed it, destroyed it.’
\end{itemize}

Note that the SM of class 1 has two allomorphs: \textit{o-} and \textit{a-}. While the first is used in most verbal structures, the second is found in a few specific tensed forms, such as the situative (6.81)a or the subjunctive (6.81)b.

(6.81) Class 1 SM \textit{a-}

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. agaamal’ ootóta náma \texttt{{mbílri.3}}
    \texttt{a-gaa-mala oťóta náma}
    \texttt{1-SIT-finish 15.hunt 9a.game}
    ‘after hunting game’
  \item b. ońkúń’ áágáwe kómi’dé césíle \texttt{{pááká.26}}
    \texttt{o-ní-fúná a-gáw-e kómi’dé ésíle}
    \texttt{1-IPFV.CJ-want 1-serve-SBJ 9a.food 9.DEM.III}
    ‘he wanted to serve that food’
\end{itemize}
Furthermore, the 2pl SM may be used to address to a single individual, in sign of respect or polite attitude towards him or her. In (6.82), Maria addresses an older man and resorts to the 2pl SM *mu*- as a means of respect or polite attitude. Such a device is very widespread among the languages spoken south Tanzania and north Mozambique, and undoubtedly constitutes an areal phenomenon.

(6.82) *muńziwá: dháav’ ĩlí míyó ddíli Maríya?* {maria.39}

\[ +mú-ní-zíwá               dháaví wíllá míyó ddi-li maríya \\
\text{2RESP-IPFV.CJ-know how}   \text{CMP 1SG.PRO 1SG-be maría} \]

‘How do you know I am Maria?’

Finally, 1pl *ni*- sometimes substitutes *ddi* - ‘1SG’, to express a 1SG. I will not attempt to account for this fact here. Still it is worth pointing out that Swahili also has *ni*- as regular SM of 1SG. This suggests that the usage of *ni*- as a 1SG SM in Cuwabo might be due to an influence of Swahili. Of course this is purely speculative.

(6.83) a. *míyó Ĭnowásápela. ddinosápá […]* {body.8}

\[ +míyó   +nì-n-i-o-ú-sápela       +ddi-ní-osápá \\
\text{1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-feed} \text{1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt} \]

‘I feed you. I bring food […]’

b. *míyó Ŋlóségédhêya* {maria.40}

\[ +míyó +nì-lé-óségédh-éy-a \\
\text{1SG.PRO 1PL-CE-15.offend-NTR-Fi} \]

‘I am in trouble’

### 6.3.3 Post-initial negative marker *-hi-

The post-initial negative marker *-hi-* is exclusively used in dependent tenses. It is also a common negation marker in Bantu, mostly attested under the form *-si-* (or *-tsi-* in Comorian). Table 39 provides the full list of verb forms functioning with *-hi-*. Each verb form is further discussed in chapter 8.
Table 39  Negative verb forms with the post-initial -hi- negative marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>infinitive</td>
<td>o-hí-yóóná</td>
<td>‘to not see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>o-hí-gulihédha</td>
<td>‘I did not sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>a-hí-jágá</td>
<td>‘without them eating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequential perfective</td>
<td>baddi-hi-mutêlê</td>
<td>‘whereas I am not married to him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>counterfactual conditional</td>
<td>koo-hí-nyônyagá</td>
<td>‘if he was not annoying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situative</td>
<td>mwaa-hí-múriihi</td>
<td>‘if you do not respect him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>situative</td>
<td>ddigaa-hí-ji</td>
<td>‘if I do not eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>ddi-hi-je</td>
<td>‘so that I do not eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>counterexpectational</td>
<td>o-hí-ná-púpuruwa</td>
<td>‘before you get lost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>ddi-hí-gûla</td>
<td>‘therefore I did not buy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-hi- is invariably located after the slot for subject markers, and it usually precedes the TAM slot, as is the case in the counterexpectational situative form o-hí-ná-púpuruwa ‘before you get lost’. This is however not true with the situative TAM prefixes -a- (6.84) and -gaa- (6.85), which always precede the negative marker -hi- (see section 8.2.5 for more details).

(6.84)  

ddińdh g’ ootaabúwá vatí váariba ddaahígüli vela  

ddi-ní-dh-ág-a  otaabúwá  vatí  vá-a-riba  
1SG-IPFV.CJ-go-HAB-Fi  15.suffer.PL  16.sunset  16-SIT-be.dark  

ddi-a-hí-gúl-i  vela  
1SG-SIT-NEG-buy-NEG  10a.candle.PL  
‘I am going to suffer at night if I do not buy candles’

(6.85)  

ríaaní, míyó ddigaaahíjí kaddińdhów’ óosuńza  

ríaaní  míyó  ddi-gaa-hí-ji  ka-ddi-ní-dhówá  osuńza  
1.mother.PL  1SG.PRO  1SG-SIT-NEG-eat-NEG  NEG-1SG-IPFV-go  15.learn.PL  
‘mother, if I do not eat, I am not going to school’

6.3.4 TAM markers

This position between the subject and the object agreement prefixes contains most tense-aspect-mood markers. Together with the final suffix, this verb slot allows to determine the TAM value of a verb. All the different forms which can occur in this TAM slot are given and exemplified in Table 40.
The aspectual prefix -hi- is restricted to disjoint verb forms only. The conjoint forms rather use the suffix -ile, which triggers the same perfective interpretation (see section 8.1.1).

For certain verb forms, two subsequent slots for TAM are needed, one for the tense and one for the aspect, as shown in (6.86) with the past perfective.

(6.86) puřké: Manyáló waykóódda omúttêba, Mádá waykóódda oomúsápela

puřke manyáló o-a-hí-kóódda o-mú-ttêba mádá o-a-hí-kóódda
because 6.foot 1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse 15-OM1-carry 6.hand 1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse
o-mú-sáp-el-a
15-OM1-hunt-APPL-Fi

‘Because Mr.Feet refused to carry Mr.Hands, Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food.’

Each of the TAM prefixes is discussed in detail and exemplified in chapter 8, on TAM system.

### 6.3.5 Object marker

The slot for object marking is used to cross-reference objects. This position immediately precedes the verbal base, and the combination of both forms what is called the macrostem. In Cuwabo, as in many Bantu languages, there is one slot only for object marking on the verb, which means that only one object can be marked (see section 9.1.2.3 for an analysis of double object constructions).

After the SM, the OM is the second type of agreeing marker prefixed to the verb stem. But contrary to subject marking, object marking is relatively limited in Cuwabo, since it is
restricted to participants, namely the 1st and 2nd persons, and classes 1 and 2. The full list of OM is provided in Table 41, which also includes the reflexive marker, since it occupies the OM slot. Note that in order to avoid any confusion with the SM, the OM is always glossed with the abbreviation ‘OM.’ before the person or the class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 41</th>
<th>Object markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-ddi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>-vi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cuwabo, an OM may have a pronominal function when it substitutes an overt noun phrase, as shown in (6.87), where class 1 OM -mú- in kámuweleleni refers to the aforementioned hare.

(6.87)  
\[ k'uúlé, ólle ki namarogoló, k'uúlé olí mudhúlú īnpúle, kámuweleleni! \]  
{ddingi.19}  
ku ólle o-lí mudhúlú īnpúle ká-mú-wel-e-ní  
17.COP 1.DEI.III 1.DEI.III EMPH 1a.hare.PL  
‘here it is, that one there is the hare, that one there is at the top of the tree.sp.! Catch him! (lit. ‘Climb after him!’)’

However, OM are best analysed as grammatical agreement markers. A strong argument in support of this claim deals with focalisation and co-referentiality: in Cuwabo, whenever a class 1 or 2 lexical object is present in the clause, object marking obligatorily occurs on the verb. This means that a postverbal (class 1/2) noun phrase occupying a focus position is necessarily cross-referenced, as shown in (6.88).

(6.88)  
OM + focus postverbal NP  
a. supeéyo supeéyo, míyó ūndúfun’ ánamalaba.  
{maria.63}  
supeéyo míyó ni-ní-á-funá ánamalaba  
9a.mirror.PL 1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.CJ-OM2-want 2.worker.PL  
‘Mirror, mirror, I want working men.’

b. onímóoná míyaná w’ ūkóddéla vaddiddi  
{maria.106}  
o-ní-mú-oná míyaná wa ūkóddéla vaddiddi  
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see 1.woman.PL 1.CON 15.be.beautiful much  
‘he sees a very beautiful woman’
In this respect, Cuwabo patterns with Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009) and Swahili (Philippson p.c.), but differs from many Bantu languages in which object marking only applies for definite or topicalised lexical objects (see Bresnan and Mchombo 1987 for Chewa, Marten 2006 for Herero, among others).

When the verb stem starts with a retroflex stop, the 1sg OM -/ddi- loses its vowel and totally assimilates, i.e. [d] devoices to [t], as shown in (6.89).

(6.89) vohí míyó ddihijé, ónó-ʧʧ-ttamagínhá vatákúlu

because 1SG.PRO 1SG-NEG-eat-SBJ 1-IPFV.DJ-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi 16-9a.house

‘he made me run around the house so that I do not eat’

Similarly to the SM, the 1PL OM -/ni/ may substitute -/ddi/- ‘1SG’, to express a 1SG, as seen in (6.90). Again, we see a parallel with Swahili 1SG OM -/ni/-.

(6.90) mamunagá’ sitíy’ óolóönlémela, oddijé ddirúlé sitíya

mamunaga sitíya e-lé-ʧʧ-léméla
1a.husband.POSS.1SG.PL 9a.bra 9-CE-15-OM1PL-be.heavy
o-ddi-jéedh-e ddi-rúl-é sitíya
2SG-OM1SG-wait-SBJ 1SG-undress-SBJ 9a.bra

‘my husband, my bra is heavy, wait for me so that I take it off’

Finally, when the 1SG OM -/ddi/- follows a 2PL /mu/- SM, it totally assimilates to the subject prefix vowel, which thus lengthens, as shown in (6.91).

(6.91) a. ddiʃʃúná muúdhōolle mwáádhaga muúdhéeléna

ddi-ní-füná muú-dhôöl-el-e mwáádhaga
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2PL.OM1SG-fetch-APPL-SBJ 1.wife.POSS.1SG
muú-dh-éel-é = na
2PL.OM1SG-come-APPL-SBJ = COM

‘I want you to fetch my wife and bring her back to me’

b. ddiʃʃúná muúšásanyedhe: papóóro

ddi-ní-füná muú-sásany-edh-e papóóro
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2PL.OM1SG-build-APPL-SBJ 1a.boat

‘I want you to build for me a boat’

Reflexivity is expressed by means of the prefix -/vi/-, which remains invariable independently of the person or class concerned. The reflexive marker attaches to transitive verb stems only, upon which it functions as an intransitiviser. The situation expressed by the verb applies to the subject itself, and no longer to a potential object. The examples in (6.92)
show that -vi- transforms the transitive verbs ótótóca ‘destroy’ (6.92)a and ókomá ‘position’ (6.92)b into a reflexive verbs.

(6.92) Reflexive -vi-

a. onmpánélá: onóvítóta, onótótówa, onóríméélá mwilábôni

[on-ní-pánélá]REL on-ní-ó-vítóta on-ní-óktótówa
1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud 1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy 1-IPFV.DJ-15.be.destroyed
on-ní-óríméélá mu-elábô = ni
1-IPFV.DJ-15.disappear 18-9.society = LOC

‘Whoever is proud destroys himself, is destroyed, disappears from society.’

b. Nikúrábedh’ oodhow’ óóvikomá:

nikúrábedha o-dhowá o-vi-komá
1a.dugong NAR-go NAR-REFL-position

‘Mr. Dugong went and placed himself.’

Example (6.93) presents a case in which the consonant onset of the reflexive prefix -vi- drops due to amalgamation with the infinitive prefix, giving rise to the vowel sequence o+i. Glide formation thus occurs with compensatory lengthening, as seen in the verb form wiítómeya ‘he hang himself’.

(6.93) oodhowá wiítómeya ìrbúr’ oókúl’ oomuyérëni

o-dhowá o-vítómeya mu-bára ókúle o-muyérë = ni
NAR-go 15-REFL-hung.up 18-9a.sea 17.DEM.III 17-tree.sp = LOC

‘he went and hang himself up in the tree sp. at the beach’

Note that reflexive and object markers exclude each other, since they both occupy the same pre-stem slot.

Finally, with regard to tones, the object markers (including the reflexive) are underlyingly low, except in a few tenses, in which they are systematically assigned a H tone (see section 3.4 for more details). Such cases are illustrated with the examples (6.91) for the subjunctive and (6.93) for the infinitive.
6.3.6  Pre-final TAM markers

6.3.6.1  -ag– ‘HABITual’

A usual way of representing a situation that happens over an extended period of time, in an iterative manner or not depending on the semantic properties of the verb, is by using a general imperfective prefix (-ni- in Cuwabo). However Cuwabo also encodes such an aspectual meaning by means of the inherited pre-final suffix -ag- which is widely attested across Bantu, and was reconstructed as *-ang-. Semantically, this suffix covers different values linked with imperfective meaning, ranging from durative (6.94), to habitual (6.95) and pluractional (6.96).

(6.94)  Durative value

a. okomesáár’ uúkúl’ ookíta. ookitag’ ookitag’ ookitaga ... {dingí.21}
    o-komesáári ókúle okíta o-kit-ag-a
    NAR-start 17.DEM.III 15.go.down NAR-go.down-HAB-Fi
    ‘He started to go down. He went down, went down…’

b. wéyó: oniřwëregë kurúmáanjen’ oóddo {maria.25}
    wéyó o-mú-fwár-eg-e kurúmáanje = éne óddo
    2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ 1a.bee.sp = INT 1.DEM.1
    ‘do follow this very bee.sp.’

(6.95)  Habitual value

agaamal’ ootóta nám’ aagaadhowáná vatákúlı́ve, {mbíri.3}
    mwáádhíye ojagámò namáy’ éjíle

a-gaa-mala otóta náma a-gaa-dhowá = ná va-tákúlí = ve
    1-SIT-finish 15.hunt 9a.game 1-SIT-go = COM 16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG
    mwáádhí = ye o-j-ag-á = mó namá = yá éjíle
    1.wife = POSS.3SG NAR-eat-HAB-Fi = 18.LOC 9a.game = 9.DEF 9.DEM.III
    ‘after hunting game and bringing it at home, his wife used to eat that meat’

(6.96)  Pluractional value

a. entáwá, odhagavo afúmů ařiřumů báalá, afúmů dówu, ařiřumů těbo … {mute.8}
    entáwú o-dh-ag-a = vo afúmů báalá afúmů dówu
    then NAR-come-HAB-Fi = 16.LOC 2.mister 1a.bushbuck 2.mister 9a.elephant
    afúmů těbo
    2.mister 9a.elephant
    ‘then came mister Bushbuck, mister Elephant, mister Elephant…’
b. *nuúmwáálá naámbéeddé*, *waavedágá: áttú wiilá amwáámele naámbéedde*  
\{ddingí.3\}

na-ó-mú-alá naámbéedde o-a-ved-ág-á áttú wiilá  
RES-15-OM1-sow 1a.maize NAR-OM2-search-HAB-Fi 2.man CMP

a-mú-ámel-e naámbéedde  
2-OM1-chase-SBJ 1a.maize

‘When he sowed maize, he looked for people to protect it (from the thieves)’

c. *weééba dhááhi - muddáákulelegé*:  
\{mbílri.20\}

o-á-iba dhaáyi mu-ddi-ákul-el-eg-é  
1-PST.IPFV.CJ-sing like.this.1 2PL-OM1SG-answer-APPL-HAB-SBJ

‘He was singing this way - answer me’

In certain verb forms, though, the exact meaning of the pre-final marker 
-ag- is difficult
to determine. The typical formula *weéélé keéélé dhaawo* (lit. ‘the one who said did not say
like that’), a pragmatic equivalent for ‘once upon a time’ at the beginning of narrative texts,
may be added the habitual suffix, as shown in (6.97), without this addition substantially
alters the original meaning.

(6.97)  
\{body.1\}

*weéélégé keéélégé dhaweené, \[waálí Máádí: Éríigúútú: na Manyálo\]*  
[\{semi-elic.\}

0-er-él-ég-é,REL ka-er-él-ég-e dhaawo = ené  
1-DO-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL NEG.1-DO-APPL-HAB-PFV like.this.11.PL = INT

‘Once upon a time, \{there were Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet.\}’

While there are apparently some restrictions on the co-occurrence of the durative suffix
with certain tenses in some Bantu languages, in Cuwabo, it can occur in all or most tenses,
pasts, presents and futures, as illustrated with the following examples.

(6.98)  
\{semi-elic.\}

Presents

a. *vańd w geem’ jo ni, ddin g l ga g w ya tírîle*  
\{semi-elic.\}

[va-ní-dów-ág-a = imí]  
16-IPFV.CJ-go-HAB-FI = 1SG.PRO ó-joó = ni]REL 17-Joburg = LOC 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.buy-HAB-Fi

gúwó ya tírîle  
9a.cloth 9a.satin

‘when I go to South Africa, I always buy satin clothes.’

b. *kaddińg l g  garo so, ddińg l ga manduwi*  
\{semi-elic.\}

ka-ddí-ní-óg-á garóóso ddi-ní-óg-á manduwi  

‘I do not buy caju nuts, I usually buy peanuts’
(6.99) Past imperfectives

a.  vááncéédníná yîñelé, ddáángulíhága soókíři  

[bá-án-nil = imí = na  
yîñelé]REL  ddí-á-nil-gulíh-ág-a  soókíři  

16-PST.IPFV.CJ-have = 1SG.PRO = COM 9.bar 1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-sell-HAB-Fi 9a.sugar  
‘when I had a bar, I used to sell sugar’

b.  ddaágúlaga mandduwi  

ddí-á-gul-ág-a  mandduwi  

1SG-PST.IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi 6.peanut.PL  
‘I used to sell peanuts’

(6.100) Futures

a.  ddiináágúlíhege mandduwi  

ddi-náá-gulíh-eg-e  mandduwi  

1SG-FUT.CJ-sell-HAB-IRR 6.peanut.PL  
‘I will sell peanuts’

b.  ddiígágúlaga mandduwi  

ddí-gá-gul-ág-a  mandduwi  

1SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-sell-HAB-Fi 6.peanut.PL  
‘I will be selling peanuts’

Nevertheless, it occurs more frequently in non-finite forms such as infinitive (6.101)a, narrative (6.101)b, and imperative (6.101)c, as well as with dependent tenses, such as situative (6.101)d and subjunctive (6.101)e.

(6.101) a. Infinitive  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>osásányaga</th>
<th>oìnvuzzága</th>
<th>kadhélélagání</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>osásány-ag-a</td>
<td>o-mu-vuuz-ág-a</td>
<td>ka-dh-éél-ag-a = ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.make-HAB-Fi</td>
<td>NAR-OM1-asHAB-Fi</td>
<td>IMP-go-APPL-HAB-Fi = PLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to make’</td>
<td>‘she asked him’</td>
<td>‘come and fetch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Situative  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aadhówága</th>
<th>oìnfwárege</th>
<th>kanákóswága</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-a-dhow-ág-a</td>
<td>o-mú-fwár-eg-e</td>
<td>ka-ná-kós-iw-ág-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-SIT-go-HAB-Fi</td>
<td>2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ</td>
<td>NEG-CE-do-PASS-HAB-Fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘while going’</td>
<td>‘do follow him’</td>
<td>‘have never been done before’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from most examples above, the habitual suffix -ag- has no specific tone properties and in this respect tends to function as a verb extension, being tonally low (or neutral). This is well illustrated for instance with the narrative form oìnvuzzága ‘she asked him’ in (6.101)b, where the lexical H anchors on the penult mora independently of the
Verbs

presence of the habitual suffix, since the corresponding suffixless form would be *omvuúza* ‘she asked him’.

However the addition of the habitual may have some repercussion on the tone pattern of the two existing situative verb forms in Cuwabo. For instance, compare the situative verb form SM-*a-VB-*a in (6.102)a, which exhibits a lexical H contrast, with the habitual situative in (6.102)b, in which a neutralised tone pattern occurs for both types of verbs, with a H systematically assigned on MS2. A further tone pattern occurs when an OM is present (6.102)c: a grammatical H is assigned to the penult mora, i.e. on the habitual suffix.

(6.102) Ø-toned verb  
H-toned verb  
a. *ddi-a-roromelih-a* ‘if I promise’  
*ddi-a-bubuluwel-a* ‘if I roll to’  
b. *ddi-a-roromelih-ag-a* ‘if I promise’  
*ddi-a-bubuluwel-ag-a* ‘if I roll to’  
c. *ddi-a-mu-roromelih-ág-a* ‘if I promise him’  
*ddi-a-mu-bubuluwel-ág-a* ‘if I roll to him’

The same type of alteration occurs with the other situative verb form whose morphological formula is SM-*gaa-VB-*a (see section 3.4 for an in-depth analysis of tones on tensed verbs.). It thus seems that the pre-final suffix *-ag-* acquires specific properties regarding H assignment when used within situative verb forms.

As already seen in section 2.2.5 on vowel copying, the extension *-ag-* copies the vocalic value of the final vowel. This vowel copying points towards a reanalysis of the habitual suffix as *-ga* instead of *-ag-*.  

(6.103) *okomesáár iúárivrhámo ŋmodha ŋmódha*  
{o-komesáár-ig}  
*o-mú-vir-fh-á = mo*  
mu-modha mú-módha  
NAR-start-HAB-Fi 15-OM1-pass-CAUS-Fi = 18.LOC 1-one 1-one  
‘and he began to make them go through, one by one’

6.3.6.2 *-ec-* ‘DURative’

The pre-final suffix *-ec-* represents another way of encoding imperfective value, with both durative and iterative meaning. It is far less attested than the other pre-final *-ag-*. All the examples attested in my database are presented below. In (6.105), we note that it may follow an applicative extension. The conditioning for this unexpected formative is in need of further description.

(6.104) *apa dd’ uiddiwen’ óońddikuweléčý peéno*  
apa ddi óddú = wéné [o-ni-ddí-kuwel-éc-á]REL peéno  
16.DEM.1 1.COP 1.DEM.1 = INT 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-DUR-Fi WOND  
‘Oh, this one calling me like this, I do not know (who he is).’
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(6.105) *mas ońddikshatiyaarílecéené dhayééne, [...] ońddúkuwellécéeni ?*  
{páká.17.18}

mas [o-ní-ddí-shatiyáari-él-éč-a=éné] dhaayí=éné]REL
but 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-annoy-APPL-DUR-Fi = INT like.this.1 = INT
o-ní-ddí-kuwel-él-éč-á=ni
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-APPL-DUR-Fi = what
‘But this one annoying me like this, [...] why is he calling me?’

(6.106) *āyím’ aábá aṅkáléca na báábá, [agoonúwa, agáánsema vaddíddi]  
{semi-elic.}

āyíma ábá [a-ní-kál-éč-a] na báábá]REL
2.child 2.DEM.1 2-IPFV.CJ-be-DUR-Fi with 1a.their.father
‘these children who are always with their father, [when they grow up, they will be good carpenters]’

The form -es- is also attested, most likely as a result of inter-speaker variation.

(6.107) *b’ aani ojíšsáámw’ iisávé ijíle*  
{mbírí.5}

ba aani [o-ní-j-és-á=mo] ésvi éjíle]REL
2.COP who 1-IPFV.CJ-eat-DUR-Fi = 18.LOC 9.relish 9.DEM.III
‘who keeps eating that relish’

6.3.7 Final suffix

In section 6.1.1, we saw that the derivational stem is built upon a verb root and (possible) verb extensions. The addition of a ‘final vowel’ morpheme to the derivational stem constitutes the inflectional stem. Three such final morphemes exist in Cuwabo, -a, -e, and -ile, which are all linked with tense and aspect considerations. Each is examined in turn. The most common final suffix in Cuwabo consists of the vowel -a, glossed ‘Fi’. It represents the ‘morphological default’ final suffix (Downing 1997, Odden 1996), in that it is found in most indicative tenses, and does not carry any meaning by itself.

The final suffix -e is also widely attested, but only under three specific semantic values: it is first mainly used to mark the subjunctive tense, glossed ‘SBJ’ (6.108). In this case, no temporal prefix is required. Furthermore, -e works hand in hand with the future prefix -náá-, but in this context, it unexpectedly displays two distinct functions: first it represents an IRRrealis with a future interpretation (6.109). Second, it assumes a PROHibitive function, as when used with the imperative verb forms (6.110). Each of the TAM verb forms are further developed in chapter 8.
(6.108) Subjunctive function of -e

{kadhánáto [...] mwáádhíy' oöddó ñdhé nimóòne} {maria.118}
ka-dhá = ná = to  mwáádhí = ya oöddó ni-dh-ê ni-mú-ôn-e
IMP-go = COM = then 1.wife = DEF 1.DEM.II 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-OM1-see-SBJ
‘Bring then that friend of mine, that wife, so that we see her.’

(6.109) Irrealis function of -e

{kí ninááköse dháavi ?} {maria.95}
kí ni-náá-kós-ê dháavi
EMPH 1PL-FUT.CJ-do-I RR how
‘What are we going to do?’

(6.110) Prohibitive function of -e

{munáávége wiíko ookála anyákóko} {semi-elic.}
mu-náá-vég-e o-iko o-hi-kála anyákóko
2PL-FUT-play-PROH 17-river 1-PFV.DJ-be 2.crocodile
‘do not play at the river, there are crocodiles’

The suffix -ile ‘PFV’ is one of two perfective aspect markers in Cuwabo. It appears on its own for the perfective tense (6.111), and co-occurs with the pre-stem a- for the past tense (6.112). Again, this final suffix is widespread among Bantu, attested in at least two thirds of the linguistic sub-family (Nurse 2008: 24).

(6.111) Kurumánje: odhowiilé diléén’ ejíle y’ oonyákûwa

{kurúmáanje o-dhow-ilé diilé éjíle ya onyákûwa} {maria.31}
kurúmáanje o-dhow-ilé dilá = éne éjíle ya onyákûwa
‘The bee.sp went into that dirty path’

(6.112) ddaadhowíl’ ọoníváhá mwáánáye ãjíná viínágúwa

{ddi-a-dhow-flé o-mu-vahá mwáánáye âjíná viíná-gúwa} {páaká.15}
1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ 15-OM1-give.PL 1.child.POSS.3SG 5.name too-again
‘I went and gave his child a name again’

Interestingly, -ile is sensitive to the presence of certain extensions, namely the applicatives -el- and -edh-, the passives -iw- and -uw-, and the reciprocal -an-. When it is preceded by one of these extensions, the suffix shortens to -e, as respectively shown in (6.113), (6.114), and (6.115). Still, note that contrary to many Eastern Bantu languages (including Makhuwa), this shortening does not involve imbrication in Cuwabo. At least no visible trace remained on the synchronic level. The variant suffix -e is simply suffixed to the verbal base, and the removing of the segment il does not involve any morphophonological
process inside the verbal base, often resulting in an amalgamate form (Bastin 1983, Ngunga 1998, among others).

(6.113) Applicatives -el/-edh- + perfective variant -e
a. etéén’ aazazúmél’ okúle
   a-eté = èné a-a-zuzúm-èl-e ‘all were busy over there’
   2-all = INT 2-PST-be.confused-APPL-PFV.CJ 17.DEM.III
b. kuulogíwa ddaahikáana mááre baddisasanyedhé makáttámiyo ába
   ka-olog-fw-ág-a ddi-a-hí-káana mááre ba-ddi-sasany-edh-è
   ‘if I had an idea, I would already have fixed the problem’

(6.114) Passive -iw/-uw- + perfective variant -e
eloguwé: súpééy’ éeji ddiogélémo dhinfünéemi
   e-log-uw-è súpééyo éji ddi-log-él-é = mo
   9-say-PASS-PFV.CJ 9a.mirror 9.DEM.I 1SG-say-APPL-SBJ = 18.LOC
   [dhi-ní-füná = imi]REL
   10-IPFV.CJ-want = 1SG.PRO
   ‘they said (lit. ‘it was said’) I can ask this mirror whatever I want’

(6.115) Reciprocal -an- + perfective variant -e
eceddelánè omáálor waakungíláani
   a-edd-el-án-è omáálor [o-a-kung-flé = ani]REL
   2-hate-APPL-REC-PFV.CJ 14.friendship 14-PST-build-PFV.CJ = 3PL.PRO
   ‘they came to hate each other for the friendship they had build’

Contrary to the applicative and passive extensions, the causative, and neuter extensions do not imply the shortened variant of -ile, as shown in (6.116), and (6.117), respectively.

(6.116) Causative -ih- + perfective -ile
oddijihilé máfugi
   o-ddi-j-ih-ilé máfugi
   1-OM1SG-eat-CAUS-PFV.CJ 6.banana.PL
   ‘he made me eat bananas’
Finally, the final suffix -i is extremely rare, since it is restricted to the situative tenses, in which case it functions as a negative marker, in complementation of the negative prefix hi-, as illustrated in (6.118) and (6.119).

(6.118) *kí ddaahlími ṅmbúga Ṯnáádhéna "uuvi ?* {semi-elic.}

kí ddi-a-hí-lím-i ṅmbúga ni-náá-dh-é = na uuvi

EMPH 1SG-SIT-NEG-cultivate-NEG 3.rice 1PL-FUT.CJ-come-IRR = COM where

‘if I do not cultivate, where will I find rice?’

(6.119) *ogákósánà: ogaahís zìi mwaawunó ?* {semi-elic.}

o-gá-kásá = ní o-gaa-hí-súnz-i mwaawunó

2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-do = what 2SG-SIT-NEG-study-NEG this.year

‘what will you do if you do not study this year?’

Interestingly, a few verbs always have -i in final position, in environments where -a and -e would be expected. This is already seen in the infinitive forms in (6.120). Two of them represent a closed class of defective verbs (6.120)a, while the others are an open class of loans (6.120)b.

(6.120) Defective verbs (a) and loans (b) with final suffix -i

a. *wiiddí* ‘know’
   *olí* ‘be’

b. *oddánáaří* ‘be defective’ < PTG danar
   *òfiyáári* ‘owe’
   *ogúnááti* ‘lie down’ < ógoná ‘sleep’ + -ti ‘ground’
   *ókómésáári* ‘begin’ < PTG começar
   *ókúmáári* ‘be sad’
   *ókúpáári* ‘disturb, annoy’
   *ópéreddééří* ‘lose’ < PTG perder
   *ópóñtáári* ‘track, point at’ < PTG apontar
   *ósúttínáári* ‘defecate’ < PTG sentina (n)
   *óttamáári* ‘provoke’

Note that the value of this final suffix -i never alternates with the final suffix -e in the subjunctive tense, as illustrated with *ájárntáári* ‘so they go and eat’ in (6.121).
Chapter 6

(6.121) eefíya fáázi aḿfíná adhówe vatákulu, adhówa ájántaari komíídáda

\[ \text{e-hi-fíya fáázi a-ní-fúná a-dhów-e va-tákulu} \]
\[ \text{9-PFV.DJ-arrive 9a.fase 2-IPFV.CJ-want 2-go-SBJ 16-9a.house} \]
\[ \text{a-dhów-e a-6-jáhttaari komíidá = dha} \]
\[ \text{2-go-SBJ 2-IT-have.dinner.SBJ 10a.food = 10.DEF} \]

‘the moment came to (want to) go home, to go and eat the food’

6.3.8 Post-final \( =ni \) ‘PLA’

The post-final \( =ni \) indicates that the addressee is plural, hence the gloss \( \text{PLA} \) for ‘Plural Addressee’. As is common in Bantu, \( =ni \) is typically used with the 2SG object marker, in which it allows to distinguish between the 2SG and the 2PL, as shown in (6.122).

(6.122) a. Singular addressee

\[ \text{ddi} \text{ńfíná: ddiittíye owúsápela} \]
\[ \text{míyó ddi-ní-fúná ddi-ttíy-e o-ú-sáp-el-a} \]
\[ \text{1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 1SG-stop-SBJ 15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi} \]

‘I am going to stop feeding you’

b. Plural addressee

\[ \text{puruk’ onuúttébanú’, ddi míyó} \]
\[ \text{puruke [o-ni-ú-ttéba = nf]REL ddi míyó} \]
\[ \text{because 1-IPFV.CJ-OM2SG-carry = PLA 1.COP 1SG.PRO} \]

‘because, it is me who lifts you!’

\( =ni \) is also needed to express a plural imperative. Compare (6.123)a with (6.123)b. Its presence is however not required in other tenses (6.124).

(6.123) a. Singular addressee in imperative

\[ \text{kattúkúla shávi} \]
\[ \text{ka-ttúkúla shávi} \]
\[ \text{IMP-take 10a.key} \]

‘take that key’
b. Plural addressee in imperative

\[ \text{namárógol' oóddó kánítityení} \]

\[ \text{namárógolo óddó ká-mú-ttiy-e} = \text{ni} \]

1a.hare 1.DEM.II IMP-OM1-leave-IMP = PLA

‘leave that hare!’

(6.124) Plural addressee in present tense

\[ \text{míyó munóóddziwá: ?} \]

\[ \text{míyó mu-ni-ó-ddí-ziwá} \]

1SG.PRO 2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know

‘do you know me?’

Recall that the SM \textit{ni-} is sometimes found instead of \textit{ddi-} in order to express a 1SG SM, as already seen in section 6.3.2 above. As expected, there arises from this case of free variation an ambiguity of interpretation between a singular and a plural. This may explain why the post-final \textit{=ni} is sometimes suffixed to the verb when a plural is intended (6.125), although such an addition is not systematic (6.126).

(6.125) a. \textit{eítáwú, neetééne nikósén’ éjíl’ eekósíle míyo} \quad \{mbílri.23\}

\[ \text{eítáwú ni-eté} = \text{éné ni-kós-é} = \text{ni} \quad \text{éjíle [e-kós-íle míyo]}_{\text{REL}} \]

then 1PL-all = INT 1PL-do-SBJ = PLA 9.DEM.III 9-do-PVF.REL 1SG.PRO

‘then, let’s all do what I did’

b. \textit{a-hi-málá mabásá ‘ńdhówén’ ŋttamágéni’} \quad \{maria.150\}

\[ \text{a-hi-málá mabásá ni-dhów-č} = \text{ni} \quad \text{ni-ttamág-č} = \text{ni} \]

6-PVF.DJ-finish 6.work 1PL-go-SBJ = PLA 1PL-run-SBJ = PLA

‘the work is done, let’s go, let’s run!’

(6.126) \textit{ńdhów’ óóttólóni ŋdhówé náfúle} \quad \{ddoo.10\}

\[ \text{ni-dhów-č o-ttólo} = \text{ni} \quad \text{ni-dhów-č} \quad \text{ni-á-fúl-e} \]

1PL-go-SBJ 17-well = LOC 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-wash-SBJ

‘let’s go to the well, let’s go and wash (do the laundry)’

We could hypothesise that the presence or absence of \textit{=ni} constitutes a way of distinguishing on the verb the opposition between a general plural and a dual. The general plural would make use of \textit{=ni}, as in (6.125), where more than two characters are involved in the action, whereas the dual would not require such a plural marking, as in (6.126), which only implies two characters, Ddoolrinddo and her sister. Such a strategy of plural/dual marking is already observed in Swahili, but exclusively with the verb -\textit{enda} ‘go’, in such a way as \textit{tuende} means ‘let’s go, the both of us’, whereas \textit{tuendeni} means ‘let’s all go’.
It should finally be noted that if $=ni$ is used with the 1PL as subject marker, it is not the case when 1PL is marked as an object marker (6.127).

(6.127)  
elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónónúkuwélá bááhi  
\text{elóbó = yá ka-lóg-íle so ó-ní-ó-ní-kuwéla bááhi}  
\text{9.thing = DEF NEG.1-say-PFV but 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call only}  
\text{‘she did not say why, she only called us’}  
* elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónónúkuwéláa $= ni$ bááhi

6.3.9 Post-final enclitics

This final subsection explores the properties of two types of post-final enclitics (always introduced by a ‘$=$’ in the glosses): the Comitative or Instrumental $=na$, and the three locative clitics $=vo$, $=wo$, and $=mo$. These post-final clitics cannot co-occur, since only one morpheme can appear in that position. In other words, the post-final slot for enclitics can only host one element.

6.3.9.1 $=na$ ‘COM’ or ‘INSTR’

The post-final enclitic $=na$ undoubtedly stems from the preposition $na$ ‘and, with’, to which it is semantically equivalent. In Cuwabo, this preposition behaves in a particular way with certain verbs, namely it encliticises to the verb, as shown in (6.128).

(6.128)  
\text{Maríya niív r’ uudhilen $\dd$ úuví ?}  
\text{maríya niívúru o-dh-íle $=ná$ úuví}  
\text{maríya 5.book 1-come-PFV.CJ = COM where}  
\text{‘where did Maria get this book?’}  

Considering that the conjoint perfective tense always implies the assignment of a H on the ultimate mora, the tone pattern observed on $odhilená$ clearly reveals that $=na$ is formally treated as part of the verb, and thus confirms its clitic status.

Semantically, the clitic $=na$ conveys two meanings. First it is used for comitative, imparting the meaning ‘together with, accompanied by’. In this case, it is much attested with directional verbs as shown in the following examples, and more particularly with $odhá$ ‘come’ and $ódhówá$ ‘go’.
As can be seen from the examples (6.131) and (6.132), no OM appears on the verb to co-
refer to the aforementioned class 1 objects víyoólá ‘guitar’ and Maríyâya ‘Maria’, respectively. Instead, the anaphoric reference is made by means of the enclitic =na, which
pronominalises the object argument.

In addition to the comitative, the post-final enclitic =na also conveys an instrumental
reading, indicating an instrument used to carry out the action expressed by the verb. It can
be translated into English as ‘with’ or ‘by means of’.

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(6.129) aafíyána mísél’ uábúle (maria.78)
a-hi-fíyá = na mísél’ óbúle 2-PFV.DJ-arrive = COM 3REPORT 3DEM.THR
‘they came with that report’

(6.130) odhoólé leñsó ŋlí róbúle (ddoo.13)
‘fetch the tissue which is inside and come back with it, did you hear?’

(6.131) omsasanyilé víyoólá, odhowáná ŋíbárá (ddingí.9)
o-mu-sasany-ilé víyoólá o-dhowá = ná mu-bará 1-OM1-fix-PFV.CJ 1a.guitar.PL NAR-go = COM 18-9a.sea
‘he fixed the guitar, went to the beach with it’

(6.132) olómúsianguravoro Maríyâya, ottamagélána ŋínmáánjêni (maria.120)
‘he seized Maria, and slid with her through the water’

(6.133) Maríy’ óottákula élóbo’ ñjíjíl’ aapílíćeyé , oóvbâdána vatílúgüini (maria.53)
o-hí-vádá = na va-ñlúgü = ni 1-PFV.DJ-hit = INSTR 16-5.stone = LOC
‘Maria took that thing she had plucked, and hit at the stone.’

(6.134) dhîlóbo d’h’ óókkôddélíhâna vatûkûlu (maria.100)
dhîlóbo dha óókkôddél-ih-a = na va-tákulu 10.thing 10.COM 15.be.beautiful-CAUS-F = INSTR 16-9a.house
‘things to embellish the house with’
6.3.9.2 =vo, =wo, and =mo as locative clitics

The three locative enclitics =vo (class 16), =wo (class 17), and =mo (class 18) are much attested in Cuwabo, with all verb forms. These locative clitics have several properties:

-i- They respect locative noun class agreement.

-ii- They may pronominalise a locative argument, which has previously been mentioned or which is clearly implied by the context. In this case, they have the function of anaphoric locative adjuncts, translated in English as ‘here’ (class 16), ‘there’ (class 17), and ‘inside’ (class 18). Two examples are provided below.

(6.135) a. olóttúkúlu kwavo Ddóolrinddo, olóódhówána vatákulu
   o-lé-öttúkúl-uw-a =vo D. o-lé-óódhówá = na va-tákulu
   ‘They took Ddoolrinddo there and went home with her.’

b. oóvólówa niña, oofúgúlaamo níngá de koštúmi
   o-hí-vólówa niña o-hí-fúgúla = mo níngá de koštúmi
   1-PFV.DJ-enter 18.inside 1-PFV.DJ-open = 18.LOC as always
   ‘he entered the house, he opened in there as always’

-iii- They cannot co-occur with an in situ locative phrase (unless the locative phrase is right-dislocated and thus interpreted as an afterthought, see section 11.2.3).

(6.136) *áléddo aádhámo nmúríuddani > áléddo aádha nmúríuddani
   áléddo a-hí-dhá = mo mu-múríudda = ni
   2.guest 2-PFV.DJ-come = 18.LOC 18-3.village = LOC
   ‘the guest arrived into the village’

-iv- They are prohibited in both formal (6.137)a and semantic (6.137)b locative inversion (LI) constructions (see section 11.1.4 for LI constructions).

(6.137) a. *ottólóni ókule ookáláwo fólóóði
   o-ttóló = ni ókule o-hí-kálá = wo fólóóði
   17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III 17-PFV.DJ-be = 17.LOC 9.5a.flower
   lit. ‘there at the well there is (there) a flower’

b. *nyúmba éji eekálávo akálába
   nyúmba éji e-hí-kálá = vo akálába
   9a.house 9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-be = 16.LOC 2.older
   lit. ‘in this house were/lived (there) old people’
-v- They obligatorily appear when the locative phrase is dislocated to the left-periphery.

(6.138) *vattólóni, maúnh’áawínjívávo* {ddoo.31}

va-ttóló = ní maúnh’ a-hí-injívá = **vo**
16-well = LOC 6.water 6-PFV.DJ-abound = 16.LOC

‘there is a lot of water in the well’
This chapter treats a number of (almost) invariable words which, on morphological grounds, fall outside the scope of the major words classes, i.e. nouns and verbs (even if some of them may more or less transparently be derived from such classes). They represent a variety of distinct syntactic and semantic categories which have not been discussed yet. Under these word classes are subsumed particles and clitics, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, prepositions and conjunctions. All of them are small classes with closed memberships assuming a functional function, except adverbs, ideophones and interjections, which constitute open lexical word classes, able to welcome new elements for each new situation to be described.

7.1 Particles and clitics

According to Guillaume (2008: 625), particles are “monomorphemic grammatical words uninflected for any grammatical categories.” In Cuwabo, particles may constitute either independent morphemes (section 7.1.1), whose scope is generally clausal, or dependent morphemes (section 7.1.2), which occur on individual constituent within the phrase. In this respect, these dependent forms are best analysed as clitics rather than affixes, since they may attach onto different types of words, without modifying their syntactic and phonological
properties. As Creissels (2006a: 33) states, clitics constitute “une classe de formes grammaticales liées peu intégrées”, since they usually attach to already existing and autonomous units in the language. On the contrary, affixes tend to be more integrated, and are usually required so that the bases upon which they attach exist as words. More particularly, these clitics are all enclitics, since they are systematically postposed to the syntactic unit they modify.

Two other types of clitics exist in Cuwabo: the definite $\text{=}(y)a$ and the intensive $\text{=ene}$, both developed in section 7.1.3. They are not considered particles since they follow some specific agreement patterns.

All these particles and clitics perform a range of functions that will be discussed in turn. Most of them are discourse markers. In this study, for clarity, clitics and dependent particles are separated from their host by the segment “=”. This helps the reader immediately visualising where they are located.

### 7.1.1 Independent (clausal) particles

Four independent particles exist in Cuwabo: $\text{peéno}$ ‘WOND’, $\text{ki}$ ‘EMPH’, and $\text{ńingá}$ ‘VOC’. They form one grammatical and one phonological word, and usually - but not systematically - occur clause-initially. They operate on the clausal syntactic level. Each particle is discussed below in the listed order.

#### 7.1.1.1 $\text{peéno}$ ‘WONDering’

The invariable $\text{peéno}$ ‘WONDering’ indicates doubt or wondering, and can be translated as ‘maybe’ or ‘I don’t know’. The following examples illustrate different usages of $\text{peéno}$.

\[(7.1)\]  
\[\text{ésó dhińddívuúzéewé', kaddinásúńza, peénó yaakw' ééjw' eńdha} \]  
\{semi-elic.\}

\[\text{ésó} \quad \text{[dhi-ní-ddí-vuúzá=ewé]REL} \quad \text{ka-ddí-ná-súńza} \]
\[10.\text{DEM.II} \quad 10\text{-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-ask =2SG.PRO NEG-1SG-CE-learn} \]

\[\text{peénó} \quad \text{yaaká} \quad \text{éjó} \quad \text{[e-ní-dha]REL} \]
\[\text{WOND} \quad 9.\text{year.PL} \quad 9.\text{DEM.II} \quad 9\text{-IPFV.CJ-come} \]

‘I have not studied yet what you are asking me, maybe next year’
(7.2) *cá! apa dd’ uiddíwén’ óoiddíkuwelécá peéno*  
*cá apa ddí óddí = éné [o-ní-ddí-kuwel-êc-á]_{REL} peéno*  
**INTER** 16.DEM.I 1.COP 1.DEM.I = **INT** 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-DUR-Fi **WOND**  
‘Oh, this one calling me like this, I do not know (who he is).’

(7.3) *áá, peénóto, míyó ddiímwóoná ?*  
*áá peéno = to míyó ddi-hí-mú-oná*  
**INTER** **WOND** = **then** 1SG.PRO 1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-see  
‘Ahh, I do not know, was I supposed to see her?’

(7.4) *peén’ áakala munáadhówe mángwáana: , ánddímúwáya kanálóg’ eelo*  
*peéno akala mu-náá-dhów-e mángwáana ánddímúwá = ya ka-ná-lóga elo*  
**WOND** if 2PL-FUT.CJ-go-IRR tomorrow 2.chief = **DEF** NEG.2-CE-say 9.thing.PL  
‘I do not know if you are going tomorrow, the chiefs have not said anything yet’

Note that *peéno* is systematically used when answering someone’s greetings.

(7.5) *mw’ aagumí: ? dd’ aagumí , peéno nyúwo?*  
*mu-a egumí ddi-a egumí peéno nyúwo*  
2RESP-CON 9.health 1SG-CON 9.health **WOND** 2RESP.PRO  
‘are you alright? I am, but what about you?’

Interestingly, answer greetings in Portuguese among Cuwabo people reproduces the same phrasing with *estou bem, não sei você* ‘I am fine, I don’t know [about] you’.

### 7.1.1.2 *ki* ‘EMPHatic’

The independent particle *ki* ‘EMPHatic’ expresses surprise for something that goes against expectation. It is frequently used in interrogatives in a kind of exclamatory sense, well rendered by the English expression ‘on earth’. In (7.6), Maria, the protagonist of the story, unexpectedly glimpses her sisters, which she has not seen for a long time because of their rejecting her. In this sentence, the feeling of surprise can be translated by negative expression of surprise ‘is it not the case that …?’ to denote something really happening.

(7.6) *Maríy’ óowááwóna: “ábá k’ aabaaláága ?”*  
*maríyá o-hí-á-oná ábá ki abaaláága*  
maríyá 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-see 2.DEM.I **EMPH** 2.sister.POSS.1SG.PL  
‘Maria saw them : Are these not my sisters!’

In (7.7), a child is missing and the parents are wondering where she is. In (7.8), the dog is questioning the cat after this one unexpectedly digressed from their game plan. In (7.9),...
the owner of the maize plantations is wondering who has been eating his disappearing maize. In (7.10), Maria’s relatives are questioning the exceptional treatment they are being offered at a time of food shortage.

(7.7)  *kí múmw’ ool’ úuví?*  
*ki mímá o-lí úuví*

‘where on earth is the child?’

(7.8)  *wéyo, kú waagéle [uuvi]?’*  
*wéyo *ki o-a-g-él-e*

2SG.PRO  EMPH  2-PST-APPL-PFV.CJ

‘you, where on earth did you go?’

(7.9)  *k’ únínimúja naámbédde ba aani?*  
*ki [o-ni-mú-ja naámbédde]ba aani*

EMPH  1-PRS.CJ-OM1-eat  1a.maize  2.COP  who

‘who on earth is eating my maize?’

(7.10)  *[kanákásiwaga ŋng’ céséééné ;] kí íyó ddabunó gári gan’ iíji?*  
*kí íyó ddabunó gári gaani éji*

EMPH  1PL.PRO  today  9a.luck  which  9.DEM.1

‘[things like this have never been done before], which luck on earth is it that we’re having?’

Because *ki* has an emphatic role and functions as a subjective statement on the uttered sentence, its use is optional, as shown in (7.11), which confronts two identical questions extracted from the same text, one with the particle *ki* (7.11)a, the other without (7.11)b.

(7.11)  a.  *ki ddikósé dhaavi?*  
*ki ddi-kós-é dhaavi*

EMPH  1SG-do-SBJ  how

‘what on earth shall I do?’

b.  *ddikósé dhaavi?*  
*ddi-kós-é dhaavi*

EMPH  1SG-do-SBJ  how

‘what shall I do?’

As evidenced by the above examples, the emphatic particle always occurs sentence-initially, but (7.12) and (7.13) rather indicate that *ki* occupies the initial position of the emphasised clause, which may be inserted into a poly-clausal sentence.
### 7.1.3 *ńgá* ‘VOCative’

The particle *ńgá* ‘VOCative’ (from *ningá*) serves to directly call or hail someone (or something). It usually brings an exclamative tone to the clause in which it is inserted.

(7.14) *ńgá kádháanóto odhé njantáari*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ńgá</em></th>
<th>VOC</th>
<th>IMP-come = PROX = then 2SG-come-SBJ 1PL-have.dinner.SBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nó</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>o-dh-é ni-jaňtáari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋá</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Hey, come here then! Let’s have dinner’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.15) “*ńgá Máríya*” “*papá*” “*míím’ óol’ uuví ?”  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ńgá</em></th>
<th>VOC</th>
<th>maria.PL dad.PL 1.child 1-be where</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Máríya</td>
<td>papá</td>
<td>míím’ o-li uuví</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hey, Maria!”</td>
<td>“Father.”</td>
<td>“Where is the child?”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7.16) *ńgá wéyo onoddípúja vaddíddi*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ńgá</em></th>
<th>VOC</th>
<th>2SG.PRO 2SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-despise much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wéyo</td>
<td>o-ni-o-ddi-púja</td>
<td>vaddíddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hey, you are making a fool of me.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In (7.15), the vocative is further attested by the predicative tone lowering displayed on Máriya (Maríya in citation form). Note that the H found on the first syllable results from doubling (see section 3.5.1).

Interestingly, in case of plural addressee (2.138), ñngá may be followed by the plural enclitic =ni, which usually attaches on verb forms (see section 6.3.8). Still the following example in (7.19), which clearly involves a single interlocutor, is unexpectedly attested with the plural enclitic. More examples would thus be needed to better account for the role of such an encliticisation on ñngá.

### 7.1.2 Dependent (phrasal) particles

Three dependent particles exist in Cuwabo, =vi ‘RESTR’, =to ‘then’, and =no ‘PROX’, discussed in turn below. Beside their dependent status, they have in common to apply on the phrasal level, with different types of phrase.

#### 7.1.2.1 =vi ‘RESTRictive’

The dependent particle =vi ‘RESTRictive’ is productively used to restrict the referential scope of a category and focus exclusively on what is designated. It can be translated as
‘only’ with entities, and ‘just, only’ with events or properties. \( =vi \) mostly modifies nominal (7.20) and verbal (7.21) predicates. In the latter case, the verb forms very often gain a continuative meaning, well rendered by the English expression ‘keep V-ing’.

(7.20) Nouns
a. Minikuraboxa ofiy’ 0ofiyiilëeye o0iwanyilë ba0irkvi
\[\text{N. ofiyá} [0-ify-ilé = ñye]_{\text{REL}} \text{ o-mu-fwany-ilé} \text{ baárku} = vi\]
\[\text{D. 1.arrive 1.arrive-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 1-OM1-meet-PFV.CJ 1a.boat = RESTR}\]
‘Mr. Dugong, hardly had he arrived, met the boat only.’

b. manëngw’ ãaye adhaalëé ttùguvi, ñinga náándwe
\[\text{maníngo ãaye} \text{ a-dhaal-ilé} \text{ ttúgu = vi} \text{ ñinga náándwe}\]
‘her body was full of pimples, like a frog, her body was pale/weak’

c. aämóona ñinga múzúgu muzugúvìi baáhi
\[\text{a-a-hí-mú-oná} \text{ ñinga múzúgu} \text{ muzugú = vi} \text{ baáhi}\]
‘they had seen her as a white, and only as a white person’

(7.21) Verbs
a. mwaapelëyé, kurumëaniy’ oonòsógora onôdhôwávi, iyëéenë onônífwarávi
\[\text{[mu-ap-él-é = ñye]}_{\text{REL}} \text{ kurúmåanje ò-ni-òsógorà} \]
\[\text{18.-pluck-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO} \text{ 1a.bee.sp 1-IPFV.DJ-15.go.on}\]
\[\text{ò-ni-òdhôwá = vi} \text{ iyëéénë ò-ni-ò-mú-fwarà = vi}\]
\[\text{1-IPFV.DJ-15.go = RESTR} \text{ 3SG.PRO 1-IPFV.DJ -15-OM1-follow = RESTR}\]
‘Now she plucked it, the bee.sp is going on, he going, she following him.’

b. Ddolrinddo’ oonòwìábávi
\[\text{D. ò-ni-ò-ibá = vi}\]
\[\text{D. 1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing = RESTR}\]
‘Ddoolrinddo is still singing (keeps singing)’

c. Minikurabox’ oonààñgànàvi wéñéwai’ oòkúl’ oodhùli
\[\text{N. o-ni-àñgànà = vi} \text{ wéñèwale ókûle oodhùli}\]
\[\text{D. 1-IPFV.CJ-look = RESTR} \text{ 1.EDEM.III 17.EDEM.III 17.top}\]
‘Mr. Dugong is only looking above (keeps looking)’

Beside nouns and verbs, adverbial constituents may also be modified by \( =vi \), as the following examples illustrate.
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(7.22) Adverbs

a. aagíláatí vanodháávi góddógoddo {maria.85}
   a-hi-gíláatí va-modhá=vi góddó-goddo
   2-PFV.DJ-sit 16-one=RESTR IDEO-RED
   ‘they sat all together’

b. balámé s’ oocén  va g  nôvi {elic.}
   balámé sa oocéná va g  nô=vi
   10a.bird 10.COP 15.be.white 16.little=RESTR
   ‘the birds are not very white’ (são pouco brancos)

=vi is toneless but may bear a H tone from doubling (7.20)c, or when pronounced at the end of a prosodic unit (7.20)b.

7.1.2.2 =to ‘then’

The particle =to, far less recurrent than =vi ‘RESTR’, encodes sentence linkage and can be translated as ‘then’. It always appears on the first constituent of the clause in which it occurs, be it a personal pronoun (7.23), a demonstrative pronoun (7.24), an adverb (7.25), the independent particle peéno (7.26), the conjunction nooná ‘hence’ (7.27), or a verb (7.28). No example of =to following a noun was attested in my database.

(7.23) Personal pronoun

a. (kayíy mwáha!) míyóto ddínéfúna ddimúzívé múnnánddaágaya {maria.111}
   míyó=to ddi-ní-fúna ddi-mú-zíw-é múnnánddi=ágá=ya
   1SG.PRO=then 1SG-IPFV.DJ-want 1SG-1-know-SBJ 1.co-wife=POSS.1SG=DEF
   ‘(No problem!) Then I want to know my co-wife.’

b. kaavó/kaawó ómífúna gúw’ ééji ? míyotó ddínotáya {semi-elic.}
   kahi=vó [ó-ní-funá gúwó ééji]REL
   NEG.COP=16.LOC 1-IPFV.CJ-want 1.co-wife 2.DEF
   míyó=to ddi-ní-ótáya
   1SG.PRO=then 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.tear
   ‘no one wants this cloth? Then, I am tearing it’

(7.24) Demonstrative pronoun

ápató kaval’ ísávi mugahíd’hów’ oomúsiká , kamunááje {semi-elic.}
   ápa=tó ka-va-lí ésávi mu-ga-hí-dhówa o-músiká ka-mu-náá-j-e
   16.DEM.1=then NEG-16-be 9.relish 2PL-SIT-NEG-go 17-3.market NEG-2PL-FUT-eat-IRR
   ‘here then, there is no relish, if you do not go to the market, you will not eat’
(7.25) Adverb

a. *baahito ddi dhów’ úuví?*

baahi = to ddi-dhów-é uuvi

enough = then 1SG-go-SBJ where

‘But then, where shall I go?’

b. “*iiii, nádat’ óonwa láv’ aánáyíma*”

hiii náda = tó o-ni-á-láva áná-áyíma

INTER no = then 2SG-IPFV.DJ-OM-curse 2.child-2.child

‘[excl.], then not this way, you are going to bring curse on the children’

(7.26) Independent particle *peénó ‘WOND’*

áá, peénóto, míyó ddiúmwooná

áá peénó = to míyó ddi-hí-mú-oná

INTER WOND = then 1SG.PRO 1SG-PFV.DJ-OM-see

‘Ahh, I do not know, was I supposed to see her?’

(7.27) Conjunction *nooná ‘hence’*

noonátó báddihídháawo

nooná = tó bá-ddi-hí-dhá = wo

hence = then SEQ-1SG-NEG-come = 17.LOC

‘that’s why I did not come’

(7.28) Verb

*kadh ná to mkw g yá ddo [... ] dhé nim ône*

ka-dhá=ná= to mukwáágá= ya òddo ni-dh-é ni-mú-ôn-e

IMP-go = COM = then 1.friend.POSS.1SG = DEF 1.DEM.II 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-OM1-see-SBJ

‘bring then that friend of mine [...] so that we see her’

This last example is interesting in that =to follows the comitative formative =na, which confirms the verbal enclitic status of the latter.

7.1.3 Agreeing clitics

7.1.3.1 =ya ‘DEFinite’

As many Bantu languages, Cuwabo does not have grammaticalised definite and indefinite articles as English for instance. This means that the bare noun *műyaná* in Cuwabo can be found in contexts that in other languages would require a further (morphological)
specification depending on the interpretation meant, either definite (‘the woman’), indefinite (‘a woman’), or generic (‘woman’). Nonetheless, it appears that some type of determiner is used in Cuwabo to identify an entity and impart definiteness to it, by means of a specific particle cliticised to the right edge of the entity to be defined. This definite enclitic is composed of the formative -a preceded by an agreeing prefix, but in a somewhat inconsistent way, since the agreement in class is only respected in half of the classes, namely classes 4-5-9-10-15-16-17-18. The remaining classes all exhibit a default particle ya, corresponding to class 9 agreement. Although the definite particle is formally similar with the connective relator -a, it cannot be considered as connective-derived, since their agreement patterns differ, as the full paradigm presented in Table 42 shows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Class</th>
<th>DEF</th>
<th>CON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>mîyô=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>wéyô=ya</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ñyééné=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>ñyô=ya</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>nyûwô=ya</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>áwééné=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mwâáná=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ááná=ya</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>murî=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mirî=dha</td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ñzáî=na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>múzáî=ya</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>élóbô=ya</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhîlóbô=dha</td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ñgôgô=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ópâ=wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>valû=va</td>
<td>va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ódhûlû=wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mûnddûnî=mwa</td>
<td>mwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In narrative texts, the definite clitics occur in noun phrases whose referents have previously been mentioned or are assumed to be shared knowledge further evidenced by the context. Note that in Portuguese, my main consultant Sérgio usually translates the definite enclitic by the possessive expression dele (contracted from de ele), meaning literally ‘of he’ or ‘of him’. This anaphoric function is particularly clear when the definite marker follows a noun, as in (7.29). In (7.29)a, for instance, the boss with a European appearance (mûzûgûya),
interpreted by the protagonist character Maria, has a central role in the story, and has thus already been introduced in the preceding sentences. In (7.29)b, the day (síkúna) of the departure is not specifically pre-mentioned but we know from the context that an expedition to the sea has been planned.

(7.29) Noun phrase

a. múzúgúy’ oóddl’ úúnikosá íyo dhaáyi, ba aani ?
{maria.83}
múzúgú = ya óddú [o-ní-ní-kosá íyo dhaáyi]REL ba aani
1.European = DEF 1.DEM.I 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1PL-do 1PL.PRO like.this.I 2.COP who
‘this white person who treats us like this, who is she?'

b. alóófiyá síkúna ńttíle
{maria.143}
a-lé-ófiyá síkú = na ńttíle
2-CE-15.arrive 5.day = 5.DEF 5.DEM.III
‘they reached that day’

c. vatákúlúva ápá waálívo ba aani ?
{maria.127}
va-tákúlú = va ápá [o-á-lí=vo]REL ba aani
16-9a.house = 16.DEF 16.DEM.I 1-PST.IPFV-be = 16.LOC 2.COP who
‘who was in this house?’

Interestingly, beside nouns, the definite enclitics also mark other types of constituents, such as personal pronouns (7.30), demonstrative pronouns (7.31), and possessives (7.32), i.e. elements that typically encode referential definiteness. In this respect, the presence of the definite might appear to be a superfluous addition from a semantic viewpoint. The reason for such a redundancy is difficult to determine. Note for that matter that no diachronic source for the definite as an enclitic is established. Presumably, in these cases, the definite conveys an additional determiner-like function with an emphasis purpose.

(7.30) Personal pronouns

Maríyá agaaŋgáná: “mééyá ddílú ?”.
{maria.124}
M. a-gaa-āŋgáná miyó = ýá ddi-lí uuvi
M. 1-SIT.look 1SG.PRO = DEF 1SG-be where
‘Maria, when she looked : Where am I ?’

(7.31) Demonstrative pronouns

a. shá! ñng’ óddlí’ oońddúkuvélá ba aaniː ?
{páaká.6}
shá ningá ódddí = ya [o-ní-ddi-kuwélá]REL ba aani
INTER VOC 1.DEM.I = DEF 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call 2.COP who
‘but who is this one calling me?’
b. ök’ úák’ waadhowilííh’ úulíma

| oṅú = wa | öku | [o-a-dhow-ilé = ihú olíma] REL |
| 17.DEM.I = 17.DEF | 17.DEM.I | 17-PST-go-PFV.REL = 1PL.PRO | 15.cultivate |

‘there where we have been cultivating’

(7.32) Possessives

múzúgw’ ééhuy’ oologilé wíí [...]

| múzúgu wééhu = ya o-log-ilé wíí |
| 1.boss | 1.POSS.1PL = DEF | 1-say-PFV.CJ CMP |

‘our boss asked for [us to go on Saturday, father, you mother, us, to go there]’

In case of 3rd person pronoun subjects, the definite clitics allow marking the distinction between co-referential and non-referential subjects, and thus avoid ambiguity of interpretation. For instance, whereas the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the one in the the main clause in (7.33)a, in (7.33)b, ñyén’énåya ‘3SG.PRO = DEF’ receives a definite specification so that it is distinguished from the subject of the preceding clause.

(7.33) a. ñyéné oologilé wíí onoóðha

| ñyéné o-log-ilé wíí o-ni-óðha |
| 3SG.PRO 1-say-PFV.CJ CMP 1-IPFV.DJ-15.come |

‘he, said that he, will come’

b. ñyéné oologilé wíí ñyén’énåya onoóðha

| ñyéné o-log-ilé wíí ñyéné = ya o-ni-óðha |
| 3SG.PRO 1-say-PFV.CJ CMP 3SG.PRO = DEF 1-IPFV.DJ-15.come |

‘he said that she will come’

Finally adjectives (7.34) and infinitive verbs (7.35) can host this clitic provided they are the last word of a NP marked for definiteness.

(7.34) Adjectives

a. dhííndéeyíná dha déréétúdhá

| [dhíí-ní-dhá = iyé = ná dha déréétú = dhá] REL |
| 10-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO = COM 10.CON good = 10.DEF |

‘the good things he brings’

b. bagáfuná wíí’ áziwé bá aaní ońj dha paámádha

| ba-gá-funá wííl’ a-ziw-é ba aaní [o-ní-já dha paámâ = dhá] REL |
| SEQ.1-SIT-want CMP 1-know-SBJ 2.COP who 1-IPFV.CJ-eat 10.CON good = 10.DEF |

‘he started investigating to know who keeps eating the tasty part’
(7.35) Verbs

a. \textit{baakalá: w’ oonyákúwaya, waábulélá vaddiddí} \{maria.6\}

\begin{align*}
\text{ba-a-kalá} & \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{onyákúwa} = \text{ya} \quad \text{o-a-hí-bulélá} \quad \text{vaddiddí} \\
\text{SEQ}-1-\text{be} & \quad 1.\text{CON} & \quad 15.\text{be.dirty} = \text{DEF} & \quad 1-\text{PST-PFV.DJ-be.sick} & \quad \text{much} \\
\text{‘she was dirty (pale/weak) and always got sick’}
\end{align*}

b. \textit{mwánága wa náwóraarú dd’ oolápáya} \{elic.\}

\begin{align*}
\text{mwánága} & \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{ná-ó-o-raaru} \quad \text{ddi-a} \quad \text{olápá} = \text{ya} \\
1.\text{child.Poss.1SG} & \quad 1.\text{CON} & \quad \text{PFX-14-1-three} & \quad 1.\text{COP-CON} & \quad 15.\text{be.tall} = \text{DEF} \\
\text{‘my third child is the tallest one’}
\end{align*}

\subsection*{7.1.3.2 \textit{=ene} ‘INTensive’}

The enclitic \textit{=ene} ‘INT’ has an intensive meaning and can be translated in English as ‘very’, ‘exact’ or ‘really’. Similarly to the definite clitic \textit{=ya}, analysed above, the intensifier \textit{=ene} respects a specific agreement system \textit{vis-à-vis} the constituent it attaches to. As Table 43 illustrates, \textit{=ene} is in fact a cliticised version of the independent intensifier form \textit{wéene}, which also takes an agreement marker. Both independent and cliticised forms are well attested in the language.
### Table 43 Intensifying particles/clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Class</th>
<th>Noun + full form</th>
<th>Noun = ene</th>
<th>AGR.öté = ene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>míyó wéene</td>
<td>mfyééné</td>
<td>wooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>wéyo wéene</td>
<td>wéyééné</td>
<td>wooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>ñyééné wéene</td>
<td>ñyénééné</td>
<td>wooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>ñyo wéene</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>nyúyo wéene</td>
<td>nyúwééné</td>
<td>mooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>áwéééné wéene</td>
<td>áwénééné</td>
<td>ooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>múyáná wéene</td>
<td>múyányééné</td>
<td>wooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>áyáná wéene</td>
<td>áyányééné</td>
<td>ooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>múri wéene</td>
<td>mwirééné</td>
<td>wooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>míri dhéene</td>
<td>miridhéné</td>
<td>dhooté = dhéné/éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ñzayi néene</td>
<td>ñzáyínééné</td>
<td>nooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>múzayi wéene</td>
<td>múzáyénééné</td>
<td>ooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>élóbo wéene</td>
<td>élóbwééné</td>
<td>yooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhílóbo dhéene</td>
<td>dhílóbódhéné</td>
<td>dhooté = dhéné/éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>olíbo wéene</td>
<td>olíbwééné</td>
<td>wooté = éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ója wéene</td>
<td>ópawene</td>
<td>wooté = wène/éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>vatí véene</td>
<td>vatiwène</td>
<td>vooté = vène/éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>odhúlu wéene</td>
<td>odhúlúwene</td>
<td>wooté = wène/éne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>munddúni mwéene</td>
<td>munddúnimwene</td>
<td>mwooté = mwène/éne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the clitic *=ene* triggers the idiosyncratic phonological modifications studied in section 2.4.

In the process of encliticisation, the original full form of the intensifier loses one mora, exactly the same way as was observed with possessive encliticisation (see section 3.3.2.1). When the head noun involves a noun class prefix made of a single vowel (classes 1-2-3-6-9-14-15-17), the vowel-initial agreement prefix *o*- in *wéene* gets deleted and a resyllabification process occurs between the two remaining vowels. In (7.36), *dilééné* ‘the very way’ is the surface form of *dilá+ene*.

(7.36) **kurúmáanje o-dhowilé diléén’ éjíle yoonyákúwa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurúmáanje</td>
<td>o-dhow-ilé</td>
<td><strong>dilá = éne</strong></td>
<td>ëjíle</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>onyákúwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The bee.sp went into that dirty path.’

Note that in case of fast speech, the output of the vowel sequence may be reduced to a short as in (7.37).
Conversely, the consonant-initial agreement prefixes (\textit{dhi-} in classes 4 and 10, \textit{ni-} in class 5, \textit{va-} in class 16, and \textit{mu-} in class 18) are preserved, but the following long vowel gets reduced. Compare the full intensive form (7.38) with the cliticised intensive form in (7.39).

(7.37) \textit{oórmá ñyééne múúnyéné: ãwélávo} \hspace{1cm} \{mbírli.16\}
\begin{align*}
o-	ext{hi-rómá} & \text{ ñyééne} \quad \text{múúnyá} = \text{éné} \quad \text{ówélá} = \text{vo} \\
1\text{-PFV.} & \text{DJ\-start} \quad 3\text{.SG.} \text{ PRO} \quad 1\text{.owner} = \text{INT} \quad 15\text{.climb} = 16\text{.LOC} \\
\text{‘as the boss, started to climb onto it’} & \\
\end{align*}

(7.38) \textit{díla dhííń’ dhéené, oshága onorípémberlīha múttu, mwiilábōnī} \hspace{1cm} \{mute.23\}
\begin{align*}
díla & \text{ dhí-ínjí} \quad \text{dhéené} \quad \text{oshága} \quad \text{o-ni-o-mú-pémberlīh-a} \\
10\text{a.time} & \quad 10\text{-many} \quad 10\text{.INT} \quad 14\text{.smartness} \quad 14\text{-IPFV.} & \text{DJ} & \text{15-OM1-be.fair-CAUS-F} \\
múttu & \text{ mu-elábō} = \text{ni} \\
1\text{.people} & \quad 18-9\text{.society} = \text{LOC} \\
\text{‘cleverness often benefits man in our society’} & \\
\end{align*}

(7.39) \textit{Nikúrābedha sìkúnéne ñttó oódha} \hspace{1cm} \{maria.105\}
\begin{align*}
\text{N.} & \quad \text{sìkú} = \text{néne} \quad \text{ñttó} \quad \text{o-hí-dha} \\
\text{D.} & \quad 5\text{.day} = 5\text{.INT} \quad 5\text{.DEM.II} \quad 1\text{-PFV.} & \text{DJ\-come} \\
\text{‘Mr.Dugong came that very day’} & \\
\end{align*}

Several constituents may obtain an emphatic reading by suffixation of the intensifier =\textit{ene ‘INT’}, ranging from nouns, demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, adverbs, personal pronouns, and infinitive verbs. Each category is exemplified in turn.

(7.40) Nouns
\begin{enumerate}
\item[a.] \textit{wéyó: onihwárege kurúmáanjen’ oóddo} \hspace{1cm} \{maria.25\}
\begin{align*}
wéyó & \quad \text{o-mú-fwár-eg-e} \quad \text{kurúmáanje} = \text{éné} \quad \text{óddo} \\
2\text{SG.} & \text{PRO} \quad 2\text{SG-OM1-f} & \text{follow-HAB-SBJ} \quad 1\text{a.bee.sp} = \text{INT} \quad 1\text{.DEM.II} \\
\text{‘follow this very bee.sp.’} & \\
\end{align*}

\item[b.] \textit{Mariya mikálélo dháliyév: káihyó d’ oorúmêelo wíil’ áálígi Mariyén’ oölé} \hspace{1cm} \{maria.89\}
\begin{align*}
mariya & \quad \text{mikálélo} \quad [\text{dhi-á-líy} = \text{iyé}] & \text{REL} \quad \text{káihyó} \quad \text{dha} \quad \text{orúmêela} \\
maria & \quad \text{4.way} \quad 4\text{-PST.IP} & \text{FV-be} = \text{3SG.} & \text{PRO} \quad \text{NEG.COP} \quad 4\text{.CON} \quad 15\text{.believe} \\
wíilá & \quad \text{o-á-lígy} \quad \text{mariya} = \text{éné} \quad \text{oölé} \\
\text{CMP} & \quad 1\text{-PST.IP} & \text{FV-be.HAB} \quad \text{maria} = \text{INT} \quad 1\text{.DEM.III} \\
\text{‘the way maria was could not make one believes that she really was that Maria’} & \\
\end{align*}
\end{enumerate}
Demonstratives

a. ejúwéene baáhí, ëyó ninódhôwa
   ejí  wéene baáhí ëyó ni-ni-ódhôwa
   9.DEM.I INT only 1PL.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go
   'if these are the conditions, we will go'

b. ókwééné “sií, Ddoolrinddo, ñdhôw’ òöttólóni ñdhôwé náfüle.’
   ókú = ëne sií D. ni-dhów-ë o-ttóló = ni ni-dhów-ë ni-á-fül•e
   1.DEM.I = INT INTER D. 1PL-go-SBJ 17-well = LOC 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-wash-SBJ
   ‘At this very moment : “Sii, Ddoolrinddo, let’s go to the well, let’s go and do the laundry.”

c. kakúnuulanî kómîdá, ofwanyilém dhayéène
   ka-kúnuula = ni kómîdá o-fwany-ilé = mó dhaayí = ëne
   IMP-uncover = PLA 9a.food 1-meet-PFV.CJ = 18.LOC like.this.1 = INT
   ‘when he uncovered the food (lit. ‘uncover the food’), he found it like this’

Possessives

pa vénèw’ òokošiyé masárápitt’ ñáyeén’ ñábo
   pa vénèwó [va-á-kosá = ëyé masárápiti ñáye = ëne ñábo]REL
   ‘it is there that he decided to make that magic of his.’

Quantifier

ìnnìgò neetéène kânciaéddîle víîna, ñlógúnáñtì
   ìnnìgò ni-ëtë = ëne ka-ni-ëdd-ile víîna ni-lé-ógúnáñtì
   5.body 5-all = INT NEG-5-walk-PFV too 5-CE-15.lie.down
   ‘the whole body no longer walked (walked), it kept on sleeping’

Adjectives

a. ató waäfiya yúúmó énddìmúwéêne
   ató o-ä-fiya yúúmó é-nddímúwa = ëne
   until 1-PST.IPFV.DJ-arrive 9.age 9-big = INT
   ‘she eventually got older’

b. yëén’ uákómêsááru wuûndda ya dëréëtwéêne vaddîddî
   fyéène o-hí-kómêsáári wuûndda ya dëréëtú = ëne vaddîddi
   3SG.PRO 14-PFV.DJ-begin 15.cry 9.CON well = INT much
   ‘she began to cry for real’
(7.45) Adverbs

\[
\text{kudhówil’ oók’ óóvééené ?}
\]
\[
\text{ku-dhów-íle ókú óváno = éne}
\]
\[
\text{NEG.2SG-go-PFV 17.DEM.1 now = INT}
\]
‘have you not just left right now?’

(7.46) Personal pronouns

\[
\text{akála ddi míyéene ósál’ uúb’ úupatuíwe}
\]
\[
akala ddi míyó = ene ósálú óbú o-patúw-e
\]
if 1.COP 1SG.PRO = INT 14.thread 14.DEM.1 14-break-SBJ
‘if it is me, make this thread break’

(7.47) Verbs

a. \[\text{oñddíshiyaaréécéené dhayééne, oññbáálá dháaví ?} \]
\[
\text{[o-ni-ñ-di-shiyaari-el-éc = éné dhayayi = éné]} \text{kiil o-ni-báálá dháaví}
\]
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-annoy-APPL-DUR = INT like.this.1 = INT 1-IPFV.CJ-give.birth how
‘this one annoying me like this, how does it give birth?’

b. \[\text{wéyó oñklél’ oójá wééne} \]
\[
wéyó o-ni-kál-él-a ójá wééne
\]
2SG.PRO 2-IPFV.CJ-remain-APPL-Fi 15.eat 15.INT
‘you keep eating’

c. \[\text{ddabunó ósál’ uípítíwawene verdáádi} \]
\[
\text{ddabunó ósálú o-hí-pátúwa = wene verdáádi}
\]
then 14.thread 14-PFV.DJ-break = 14.INT really
‘and then the thread broke for real’

The quantifier \text{oté} (or \text{eté}) is almost systematically followed by the intensifier clitic, in which case the agreement prefixes on the intensifier become optional as shown in Table 43 and exemplified in (7.48). This suggests that the different forms of agreement displayed by the clitic tend to neutralise in this environment.

(7.48) dhilióbo dhootédhêne / dhootééne

\[
\text{dhílóbo dhí-oté = dhéne / dhí-oté = éne}
\]
10.thing 10-all = 10.INT 10-all = INT
‘all the things’

Note that a few monomorphic forms ending in \text{=ene}, such as \text{íyééne} ‘he’, \text{áwééne} ‘they’, \text{cibaarééne} ‘for real’ (7.49), \text{ebéwééne} ‘vainly’, suggest that the clitic \text{=ene}
underwent a process of lexicalisation. Although such words are easily segmentable, it seems that the clitics =ene got totally incorporated since the roots are never found on their own\(^{42}\).

\[(7.49)\]  
\[\text{ättw‘ ánöttiba, ánöttiba, ánöttiba. cibaaréén’ ahífífwanyá Ddöörlindo} \quad \{\text{ddoo.34}\}\]
\[\text{áttu á-ni-öttiba} \quad \text{cibaarééne} \quad \text{a-hí-mú-fwanyá} \quad D.\]
\[\text{2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.dig.out for.real 2-PFV.DJ-OM1-meet D.}\]
\[\text{‘people dug out, dug out. And for real they met Ddoolrinddo.’}\]

Table 44 aims to compare the class agreement system applied on the intensifier clitic (column 2) and the definite clitic (column 3), as well as the connective, given only as an indication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Class</th>
<th>INT</th>
<th>DEF</th>
<th>CON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>=hêne</td>
<td>=dha</td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>=hêne</td>
<td>=na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>=hêne</td>
<td>=dha</td>
<td>dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>=ene</td>
<td>=ya</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>=vêne</td>
<td>=wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>=vêne</td>
<td>=va</td>
<td>va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>=vêne</td>
<td>=wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>=mwêne</td>
<td>=mwa</td>
<td>mwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{42}\) Note that the form =iye is attested as the cliticised version of the personal pronoun ñvééne ‘3SG.PRO’, but in a very specific environment, namely on the verbs of non-subject relatives (see section 10.1.3).
7.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are invariable modifiers and form a small word class. They are canonically used as predicate modifiers, but may also have a wider scope on the entire clause. Cuwabo has a limited number of underived adverbs. Other adverbs also behave as morphologically simple (i.e. are non-segmentable synchronically), but reveal internal morphological structure, which now have to be considered as fossilised. Most are formed by means of the locative noun class prefixes, attached to nominal stems. In this section, those which coincide with locatives are presented in the lists, but not discussed in further detail, since they have already been dealt with in section 4.1.8, on nominal morphology.

According to their semantic functions, five categories of adverbs may be distinguished, being related to time, place, manner, degree, and epistemic aspect. For ease of presentation, each semantically-related category is discussed in turn.

7.2.1 Adverbs related to time

Cuwabo has both underived (7.50)a and derived (7.50)b time-related adverbs. In the second case, derivation is made by means of the locative class prefixes. As extensively discussed in section 4.1.8, these prefixes typically convey adverbial notions, linked with time and location. While half of the resulting adverbs are derived from verb stems, the others got lexicalised and are thus no longer segmentable.

(7.50) Time-related adverbs

a. agóra ‘now/then’
   cípo ‘never’
   ddabuno ‘today/then’
   nzilo ‘yesterday’
   mángwáána ‘tomorrow’
   dáayo ‘the next day’
   naváño ‘still, till now’
   ñgámála ‘after, then’

b. vaáya ‘early in the morning’ ▶ verb óya ‘rise (sun)’
   valeló ‘finally’
   voomágúvavéene ‘then, at this moment’ ▶ verb waáguva ‘hurry up’
   wíilí ‘again’ ▶ numeral -elí ‘two’
   omároméló ‘at the beginning’ ▶ verb óromá ‘begin, start’
The adverbs *omágómélo* ‘at the end’ and *osogóla* ‘next, in the future’ can be observed, they most often appear clause-initially.

(7.51)  
\[
\text{cípó kanináglága mafugi} \\
\text{cípó} \quad \text{ka-ni-ná-gúl-á-g-a} \quad \text{mafugi}
\]
\[
\text{never NEG-1PL-CE-buy-HAB-Fi} \quad 6.\text{banana.PL}
\]
\[
\text{‘never have I bought bananas’}
\]

(7.52)  
\[
\text{óromá=ná ddabunó para osogólro kaddinnúttébaani} \\
\text{óromá=ná} \quad \text{ddabunó} \quad \text{osogólro} \quad \text{kaddinnúttébaani}
\]
\[
\text{15.\text{start=}COM today to 17.\text{future NEG-OM1SG-IPFV-OM2SG-carry=}PLA}
\]
\[
\text{‘from now on, I am not carrying you anymore’}
\]

(7.53)  
\[
\text{mángwáána! miyó ŋnódhána múnánddo} \\
\text{mángwáána} \quad \text{miyó} \quad \text{ni-ni-ódhá=na} \quad \text{múnánddo}
\]
\[
\text{tomorrow 1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come=}COM 1.co-wife.POSS.2SG}
\]
\[
\text{‘tomorrow! I will bring your co-wife’}
\]

(7.54)  
\[
\text{múřédda=ya navánó kánávúlumuwa} \\
\text{múřédda=ya} \quad \text{navánó} \quad \text{kánávúlumuwa}
\]
\[
\text{1.patient=DEF still NEG.1-CE-recover}
\]
\[
\text{‘the patient has not cured yet’}
\]

(7.55)  
\[
\text{ohúńlálá wíllí} \\
\text{o-húńlálá} \quad \text{wíllí}
\]
\[
\text{1-PFV.DJ-cry again}
\]
\[
\text{‘he cried again’}
\]

The subseque

The adverbs *agóra* ‘now/then’ (from Portuguese *agora*) and *ddabuno* ‘today/then’ have a wider semantic range than the English words for ‘now’ and ‘today’, as they may refer to a wider time frame meaning ‘nowadays’, or be used as discourse connectors, expressing ‘then’. This semantic array is exemplified in (7.56) with the adverb *ddabuno*. Note the fossilised presence of the formative *=no*, which constitutes otherwise a productive morpheme of proximity with demonstratives (see section 5.2).
(7.56) Use of *ddabuno* ‘today/then’

a. Present reference

ji gáhál’ [e-ní-fúná = íhu otúágíha íyó *ddabuno* vénêva]_{REL}

jmílri.6

ji gáhálá [e-ní-fúná = íhu otúágíha íyó *ddabuno* vénêva]_{REL}

9.COP 9a.story 9-IPFV.CJ-want = 1PL.PRO 15.tell 1PL.PRO today 16.EDEM.I

‘this is the story we want to tell here today’

dabuno

M. va-túkülú váaye muttu wa okálá vaddíddí
today M. 16-9a.house 16.POSS.3SG 1.people.PL 1.CON 15.be much
dabuno

ó-ní-oláb-úw-a
today 1-IPFV.DJ-work-PASS-Fi

‘today Maria, in her house, is a self-made person, today she is a boss’ (people work for her)

c. discourse connector

dabuno’ ósál’ [úikómésár’ oodéba]_{REL}

dabuno

ósálú o-hí-kómésáari odéba

then 14.thread 14-IPFV.DJ-begin 15.weaken

‘then the thread began to weaken’

The temporal adverb *mwaawono* ‘this year’ constitutes a fossilised form, whose origin may stem from the class 3 word *mwaaka* ‘year’, attested in many Eastern Bantu languages. In Cuwabo, we know that PB *k has a null reflex. An epenthetic glide may have then been inserted. *mwaawono* is contextually illustrated in (7.57), in which a prosodic boundary H tone is present on the proximity suffix =*no*.

(7.57) *mwaawono* kaddíndhów’ óólíma

mwaawono

ka-ddí-ní-dhówá óólíma

this.year NEG-1SG-IPFV-go 15.cultivate

‘this year, I am not going to cultivate’

Cuwabo counts a few adverbial forms ending with the formative *no, e.g. ddabuno* ‘today, then’, *mwaawono* ‘this year’, *navano* ‘still, until now’. Although these words are synchronically non-segmentable (since a lexical base without *no* is not attested), it is likely that the formative *no* is historically the clitics of proximity, which has since then lexicalised. In fact, the formative *no* can be isolated morphologically only in the context of the demonstrative system (see section 5.2).
7.2.2 Adverbs related to location

Adverbs of location are all originally derived from forms including locative class prefixes, as can be seen in (7.58). In most cases, lexicalisation took place. In others, the morphological structure is more transparent, and the derived noun or verb is still attested in the language.

(7.58) Location-related adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vaári</td>
<td>‘in the middle, between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakúkúuví</td>
<td>‘near, around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vákúvi</td>
<td>‘near, around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vatákulu</td>
<td>‘at home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váti</td>
<td>‘down, on the ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oddúní</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oso(n)gólro</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otákulu</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owááini</td>
<td>‘at home, birth place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omáddóówélo</td>
<td>‘in the west, occident’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omadhéélo</td>
<td>‘in the east, orient’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edhúlúdhulu</td>
<td>‘in the north’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omóónóni wa mára</td>
<td>‘on the left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omóónóni w’ oója</td>
<td>‘on the right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waáddámela</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múba</td>
<td>‘inside, at home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muciddo</td>
<td>‘at the bottom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwaáño</td>
<td>‘in the mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwaári</td>
<td>‘into, inside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several examples of locative adverbs are provided in section 4.1.8 where they are more extensively discussed. Note that unlike temporal adverbs, locative adverbs are usually placed after the verb they modify.

The cardinal directions ‘east’ and ‘west’ are derived from verbs referred to the sun activity, especially óddóówéla ‘(sun) set’. As in many Bantu languages, the expressions ‘on the left’ and ‘on the right’ correspond to connective constructions semantically linked with cultural uses performed by the arm or the hand, móónó. This is particularly true in Cuwabo with the right hand, used to eat, hence the set phrase móónó wa ója to express ‘right’, translated literally as ‘hand of eating’. It is however more difficult to account for the expression móónó wa mára, used for ‘left’. No obvious semantic link can be done with the word mára ‘saliva’. In fact, my consultants all confirmed that this is a different meaning, but
could not think of a different environment in which the present word màra could apply. This unexpected noun thus seems to be strictly used in the set phrase for ‘left’. Such constructions are commonly used as adverbs, in which case móonó is formally embedded into locative affixes (class 17 o- and locative clitic =ni), as shown in (7.59).

(7.59) mwáán’ óógilaatilé: omóónóní w’ oojá: wa bálbi

mwááná o-gilaati-ilé o-móónó=ni wa ójá wa bálbi

1.child 1-sit-PFV.CJ 17-3.arm=LOC 3.CON 15.eat 3.CON 1a. father

‘the child is sitting at his father’s left side’

vaári ‘in the middle, between’ and mwaári ‘into, inside’ may be fully reduplicated, in which case the long vowel is reduced, and the first reduplicant becomes toneless, as shown in (7.60). This reduplication has the semantic effect of emphasising or intensifying the meaning of the original adverb.

(7.60) érúgúlu ddíma yááhe, y’ oojá, bagaágawela: mwaarimwáári

érúgúlu ddíma yááhe ya ójá ba-gaá-gáw-el-a mwaari-mwáári


‘Mr.Belly’s task is to eat and share inside’ (for the organs)

7.2.3 Adverbs related to manner

Adverbs of manner, listed in (7.61), indicate in which way things are performed.

(7.61) Manner-related adverbs

paáma ‘well’

dereétu ‘well’ < from Portuguese direito

yooví ‘in vain, for free’

dhaáyi ‘like this’

An example of each is provided in the following sentences.

(7.62) mángwáána ddígaavenya paáma ddiniódhówá muttátti

mángwáána ddi-gaa-venya paáma ddi-ni-ódhówá muttátti

tomorrow 1SG-SIT-wake up well 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.go 3.swamp

‘tomorrow if I wake up well, I am going to the swamp’
(7.63) 
\[ \text{vatákúlúvav’ aánója dereétu} \]
\[ \text{va-tákúlú = vawa á-ni-oja dereétu} \]
\[ 16\text{-}9a.\text{home} = 16.\text{POSS.3PL} \quad 2\text{-IPFV.DJ-15.eat well} \]
‘at home, they eat well’

(7.64) 
\[ \text{munddványela yooví kaddaajíle} \]
\[ \text{mu-ni-ddí-váany-el-a yooví ka-ddí-a-j-ile} \]
\[ 2\text{RESP-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-contest-APPL-Fi in.vain NEG-1SG-PST-eat-PFV} \]
‘you are arguing with me in vain, I did not eat’

(7.65) 
\[ \text{weééba dhááyi} \]
\[ \text{o-á-fba dhááyi} \]
\[ 1\text{-PST.PFV.CJ-sing like.this.1} \]
‘he was singing this way’

Note that \textit{dhááyi} ‘like this’ is related to demonstrative morphology with series I, II, III (see section 5.2).

A productive way of creating adverbs of manner is by combining the class 16 prefix \textit{va-} (and optionally the locative clitic =\textit{ni}) to infinitive forms, as exemplified in (7.66).

(7.66) 
\textbf{a.} 
\[ \text{dhiíb’ éésó ttaaró dhóolápa dhírimeelé vóorúrúmuca wéeñe/véeñe} \]
\[ \text{dhiíbá éésó ttaaró dhá olápa dhi-rimeel-ilé} \]
\[ 10.\text{hoe} \quad 10.\text{DEM.II} \quad 10.\text{three} \quad 10.\text{CON} \quad 15.\text{be.tall} \quad 10.\text{disappear-PFV.CJ} \]
\[ \text{vá-orúrúmuca} \quad \text{wéeñe} \]
\[ 16-15.\text{surprise} \quad 15.\text{INT} \]
‘these three long hoes suddenly disappeared’

\textbf{b.} 
\[ \text{ėjó ebuleelé vóotikíniyani véeñe} \]
\[ \text{ėjó e-buleel-ilé vá-otíkíniya = ni véeñe} \]
\[ 9.\text{DEM.II} \quad 9\text{-get.ill-PFV.CJ} \quad 16-15.\text{surprise = LOC 16.INT} \]
‘this one got suddenly ill’

### 7.2.4 Adverbs related to degree

Adverbs of degree (or quantity), listed in (7.67), bring information on the intensity of an event, and describe more precisely to what degree something is done.
Minor word classes

Degree-related adverbs

\[ vaddìddì \quad \text{‘much’} \]
\[ vañgòóno \quad \text{‘little’} \]
\[ kakámwe \quad \text{‘totally’} \]

\[ vaddìddì \quad \text{‘much’} \] and \[ vañgòóno \quad \text{‘little’} \] are very commonly attested in Cuwabo. As already seen in section 5.5.4, they may function as noun modifiers, and more particularly quantifiers, when they follow nouns. After verbs, \[ vaddìddì \quad \text{‘much’} \] expresses a high degree or amount (7.68). It functions as an intensifier. On the other hand, \[ vañgòóno \quad \text{‘little’} \] indicates a weak extent (7.69).

(7.67) Degree-related adverbs

\[ vaddìddì \quad \text{‘much’} \]
\[ vañgòóno \quad \text{‘little’} \]
\[ kakámwe \quad \text{‘totally’} \]

Depending on the context, \[ vaddìddì \] may also express an excessive degree, translated as ‘too much’, as in (7.70).

(7.68) a. \[ ddabunó \ maríya \ vat \ tákúlú \ váaye \ muttu \ wa \ okálá \ vaddìddì \]
ddabunó maríya va-tákúlú váaye muttu wa okálá \[ vaddìddì \]
today maria 16-9a.house 16.POSS.3SG 1.people 1.CO 15.be much
‘today Maria, in her house, is a self-made person’

(7.69) a. \[ áyím’ \ aábá: \ awúúnúwa \ vañgónó \ vañgónó \]
áyíma ábá a-hí-únúwa \[ vañgónó \ vañgónó \]
2.child 2.DEM.I 2-PFV.DJ-grow 16.little 16.little
‘these children grew up little by little’

b. \[ balámé \ s’ \ océéná \ vañgónó
vi \]
balamé si-a océéná \[ vañgónó = \]
10a.bird 10.COP-CON 15.be.white 16.little = RESTR
‘the birds are a little white’

(7.70) \[ íyééne \ waayélúwá \ vaddìddì \ ofiyáwa \ va-múttípóni \]
íyééne o-a-hí-yélúwá \[ vaddìddì \ ofiyá = wa \]
3SG.PRO 1-PST-PFV.DJ-be.late too.much 15.arrive = 15.DEF 16-3.ceremony = LOC
‘he arrived too late to attend the ceremony’

\[ kakámwe \quad \text{‘totally’} \] expresses an idea of superlative degree.


(7.71) \[ \text{mužiyó ohitwéyá kakámwe} \]
mužiyó o-hí-tw-éy-á kakámwe
3.plate 3-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi totally
‘the plate is totally broken’

### 7.2.5 Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs, listed in (7.72), are belief-based adverbs which introduce the speaker’s attitude towards the proposition expressed in the sentence. Such adverbs can be assertive, in which case a statement on truth value is asserted (7.73), or non-assertive, when the speaker is questioning the existence of something or making a guess on it, since (s)he is not certain about the truth of the utterance (7.74).

(7.72) Epistemic adverbs

a. cibaaréene ‘really, for real’
b. buré ‘maybe, at random’
cíno ‘maybe’

(7.73) áttw’ ánótiba, ánótiba, ánótiba. cibaaréén’ ahí-núfwanyá Ddóolrdío. {ddoo.34}
áttu á-ni-óti\(\text{ba} \) cibaarééne a-hí-mú-fwanyá D.
2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.dig.out really.INT 2-PFV.DJ-OM1-meet D.
‘People dug out, dug out. And for real they met Ddoolrdindo.’

(7.74) ddíndhówá ddéédde baáhí burebúre {maria.22}
ddi-ní-dhówá ddi-á-édde baáhí burebúre
1SG-IPFV.CJ-go 1SG-IT-walk-SBJ only at.random
‘I am going to walk, at random’

Note that the originally complex word cibaarééne is synchronically frozen, i.e. no lexical stem without the intensive clitic =ene is attested.

Also recall that possibility or uncertainty is typically expressed by the phrasal particle peéno ‘WOND’, analysed above in section 7.1.1.1.
7.2.6 Other morphemes with adverbial function

The expressions for ‘also’, ‘only’, and ‘even’ are independent words classified as adverbs in many languages. The corresponding Cuwabo forms are listed in (7.75).

(7.75) Other adverbs

\[
\begin{align*}
até & \quad \text{‘even’} \\
víína & \quad \text{‘too, also’} \\
bááhi & \quad \text{‘just, only’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(ató ‘even’\) is a Portuguese loan, which typically precedes the verb it modifies, as shown in (7.76).

(7.76) \(átté \; óócéyá: \; ddíma \; énddimúwéene\)

\[
\begin{align*}
até & \quad ó-čeyá \quad ddíma \quad é-nddimúwá = \text{ene} \\
\text{even} & \quad \text{NAR-sow} \quad 9\text{a.plot} \quad 9\text{-big} = \text{INT} \\
\text{‘he even sowed a big plot of land’}
\end{align*}
\]

After a verb, \(víína ‘too’\) expresses addition (7.77). In association with the suffix \(-gúwa\), which has no morphological autonomy and no clear meaning in itself, it adds an idea of repetition, translated in English by ‘again’ (7.78).

(7.77) \(oddíváhe \; víína \; ñjáángara \; [niínlóglé \ldots]_{\text{REL}}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
o-ddi-váh-e & \quad \text{víína} \quad ñjáángara \\
2\text{SG-OM1SG-give-SBJ} & \quad \text{too} \quad 5\text{.card} \\
\text{‘give me too a card [which says …]’}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.78) \(ddaadhowíl’ \; óoínhavá \; mwán[áy]ë \; ñzíná \; viíngúwíá\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ddi-a-dhow-ilé} & \quad o-mu-váh ñwánáye \quad ñzíná \quad \text{viína-gúwa} \\
1\text{SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ} & \quad 15\text{-OM1-give.PL} \quad 1\text{.child.POSS.3SG} \quad 5\text{.name} \quad \text{too-again} \\
\text{‘I went and gave his child a name again’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(bááhi ‘only’\) may modify a noun, in which case it always follows it (7.79), or a (disjoint) verb form, (7.80).

(7.79) \(aámónóna ñnga múzúgu muzugúví \; bááhi\)

\[
\begin{align*}
a-a-hí-mü-oná & \quad ñunga \quad múzúgu \quad muzugú = \text{ví} \quad \text{bááhi} \\
2\text{-PST-PFV.DJ-OM1-see} & \quad \text{like} \quad 1\text{.European} \quad 1\text{.European.PL} = \text{RESTR} \quad \text{only} \\
\text{‘they had seen her as a white person, and only as a white person’}
\end{align*}
\]
7.3 Ideophones

Primarily used in spoken language, ideophones have an expressive or mimetic function, often derived from onomatopoeic notions. An oft-cited definition is the one by Doke (1935: 118), according to whom an ideophone is “[a] vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity.”

Ideophones are not to be confounded with interjections. Creissels (2006a: 257) explains that while interjections are used in isolation, ideophones usually participate in the sentence construction. In Cuwabo they basically function as a sub-category of adverbs, commonly attested in conversations or narratives.

The following list of ideophones was mainly provided by my main consultant Sérgio. It is then likely that some of them are pronounced in a different way by other Cuwabo speakers, as ideophones represent a world class greatly subject to variation. It is also understood that this list is far from exhaustive.

ddingí Symbolises the sound of the guitar

(7.81)  
\[
\text{ddingí} \text{ mu} \text{-} \text{ní} \text{-} \text{vírá} \text{ míyó} \text{ múnōddááganyedhá}
\]

\[
\text{ddingí} \quad \text{[mu-ní-vírá míyó]} \text{R} \text{ mú-ní-ó-ddí-áganyedhá}
\]

IDEO 18-IPFV.CJ-go 1SG.PRO 2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-suspect

“[guitar sound] wherever I go by, you suspect me”

ddóbúróddó: Filling up until it overflows (synonym: tépútépú)

dhuwadhúwa Aimless, with no goal

esáwásawa Perfectly equal (< Swahili sawasawa < Arabic)

elévéleve Quietly, softly (maybe < Portuguese leve)

felálfelálfelá Sound of the water boiling
**gágáwu**  On one’s back

**góddógoddo**  Indicates that several people are seated quietly and passively.

(7.82)  \[\text{aagíláatí vamodhávi góddógoddo}\]
\[\text{a-hi-gíláatí va-modhá = vi góddó-goddo}\]
\[2\text{-PFV.DJ-sit 16-one = RESTR IDEO-RED}\]

‘they sat all together’

**gulagúla**  Crooked, in zigzag (synonyms: *kombanokómbâno, pupurupúpûru, pootipooti*)

**guruwagúrúwa**  Quickly (synonym: *kukuttú*)

**gwe**  ‘a lot’ (synonym: *fwa*)

(7.83)  \[\text{Maríy’oolówáváhá dhílóbo gwe vaddíddí}\]
\[\text{Maria o-lé-ó-á-vahá dhílóbo gwe vaddíddí}\]
\[\text{Maria 1-CE-15-OM2-give 10.thing IDEO much}\]

‘Maria gave them many things, they left.’

**gwégwêre**  Something open (synonym: *gábu = something completely open*)

**gwéngwêre**  Metallic sound

**gúba**  ‘no matter how’

**jási**  Suddenly, instantaneously (synonyms: *ńganí, saddú, ttanyú, ttuupfi*)

**jigajigajigajiga**  Many standing people waiting for something

**kácápwa:**  Someone totally soaked by the rain (synonym: *kámwár*)

**kápákápá**  Indicates a state of exhaustion

(7.84)  \[\text{ogwádda mír’ ísi oonúttiyá kápákápákápákápá}\]
\[\text{ogwádda mírí ési o-hi-ní-ttiya kápákápá-kápákápá}\]
\[15.\text{cut 4.tree 4.DEM.I 15-PFV.DJ-OM1PL-leave IDEO-RED}\]

‘cutting these trees made us tired’

**kíbiii:**  Indicates that something fell into the water, translated as ‘splash’. 
(7.85)  oimontéla rmmánnjéni kíbíii:!
          o-hi-mótt-élá    mu-mánnjé=ní kíbíii
1-PFV.DJ-fall-APPL 18-6.water=LOC  IDEO
'she fell into the water “splash!”'

**kókóró:** Sit or kneel to do something in a focused way

**konyakónya** Slowly and with pride

**kúlúwi** Forever, once for all

**kurerekúrêre** Sadly (synonym **kúrféje**)

**kúpáááa:** Indicates water flowing (used for waves, or water poured on the floor)

(7.86)  olóowiíla kúpááá: vatákúl’ aápále va Maríyá
          o-lé-wíilá  kúpáááa va-tákúlu  ápále  va  M.
'he threw water (lit. ‘did kupaaa’) on Maria’s house.’

This example is interesting in that it shows that ideophones have the ability to combine with light verbs, such as wíilá ‘do, say’ in Cuwabo. Thus ‘to throw water’ is literally expressed by ‘to do kúpááá’.

**kuvilkúvîlu** Frequently

**mbwée** Suddenly / peacefully / falling of tear (soundless) / falling of flour

**mbwerrrrr** Great quantity (used for people or animals)

**pemú** Clapping, sound of the impact of something falling

**pwíci** Indicates high temperature, great heat (used for sun, water, pan, iron).

**rútúu:** Designates someone meditative, contemplative

**shrrrl** Sound of the water falling down

**ttókóó:** Being dead drunk (synonym: cápwrááré)

**ttikíni:** Designates someone quiet and focused or concentrated

**ttitttti** With reduced time intervals
As can be seen, many ideophones are reduplicated words, and the number of times of reduplication can vary among speakers and according to the emphasis carried out.
Furthermore, due to their expressive function, ideophones sometimes display exceptional phonological features, which violate the phonotactic constraints of the language. For instance this is the case with mbwérrrr (indicates a great quantity), which ends in a consonant, and shrrrl (sound of water falling down), which is vowelless.

7.4 Interjections

Interjections form another invariable world category used in direct (and somewhat colloquial) discourse to express a spontaneous emotion. They are syntactically independent from any other sentence constituent, and may in fact appear on their own as whole sentences, as shown in (7.92). Because of their exclamative prosody, I usually indicated a punctuation mark after them.

(7.92) Interjections in isolation

   ddabunó pááká o-romá hó o-akula
   then 1a.cat NAR-start INTER NAR-answer
   ‘Then Mr.Cat started : Ye! (sound to respond to a call) he answered.’

b. waaddikúlélléli, ddi cívéevé.” “ffïg!” “Waaddikúlélli oná mwánayé; [...]”
   [o-a-ddi-kúwél-ilé]REL ddi cívéevé ffïg o-a-ddi-kúwél-el-e
   1-PST-OM1SG-call-PFV.CJ 1.COP 9a.swallow.sp INTER 1-PST-OM1SG-call-APPL-PFV.CJ
   o-ná mwánayé
   l-have 1.child.POSS.3SG
   ‘It is Mr.Bird.sp who called me, you see, it is Mr.Bird.sp who called me.’ ‘Umm?’ (Intd.
   ‘What is it?’) ‘He called me because he has a son [...]’

When inserted inside a sentence, these emotive outbursts are not subject to a strict distribution in the sentence, although they are often found at the beginning of a sentence (7.93).

(7.93) Sentence-initial interjections

a. “sísi!, k’ uulñe, ólñe ki namarogoló [...]”
   sísi ku ólñe ólñe ki namarogoló
   INTER 17.COP 1.DEM.III 1.DEM.III EMPH 1a.hare.PL
   ‘Hey! Here it is, that one there is the hare [...]’
b. “ńddéka! ddiíróm’ óókáána.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTER</th>
<th>1SG-PFV.DJ-start</th>
<th>15.have</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Yes, it’s true! I have begun to receive (have)”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly to ideophones, interjections are sometimes difficult to translate suitably, and they may include words with phonological peculiarities, such as vowelless syllables or consonant-ending syllables.

No attempt is made here at a systematic description of interjections in Cuwabo. The following examples in (7.94) constitute a partial listing of common interjections. Note that some utterance variation exists and a given interjection may be realised in a slightly different way by the same speaker in the same narrative. Whenever some variation was observed, it is indicated.

(7.94) Common interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ńdde</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńddeka</td>
<td>‘yes, it’s true’ (emphatic positive answer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńne</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polrepólre!</td>
<td>‘be careful!’ (&lt; Swahili polepole)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aá?</td>
<td>‘waht’ (asking for repetition or clarification)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūng</td>
<td>‘what is it?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sísi</td>
<td>calling someone in a reproving way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó!</td>
<td>responding to someone calling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shiií/ siíí</td>
<td>‘good grief, yikes!’ (surprise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>épá</td>
<td>expresses surprise or irritation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apó!</td>
<td>‘really!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwigíwigwi</td>
<td>‘God bless you!’ (after sneezing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baáhi!</td>
<td>‘enough!’ (&lt; Swahili basi &lt; Arabic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5 Prepositions

Prepositions in Cuwabo constitute a small class of words. Each one is discussed in turn below.
7.5.1 *na* ‘and, with, by’

*na* is one of the few reported prepositions in Bantu languages. It is used to link a verb to a complement noun phrase, conveying a comitative (7.95) or an instrumental (7.96) reading. It usually translates as ‘and’ or ‘with’.

(7.95) Comitative reading

a. *aavénya na Ddóörinddo aádhów’ óottólóni*  
   a-hi-vénya *na* D. a-hi-dhówá o-ttóló = ni  
   2-PFV.DJ-go.out with D. 2-PFV.DJ-go 17-well = LOC  
   ‘they left with Ddoolrinddo and went to the well’

b. … *na kurúmáanj’ aay’ oói’ aafíyá:*  
   *na* kurúmáanje wáaye ólle a-hi-fíyá  
   with 1a.bee.sp 1.POSS.3SG 1.DEM.III 1-PFV.DJ-arrive  
   ‘together with her bee.sp they arrived’

(7.96) Instrumental reading

a. *otibuwa n’ aahíba*  
   o-tib-u-w-a *na* chiba  
   NAR-dig.out-PASS-Fi with 9.hoe  
   ‘It was dug out with a hoe.’

b. *ááhíbadá n’ uuuddúni na músoíro n’ éggúgúnyó na potto kó na dhááló:* …  
   á-á-ni-vadá *na* éddúni *na* músoíro *na* éggúgúnyó *na* potto kó  
   1-PST-IPFV.DJ-hit with 9.back with 3.head with 9.elbow with 9a.heel  
   *na* dhááló  
   with 10.nail  
   ‘he was hitting with the back, with the head, with the elbow, with the heel, with the nails’

Note that the verb *oláddána* ‘look like’ is obligatorily followed by the preposition *na*, as shown in (7.97).
After passive verbs forms, an overtly expressed agent is introduced by *na*, but interestingly the presence of the preposition is optional, as indicated in the following examples.

(7.98) a. mírí dhíñojíwá (na) nyenyéle

mírí  dhi-ni-ó-j-úw-á  (na) nyenyéle
4.tree 4-IPFV.DJ-15-eat-PASS-Fi by 10a.ant
‘the trees are being eaten by the ants’

b. Sitóyí oottíddúwa (na) nyákóko

Sitóyí  o-hi-ttídd-úw-a  (na) nyákóko
Sitoe 3-PFV.DJ-catch-PASS-Fi by 1a.crocodile
‘Sitoe was caught by the crocodile’

After certain verbs, *na* may indicate a reason and is better translated as ‘of’, as illustrated in (7.99).

(7.99) olóókála mureddá, olóókwá na dála

o-lé-ókála  mu-reddá o-lé-ókwá na dála
1-CE-15.stay 1-sick.PL 1-CE-15.die with 9a.hunger
‘he got sick, and died of hunger’

*na* is further used in temporal expressions to express ‘by’, as shown in (7.100) and (7.101).

(7.100) Maríyá na maámbésí agaamala waábá, odhow’ óója

maríyá na maámbésí  a-gaa-mala waábá o-dhowá o-ja
maria by 6.morning 1-SIT-finish 15.bathe 1-go.SEQ 1-eat.SEQ
‘In the morning, Maria after bathing, went and ate’
Chapter 7

(7.101) mwíinyú kuülobá: na mútánéne, vohí kuülóbüwa na matti: {semi-elic.}

mwíinyú ka-oloba na mútáná=éne vohí ku-nílób-úw-a
3.salt CF-15.ask.PL by 3.noon = INT because NEG.2SG-IPFV-ask-PASS-Fi

na matti
by 6.night.PL

‗if you had asked for salt by noon (intd. ‘it would been nice’), because you cannot be asked this by night‘

7.5.2 se ‘without’

The preposition se ‘without’ expresses the absence or the exclusion of someone or something. It probably constitutes a loan from Portuguese sem.

(7.102) oómütelá mwánámwiyaná sé kóobilri {mute.24}
o-hí-mü-telá mwáná-mwiyaná sé kóobilri
1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry 1.child-1.woman without 9a.money.PL
‗he married that girl with no money‘

(7.103) ddabunó múlóbwana o-kala sé muyaná: {mbílri.44}
then 1.man NAR-be without 1.woman.PL
‗then the man remained without any woman‘

7.5.3 mña ‘until’

The preposition mña ‘until’ expresses the idea of a spatio-temporal limit, applied for a physical space to be crossed (7.104), or for the time duration of an action (7.105). It apparently cannot introduce a clause, but is instead simply followed by a noun, which may be an infinitive as in (7.105). Note that the source or provenance (translated as ‘from’ in English) is expressed by means of the infinitives ovénya ‘leave’ (7.104)b, or órómáná ‘start with’ (7.104)c.
(7.104) Locative limit

a. Maríy’ ôolôdöhôwâââ: ñpâkâ nikómé na bâra
   maríya o-lê-ôdhôwâ ñpâkâ nikómé na bâra
   maria 1-CE-15.go until 5.limit 5.CON 9a.sea
   ‘Maria went to the seaside’

b. ovény’ ôökûnî ñpâkâ’ ôPebânê munâáâbúwe yîkô taanú
   ovényâ ókû=nó ñpâkâ o-Pebânê mu-náá-âbúw-e yîkô taanú
   15.leave 17.DEM.1=INT until 17-Pebane 2PL-FUT.CJ-cross-IRR 9.river 10.five
   ‘from here to Pebane, you will go cross five rivers’

c. órómânâ pambáno ejîlê ñpâkâ vatákûlu
   órómâ=ná pambáno ejîlê ñpâkâ vatákûlu
   15.start=COM 9a.intersection 9.DEM.III until 16-9a.house
   ‘from that intersection to the house’

(7.105) Temporal limit

a. amâllê súmaâna ñpâk’ ôôrfwanyâ nikûräbedha valîyè
   a-maal-ilé súmaâna ñpâkâ 6-mû-fwanyá N. [va-lî=fye] REL
   a-KEYFV.CJ 9a.week.PL until 15-OM1-meet D. 16-be=3SG.PRO
   ‘they spent a week until they found Mr.Dugong, and the place where he lives’

b. iyó ngânguléc máfûgi ñpâka wââkwânîha
   iyó ni-gá-nî-gul-éc-á máfûgi ñpâka wââkwân-ih-a
   1PL.PRO 1PL-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-buy-DUR-Fi 6.banana until 15.be.complete-CAUS-Fi
   ‘we will keep on buying bananas until we have enough’

   Note that the preposition para, borrowed from Portuguese, may be used as an alternative to ñpâka.

(7.106) órómânâ ddabunô pâr’ oosongôlro
   órómâ=ná ddabunô pâra oosongôlro
   15.start=COM today till 17.front
   ‘from now on’

7.5.4  nînga ‘like, as’

The preposition nînga ‘like, as’, often reduced as nînga, is used to indicate similarity (7.107) or approximation (7.108). It is thus much used to establish comparisons of equality (7.109).
(7.107) Similarity

a. míyó ddi-ní-funá ddi-kálé ŋíng’ ašíligíímí vatákúlu va ábábaani {maria.91}
   míyó  ddi-ní-funá  ddi-kál-é  ŋíngá
   1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want  1SG-be-SBJ  as
   [e-á-lígi = ímí va-tákúlu va ábábaani]REL
   9-PST-be.HAB.FI = 1SG.PRO 16-9a.house 16.CON 2a.my.parents
   ‘I want to be the way I used to be in my parents’ house’

b. ŋítítí na Rosa niluweyilé nínga árígóra {elic.}
   ŋítítí na Rosa ni-luw-ey-ilé nínga árígóra
   5.hair 5.CON Rosa 5-plait-NTR-PFV.CJ like 2.ring
   ‘Rosa’s hair is like rings’

(7.108) Approximation

a. María nínga dda yúúmó yáága {elic.}
   maríyá  nínga  ddi-a  yúúmó  yáága
   maría like 1.COP-CON 9.age 9.POSS.1SG
   ‘Maria is more or less of my age’

b. níngá ddiromílë osuíza na dhááká táánu {elic.}
   níngá  ddi-rom-ilé  osuíza  na  dhááká  táánu
   like 1SG-start-PFV.CJ 15.study with 10.year 10.five
   ‘I started school at about five years old’

(7.109) Comparison of equality

a. ehib’ éjó ki-ní-gwáddá dereetú nínga dhíína {elic.}
   ehibá  éjó  ki-ní-gwáddá  dereetú nínga dhíína
   9.hoe 9.DEM.II NEG.9-IPFV-cut good.PL like 10-other
   ‘why does that hoe not cut as well as the others?’

b. ţyeéne oójá máfúgi meënji nínga míyo {elic.}
   ţyeéne  o-hí-ja  máfúgi  má-ínji  nínga  míyo
   3SG.PRO 1-PFV.DJ-eat 6.banana 6-many like 1SG.PRO
   ‘he ate as many bananas as I did’

   When used with okála ‘be, stay’, nínga can usually be translated as ‘seem (like)’, as shown in (7.110).
7.6 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are grammatical words whose function is to link or connect words, phrases or clauses. Typically, conjunctions are either coordinate or subordinate. The coordinate conjunctions tend to associate elements of “equal rank” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). On the other hand, the elements conjoined by the subordinate conjunctions are hierarchically distinct, and convey a principal-subordinate relation. Both coordinate and subordinate conjunctions are discussed in turn below.

7.6.1 Coordinate conjunctions

7.6.1.1 na ‘and’

As a conjunction, na ‘and’ coordinates nouns (7.111) and noun phrases (7.112). No example of coordinated clauses was found in my corpus. Instead, juxtaposition of verb forms are much preferred, as shown in (7.113).

(7.111) báábe na mááye aazívéliwa {mute.18}

báábe na mááye a-hi-zívéliwa
1a.father and 1.mother 2-PFV.DJ-like
‘the parents were pleased’

(7.112) áttw’ eetééne na míyo niirírúmuwa sábwá ya muzógwé na pévo {elic.}

áttu a-eté=éne na míyo ni-hi-rírúmuwa sábwá ya
2.people 2-all=INT and 1SG.PRO 1PL-PFV.DJ-frigthen because 9.CON
muzógwé na pévo
3.rain and 9a.wind
‘everyone, I included, got scared by the storm’ (lit. ‘all the people and I’)

(7.110) bagákála ínga múttú w’ oórvuuzédha {maria.24}

ba-gá-kála ínga múttú wa ó-muí-vuuz-êdha
SEQ.1-SIT-be like 1.people 1.CON 15-OM1-ask-APPL-Fi
‘it looked like it was giving her a greeting’
It seems that *na* may be freely replaced by *ni*, maybe as an influence of Makhuwa. Still, the example in (7.114) is the single occurrence of *ni* in my database.

(7.114) *ji* éjílé en k sa mw n bw  ni p  k *{páaká.35}*
ji         éjílé 
‘this is what the dog and the cat are doing’

### 7.6.1.2 *óbe* ‘or’

The conjunctions *óbe* ‘or’ indicates an alternative or a possible choice between two or more possibilities, which imparts a distinction value. *óbe* coordinates elements which share the same syntactic function, e.g. nouns (7.115), noun phrases (7.116), or clauses (7.117).

(7.115) *osãnzáyá* manúvúru waaperengezelé áyimá *óbe* ábáaba *{elic.}*
*osãnzáyá* manúvúru o-a-perengez-el-é áyimá  *óbe* ábáaba
osanzaya 6.book 1-OM2-send-appl-PFV.CJ 2.child.PL or 2.parent
‘did Osanzaya send the books to the children or the parents?’

(7.116) *nbúró* gáání wa déréétu : w’ ooCuwábo *óbe* w’ ooNampúla *{elic.}*
*nbúró* gáání wa déréétu wa o-cuwábo  *óbe* wa o-nampúla
3.place.PL which 3.CON  good  3.CON 17-quelimane or 3.CON 17-nampula
‘which place is better: Quelimane or Nampula?’

(7.117) *osãnzé: *óbe* odh ówé vakúgúlti *{elic.}*
o-súńź-é  *óbe* o-dhów-é  va-kúgúltú = ni
2SG-study-SBJ or 2SG-go-SBJ 16-9a.bed = LOC
‘study or go to bed’

### 7.6.1.3 *ńne* ‘nor’

The conjunction *ńne* ‘nor’ represents to a certain extent the negative counterpart of *óbe* ‘or’, in that it negates every possible alternative. Most often, *ńne* coordinates two nouns as in (7.118). Note that negation is also carried out by the verb.
(7.118) **kaddińfúná omutteba ìne Érúgúlú, ìné viíñagwíya Máda** {body.13}
ka-ddi-ní-fúná o-mu-tteba ìne érúgúlú ìne viíñagwíya máda
‘I do not want to carry Mr.Belly, nor Mr.Hand’

In my database, ìne is not attested as a clause coordinator. Clause juxtaposition is in fact preferred, with optional addition of the adverb viíña ‘too’, as (7.119) illustrates.

(7.119) **kaddińfúná: osunzí, viínà kaddińfúná: ogoná** {elic.}
ka-ddi-ní-fúná osunzá viíña ka-ddi-ní-fúná ogoná
NEG-1SG-IPFV-want 15.study.PL too NEG-1SG-IPFV-want 15.sleep.PL
‘I don’t want to study, nor do I want to sleep’

### 7.6.1.4 *mbonye ‘but’*

The conjunction *mbonye ‘but’* is used to introduce a clause which establishes a contrast with or contradicts the preceding clause. Beside ‘but’, ‘however’, ‘although’ or ‘still’ are possible translations in English. Following are a few illustrating examples.

(7.120) **ddiłódhówa vatakkúlú váâwá: bâddaarédhá mbonye kaddaajíle** {semi-elic.}
ddi-lé-ódhówa vatakkúlú váâwá bâ-ddi-arédhá
1SG-CE-15.go 16-9a.house 16.POSS.3PL SEQ-1SG-have.fun
*mbonye* ka-ddi-a-j-fle
but NEG-1SG-PST-eat-PFV
‘I went to their house, I have had a good time but I did not eat anything’

(7.121) **ddahídhow ôbóleya supáddá mbonye kaddaavahíwe** {semi-elic.}
ddi-a-hí-dhowá ôbóleya supádda *mbonye* ka-ddi-a-vah-îw-e
1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-go 15.borrow 9.machete but NEG-1SG-PST-give-PASS-PFV
‘yes, I went to borrow the machete, but I didn’t get it’

(7.122) **kaddańñá makalra mbonye ddaápíya dhaawéne, baddijá** {semi-elic.}
ka-ddi-á-ná makalra *mbonye* ddi-a-hí-píya dhaawo = éné
NEG-1SG-PST-have 6.charcoal.PL but 1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-cook like.that.11 = INT
ba-ddi-já
SEQ-1SG-eat
‘I had no charcoal but I cooked it anyway, and I ate it’
In (7.123), the clause introduced by *mbo nyɛ* indicates a counterpart to the preceding clause, and more particularly, a condition (expressed by the future tense) so that the latter be realised. Maria’s suffering will be over if she accepts to follow the bee.

(7.123) **māsóóso** áw ’ ootééné ddabunó aamála,  
*ibonyɛ* àpo, oneelá wíyéla na kurúmânj’ aáwo

māsóóso áawo a-oté = éné ddabunó a-hi-mála *mbo nyɛ* ápo
6.suffering 6.POSS.2SG 6=all = INT today 6-PFV.DJ-finish but 16.DEM.II
o-naa-ilá wíyéla na kurúmânjé wáawo  
2SG-FUT.DJ-AUX 15.go.back.PL with 1a.bee.sp 1.POSS.2SG

‘all your suffering today is over, but in this way, you will go back with your bee.sp.’

Note that the form *mazhi*, borrowed from Portuguese *mas*, is sometimes attested as an alternative to *mbo nyɛ*, as illustrated in (7.124).

(7.124) **mwánága** y’oódd’ únófún’ ótélíwa, *mazhi* kañlô keédh’ ulogá

mwánága Oddú o-ní-ófúná ótélíwa *mazhi*
1.child.POSS.1SG 1.DEM.1 1-PFV-15.want 15.get.married but
ka-ní-lógá ka-ídhí ulogá
NEG.1-PFV-speak NEG.1-know 15.speak.PL

‘this daughter of mine wants to get married, but she does not speak, she can not speak’

The conjunction *so* is semantically equivalent to *mbo nyɛ* ‘but’. It is likely that this conjunction was also borrowed from Portuguese *so* ‘only’, and progressively adopted a meaning of contrast. Two examples in context are provided below.

(7.125) **elóbóyá kalógíle so, ónóni kuwéla bááhi**

elóbó = yá ka-lóg-ile so ó-ní-ó-ní-kuwéla bááhi
9.thing = DEF NEG.1-say-PFV but 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call only
‘but she did not say why, she only called us’

(7.126) **oíñmála wóódda. só koñákwa.**

o-hi-mála wóódda só ka-ná-kwa
1-PFV.DJ-finish 15.be.thin but NEG.1-CE-die
‘she has turned thin, but she had not died yet, no’

This conjunction *so* ‘but’ is not to be confused with *sɛ* ‘without’, also borrowed from Portuguese *sem* ‘without’. Whereas the former has a contrastive meaning, the latter is used in assertive clauses to negate the meaning carried out by the verb, as shown in (7.127) and (7.128).
(7.127) íyééne s’ óóziveliwagá
íyééne sé o-ziveliw-ag-á
3SG.PRO without NAR-like-HAB-Fi
‘he did not like this’

(7.128) ma íyééne baahalá dhaawénéné s’ oótélíwa
mas íyééne ba-a-halá dhaawó = éne sé òtel-íw-a
but 3SG.PRO SEQ-1-stay PRO.DEM.II = INT without 15.marry-PASS-Fi.PL
‘but she remained like this, without getting married’

7.6.1.5 nooná ‘hence’

The conjunction nooná ‘hence’ introduces a clause as being the subsequent result or consequence of an aforementioned situation. It can be translated in English as ‘as a result’, therefore’, or ‘consequently’. This dependent clause may appear sentence-initially (7.129), but it usually follows the main clause, as in (7.130) and (7.131).

(7.129) noonátó báddihídhawo koóbílírya yaalogúwe j’ iójú wéén’ céñgónóoví
nooná = tó bá-ddi-hí-dhá = wo koóbílíry = ya [e-a-log-úw-e]REL
hence = then SEQ-1SG-NEG-come = 16.LOC 9a.money = DEF 9-PST-speak-PASS-PFV.CJ
ji éjí wééné cé-ñgónó = vi
9.COP 9.DEM.II INT 9-little = RESTR
‘that’s why I did not come, the money that was mentioned is that little!’

(7.130) pááká kuívádíle paamá, nooná baahíkwa
pááká ku-mu-vád-íle paamá nooná ba-a-hí-kwa
1a.cat NEG.2SG-OM1-beat-PFV well hence SEQ-1-NEG-die
‘the cat, you did not beat it well, as a result it did not die’

(7.131) čsúwóðhá mbwaná dhúpúzá bure, nooná ddihiğúla
čsí = wó = dhá mbwaná dhí-hí-púzá bure
10.DEM.I = 17.LOC = 10.DEF 1.friend.PL 10-PFV.DJ-undervalue badly
nooná ddi-hí-gúla
hence 1SG-NEG-buySEQ
‘this stuff of his, my friend, is badly measured, therefore I did not buy’
7.6.2 Subordinate conjunctions

7.6.2.1 wíilá ‘CMP’

Complement clauses are introduced by the complementiser wíilá ‘that’, which constitutes a grammaticalised form derived from the verb wíilá ‘say, do’. Its main function is to introduce a subordinate clause, which comes in complement of the verb in the main clause, as shown in (7.132).

(7.132) muńźíwá: dháav’ ííl móddi Maríya?
mu-ni-zíwá dháaví wíilá míyó ddi-li maríya
‘how do you know that I am Maria?’

When wíilá is followed by a subjunctive verb form, the clause often acquires a purpose meaning (7.133), with an optional addition of the applicative extension to wíilá (7.134). However, the presence of the complementiser in this context is not obligatory, as shown in (7.135).

(7.133) waavedágá: áttú wíilá amwáámele naámbéedde
o-a-ved-ág-á áttú wíilá a-mú-ámel-e naámbéedde
NAR-OM2-search-HAB-Fi 2.man CMP 2-OM1-chase-SBJ la.maize
‘he looked for people to protect the maize (from the thieves)’

(7.134) ééloóníwará wíilélá aŋpe
a-á-íla-ó-mú-fwará wíilélá a-mú-p-e
2-PST.IPVF-AUX-15-OM1-follow CMP 2-OM1-kill-SBJ
‘they were following him to kill him’

(7.135) mattiy’ áábáño mwátáye mábûgu mángwáán’ niluíwe mábwêndde
mattiyú ábá=no mu-á-táy-e mábûgu mángwáána ni-lúw-e
6.night 6.DEHM.1=INT 2PL-IT-tear-SBJ 6.plant.sp tomorrow 1PL-weave-SBJ
mábwêndde
6.mat
‘tonight go and tear apart the reed so that tomorrow we weave mats’

wíilá is also commonly used to introduce direct speech (7.136), but again, its presence is optional (7.137).
a. namárogolo moónêlííye wíílá “míyó ēnówéfélúwa”,

[ddingí.28]

okomesáár’ uuúkúl’ ookita

namárogolo [mu-ón-él-é = íye wíílá míyó
1a.hare 18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO CMP 1SG.PRO

ni-ni-ówél-él-úw-a]REL o-komesáári ókúle okíta
1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.climb-APPL-PASS-Fi NAR-start 17.DEM.III 15.go.down

‘the hare, when he saw he was being chased, started to go down’ (lit. ‘when he saw: “I am being chased”’)

b. baatagíha dílá biili, wíílá : “ókúnó niwánéláwo: ósápélíwa”

[body.7]

ba-a-tagíha dílá biili wíílá ókú = nó
SEQ.1-repeat 10a.time 10.two CMP 17.DEM.I = PROX

ni-hí-wánélâ = wo ósápél = iw-a
1PL-IPFV.DJ-fight.for = 17.LOC 15.feed-PASS-Fi

‘he said again : “we are fighting here about food supply”’

(7.136)

(7.137) moónêlííyé ddídfn’ éélo oógumana n’ óól’ ooñddífwará, olólúpa {ddingí.22}

[mu-ón-él-é = íye ddí-ní-fúná ógum-an-a
18-see-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 1SG.IPFV.CJ-want 15.bump.into-REC-FI.PL

na ólé [o-ní-ddí-fwará]REL o-lé-ólúpa
with 1.DEM.II 1-IPFV.DJ-OM1SG-follow 1-CE-15.jump

‘When he realised “I am going to bump into the one who is following me”, he jumped.’

Note that wíílá may be shortened to wí, as shown in (7.138).

(7.138) mudhówelíyécz, oomútóonyedha mwáadhíí , wíílá : “mwáadhííga waamúlogúímí dd’ núddu” {maria.122}

[mu-dhów-él-é = íye]REL o-hí-mú-tóony-edh-a mwáadhíí = íye wí
18-go-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 1-IPFV.DJ-OM1-show-APPL-Fi 1.wife = POSS.3SG CMP

mwáadhíá [o-á-mú-logá = ímí]REL ddi óddu
1.wife.POSS.1SG 1-PST.CJ-OM1-speak = 1SG.PRO 1.COP 1.DEM.I

‘when he arrived, he showed his wife that : “this is the wife I talked about”’

Finally, wíílá may introduce a clause expressing a reason or a justification (7.139), in which case, it is usually preceded by sábwa ‘because’ (7.140).

(7.139) ééloóññwíwará wíílá aarípe, wíílá namárogólo namapuja {ddingí.10}

a-á-íla-ó mú-fwará wíílá a-mú-p-e wíílá namárogólo namapuja
2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-follow CMP 2-OM1-KILL-SBJ CMP 1a.hare 1a.joker.PL

‘they were following him to kill him, because the hare is a joker’
**7.6.2.2 nínga ‘as’**

The conjunction *nínga* ‘as’ is used to express simultaneity of the subordinate clause with the main clause. No temporal delimitation is clearly established, hence *nínga* is much compatible with imperfective situations, as shown in (7.141), but also occurs with perfective verb forms (7.142).

### (7.141)

*nínga muŋddónéllínyú [...] maníngw’ áága alí dháyééne*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nínga</th>
<th>mu-ní-ddí-on-él-á = inyú REL</th>
<th>maníngó áága</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>18-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-Fi = 2RESP.PRO</td>
<td>6.body 6.POSS.1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-li</td>
<td>dhááyí = éne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-be</td>
<td>like.this.1 = INT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘as you can see me [...] my body is like this’

### (7.142)

*nyúwó munóóná nínga ddaakwéntílé, iiyí kaddaakwéntílé*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nyúwó</th>
<th>mu-ní-óná</th>
<th>nínga</th>
<th>ddi-a-kweńt-ílé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2PL.PRO</td>
<td>2PL-IPFV.CJ-see</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>1SG-PST-copulate-PFV.CJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiyí</td>
<td>ka-ddi-a-kweńt-ílé</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>NEG-1SG-PST-copulate-PFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘you see me as if I had had sex, whereas I had not’

Furthermore, *nínga* can be a causal conjunction, rendered by the English ‘considering that’, ‘because’, or ‘since’. In this case, the causal clause introduced by *nínga* is usually prepended to the main clause, to establish the cause-effect relationship, as shown in (7.143) and (7.144).

### (7.143)

*níngá dda mwaaná múŋgíníngíní, muŋddóná níngá muttengú: dda tádu’ wéényu* {ddingî.8}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>níngá</th>
<th>ddi-a</th>
<th>mwaaná</th>
<th>mú-ngíní-ngíní</th>
<th>mu-ní-ddí-oná</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>1SG.COP-CON 1.child</td>
<td>l-little-RED</td>
<td>2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níngá</td>
<td>muttengú</td>
<td>dda</td>
<td>táduwá = ényu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as</td>
<td>mistakenly</td>
<td>1SG.COP-CON</td>
<td>1a.fool = 1.POSS.3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘because I am small, you see me as your fool’
7.6.2.3 *akala* ‘whether, if’ and *yoóvi* ‘otherwise’

*akala* ‘whether, if’ and *yoóvi* ‘otherwise’ are conditional conjunctions which thus introduce condition clauses. *akala* indicates hypothetical situations which trigger consequences suggested in the main clauses as in (7.145). The hypothesis may relate to a future condition, which is contemplated or wished, as in (7.146).

The conjunction *yoóvi* constitutes the negative alternative to the preceding clause. It means ‘otherwise’ or ‘if not’, as shown in (7.147).

The conjunction *maásíkiní* ‘even if’ is used to introduce hypothetical clauses with a concessive value. Such a dependent clause usually appears sentence-initially as in (7.148) and (7.149), or it may be embedded in a main clause as in (7.150).
The conjunction *vohí* ‘because’ expresses a causal relation between two clauses, and more particularly, it introduces a dependent clause that explains or justifies the content of the main clause, as shown in the following examples.

(7.151) *koořibelüwa buré ddīgaaktúngīra vógó baddigonávo vohí ápánga aattábwā* {semi-elic.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka} & \text{-oribelüwa} & \text{buré} & \text{ddī-gaaktúngīra} & \text{vógó} & \text{ba-ddī-goná} = \text{vo} \\
\text{CF-15} & \text{-get.late.PL} & \text{much} & \text{1SG-HYP-ask} & \text{16.place} & \text{SEQ-1SG-sleep} = \text{16.LOC} \\
\text{vohí} & \text{ápánga} & \text{a-hi-ttábwa} \\
\text{because} & 2a.murderer & 2\text{-PFV.DJ-get.worth} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘if it were very late, I would ask a place to sleep because the murderers are more and more numerous’

(7.152) *kanígáalólíle, vohí kanińífüná múładdu* {semi-elic.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka} & \text{-ni-ga-log-i} & \text{vohí} & \text{ka} & \text{-ni-ní-füná} & \text{muladdu} \\
\text{NEG-1PL-HYP-speak-PFV} & \text{because} & \text{NEG-1PL-IPFV.CJ-want} & \text{3.problem.PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I would not say a word because I do not want problems’

In (7.153), *vohí* rather expresses an intentional clause, which implies a consequential purpose, in the present case, my not eating. It is best translated in English as ‘so that’ or ‘in order to’.
Minor word classes 353

(7.153) **vohí míyó ddihiójé, ónó.t.tamagíhá vatákulu** {semi-elic.}

vohí  míyó   ddi-hi-j-é   ó-ni-ó-ddi-ttamag-íh-á   va-tákulu
so.that  1SG.PRO  1SG-NEG-eat-SBJ  1-IPFV.DJ-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi  16-9a.house

‗he made me run around the house so that I do not eat‘

### 7.6.2.6 **sábwa or ttángu ‗because‘**

Similarly to vohí, the conjunctions **sábwa** and **ttángu**, both meaning ‗because‘, also establish a causal relation between two clauses. Originally, both **sábwa** and **ttángu** are class 9a nouns with the lexical meaning ‗reason‘, which progressively underwent a grammaticalisation process, and are synchronically best translated as ‗because‘.

(7.154) **kańddífuná: sabwa ddiínkálá murredávé:** {maria.20}

ka-ní-ddí-funá   **sábwa**   ddi-ni-kálá   mu-reddá = ví
NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want  because  1SG-IPFV.CJ-be  1-sick.PL = RESTR

‗they do not want me because I am always sick‘

However, in many ways these conjunctions behave as nouns. This is first seen in the examples (7.155), where they are followed by a class 9 connective relator.

(7.155) **sábwa** and **ttángu** class 9 connective

a. **múlóbwana okala sé muyaná, sábwa y’ oömútelá múyáná woorúůca** {mbílri.44}

múlóbwana  o-kala  sé  muyaná   **sábwa**   ya   ó-mú-telá
1.man  NAR-be  without  1.woman.PL  because  9.CON  15-OM1-marry
múyáná  wa  orúůca
1.woman  1.CON  15.steal

‗the man remained without any woman because of his marrying a woman who steals‘

b. **ddiímála súmáána ddihiisúńzágá: ttánguí ya óréeddá oddífwányíle** {semi-elic.}

**ttángú**   ya   óréeddá   [o-ddi-fwány-íle]REL
because  9.CON  14.disease  14-OM1SG-found-PFV.REL

‗I have been off from school a week because I got sick‘ (lit. ‗because of the illness which found me‘)
They may be added the definite clitic, at least with sabwa, as shown in (7.156) with sábwaya. In this respect, the comparison with elóbóya ‘the thing’ (but here semantically implying ‘the reason’), which fully preserved its nominal features, is edifying.

(7.156) eňtáwá, yéén’ éélóbwéyá kalógíle, sábwáya yaakumbírelííye {mute.12}
ejúwéne wí [ddidhów’ omünddá na námwáí]
ěntáwá fyééně elóbo=ýá ka-lóg-ile sábwa=ya
then 3SG.PRO 9.thing=DEF NEG.1-say-PFV because=DEF
[e-a-kumbíř-el-č=ýye ejó = wéne wí ...]REL
9-PST-ask-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 9.DEM.II = INT CMP ...
‘then, he did not explain why he had asked [to go to the plantation with the girl]’

In (7.140) above, we saw that sábwa may be followed by the complementiser wíilá. This sequence further shows the original nominal status of sábwa, which is being complemented by the wíilá-clause. Another example of this sequence is provided in (7.157), where sábwa is preceded by the preposition na ‘and, with’. The whole sequence can be translated in English ‘with the reason that’.

(7.157) ovítómeya odhúlu wa muyére na sábw’ aálá eetééne [...] éélóómperesegíri {ddingí.10}
o-ví-tómeya odhúlu wa muyére na sábwa wíilá a-eté = éne
1-REFL-hang.up 17.top 17.CON 3.tree.sp with because CMP 2-all = INT
a-á-fla-ó-mú-peresegíri
2-PST.IPFW-AUX-15-OM1-chase
‘hang himself up in the tree.sp because all [...] were chasing him’

Finally note the loan puruke ‘because’, borrowed from Portuguese porque. Unlike sábwa, puruke may appear sentence-initially. This is the case in the two following examples, both uttered by the same consultant, Guilherme.

(7.158) puruk’ onuúttébaní , ddi míyó!
{body.10}

puruke [o-ni-ú-ttéba = nf]REL ddi míyó
because 1-IPFW.CJ-OM2SG-carry = PLA 1.COP 1SG.PRO
‘Because, it is me who lifts you!’

(7.159) purké: Manyáló waákóódda omúttéba, Mándá waákóodd’ oomúúsápela {body.15}

purke manyáló o-a-hí-koóddda o-mú-ttéba mádá
because 6.foot 1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse 15-OM1-carry 6.hand
o-a-hí-koóddda o-mú-sáp-el-a
1-PST-PFV.DJ-refuse 15-OM1-hunt-APPL-Fi
‘Because Mr.Feet refused to carry him (Mr.Hands), Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food.’
As seen in chapter 6, verbs can be submitted to a large array of inflections. The aim of the present chapter is to provide a morphological and semantic description of several verbal categories, namely tense, aspect, mood (TAM), and polarity, in main and subordinate clauses.

TAM tend to form an interlocking system: in a single verb form, tense frequently combines with aspect, or aspects may also co-occur, but only one temporal reference is observed, “because an event can only be located at one time” (Nurse 2008: 14). By examining the morphology of the whole range of Cuwabo verbs, one can extract the different patterns of TAM and describe how they intersect and fit together to form a coherent whole, morphologically as well as semantically.

Tense indicates location in time, the temporal reference in which the action denoted by the verb is situated. Unlike many Bantu languages, Cuwabo does not distinguish several layers of pasts ranging from hodiernal (today), hesternal (yesterday), or even pre-hesternal. No distinction between a near and a far past is made. Instead, a single past exists, marked by the prefix -a- (with an additional H tone -å- in case of an imperfective past). This marker is very common across Bantu: Nurse and Philippson (2006: 158) postulate that this tense prefix finds its origin in at least Proto-Bantu. Present corresponds to a ‘zero present’, in that it is not morphologically marked in the pre-stem position. Supposedly, the present need not be marked, because this time reference is obvious to the interlocutors (Nurse 2008: 117).
What matters is how the present situation relates to past or future situations, or intertwines with broader situations, notably by means of aspectual marks such as perfective, imperfective or habitual. Finally, a formal distinction is made between simple and imperfective future time. The simple future is marked by the prefix -naa-, while the imperfective future is expressed by the marker -ga-. Note that beyond tense markers on verbs, temporal reference may be further established by adding temporal adverbials.

Aspect deals with the internal temporal flow of an event. As terminology for aspectual values varies considerably, I have tried to use a standardised set of categorical labels (Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985; Bybee et al. 1994), such as perfective (PFV), imperfective (IPFV), habitual (HAB), counterexpectational (CE). The aspects in Cuwabo conform to those attested in most Bantu languages.

Mood signals modality, which reflects the speaker’s attitude toward what he is saying. Beyond the indicative, which is usually signalled by the final vowel -a, several other moods are attested in Cuwabo, such as subjunctive (SBJ), imperative (IMP), irrealis (IRR), hypothetical (HYP).

In Cuwabo, while tense is only marked in the pre-stem position, aspect is found on both pre-stem and suffix positions. In several cases, a single morpheme may convey both tense and aspect. For instance, in the past imperfective (section 8.1.4), the prefix -á- covers both the past tense and the imperfective aspect.

Note that in this chapter, I henceforth use the term ‘tense’ in terms of form rather than meaning. A given tense thus designates a sets of verb forms which have identical structures, i.e. which include the same TAM markers. For instance, all the verbs which are marked by the final vowel -e and which respect a specific tone pattern belong to the tense conventionally labelled ‘subjunctive’. All the TAM morphemes as well as the tenses in which they appear are listed in Table 45. The precise meaning of each tense is investigated in each section below.
Table 45  TAM morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Tenses attested in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>past [pst]</td>
<td>past perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-á-</td>
<td>past imperfective [pst.ipfv]</td>
<td>past imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni-</td>
<td>imperfective [ipfv]</td>
<td>present (imperfective) past imperfective future progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hi-</td>
<td>perfective [pfv] (dj)</td>
<td>perfective past perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ile</td>
<td>perfective [pfv] (cj)</td>
<td>perfective past perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-náá-</td>
<td>future [fut] (cj and dj)</td>
<td>future future imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gá-</td>
<td>future imperfective [fut.ipfv]</td>
<td>future imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gaa-</td>
<td>hypothetical [hyp] situative [sit] situative hypothetical situative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>situative [sit]</td>
<td>situative counterexpectational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ná-</td>
<td>counterexpectational [ce]</td>
<td>counterfactual imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>counterfactual [cf]</td>
<td>imperative sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>imperative [imp]</td>
<td>imperative subjunctive sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>sequential [seq]</td>
<td>sequential (future) prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>resumptive [res]</td>
<td>resumptive future subjunctive irrealis prohibitive itive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>subjunctive [sbj]</td>
<td>subjunctive future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>irrealis [irr]</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>prohibitive [proh]</td>
<td>(future) prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-á-</td>
<td>itive [it]</td>
<td>itive subjunctive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding tones, in some Bantu languages the tonal structure of the verbal word corresponds to the sum of the underlying tones of each morpheme, mediated by a few tonal rules, whereas in other languages, the verbal word has an imposed tonal pattern, so that the tones of individual morphemes are non-existent or unimportant. Cuwabo verbs function as in the latter case: in most cases, the assignment of a H tone onto TAM markers is not the obvious reflex of a historical tonal origin of the morpheme. Furthermore, in several tenses where the contrast between Ø-toned and H-toned verbs is preserved, interaction between grammatical H and lexical H tones is observed. The tone patterns for each tense are indicated in Table 46 and Table 47 below, but the reader is referred to section 3.4 for a more detailed account on the interaction between tones and tenses.
In this chapter, the distribution and semantic content of TAM markers in Cuwabo is examined in both independent and dependent tenses. Such a distinction is based on syntactical and morphological grounds. First, regarding syntax, independent tenses are normally used as the only tensed predicate in a simple sentence, known to be an independent clause. Independent tenses may also be part of complex sentences, as the tensed predicate of the main (or matrix) clause. Dependent tenses, on the other hand, cannot stand alone as a sentence, and typically occur in the dependent (or subordinate) clause of complex sentences. On the morphological level, independent tenses make use of the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* to form their negative counterparts, while dependent tenses resort to the post-initial negative marker *-hi-. Note that the distinction between independent and dependent tenses is more a tendency than a clear-cut division. For example, the subjunctive can be used in both dependent and independent clauses, and exhibits two different negative forms accordingly.

Independent and dependent tenses are listed in Table 46 and Table 47, respectively, with their morphological formulas and their underlying tone patterns. In Table 46, it is important to note that in addition to temporal and aspectual meanings, most verb forms also tell something about information structure and focus interpretation (on the element following the verb or on the verb itself). This contrast between postverbal and verb focus corresponds to what is known as conjoint/disjoint (CJ/DJ) alternation. CJ verb forms maintain a close relationship with the following constituent, be it object, adverbial, wh-word, or prepositional phrase. In DJ verb forms, no special relationship between the verb and the following constituent is observed. This means that a DJ form can stand on its own, contrarily to CJ forms. The relationship between CJ/DJ verb forms and information structure is treated in chapter 11. In this chapter, I am concerned with the morphology of these verb forms. The CJ/DJ alternation is more commonly attested in Eastern and Southern Bantu and is generally assigned to affirmative presents and pasts, discarding negative and relativised verb forms (Nurse 2008: 205). In Cuwabo, several affirmative verbal forms are involved, including present, past, futures, and even hypothetical. It is also interesting to note that relativised verbs are morphologically identical to CJ forms, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 10.1.1.
Table 46  Independent tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Tone pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS PFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>SM-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on Final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>SM-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>MH on MS1 + lexical H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ka-SM-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on MS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST PFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on MS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>SM-a-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-hi- + lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ka-SM-a-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on MS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS IPFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>MH on MS1 + lexical H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>SM + MH on MS1 + lexical H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ka-SM-ni-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>MH on MS1 + lexical H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka-SM-ni-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>SM + lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST IPFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>SM-á-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-á- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>SM-á-ni-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ka-SM-á-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-á- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>SM-náá-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>-náá- + MS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>SM-náa-ilá-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ka-SM-náá-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>-náá- + MS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT IPFV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-gá- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>SM-gá-nilá-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-gá- + lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ka-SM-gá-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-gá- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on MS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>SM-gaa-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-hi- + lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE</td>
<td>ka-SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on MS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka-SM-ná-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-ná- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 47  Dependent (inflected and uninflected) tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Formula</th>
<th>Tone pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>AFF (OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>MH on Final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFX.IMP</td>
<td>AFF ka-VB-a</td>
<td>MH on S1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka-OM-VB-e</td>
<td>MH on Final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>NEG SM-náá-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>-náá- + MS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>AFF SM-VB-e</td>
<td>MH on S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SM-OM-VB-e</td>
<td>MH on MS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>SM-hi-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka-SM-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT.SBJ</td>
<td>AFF SM-á-(OM-)VB-e</td>
<td>-á- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>NEG SM-hi-náá-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>-náá- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>AFF SM-a-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG SM-a-hi-(OM-)VB-i</td>
<td>hi- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AFF SM-gaa-(OM-)VB-i</td>
<td>lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG SM-ga-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>hi- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>AFF (ba-)SM-VB-a</td>
<td>MH on S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ba-)SM-OM-VB-a</td>
<td>OM + MH on Penult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG (ba-)SM-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>hi- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ SIT</td>
<td>AFF ba-SM-ga-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>MH on MS1 + lexical H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ PFV</td>
<td>AFF ba-SM-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on Final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG ba-SM-hi-(OM-)VB-ile</td>
<td>MH on M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>AFF o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>MH on MS1 + lexical H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG o-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>hi- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAR</td>
<td>AFF o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG o-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>AFF na-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>MH on MS1 + lexical H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>AFF ka-o-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>lexical H contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG ka-o-hi-(OM-)VB-a</td>
<td>hi- + stem tone erasure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent tenses are developed in section 8.1, while the dependent tenses are further divided into inflected (section 8.2) and uninflected (section 8.3) verb forms. Further note that certain aspectual forms (e.g. the progressive) are created by means of analytic constructions, which consist of an auxiliary and an infinitive verb (section 8.4). The chapter ends with a discussion of defective verbs (section 8.5). For each tense presented in this chapter, both affirmative and negative verb forms are exemplified, and among affirmative independent tenses, the formal distinction between CJ and DJ form is raised.
8.1 Independent tenses

8.1.1 Perfective [PFV]

In Cuwabo, two perfective morphemes exist, which differ according to the conjoint/disjoint alternation: the prefix -hi- used in DJ forms, and the suffix -ile in CJ forms. Unlike -hi-, whose origin is not traced, -ile is a well-known suffix across Bantu, usually analysed as undergoing a grammaticalisation process, ranging from perfect (aspect) to perfective (aspect) to past (tense) (Nurse 2008).

Most Bantu languages have a contrast between dynamic and ‘stative’ verbs, and this seems to be of importance to the aspectual interpretation of the perfective, either as a punctual past (section 8.1.1.1), or a current state (section 8.1.1.2). For both interpretations, the time reference is the present, which is not marked morphologically in Cuwabo, hence not indicated in the glosses.

8.1.1.1 Perfective reading

Most definitions (Comrie 1976, Hewson 1997, Nurse 2008) converge to say that the perfective refers to bounded or complete situations with no internal shape: all parts of the situation, beginning, middle, end, are presented as a single whole. Such events thus can be seen as punctual, in that they indicate a “point-like or momentary situation” (Comrie 1976: 17), which happens over a short period of time, and with no internal structure (as the opposite of durativity). This perfective interpretation is attested with dynamic verbs, which describe an active process that changes over time and which usually has an end point. The perfective is very recurrent in stories, as the examples below demonstrate, first with disjoint verb forms (8.1), then with conjoint verb forms (8.2).

(8.1) DJ verb forms with -hi-

a. oottámágél’ ookómídan’ ttükülá párááo [...

{o-hi-ttámág-él-a  o-kómída = ni  o-hi-ttükúla párááto

1-PFV.DJ-run-APPL-Fi 17-9a.food = LOC 1-PFV.DJ-take 9a.plate

‘he ran towards the food, took the plate [...’]
b. míma oovénya ooﬁy’ ńokobélá, ooifyéła
     míma  o-hi-vénýa  o-hi-ﬁyá    o-kobélá  o-hí-ﬁyéla
     1.child 1-PFV.DJ-leave  1-PFV.DJ-arrive 17-9a.bank 1-PFV.DJ-go.back
     ‘the child left, arrived to the other bank and went back’

(8.2)  CJ verb forms with -ilé

a. mákága áayé ottukulélé ósalu
     mákága  áayé  o-ttukul-ilé  ósalu
     ‘for his oracular trial, he took a thread’

b. vattólóni vâ melé fo loóri énddímúwá vaddíddí
     va-ttoló=ní  vâ  mel-ilé  foloóri  énddímúwá  vaddíddí
     16-well=LOC  16-blossom-PFV.CJ  9a.flower.PL  9-big  much
     ‘at the well blossomed a very big flower’

The action usually occurs in a recent past, but not necessarily, since a whole range of past adverbs can be used with the perfective, including remote temporal reference, such as ‘last year’, as (8.3) shows.

(8.3)  mwaanéhû: oótélwá yáák éjiléeyá
     mwaanéhû  o-hí-tél-fw-á  yááká  éjilé=ya
     1.child.POSS.1PL.PL  1-PFV.DJ-marry-PASS-F  9.year  9.DEM.III=DEF
     ‘our daughter got married last year’

In CJ forms, the perfective suffix -ilé may shorten to -i. This is particularly attested with the verb wóoná ‘see’, as shown in (8.4).

(8.4)  a. ahiínábúwá: amoont nyákoko bagapilüwa mwiiikónwa
     a-hi-ná-ábuwá  a-mu-on-ilé  nyákoko  ba-ga-pilüwa  mu-íkkô=mwa
     2-NEG-CE-cross  2-OM1-see-PFV.CJ  1a.crocodile  SEQ.1-SIT-emerge  18-river=18.DEF
     ‘before crossing over they saw a crocodile emerging in the river’

b. paddi kamútamaárí miyó kaddimôôni
     paddí  ka-mú-tamaárí  miyó  ka-ddi-mú-ón-ile
     1.said  NEG-2PL-provoke.SBJ  1SG.PRO  NEG-1SG-OM1-see-PFV
     ‘I said don’t annoy me, I have not seen her!’

In DJ forms, when the verb stem or macrostem (in case there is an OM) begins with a vowel, the perfective prefix -hi- usually assimilates with the following stem-initial vowel (8.5), or the vocalic OM (8.6). Examples of both H- and O-toned verbs are provided.
(8.5) Assimilation of -hi- with stem-initial vowel

a. owááðúwéla ókósá mákága > wúúúwéla ‘think’ \{mbílri.12\}
o-hi-úbúwéla ókósá mákága
1-PFV.DJ-think 15.do 6.oracle
‘he thought of consulting an oracle’

b. já oódhówá owáábála já sáyóóta > waábála ‘dress’ \{mbílri.39\}
já o-hi-dhówá o-hi-ábála já sáyóóta
already 1-PFV.DJ-go 1-PFV.DJ-dress already 9a.underskirt
‘she went, put on the underskirt’

(8.6) Assimilation of -hi- with vocalic OM

a. owáávúúzá’ áábál’ aáliívo > óvúúza ‘ask’ \{mbílri.23\}
o-hi-á-úvúúzáá áábálido [a-á-li=vo]_REL
1-PFV.DJ-OM2-ask 2.DEM.III 2-PST-be = 16.LOC
‘he asked those who were there’

b. owaápíyela dhílóbó > opíyêla ‘cook for’ \{maria.82\}
o-hi-á-píy-el-a dhílóbó
1-PFV.DJ-OM2-cook-APPL-F 10.thing
‘she prepared them food’

### 8.1.1.2 Stative reading

The perfective is also used to express a current state, when used with a certain type of verb, namely the stative or ‘stativised’ verbs. Stative verbs describe a static or unchanging state of being throughout their entire duration. This does not exclude the possibility of change in a later stage. For instance, while ‘be tall’ is supposed to be a permanent property, this is not necessarily the case with ‘be cold’. In Cuwabo, the state reading can be interpreted as temporary (8.7) or permanent (8.8).

(8.7) a. ddíléma vaddíddi \{elic.\}
   ddí-hí-léma vaddíddi
   1SG-PFV.DJ-be.tired much
   ‘I am very tired’

b. vatt l ní ma nj’ awíínjívâvo \{ddoo.31\}
   va-ttóló=ní maánjé a-hí-fnjív=vo
   16-well = LOC 6.water 6-PFV.DJ-abound = 16.LOC
   ‘there is a lot of water in the well’
The addition of certain extensions, such as the neuter (8.9) or the passive (8.10), allows changing the valency of the verb and typically produces stative verbs.

(8.9) námá eciblyéya vaddíddi

námá  e-hi-pfy-éy-a  vaddíddi
9.meat 9-PFV.DJ-cook-NTR-Fi  much
‘the meat is well cooked’

(8.10) báábe na mááye aazívéliwa

báábe  na  mááye  a-hi-zívé-liw-a
1a.father  with 1.mother 2-PFV.DJ-please-PASS-Fi
‘the parents were pleased’

The stative reading is also obtained with change-of-state verbs, as shown in the following examples with óvibá ‘swell’, órídha ‘be cold’ and óríméélá ‘disappear’.

(8.11) a. modd’ áág’ óóvibá

moddo = ága  o-hí-vibá
3.leg = POSS.1SG 3-PFV.DJ-swell
‘my leg is swollen / my leg has swollen’

b. máánjé aáríídha

máánjé  a-hí-ríídha
6.water 6-PFV.DJ-be.cold
‘the water has cooled down / the water is cold’

c. nábén’ áága oóríméélá

nábéní = ága  o-hí-ríméélá
3.knife = POSS.1SG 3-PFV.DJ-disappear
‘my knife is lost, lend me yours’

As dynamic situations (or events) are more usual than stative ones in spontaneous situations of communication, we could say that, on the path of grammaticalisation, -hi- and -ile have reached the perfective step, but that stativity is still attested when the situation referred to is stative. This actually confirms the fact that stative verbs usually do not have forms with perfective meaning. And when they do, ‘the combination of perfectivity and stativity can only have a rather restricted semantic range - reference to a state with its
inception and termination” (Comrie 1976: 50-51), as shown in (8.12) with the verb óziwá ‘know’.

(8.12)  ebáribari oziwilé ŋzílo
        {elic.}
        ebáribari  o-ziw-ilé  ŋzílo
        9.truth  1-know-PFV.CI yesterday
        ‘he came to know the truth yesterday’

In this example, óziwá ‘know’ may in fact be better considered as a change-of-state verb, and not a stative verb, hence the ‘came to know’ reading.

In the following examples, we note that both stative/anterior and perfective are possible readings. In (8.13), oókwa can be interpreted as ‘died’ or ‘is dead’, and in (8.14), ceéná can be interpreted both as ‘broke’ and ‘is broken’.

(8.13)  íyééne kadhílé, sabwa mááyé: oókwa
        {elic.}
        íyééne  ka-dh-ílé  sabwa mááyé  o-hf-kwa
        3SG.PRO  NEG.1-go-PFV  because  1.mother.POSS.3SG  1-PFV.DJ-die
        ‘he came because his mother died/is dead’

(8.14)  kabál’ ceéná sabwa yaálí a wále
        {elic.}
        kabálá  e-hí-pátúwa  sabwa  e-á-lí  a  wále
        9a.rope  9-PFV.DJ-break  because  9-PST.IPV-be  9.CON formerly
        ‘the rope broke/is broken because it was old’

Without a more explicit context, there is no way to distinguish which reading is more relevant than the other.

8.1.1.3  Negative perfective

The negative perfective is built upon the perfective suffix -ile, and not the perfective prefix -hi-. According to the semantic of the verb, both perfective and stative reading are obtained, as shown in (8.15) and (8.16), respectively.

(8.15)  áwéén’ óomutamelá, namárógoło kaínfwányile
        {ddingi.23}
        áwééne  o-mu-tamelá  namárógolo  ka-mu-fwány-ile
        3PL.PRO  NAR-OM1-look.for  1a.hare  NEG.2-OM1-find-PFV
        ‘they looked for the hare, but did not find him’
(8.16) *mwáán’ óotáméluwá koonéyîle*  \{ddoo.22\}

mwááná  o-hi-támél-uw-á  ka-on-éy-île
1.child 1-PVF.DJ-look.for-PASS-Fi  NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV
‘the child was being looked for, she could not be seen (was not visible)’

Note in (8.17) the predicative lowering process on the following object, here the infinitive
verb *waattambilriya*.

(8.17) *fyééne kafîile waattambilriya anámálaba*  \{elic.\}

fyééne  ka-fûn-île  o-a-tambilr-ih-a  anámálaba
3SG.PRO  NEG-want-PFV  15-OM2-get-CAUS-fi.PL  2.worker
‘he didn’t want to pay the employees’

### 8.1.2 Past Perfective [PST PFV]

If *-hi-...-a* (DJ) and *-...-ile* (CJ) are patterns for perfective where the reference point is the present, *-a-hi-...-a* and *-a-...-ile* normally indicate a more remote situation in the past, encoded by the past TAM marker *-a-. By more remote, two meanings are possible: first, along a timeline, the denoted action occurs further in the past; second, it is more remote by virtue of being related to another event, as English ‘had V-ed’ denotes. As will be shown below, the interchangeability of the perfective and past perfective in some contexts reflects this dual possibility in Cuwabo.

Similarly to the perfective, the past perfective makes a distinction between perfective and stative readings.

#### 8.1.2.1 Perfective reading

(8.18) DJ verb forms with *-hi-

a. *omóóniwêl’ ôoku ŋômtha waákáanââvô’ ūtôwa*  \{maria.5\}

omóóniwêlo  ôku  mu-modha  o-a-hî-kânâ=îî  ūtôwa
17.growing.fase 17.DEM.1 1-one 1-PST-PFV.DJ-have=16.LOC 5.curse
‘in the growing process, one of them (had) got cursed’
b. “muwííwá?” ayí’: “niwííwa”. awaákúla “niwííwá” bagóóva

mu-hí-íwá  ayíma  ni-hí-íwa
2PL-PFV.DJ-hear  2.child  1PL-PFV.DJ-hear

a-a-hí-akúla  ni-hí-íwá  ba-gá-ôva
2-PST-PFV.DJ-answer  1PL-PFV.DJ.hear  SEQ.2-SIT-be.afraid

‘did you hear? The girls : we did. They had answered “we understood”, but feeling fear.’

(8.19)  CJ verb forms with -ile-

a. ábáal’ aa Maríya [...] aádh. aadhél’ óólimela
ábáale  a  M. a-hí-dha  a-a-dh-él-é  ólím-el-a
2.sister 2.CON  M. 2-PFV.DJ-come  2-PST-come-APPL-PFV.CJ  15.cultivate-APPL-fi.PL
‘Maria’s sisters [...] came. They had come to work.’

b. waádhówííyé: kańzíwaawo. íyéén’ waalogilé :

“ddiándhówá ddéédde baáhi burebúre”

[o-á-dhówá = íyé|REL  ka-ní-zíwa = wo  íyééne  o-a-log-flé
17-PST.IPV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO  NEG.1-IPFV-know = 17.LOC  3SG.PRO  1-PST-say-PFV.CJ
ddi-ní-dhówá  ddi-á-édd-e  baáhi  burebúre
1SG-IPV.CJ-go  1SG-IT-walk-SBJ  only  at.random

‘she did not know where she was going; she had said: “I am going to walk, at random”’

Interestingly, a semantic neutralisation may arise between the past perfective and the perfective, in that past perfective verb forms in the examples above could perfectly be replaced by the perfective. Furthermore, in some cases, a perfective interpretation with a present tense reference (translated by a simple preterit in English) even seems more adequate than with a past tense reference (translated in English by a pluperfect ‘had Ved’). For instance, the following examples present direct speech situations in which a perfective would be more expected than a past perfective (in bold). In (8.20) the cat explains to the dog that he has been away for a few minutes to give the bird’s son a name. And in (8.21), an old man wants to know if the bee has landed on a fruit.

(8.20)  ddaadhowil’ óoínvahá mwánáně  ňízná viínágíwa

ddi-a-dhow-flé  o-mu-vahá  mwánaye  ňízná  viíná-gíwa
1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ  15-OM1-give.PL  1.child.POSS.3SG  5.name  too-again
‘I went to give his child a name again’
Further note that DJ past perfective and DJ perfective verb forms used with the SM of class 2 are not distinguishable, neither formally nor tonally, when applied on H-toned verbs. Thus the verb form *aámóoná* in (8.22), from the H verb *wóoná* ‘see’, can be interpreted either as ‘they had seen her’ (formally segmented *a-a-hí-mú-oná*) or ‘they saw her’ (segmented *a-hí-mú-oná*). This formal lack of distinction may be a first element of explanation toward the semantic neutralisation between the perfective and the past perfective.

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(8.22) *aámóoná nínga múzúgu muzugúví baáhi*  
*
a-a-hí-mú-oná* nínga múzúgu muzugú = ví baáhi  
2-PST-PFV.DJ-OM=see like 1.European 1.European = RESTRICT only  
‘they had seen her as a white person, and only as a white person’

### 8.1.2.2 Stative reading

Like the simple perfective, the past perfective is used to express a state or condition when stative verbs are employed. The difference between both verb forms is the anchoring reference point: present in the former case, past in the latter case. Compare (8.23)a and (8.23)b.

(8.23) a. *káámá dhiŋgoonóví dhihíndédéyá*  
*káámá* dhiŋgoonó = ví *dhi-hí-fnd-édéy-a*  
10a.bed 10-few = RESTRICT 10-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-FI  
‘few beds are broken’

b. *káámá dhiŋgoonóví dhaahíndédéyá*  
*káámá* dhiŋgoonó = ví *dhi-a-hí-fnd-édéy-a*  
10a.bed 10-few = RESTRICT 10-PST-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-FI  
‘few beds were broken’

In (8.23), the state of being broken is a consequence of a previous event consisting in bed breaking. However, while in (8.23)a the beds are still broken at the moment of utterance, in
(8.23)b, the breaking occurred at a further past time and the relevance of this event manifests in the past, i.e. at a time preceding the time of speech.

A stative past perfective can encode the state resulting from a dynamic past perfective. For instance, in (8.24), the first verb *ddaálezéla* is stative and represents the state of being drunk in a very recent past (*ńzílo* ‘yesterday’). This state results from a further past action brought up by the second verb form *ddaamwilé* ‘I had drunk’. This verb form also has past and (conjoint) perfective markers, but unlike *ddaálezéla*, *ddaamwilé* represents a dynamic situation: drinking. And it shows a complete event in a further past, it then has a perfective reading.

(8.24)  *ńzílo* *ddaálezéla* vaddíddi, *ddaamwilé* oyema

*ńzílo*  
*ddi-a-hí-lezéla* vaddíddi  
*ddi-a-mw-flé* oyema

yesterday  
1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-be.drunk  
much  
1SG-PST-drink-PFV.CJ  
14.palm.wine.PL

‘yesterday I was very drunk, I had drunk palm wine’

The state expressed by the past perfective may also be interpreted as the cause triggering another event, in turn interpreted as a punctual event (expressed by a simple perfective). Such a situation is illustrated in (8.25).

(8.25)  *mwir’* ááye *ohígwa*, sabwa *micícidhaá* *dhaahívădda*  

*mwirí* = áye  
*o-hí-gwa* sabwa  
*micící* = dha  
*dhí-a-hí-vădda*

3.tree = POSS.3SG  
3-PFV.DJ-fall  
because  
4.root = 4.DEF  
4-PST-PFV.DJ-be.rotten

‘his tree has fallen/fell because its roots were rotten’

Here, the verb *dhaahívădda* in example (8.25) indicates that the tree’s roots were not strong, which is the consequence of a previous (and probably lasting) rotting process, hence a stative reading with a past reference. Regarding the first verb of this sentence, *ohígwa*, without any more explicit context, it can be interpreted as 1) a stative, in that his tree is currently in a state of having fallen (i.e. it is lying on the floor) because its roots were not strong. Such a stative reading would require a temporal adverb which involves the time of speech such as *ddabunó* ‘today’; or 2) a perfective: the falling of the tree is seen as a (dynamic) event, the tree simply fell because its roots were not strong. Here, a possible temporal adverb would be *ńzílo* ‘yesterday’. But here, in the absence of an adverb, it is hard to determine which reading is meant.

Two more examples extracted from stories are provided in (8.26) with a DJ form and in (8.27) with a CJ form.
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(8.26) \( mbílr' \ i' \ aámúna \ vaddíddi \)
\( mbílri \ \ ejó \ \ e-a-hf-núna \ \ vaddíddi \)
9a.fish.sp 9.DEM.II 9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat much
‘that fish was very fat (= healthy)’

(8.27) \( eetéén' \ aaazuzúmél' \ oókúle \)
\( a-eté=éne \ \ a-a-zuzúm-él-e \ \ ókúle \)
2-all=INT 2-PST-be.confused-APPL-PFV.CJ 17.DEM.III
‘all were busy over there’

The verb in (8.26) represents in fact a permanent state, an inherent property of this type of fish, and could in this respect be expressed by a simple perfective, rather than a past perfective. However, the context of the story seems to matter and as the time reference is past, this verb form has to carry this past reference.

8.1.2.3 Negative past perfective

Similarly to the negative perfective, the past perfective makes use of the perfective suffix -ile, in addition to the pre-initial negative marker ka-. Both perfective and stative reading are exemplified in (8.28) and (8.29), respectively.

(8.28) \( ehtáwú: \ \ níngá \ kaajíle \ pa \ vénéw' \ ókosíiyé \ masárápit" \ ááyeén' \ áábo \)
\( ehtáwú \ níngá \ ka-a-j-fle \ \ pa \ vénéwó \)
then as NEG.1-PST-eat-PFV 16.COP 16.EDEM.II
[va-á-kosá = iyé \ masarápitto \ ááye=éné \ ábo]rel
16-PST.CJ-do=3SG.PRO 6.magic 6.PASS.3SG = INT 6.DEM.II
‘then, as he had not eaten, it is there that he decided to make that magic of his’

(8.29) \( mwáán' \ óólé \ kaálóga. \ kaazíwil' \ óologá \)
\( mwááná \ ólélé \ ka-á-lóga \ \ ka-a-ziw-ílé \ \ oologá \)
1.child 1.DEM.III NEG.1-PST.PFV-speak NEG.1-PST-know-PFV 15.speak.PL
‘that child did not speak. she was not able to speak’

To conclude on both perfective and past perfective in Cuwabo, we can say that: i) both tenses have developed the same aspectual distinction between dynamic situations and stative situations; ii) the morphemes -hi- and -ile are only and exclusively aspectual markers. They do not assume any temporal reference in themselves, and thus rely on the presence or absence of the -a- past prefix to distinguish between a present and a past anchoring; iii) while the difference of time reference (present or past) is clearly made with stative
situation, it is more ambiguous with dynamic situations which tend to have similar interpretations.

8.1.3 Present (Imperfective) [PRS IPFV]

The present (imperfective) is not marked for tense (as typical with present tense) but only by an aspectual prefix -ni-, which expresses imperfectivity. In Cuwabo, the imperfective aspect covers both continuous and habitual. Whereas the former denotes an unbounded view internal to an event (Comrie 1976), the latter indicates repetition or recurrence of an event over an unbounded interval. In Cuwabo, the DJ present forms differ morphologically from the CJ forms by the addition of the infinitive prefix between the imperfective prefix and the verb stem. Semantically, the present tense expresses an ongoing or progressive action at the time of utterance (8.30), as well as a more general and habitual present, which implies longer time span processes, encompassing the present moment (8.31).

(8.30) On-going situations

```
CJ onímóoná múyaná w’ oókóddélá vaddiddí {maria.106}
o-ní-mú-oná múyaná wa oókóddélá vaddiddí
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-see 1.woman.PL 1.CON 15.be.beautiful much
‘he sees a very beautiful woman’
```

```
DJ “akúle Ddoolríndo?” “peénóto” “sií, nááda nyúwó múñózivála!” {ddoo.27}
a-kál-e D. peénó = to sií nááda nyúwó mú-ni-ózivála
1-be-SBJ D. peénó = to sií nááda nyúwó mú-ni-ózivála
1-IPFV 2.RESP.PRO 2.RESP-IPFV.DJ-15.lie
‘Is it Ddoolrinddo?!’ “I don’t know!” “[excl.], no! You are lying.”
```

(8.31) Habitual present

```
CJ bábúáni onkálêca vatákulu {elic.}
bábááni o-ní-kál-êc-a va-tákulu
1a.my.father 2-IPFV.CJ-be-DUR-Fi 16-9a.home
‘my father spends the day at home’
```

```
DJ vatákülávaw’ áánóója dereétú “ãnóómw’ áánókosá dhootédhéné: {maria.13}
va-tákülú = vawa á-ni-ója dereétú á-ni-ómwá
á-ni-ókosá dhi-oté = dhéné
2-IPFV.DJ-15.do 10-all = 10.INT
‘at home, they eat well, drink and do whatever they want’
```
The imperfective marker in the CJ forms systematically surfaces as a syllabic nasal, homorganic with the following stem consonant onset, as shown in oňálêca in (8.31). However, the addition of an OM, as in onímôoná in (8.30), indicates that the underlying form is -ni-.

Interestingly, another construction for the DJ present (imperfective) exists. It is morphologically similar to the aforementioned one, but exhibits a slight tone difference, marked by the absence of a H tone on the subject marker. Compare (8.32)a and (8.32)b.

(8.32)  a. ddínógúlíha  
        ddf-ni-ógúlíha  
        1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.sell  
        ‘I am selling’

b. ddínógúlíha  
        ddi-ni-ógúlíha  
        1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.sell  
        ‘I am selling / I am going to sell’

Sérgio, my main consultant, states that forms as in (8.32)b with no H on the SM are used to express a near future, translated as ‘be going to’ in English. Illustrating examples are provided in (8.33). The temporal range of this near future is not easy to determine, but at least covers “tomorrow” as shown in the example (8.33)b.

(8.33)  Near future

a. nádat’ ōonwaáláv’ aánáýíma  
       náda = to  o-ni-š-láva  āná-áyíma  
       no = then  2SG-IPFV.DJ-OMCurse  2.child-2.child  
       ‘not this way, you are going to provoke curse on the children’

b. mágwáána, míyó ṭhódíhá na múńánddo
       mágwááná  míyó  ni-ni-ódhá = na  múńánddo
       tomorrow  1SG.PRO  1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.come = COM  1.co-wife.POSS.2SG  
       ‘tomorrow, I will bring your co-wife’

c. eríífunénénu kalógáni míyó ṭhówútàmbírihání  
       [e-ní-fúná = ínyu]REL  ka-lógá = ni  míyó  
       9-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO  IMP-say = PLA  1SG.PRO

       ni-ni-o-ú-ttámbr-ih-a = ni  
       1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-receive-CAUS-Fi = PLA
       ‘tell whatever you want, and I will grant you’

However, it turns out that the same form with a toneless SM is also used in a wider range of situations, and in fact assumes the same usage as the first CJ form seen above. It thus typically describes an on-going event at the time of speech (8.34), as well as a habitual present (8.35) or even a generic statement (8.36).
(8.34) On-going situations

\[ \text{\textdaggerleft} \text{náóóná \textdaggerright} \text{ámbáva [...] awúríjíva} \]  \{ddingí.25\}

\[ \text{ni-ní-ó-
ána} \text{ níngá ámbáva a-hí-ínjíva} \]

1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-see 2.thief 2-PFV.DJ-abound

‘I see that the thieves [...] are many!’

(8.35) Habitual present

\[ \text{ddigaadhowá } \text{túmátkúltí } \text{mwaaw’ } \text{aan ddítamagíhá:} \]  \{maria.19\}

\[ \text{ddi-gaa-dhowá } \text{mu-mátakúlú } \text{mwaawa a-ní-ó-ddítamag-fh-á} \]

1SG-SIT-go 18-6.house 18.POSS.3PL 2-PFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi

‘when I go and visit them, they make me run all around’

(8.36) Generic statement

\[ \text{oshága } \text{onóripémbelríha } \text{müttu} \]  \{mute.23\}

\[ \text{oshága } \text{o-ni-o-mú-pémbelr-fh-a } \text{müttu} \]

14.smartness 14-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-be.fair-CAUS-Fi 1.people

‘cleverness often benefits man’

It appears that the presence of the H tone on the SM allows the interpretation of a near future, while its absence semantically restrains the verb form to progressive or habitual present. We may tentatively assume that the Ø-toned SM form is heading toward a process of semantic specialisation, which will tend to discard the progressive and habitual meanings (associated with the H-toned SM form) and concentrate exclusively on the near future interpretation. Still, at this point, I refrain from further speculation.

Further note that in both DJ forms, the sequence of the imperfective -ní- plus the infinitive o- undergoes as expected an elision process, but no vowel lengthening occurs, which means that one mora is lost on the surface form. This is true for every verb, except both monosyllabic (8.37) and vowel-initial (8.38) stems, which display vowel lengthening and thus maintain the number of moras originally found in the input.

(8.37) \[ \text{ddinosápá, wéy’ } \text{óonoójá } [\text{kuiddivahámo}] \]  \{body.8\}

\[ \text{ddi-ni-osápá } \text{wéyó o-ni-ójá} \]

1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt 2SG.PRO 2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat

‘I bring food, you eat [you do not give me anything]’

(8.38) \[ \text{namárógolo } \text{o’úúdhúli } \text{wa muyér’ } \text{oónówthábá } \text{wénéwo} \]  \{ddingí.18\}

\[ \text{namárógolo } \text{o-lí } \text{odhúli } \text{wa muyére ó-ní-ó-fhá } \text{wénéwo} \]

1a.hare 1-bc 17.top 17.CON 3.tree.sp 1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing 17.EDEM.II

‘the hare is at the top of the tree sp., he is singing up there’
However, vowel lengthening no longer holds as soon as a derivational extension is added to a monosyllabic stem (8.39), or in case an object marker is present (8.40).

(8.39) naámbédde’ oòmújúwáávi
naámbédde 6-ni-újúw-á = vi
1a.maize 1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-FI = RESTR
‘maize keeps being eaten’

(8.40) a. ddinolím na mbéddé, wéy’ o
ddi
ddi
naámbéddó
wéyó
o-ni-o-mú-já
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate
1a.maize
2SG.PRO
‘I cultivate maize, you eat it’

b. ddinómooná
ddi
ddi
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-see
‘I see it (cl.1)’

Both DJ and CJ present verb forms may host the pre-final suffix -ag-, to express a generic statement (8.41)a or a habitual (8.41)b.

(8.41) a. áttú anocéttága na máttîyu
áttú
a-ni-o-cétt-ág-a
2.people
2-IPFV.DJ-15.dance-HAB-FI by 6.night
‘people usually dance at night’

b. kaddíngúlágá garóso, ddi-ngúlágá manduwi
ka-ddi-ní-gúl-ág-á
‘I do not buy caju nuts, I usually buy peanuts’

The negative present illustrated below formally associates the pre-initial negative ka- with the CJ verb form.

(8.42) a. onimúttéba ddi míyo. kanééddá yéeka.
[o-ní-mú-ttéba]REL ddi míyo ka-ní-éddá yéeka
1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-carry 1.COP 1SG.PRO NEG.1-IPFV-walk 1.alone
‘I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.’

b. ónónívedá na ménto, kanímmóná
6-ni-6-mú-vedá
na ménto ka-ní-mú-oná
1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-look.for with 6.eye NEG.1-IPFV-OM1-see
‘he is looking for him with the eyes, but does not see him’
8.1.4 Past Imperfective [PST IPFV]

The past imperfective is used to express a process in the past, or an event that occurred more than once in the past. In Cuwabo, both DJ and CJ forms are marked by the TAM prefix -á-, which in itself seems to assume a past imperfective marker (it differs tonally from the past prefix -a-, seen in the past perfective, section 8.1.2). Still, the DJ form is further marked by the TAM prefix -ni- ‘IPFV’, which means that it is formally double-marked for the imperfective aspect.

DJ form

a. ábále: ábáalé écná: ánimunyapwaaríya
   2.DEM.III 2.sister 2-other 2-PST-IPFV.DJ-OM1-despise
   ‘the other sisters despised her’

b. vaálíímí mwáanái, ddìámìja mattáákà vaddiddì
   [va-á-lí = imí      mwáanál]REL  ddí-á-ní-ja   mattáákà vaddiddì
   16-PST-IPFV-be = 1SG.PRO 1.child 1SG-PST-IPFV-eat.DJ 6.sand much
   ‘when I was a child, I used to eat a lot of sand’

(8.43) CJ form

a. ecétén’ aáb’ wááímagyeedha Namárógolo
   a-eté = éne  ábó a-á-á-mú-magyeedha namárógolo
   2-all = INT 2.DEM.II 2-PST.IPFV.CJ-OM1-slander 1a.hare
   ‘all of them were slandering Mr.Hare’

b. ózómbwe wáaga wootééne ddaágúla kokó, baddigángulíha mulója
   ózómbwe wáaga o-oté = éne  ddi-á-gúla kokó
   ba-ddi-gá-gul-fh-a mu-lója
   SEQ-1SG-SIT-buy-CAUS-Fi 18-5.shop
   ‘during all my childhood, I used to buy coconut and sell it at the store’

Both DJ and CJ forms may further be marked by the habitual extension -ag-, as shown in (8.44).

(8.44) a. vaánéemína yiiitélê, ddìángulíhága soókíri
   [va-á-ná = imí = na yiiitélê]REL  ddf-á-ní-gulíh-ag-a soókíri
   16-PST-IPFV-have = 1SG.PRO = COM 9.bar 1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-sell-HAB-Fi 9a.sugar
   ‘when I had a bar, I used to sell sugar’
b. ddágúlaga mandduwi {elic.}

\[
\text{ddí-á-gúl-ag-a} \quad \text{mandduwi}
\]

1SG-PST.IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi 6.peanut.PL

‗I used to sell peanuts‘

Finally, the examples in (8.45) illustrate the negative past imperfective, formed by adding the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* to the CJ form.

(8.45) a. mwádhíye kaánváha mwámuñí, mwámuñí kadháánífiya {mbíli.9}

\[
\text{mwáadhí = ye} \quad \text{ka-á-mú-váha} \quad \text{mwámuñí} \quad \text{ka-dhí-á-mú-fiya}
\]

1.wife = POSS.3SG NEG.1-PST.IPFV-OM1-give 1.husband NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-arrive

‗(the good things he brings, after she cooks them,) his wife did not give them to her husband, they did not reach him.‘

b. kaáziveluwána sabw’ éélá: túbáláávé oonyákúwa {maría.8}

\[
\text{ka-á-zíveluw-áń-a} \quad \text{sabwa} \quad \text{wíllá} \quad \text{mbáláí = awa} \quad \text{o-hi-nyákúwa}
\]

NEG.2-PST.IPFV-like-REC-Fi because CMP 1.sister = POSS.3PL 1-PFV.DJ-be.dirty

‗they did not like her because she was pale/weak‘

8.1.5 Future [FUT]

There are two grades of future whose difference is not linked with temporal remoteness but with aspectual precisions: one is a simple or indeterminate future while the other is an imperfective one. This section deals with the simple one, which neutrally expresses that an event will take place in the future, be it close or remote.

As with the present imperfective, the CJ and DJ forms of the simple future are distinguished by the presence or absence of the infinitive prefix. While the CJ forms make use of the TAM prefix *-náá-, plus the irrealis final vowel *-e* (8.46), the DJ future is formed by means of the auxiliary *wíllá* ‘do, say’, followed by the infinitive verb. From this incorporation process, if we decompose the future verbs observed in (8.47), we can suppose that the form *-neelá-* is the output of a coalescence process between the (toneless!) future prefix *-naa- + the auxiliary *-ila*, hence the gloss ‘FUT.DJ-AUX’. Furthermore, the infinitive verb undergoes Predicative Lowering (PL). This means that the verb stem remains toneless in Ø-toned verbs, but maintains the lexical H on the penult mora with H-toned verbs.
(8.46) CJ forms

a. ddiₐnowọ́vá wií ddigasuńza buré, ddinaₐtₐdₐwé {semi-elic.}
ddiₐ-ni-ₐ-ó-vox wií ddi-gaa-suńza buré ddiₐ-nₐₐ-tₐdₐwé-ₑ
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-be.afraid CMP 1SG-SIT-learn much 1SG-FUT.CJ-get.mad-IRR
‘I fear that if I study a lot, I will get mad’

b. peéₐ’ áₐkala munₐₐádhₐwé mángwₐₐána; áₐndₐₐmₐₐₐwₓₐya kanₐₐlₐg’ eelo {semi-elic.}
peéₐ-nó áₐkala muₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐ$_{5}^{5}$
8.49  

**a. ddinááfulége guwo**  

\[ \text{ddi-náá-fül-ég-e guwo} \]

1SG-FUT.CJ-wash-HAB-IRR 10.cloth.PL  

**b. ddiceelóófulága guwo**  

\[ \text{ddí-naá-íálóful-ág-a guwo} \]

1SG-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.wash-HAB-Fi.PL 10.cloth  

‘I will wash clothes’

The negative future is built upon the affirmative CJ future, to which the negative pre-initial marker \textit{ka}- is added, as exemplified below.

8.50  

\[ \text{mugahídh w’ oomusik , kamunááje} \]

\[ \text{mu-ga-hí-dhówa o-musiká ka-mu-náá-j-e} \]

2RESP-SIT-NEG-go 17-3.market.PL NEG-2RESP-FUT-eat-IRR  

‘if you do not go to the market, you will not eat’

**8.1.6 Future imperfective [FUT IPFV]**

The future imperfective indicates a lengthy and unbounded process, taking place in the future. I first thought of a progressive aspect as my main consultant would most of the time translate this verb form by a progressive form: ‘he will be V-ing’, indicating an on-going process at some future point in time. But the fact that habitual suffix can be added to this future form shows it ought to be considered as an imperfective. What habitual and imperfective actually share is the notion of lengthy and unbounded duration, as contrasted with progressive, which emphasises a short period of time around the point of reference, which is not necessarily always the case in Cuwabo.

The future imperfective is marked by the morpheme \textit{-gá-}, which includes a high tone as part of its constituent structure. The DJ forms (8.51) differ from the CJ forms (8.52) in adding the imperfective prefix \textit{-ni-}, already observed in DJ forms of the past imperfective. We may infer that this prefix, above an imperfective aspectual reading, is most often associated with DJ constructions. However, we cannot generalise here, since \textit{-ni-} appears in both DJ and CJ present tense.
(8.51) DJ forms: -gá-ńi-…-a

a. agahífulege guwo dhaáyé: agánnuka 
   a-gaa-hí-fúl-eg-e guwo dhaáyé a-gá-ńf-nuka
   1-SIT-NEG-wash-HAB-Fi 10a.cloth.PL 10.POS 3SG 1-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-smell.bad
   ‘if he does not wash his clothes, he will smell bad’

b. kattíyá dhoóbódha vélévo, agánáañgána
   ka-ttíyá dhoóbó=dha vélévo a-gá-ńñ-ññ-ññ
   IMP-leave 10.luggage=10.DEF 16.PRO,DEM,I 1-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-see
   ‘leave the luggage right here, he will be watching them’

(8.52) CJ forms: -gá-…-a

a. míyó ſingá kaddiná múdhídhi dereétü, naámbédde ddiágámúlima na mattí 
   míyó ſingá ka-ddi-ná múdhídhi dereétu naámbédde
   1SG,PRO as NEG-1SG-have 3.time well 1a.maize
   ddi-gá-mú-líma na mattí
   1SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-OM1-cultivate by 6.night
   ‘as I don’t have time enough, I will be cultivating maize at night’

b. wéyó wa mwáánáya, ogáséma macukwa
   wéyó wa mwááná=ya o-gá-séma macukwa
   2SG,PRO 1.CON 1.child=DEF 2SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-work.wood 6.beam.PL
   ‘you the youngest one, you will be cleaning up the beams’

As mentioned above, the habitual pre-final TAM marker -ag- may be added to both CJ and DJ forms of future imperfective, as shown in (8.53).

(8.53) CJ ddiágágúlaga mandduwi

   ddi-gá-gúl-ag-a mandduwi
   1SG-FUT.IPFV.CJ-buy-HAB-Fi 6.peanut.PL
   ‘I will be buying peanuts’

DJ áyín’ aábále agaawunúwa agánlímagá

   áyíma ábále a-gaa-unúwa a-gá-ńf-lí-ag-a
   2.child 2.DEM.III 2-SIT-grow 2-FUT.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-cultivate-HAB-Fi
   ‘these children, when they grow up, will be good farmers’

When the future imperfective is introduced by a counterfactual verb form as in (8.54), it is better interpreted as a hypothetical situation, dependent on the event described in the subordinate if-clause. This may be explained by the uncertain value of the future: since it describes a situation that has not happened yet, speculations may be permitted, hence the
possibility of a hypothetical interpretation. Furthermore, the imperfective aspectual reading is preserved.

(8.54)  
\[
\text{kuulugúwága ddaálí musupáyi, ddi-á-puja} \quad \{\text{semi-elic.}\}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka-olog-úw-ág-a} & \quad \text{ddi-á-li} & \quad \text{musupáyi} \\
\text{CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL} & \quad \text{1SG-PST.IPFV-be} & \quad \text{1.policeman.PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{ddi-gá-ní-puja}

\[\text{1SG-FUT.IPFV-I PFV.DJ-despise}\]

‘if I were a policeman, I would joke (with people)’

Interestingly, this hypothetical value of the future imperfective is invariably attested in the few examples of the negative future imperfective available in my database, two of which are provided in (8.55). Note in (8.55)a the presence of the optional negative final vowel -i.

(8.55)  
\[
a. \text{maásíkiní kúuwiilúwa ddaálí musilaámu, kaddigá’ íifuwo} \quad \{\text{semi-elic.}\}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maásíkiní} & \quad \text{kú-wiil-úw-a} & \quad \text{ddi-á-li} & \quad \text{musilaámu} \\
\text{even.if} & \quad \text{CF-15.tell-PASS-Fi.PL} & \quad \text{1SG-PST.IPFV-be} & \quad \text{1.muslim.PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{ka-ddi-gá-p-i}

\[\text{efuwo}\]

\[\text{NEG-1SG-FUT.IPFV-kill-NEG} \quad \text{9.domestic.animal.PL}\]

‘even if I was a Muslim, I would not slaughter domestic animals’

\[
b. \text{ovuruvuru waawiínjívelé, kagáwásuluwa} \quad \{\text{semi-elic.}\}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ovuruvuru} & \quad [\text{o-á-jív-el-é}]_{\text{REL}} & \quad \text{ka-gá-wásul-úw-a} \\
\text{14.undiscipline.PL} & \quad \text{14-OM2-abound-APPL-PFV.CJ} & \quad \text{NEG.2-FUT.IPFV-whip-PASS-Fi}
\end{align*}
\]

‘this is for being very stubborn, they would otherwise not be whipped’

### 8.1.7 Hypothetical [HYP]

The hypothetical tense, marked by the prefix \text{-gaa}, expresses the result or the logical consequence of a situation presented as a condition. In this configuration, the hypothetical verb constitutes the main or independent clause (known as apodosis), while the conditional situation represents a dependent clause (called the protasis), often conveyed by a counterfactual verb (8.56), or a past imperfective (8.57). Note that no hypothetical form was found in spontaneous speech. Instead, every following example was created by my main consultant Sérgio.

\[\text{43 The hypothetical marker -gaa may have the same etymological origin as the future imperfective marker -ga-, but even if it was the case, it is obvious that both formatives evolved differently.}\]
The circumstance(s) upon which the result is contingent, rather than being expressed by means of a dependent clause, may also appear as a juxtaposed independent clause, to be understood as a contrastive clause. For instance, in (8.58)a, she would weave a mat, but she lacked thread. In (8.58)b, he would study, but he got no allowance.

As can be seen from the examples in (8.58), the class 1 subject marker o- always surfaces as a- in the hypothetical tense. Furthermore all the examples above, which exhibit conjoint verb forms, show that when -gaa- is followed by the conjoint perfective marker -hi-, its long vowel shortens due to the restriction on trimoraic syllables. The same vowel shortening is attested in the negative situative tense, between the situative marker -gaa- and the negative marker -hi- (see section 8.2.5 below).

So far, the hypothetical verb forms exemplified are all disjoint.
b. *ddigaafìyìlé nìzána kohíkálagá muráttó ogújúwìle* {semi-elic.}

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ddi-gaa-fi-yìle} & \quad \text{nìzána} \quad \text{ka-o-hí-kál-ag-á} \\
1SG-HYP-arrive-PFV.CJ & \quad \text{before.yesterday} \quad \text{CF-15-NEG-be-HAB-Fi} \\
\text{muráttó} & \quad \text{[o-gujúw-ìle]}_{\text{REL}} \\
3.\text{bridge} & \quad \text{3-be.broken-PFV.REL}
\end{align*}\]

‘I would have arrived before yesterday if there had not been broken bridge’

Following are a few examples of the negative hypothetical, made of the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* and the aspectual suffix -ùlìe.

(8.60) a. kaddigaafunìlé wuttu, íyééne waatukúlìe ìbuga {semi-elic.}

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ka-ddi-gaa-fun-ìlé} & \quad \text{wuttu} \quad \text{íyééne} \quad \text{o-a-tukúl-ìle} \quad \text{ìbuga} \\
\text{NEG-1SG-HYP.want-PFV} & \quad \text{14.fLOUR.PL} \quad \text{3SG.PRO} \quad \text{1-PST-take-PFV.CJ} \quad \text{3.rice.PL}
\end{align*}\]

‘I would not accept flour, (when) he borrowed rice’

b. kohíkálagá koddó, kamugaabélélìle {semi-elic.}

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ka-o-hí-kál-ag-á} & \quad \text{koddó} \quad \text{ka-mu-gaa-abélélìle} \\
\text{CF-15-NEG-be-HAB-Fi} & \quad \text{9a.war.PL} \quad \text{NEG-2PL-HYP-swim-PFV}
\end{align*}\]

‘if it was not on account of the war, you would not swim’

### 8.1.8 Counterexpectational [CE] : ‘not yet’ tense

The counterexpectational tense, abbreviated as CE, is used both in positive and negative forms. The positive form, which makes use of an auxiliary, is discussed in section 8.4.2. On the other hand, the negative forms (one with *ka-* and the other with -*hi*) are synthetic and contain the TAM prefix -\textit{ná}, which serves as a CE marker. Semantically, the negative form indicates that it still is the case that a certain situation does not hold at the time of speech. It corresponds to the English expression ‘not yet’. This label was first put forward by Schadeberg (1990) who named it ‘das Unerwartete’. Schadeberg explains the CE as a situation that has not come about at the time of speech, regardless of any past situation. However the form includes the possibility that the situation may still occur in the future. Another property of this verb form is that it goes against the expectation of the interlocutor (or the addressee). For instance in (8.61)a, the speaker is expecting his friend’s return. This one should have arrived by the time, but has not, hence the question with *kunámála* … ‘have you not finished …’. In (8.61)b, the character Ddoolrinnddoo has drowned in the well and is thus expected to be found dead, but the verb *kanákwa* indicates that she is not.
As can be seen from the examples in (8.61), the counterexpectational is expressed by the prefix -ńá- which is underlingly H. Both counterexpectational forms exist, an independent (presented here) and a dependent (developed in section 8.2.4 below). The independent verb form carries the negative pre-initial prefix ka-.

When the habitual suffix -ag- is added to a CE form, a longer time span is considered, in that the situation referred to has never happened, as shown in (8.62).

(8.62) a. kanıkósiwaga ńng’ eesééné
   ka-ná-kós-iw-ag-a     nínga esí=éné
   NEG-CE-do-PASS-HAB-Fi as 10.DEM.1=INT
   ‘things like this have never been done before’

b. mìyó múnddáaw’ őkó (őnlógíinyú) kaınnávíragáwo
   mìyó o-múnddá=wa őkó ... ka-ní-ná-vír-ag-á=wo
   1SG.PRO 17-3.field=17.DEM 17.DEM.II ... NEG.1PL-CE-go.by=DUR=17.LOC
   ‘in this plantation (you are referring to), I have never been through it.’

8.2 Dependent inflected tenses

8.2.1 Imperatives [IMP]

Two imperative forms exist in Cuwabo, which both express a command. One common feature is that they include no subject marker, but systematically involve a 2nd person, singular or plural when the PLA enclitic =ni is added.

The first form consists solely of the verb stem, with a H anchored on the last mora. It is very rarely attested in the language, and the following examples were elicited.
(8.63) a. *capá mwáânddíya, okosilé dháavi?* {elic.}

```
capá mwáânddíya o-kos-ilé dháavi
paddle 3.canoe 2SG-do-PFV.CJ how
'paddle (2sg) the canoe, what have you done ?!'
```

b. *gulaní máfiğ’ aábo* {elic.}

```
gula=ní máfiği ábo
buy=PLA 6.banana 6.DEM.II
'buy (2pl) those bananas!'
```

The second imperative form, much more common, makes use of the prefix *ka-* directly attached to the verb stem.

(8.64) a. *ólé Maríya omurum Ddólríndo: “kadh w vat kûlu!”* {ddoo.12}

```
ólé maríya o-mu-rumá D. ka-dhówá va-tákulu
1.DEM.III maría NAR-OM1-order D. IMP-go 16-9a.house
'that Maria ordered Ddoolrinddo: “Go home!”' ,
```

b. *íyééne waawiméca: “ny w kar m ni wímél ani!”* {maria.72}

```
íyé éne o-a-iméca nyúwó ka-rómá=ni wímélá=ni
3SG.PRO NAR-OM2-rigidify 2PL.PRO IMP-start=PLA 15.stand=PLA
'she made them stop: “you, stand up first!”'
```

Although this formative is phonologically indistinguishable from the negative pre-initial marker *ka-*, found in the independent tenses, its function and origin is different. Historically, -*ka* is a motion verb which means ‘go’ (Botne 1999, 2003). Imperative forms with -*ka-* are then associated with the itive concept of going. While Watkins (1937) identifies it through the notion of -*ka*- *movendi*, Botne (2003: 397) refers to a “distal imperative”, and Devos speaks of “subsecutive imperative” (2008: 335). In Cuwabo, it seems that this idea of movement conveyed by *ka-* progressively eroded, and that the formative grammaticalised toward a simple imperative meaning. As far as I know, this grammaticalisation path is rarely attested over the Bantu domain.

The habitual suffix -*ag*- can be added to the imperative, without triggering any modification, as shown in (8.65).

(8.65) *dhiífínéénýú kadhéélaganí* {maria.97}

```
[dhi-ní-fúná = ínyú]REL ka-dh-éél-ag-a=ní
10-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO IMP-go-APPL-HAB-Fi = PLA
'anything you want, come and collect'
```
Note that when an object marker is added, the final vowel changes to -e, which may be considered as a mere constraint, commonly attested in Eastern Bantu languages (e.g. in Swahili *soma kitabu* ‘read a book’ becomes *ki-som-e* ‘read it’, with *ki-* as class 7 OM). Furthermore, the tone pattern is also modified from the first stem mora to the pre-macrostem mora, i.e. onto the prefix *ka-* (see section 3.4.2.4 for more details on tones), as shown in (8.66).

(8.66) a. *kámúweleleni* {ddingí.19}  
   ká-mú-wel-el-e = ní 
   IMP-OM1-climb-APPL-Fi = PLA  
   ‘Catch him! (lit. ‘climb after him’)

b. *káddíjeedheni* {maria.90}  
   ká-ddí-ji-ee = ní 
   IMP-OM1SG-wait-Fi = PLA 
   ‘wait for me’

Unexpectedly, a prohibitive form exists in Cuwabo, which is morphologically and tonally similar to the conjoint future (see section 8.1.5 above). The formative *-náá-* expresses future in both tenses, however the final vowel -e carries different functions: in the conjoint future, it describes an irrealis situation (glossed IRR), while in the prohibitive, it serves as a prohibitive (glossed PROH). Compare (8.67) and (8.68).

(8.67) FUT.CJ *kí nináákósé dháavi ?* {maria.95}  
   kí ni-náá-kós = é dháavi 
   EMPH 1PL-FUT.CJ-do-IRR how 
   ‘what are we going to do?’

(8.68) PROH *etélo éjó enívégiwáuna onáákúttúlé ött’ úúbo* {semi-elic.}  
   etélo éjó  e-ní-végá = íwé = na 
   9.van 9.DEM.II 9-IPFV.CJ-play = 2SG.PRO = INSTR 
   o-náá-kúttúl-e öttú óbo 
   2SG-FUT-spill-PROH 14.flour 14.DEM.II 
   ‘this van, which you are playing with, do not spill the flour!’

Syntactically, the two verb forms differ with respect to what follows the verb. The conjoint future implies, as expected, PL on the following object. This is not the case with the prohibitive. Another syntactic difference between these two tenses is that whereas the conjoint future must be followed by an object or a complement, the prohibitive can appear sentence-finally. Compare (8.69) and (8.70).
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(8.69) **wéyó onováányedha na míyó vaddiddí ddabun’ óónzágón’ ootákůlu** {semi-elic.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wéyó} & \quad \text{o-ni-ováány-edh-a} \\
\text{na míyó} & \quad \text{vaddiddí} \\
\text{2SG.PRO} & \quad \text{2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.transgress-APPL-Fi} \\
\text{with 1SG.PRO} & \quad \text{much} \\
\text{ddabunó} & \quad \text{6-náá-gón-e} \\
\text{today} & \quad \text{o-tákůlu} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\text{‘you are transgressing the limits with me, today you are going to sleep outside in the courtyard’}

(8.70) **mángwáána míyó ddinowújéedhela onáájómbe** {semi-elic.}

\[
\begin{align*}
mángwáána & \quad \text{míyó} \\
não & \quad \text{ddinowújéedhela} \\
\text{omíyó} & \quad \text{ddi-} \\
náá & \quad \text{ni-o-ú-jédh-el-a} \\
\text{o-náá-jómb-e} & \\
\text{tomorrow} & \quad \text{1SG.PRO} \\
\text{1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-wait-APPL-Fi} & \quad \text{2SG-FUT-miss-PROH} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\text{‘tomorrow I will wait for you, do not miss’}

\textbf{8.2.2 Subjunctive [SBJ]}

The subjunctive is formed by means of the final vowel -e, glossed ‘SBJ’, while the other TAM positions remain empty. This means that the subjunctive is inherently tenseless. Instead, the context or the main verb (in case of dependent subjunctive clause) indicates the tense value. The subjunctive, also labelled “optative” in other grammars, serves a wide range of uses, and may appear in dependent as well as independent clauses.

In dependent or subordinate clauses, the subjunctive often has a purposive meaning. In this case, it may be introduced by the complementiser \textit{wílíá} ‘that’ (8.71), but not necessarily (8.72).

(8.71) **waavedágá: áttí wílíá amwáámele naámbéedde** {ddingi.3}

\[
\begin{align*}
o-a-ved-á-gá & \quad \text{áttí} \\
wílíá & \quad \text{a-mú-ámel-e} \\
náámbéedde & \\
\text{NAR-OM2-look.for-HAB-Fi} & \quad \text{2.people} \\
\text{CMP} & \quad \text{2-OM1-chase-SBJ} \\
\text{1a.maize} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\text{‘he looked for people to protect the maize (from the thieves’}

(8.72) **oddíjé ddirilé sitíya** {mbíri.31}

\[
\begin{align*}
o-ddí-jédh-e & \quad \text{ddi-rúl-é} \\
sitíya & \\
\text{2SG-OM1SG-wait-SBJ} & \quad \text{1SG-undress-SBJ} \\
\text{9a.bra} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\text{‘wait for me so that I take it off’}

Tonally, the distinction between H and Ø-toned verbs is neutralised, and a substitutive grammatical H tone invariably anchors on the second mora of the stem (or the first one in case of a disyllabic stem as in (8.72)). Now, when an OM is added, the tone pattern differs
(as is often the case in eastern Bantu languages), whereby a fixed H is imposed on the first mora of the macrostem, i.e. the OM, as in (8.71).

In independent or main clauses, a verb in the subjunctive may have the expressive force of a jussive, or in other words a strong exhortation or entreaty, usually translated in English as ‘may …’ (8.73) or ‘shall …’ (8.74); as well as a mutual encouragement, usually translated in English as ‘let …’ (8.75). The subjunctive also indicates a command (8.76), and thus constitutes an alternative to the imperative mood when used with 2SG or 2PL persons.

(8.73)  \[ \text{akala ddi mìyéene ósál’ uúb’ úupatúwèle mwiíko} \]  
\[
\text{if 1.COP 1SG.PRO = INT 14.thread 14.DEM.1 14-break-APPL-SBJ 18-river}
\]
‘if it is me, may this thread break, break to the river’

(8.74)  \[ \text{ki ddikósé dhaavi ?} \]  
\[
\text{ki ddi-kós-é dhaavi EMPH 1SG-do-SBJ how}
\]
‘what shall I do?’

(8.75)  \[ \text{ńdhwó’ óttólóni ŋdhówé nálũle} \]  
\[
\text{ni-dhów-é o-ttoló = ni ni-dhów-é ni-á-fůl-e 1PL-go-SBJ 17-well = LOC 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-wash-SBJ}
\]
‘let’s go to the well, let’s go and wash (do the laundry)’

(8.76)  \[ \text{odhoólé leñosó ŋlí mb’ óodhéná} \]  
\[
\text{o-dhoól-é leñosó [ni-lí mbá] REl o-dh-é = na 2SG-fetch-SBJ 5.tissue 5-be 18.into 2 SG-go-SBJ = COM}
\]
‘fetch the tissue which is inside and come back with it’

The subjunctive often appears after modal verbs of volition as ófuná ‘want’ (8.77), or obligation as ter que ‘have to’, borrowed from Portuguese (8.78).

(8.77)  \[ \text{íyó niňfúná noón’ ébáriári} \]  
\[
\text{íyó ni-ni-fúná ni-ón-e ébáriári 1PL.PRO 1PL-IPFV.CJ-want 1PL-see-SBJ 9.truth}
\]
‘we want to see the truth’

(8.78)  \[ \text{tinyá k’ áavedúw’ aáttu} \]  
\[
\text{tinyá ke a-ved-úw-e áttu had.to 2.look.for-PASS-SBJ 2.people}
\]
‘they had to look for people’
The subjunctive is part of the tenses in which the selected subject marker for class 1 is the allomorph _a-, as shown in (8.79).

(8.79) _oítfin’ áágarwe kómíd’ ešíle_ {páaká.26}
o-ní-fúná _a-gáw-e_ kómída éšíle
1-IPFV.CJ-want 1-serve-SBJ 9a.food 9.DEM.III
‘he wants to serve that food’

The borrowed verbs ending in -i maintain the high vowel as final vowel when used in the subjunctive.

(8.80) _íngá kádháánóto odhé ŋjaántáari_ {páaká.33}
níngá ká-dhá = wo = nó = to _o-dh-é_ ni-janántáari
VOC IMP-come = 17.1.OC = PROX = then 2SG-come-SBJ 1PL-have.dinner.SBJ
‘come here then! come so that we have lunch’

The subjunctive has two negative forms, one with the pre-initial negative marker _ka- _ (8.81), and the other with the post-initial negative marker _-hi- _ (8.82). This dichotomy confirms both independent and dependent status of the subjunctive. Semantically, these forms represent incapacity of doing something, as well as prohibition or negative imperative.

(8.81) _a.onúútébanit, ddi míyô. óddó Nháátá kagaye_ {body.10}
[o-ní-ú-ttába = ní]REL ddi míyô óddó Nháátá _ka-gay-e_
1-IPFV-OM2PL-carry = PLA 1.COP 1SG.PRO 1.DEM.II 5.hand NEG.1-balance-SBJ
‘it is me who lifts you! That Mr.Hand cannot balance itself.’

b. _kulime vamucésáni kavaád’ éelo_ {semi-elic.}
_ku-lim-e_ va-mucésá = ni _ka-va-ní-dá_ elo
NEG.2SG-cultivate-SBJ 16-3.sand = LOC NEG-16-IPFV-go 9.thing.PL
‘do not cultivate in sandy soil, nothing goes out of it’

(8.82) _ooddíkúkusela owánínyu wíi ddihi-kwené t? !_ {semi-elic.}
o-hi-ddí-kúkus-el-a owánínyu wíi _ddí-hi-kwené-e_
2SG-PFV-OM1SG-take-APPL-Fi 17.at home.PASS.2RESP CMP 1SG-NEG-copulate-SBJ
‘you took me to your house to not have sex?!’

Interestingly, while the dependent negative subjunctive with _-hi- _triggers PL on the following object in transitive constructions (8.83), it is not the case with the independent negative subjunctive with _ka- _ (8.84), which thus represents one of the few negative forms which do not trigger PL.
(8.83) \(ddi\text{-}hi\text{-}mu\text{-}gul\text{-}ih\text{-}e \ balac\acute{a}wu\) \{elic.\}
\(1SG\text{-}NEG\text{-}OM1\text{-}buy\text{-}CAUS\text{-}SBJ 1a.shrimp.PL\)
‘I cannot sell shrimp.sp’

(8.84) \(kaddi\text{-}mu\text{-}gul\text{-}ih\text{-}e \ b\acute{a}l\acute{a}c\acute{a}wu\) \{elic.\}
\(NEG\text{-}1SG\text{-}OM1\text{-}buy\text{-}CAUS\text{-}SBJ 1a.shrimp\)
‘I cannot sell shrimp.sp’

### 8.2.3 Itive subjunctive

The itive subjunctive encodes the simple subjunctive to which a TAM prefix -\(\acute{a}\) is added. This prefix most likely originates from the itive or \(ka\text{-}movendi\) proto-form \(*-ka\) (already seen with the imperative, section 8.2.1), which lost the velar stop in Cuwabo. Well attested in many Bantu languages (Nurse 2008: 23), this prefix marks a movement, and more specifically indicates a “location of the event away from the deictic centre” (Nurse 2008: 244), hence it is also referred to as “distal” by Botne (1999). Devos (2008) and van der Wal (2009) use the term ‘subsecutive’. It is usually translated in English as ‘go and V’, as shown in (8.85).

(8.85) \(ddi\text{-}n\text{-}f\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}n\acute{a} \ ni\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}c\acute{e}y\text{-}e \ \check{r}mb\acute{u}ga\) \{mute.11\}
\(1SG\text{-}IPFV\text{-}CJ\text{-}want 1PL\text{-}IT\text{-}sow\text{-}SBJ 3.rice\)
‘I want us to go and sow rice’

Now, if we consider itive -\(\acute{a}\) and imperative \(ka\)- to be related historically and to stem originally from the same proto-form \(*-ka\), how can we explain their different outputs on the synchronic level? A possible answer deals with the position of the morpheme in the word: it is usually the case in Bantu that a word-initial position is a strong position for consonants, which are overtly expressed. Inversely, intervocalic position is a weak position for consonants, which are more likely to weaken and eventually delete. In the present case, we may suppose that the original itive morpheme \(ka\) evolved in different ways depending on its position in the word: word-initially, it maintained its consonant onset, whereas word-internally, i.e intervocalically, the latter deleted.

The itive subjunctive typically occurs after verbs of movement, such as \(\acute{o}dhow\acute{a}\) ‘go’ (8.86), and other defective verbs with the same meaning, as in (8.87) and (8.88). In this verb
sequence, ódhowá may also be used in the subjunctive (8.86)a, or simply in the indicative mood (8.86)b.

(8.86)  a. ádówezáredhe

   ni-dhów-e ni-á-záredh-e
   1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ
   ‘let’s go and have fun’

b. ddiándhówá ddecéddde baáhí burebúre

   ddi-ní-dhówá ddi-á-édd-e baáhí burebúre
   1SG-IPFV.CJ-go 1SG-IT-walk-SBJ only at.random
   ‘I am going to walk, at random’

(8.87)  ddaágél’ ánvahe viíná mwánáaye nízína

   ddi-a-g-él-é ddi-á-mú-vah-e viíná mwánáaye nízína
   1SG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ 1SG-IT-OM1-give-SBJ too 1.child.POSS.3SG 5.name
   ‘I went to give a name again to his son’

(8.88)  kattúkúla shávi míyó ddiya ddiáuddde

   ka-ttúkúla shávi míyó ddi-ya ddi-á-rüdd-e
   IMP-take 10a.key 1SG.PRO 1SG-go 1SG-IT-urinate-SBJ
   ‘take the key, I am going to pee’

As can be seen from the examples above, the itive prefix -á- has special formal and phonological properties that influence the preceding subject marker. Coalescence takes place between the vowels in sequence, but without vowel lengthening. The remaining single vowel thus bears the H tone of the TAM prefix.

Similarly to the simple subjunctive, the itive subjunctive may express a purpose when used in a subordinate clause, as shown in (8.89).

(8.89)  oneloódhowá omúnddá wálimë

   o-naa-ilá-ódhowá o-múnddá o-á-lím-e
   ‘you will go to the field to go and cultivate’

Finally, no negative form of the itive subjunctive is attested in the language.
8.2.4 Counterexpectational [CE]

The counterexpectational (CE) is marked by the H-toned TAM prefix -ná- (glossed ‘CE’), inserted within a negative verb form. Similarly to the negative (simple) subjunctive, the two negative prefixes ka- and -hi- are operative with the CE. The first form has already been discussed in section 8.1.8 above, as being part of an independent clause. Now, the CE verb form found in dependent clauses makes use of the negative marker -hi-. In this dependency context, the CE serves to introduce a situation at a previous stage with regard to what is expected. It may be translated in English as ‘when I have not V-ed yet’, ‘before V-ing’, or ‘as long as’, as illustrated in the three following examples.

(8.90)  

a. kapíyáni míímbw’ iísó dhihinányála  
ka-píyá = ni míímbu ésó dhi-hi-ná-nyála  
IMP-cook = PLA 4.pod 4.DE M HI 4-NEG-CE-wither  
‘cook these peas before they fade away (as long as they are not withered)’

b. muhinágúla dhílóbódha, karómáno weéngésa koóbíriya  
u-mu-hi-ná-gúla dhílóbó = dha ka-rómá = ni weéngésa koóbíri = ya  
2PL-NEG-CE-buy 10.thing = 10.DEF IT-start = PLA 15.calculate 9a.money = DEF  
‘before you (2pl) buy these things, calculate first the money’

c. muhinákáan’ éébaribarí munááváhe koóbíridha  
u-mu-hi-ná-káaná éébaribá mu-náá-váh-e koóbíri = dha  
2PL-NEG-CE-have 9.truth.PL 2PL-FUT-give-PROH 10a.money = 10.DEF  
‘as long as you are not sure, do not give the money’

8.2.5 Situative [SIT]

The situative⁴⁴ is used to introduce a hypothetical situation or a “logical or temporal precondition” (van der Wal 2009: 97). As such, it appears in dependent or subordinate clauses, typically translated into English as a participial or an if-clause. In this respect, such a verb form constitutes an alternative to the clauses introduced by the conjunction akala ‘if’ (see section 7.6.2.3).

Interestingly, in Cuwabo, two situative TAM prefixes exist: -a- and -gaa-, as shown respectively in (8.91) and (8.92).

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⁴⁴ I follow here Devos (2008) and van der Wal (2009)’s terminology. This tense is otherwise known as ‘conditional’. Katupha (1983) also refers to this tense as ‘contingential’.
Typically the subject expressed in the situative verb is coreferential with the subject expressed in the main clause, as well as with the subject expressed in the dependent relative. For instance, in (8.91) and (8.92), the 2PL subject marker is co-indexed with both the encliticised pronoun =ínyú ‘2PL.PRO’ in the object relatives, and the plural addressee marker =ni in the imperative verb forms.

Tonally, both -a- and -gaa- situatives display the lexical contrast between H- and Ø-toned verbs. Whereas Ø verbs remain toneless, H verbs are characterised by a H on the penultimate syllable (or ultimate in case of a disyllabic stem). The same tone pattern applies when an OM is present, although the -gaa- situative also tolerates a neutralised pattern in which a grammatical H tone anchors to the first mora of the macrostem, i.e. the object marker, as seen in mugaddíkóséla ‘when you achieve that task for me, tell whatever you want’ in (8.92).

Regarding the origin of these situative markers, it is likely that -a- is a cognate of a protoform/reconstruction *-ka- (formally similar to the itive *-ka-), whose consonant has here again been deleted. According to Nurse and Philippson (2006), among the different uses attested for the formative *-ka- in Bantu, one displays the values conveyed by the situative tense (if-clause). Such a use is more particularly confined to “a thin strip of languages along the east coast and just inland, from Kenya to northern South Africa” (Nurse and Philippson 2006: 170). For instance, in Makonde (P23), ‘if I buy’ is rendered by ni-ka-súma. Cuwabo and Makhuwa (as shown in (8.93)) are other P-languages which exhibit this form of situative, but with Ø as the reflex of *k, which represents a shared innovation among both P30 languages.

(8.93) nikhwáttá na-khálá ni-kíthi o-hááná o-loól-áka (van der Wal 2009)
5.wound 5.SIT-stay 5-unripe 2SG-have 2SG-treat-DUR
‘when the wound is fresh you have to treat it’ (= ‘strike while the iron is still hot’)

(8.91) mwaasegedhýá dhiíñfünéényi kadhélâganí {maria.97}
mu-a-segedh-éy-á [dhi-ní-fúná = ínyú]REL ka-dh-él-ag-a = ní
2PL-SIT-cause.trouble-NTR-Fi 10-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO IMP-go-APPL-HAB-Fi = PLA
‘when/if you are in trouble, anything you want, come and collect’
Now, the second situative marker, -gaa-, reminds one of the formative nga, which represents the conjunction ‘like, as’, distributed across most Bantu zones, “except C, H and P” (Nurse and Philippson 2006: 194). In many of these languages, this particle nga underwent a grammaticalisation process, and progressively became incorporated as a TAM prefix (Nurse and Philippson 2006), to express conditional or hypothetical situations. This verb incorporation is particularly attested among zones M and N (Nurse 2008: 54). Consider for instance the two following examples from Sena, classified as N44.

(8.94) a. a-nga-mpemba nyama ya m’madzi (Funnell 2004: 57)
     ‘if he asks for meat from the water (=fish)’

     b. u-nga-tamanga, ntima unachita dididi (Torrend 1900: 174)
     ‘when you run, the heart beats rapidly’

Since both Cuwabo and Makhuwa share the situative morpheme -a-, but only Cuwabo also counts -gaa- in the same context, the Sena examples in (8.94) are of particular interest, and may help to understand this case of variation in Cuwabo. Sena and Cuwabo are neighbouring languages (see Map 2 in chapter 1), and although they differ in many respects (starting with the absence versus presence of tones), mutual borrowing due to language contact are to be noted, especially as far as verbal morphology is concerned45. With regard to the situative -gaa-, it is very likely that such a morpheme was borrowed from the Sena -nga-, which expresses the same semantic function.

Both situatives may be inflected by the habitual pre-final marker -ag-, as shown in (8.95) and (8.96).

(8.95) ápáléé ŋdhówén’ aadhowága, ápáléé ŋdhówén’ aadhowága (mara147)
     ápálé ni-dhów-ê = ni a-a-dhow-âg-a
     16.DEM.III 1PL-go-SBJ = PLA 2-SIT-go-HAB-Fi
     ‘“Over there, let’s go!”, and they went. “Over there, let’s go!”, and they went (lit. ‘while going’)’

(8.96) màmbàtta ábá ddigaaavahagâ màkanyâ: agáîrelâ vàddiddi (semi-elic.)
     màmbàtta ábá ddì-gaa-vah-âg-â màkanyâ a-gá-nî-relá vàddiddi
     6.duck 6.DEM.1 1.SG-SIT-give-HAB-FI 6.coconut.lees 2-FUT.IPV-IPV.DJ-lay much
     ‘if I give coconut lees to these ducks, they will lay a lot of eggs’

Following are two examples of negative situative verb forms, one with the -a- marker (8.97) and the other with the -gaa- marker (8.98).

45 The formation of the relative clauses is one (very interesting) example of areal influence, as will be illustrated in section 10.1.
Different verb forms in Cuwabo have the particularity of being marked by the pre-initial *ba*, which implies a sequential meaning, as will be shown in the following subsections. While such a prefix does not seem to exist in other P30 languages, its intriguing presence in Cuwabo may be better understood if we compare it to the corresponding formative *mba* in Sena (N44). In his grammar of Sena, Torrend (1900) comments on the formative *mba*:

“From Sena alone it is difficult to say what it is, but a comparison with its equivalent in the language of Quelimane shows it to be a variety of the copula” (Torrend 1900: 157). It is synchronically difficult to determine whether or not the formatives *ba* in Cuwabo or *mba* in Sena come from the class 2 copula, but it is very interesting to observe the existence of such a pre-initial morpheme in both languages, whereas it is not attested in Makhuwa. Furthermore, it turns out that *ba* and *mba* display relatively similar functions, analysed in turn.
Table 48  Sequential *ba*- followed by subject markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Class</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>ba-SM</th>
<th>Expected output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ddi-</td>
<td>baddi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>bani-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>bamu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>dhi-</td>
<td>badhi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>bani-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>be-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhi-</td>
<td>badhi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>pava-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>pamu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several observations arise from Table 48. First, the way *ba*- attaches to the SM parallels the pre-initial negative marker *ka*. Both surface as Ca- (where C stands for consonant), when the SM is consonant-initial, but are restricted to C- in case of a single-vowel SM. In the latter case, coalescence takes place with the pre-initial morpheme, here *ba*. Interestingly, with the mid-vowel SM, the vocalic value of the output does not correspond to the coalescence process analysed in section 2.4.1.1, repeated in the fourth column of the table. Instead, the resulting vowel is always high, which confirms the assumption that the concerned SM are in fact underlying high (as expected in Eastern Bantu), but underwent a word-initial constraint consisting in lowering high vowels to mid vowels, such as the SM *u*-lowered to *o*- (2sg, classes 3, 14, 15, and 17), and *i*- lowered to *e*- (class 9). The second observation deals with the class 1 SM *o-*, which always surfaces as *a-*, independently of the *ba*-form considered. This is evidenced by the low output of the vowel sequence. Third, although the vocalic output is most commonly short, as represented in Table 48, in some cases (starting with example (8.100)), a long output is clearly heard. The reasons for this variation in length are not clear at this stage. Fourth, and finally, instead of the *ba-*, classes 16 and 18 involve the variant form *pa-*, as shown in (7.148). Here again, no clear explanation for this allomorphy could be found.
\(8.99\) maasıkiní ddivény’ óóvéénae ðdinááfiyé pavarilibé \{semi-elic.\}
\[
\text{maasıkiní} \quad \text{ddivény-é} \quad \text{óóvééna} = \text{éne} \quad \text{ddiv-náá-fiyy-é} \quad \text{pa}-\text{va}-\text{rib-ilét}
\]
even.if \quad 1SG-leave-SBJ \quad 17.now = \text{INT} \quad 1SG-FUT.CJ-arrive-IRR \quad \text{SEQ-16-be.dark-PFV}

‘even if I leave now, I will arrive late’

### 8.2.6.1 Bare Sequential

In association with a subject marker and a bare verb stem (with a lexical H in case of H-toned verbs), the pre-initial formative \textit{ba-} ‘sequential’ in Cuwabo is much used in narratives to mark subsequent actions. In Torrend’s words, in Sena “the form \textit{mba-} connects two real facts” (Torrend 1900: 158). Among the different \textit{ba-} forms, the ‘bare’ sequential verb form is semantically the most transparent with regard to the concept of sequence or concomitance. Illustrating examples of the ‘simple’ sequential are provided in Cuwabo (8.100) and in Sena (8.101).

(8.100) Cuwabo

\[
\text{baatelá} \quad \text{baa} \quad \text{takkú} \quad \text{vàáyé} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{mwáádhi} \quad \text{ye} \quad \text{vélévö} \quad \text{áwééne} \quad \text{baaka} \quad \text{áná} \quad \text{gárí} \quad \text{y’} \quad \text{oóbaalávó:}
\]
\[
\text{baaka} \quad \text{áná} \quad \text{yım’} \quad \text{aaraar} \quad \text{án} \quad \text{yan} \quad \{\text{maria.2-3}\}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ba-a-telá} & \text{ba-a-kalá} & \text{va-takkú} & \text{vááyé} \\
\text{SEQ-1-marry} & \text{SEQ-1-stay} & \text{16-9a.house} & \text{16.POSS.3SG with} \\
& & \text{1.wife = POSS.3SG} & \\
\text{vélévö} & \text{áwééne} & \text{ba-a-kaána} & \text{gárí} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{óobálá} = \text{vó} \\
& & \text{SEQ-2-have} & \text{9a.luck} \\
& & \text{9.CON} & \text{15.give.birth = 16.LOC} \\
\text{ba-a-kaána} & \text{áyima} & \text{a-raaru} \quad \text{án} \quad \text{yan} \quad \text{áyi} \quad \text{a-}
\end{array}
\]

‘He got married and lived in his house with his wife. There, they had the luck to become parents, they had three daughters.’

(8.101) Sena

\[
\text{akuata muala, mba-u-teke-nha, mb-u-dza} \quad \text{dzafinha nka-lamu, mb-i-fa}
\]

‘he took a big stone, and rolled it, and it came, and crushed the lion, and this died’ [sic]

In my corpus, \textit{ba-} is especially attested on reporting verbs used to introduce direct speech, as exemplified in (8.102).
The bare sequential is not semantically different from the narrative, developed in section 8.3.2 below. Nor does it seem functionally different in marking certain kinds of sequences, although this would need to be checked more thoroughly.

Furthermore, note that the prefix \textit{ba-}, although much attested, is not obligatory in this context. All the examples reported in my corpus are provided in (8.103).

(8.103) Sequential without \textit{ba-}

a. \textit{örüméél’} óoruméél’ \textit{ooll’} oókúle oodhúlú […] amottélá mbaáráríkúní:  \{maria.163\}

\textit{örüméélá} [o-rüméél-ile óillé]\textsubscript{REL} óókúle oodhúlú
15.disappear 15.disappear-PFV.REL 1.DEM.III 17.DEM.III 17.top
\textit{a-mott-él-á} mu-baárruku = ní
2-fall-APPL-Fi.SEQ 18-1a.boat = LOC

‘Once that one above disappeared (lit. the disappearing which that one disappeared) from that place above […], he fell into the boat.’

b. \textit{ór’ ečerúmúwivile Nikúrábedh’ aadh’ áángáná vatí [wáängáná vatúkúli víáye:] \{maria.167\}

\textit{órá} [e-rúrmúw-ile N.]\textsubscript{REL} a-dhá wáängáná vatí
9a.hour 9-wake.up-PFV.REL D. 1-come.SEQ 15.look 16.floor

‘At that moment Mr.Dugong woke up, he came to look at the floor, [to look at his house.]’

c. azugúmúwá adh’ áámáálriha dhoója ajá ecká  \{páaká.36\}

\textit{a-zugúmúwá} a-dhá a-maríha dhoója a-já a-ecká
2-turn.round.SEQ 2-come.SEQ 2-finish.SEQ 10a.food 2.eat.SEQ 2-alone

‘(the cat) turned round, came to finish the food’

As for negative forms, they could not be found in narrative texts. The examples provided below, with (8.104) or without \textit{ba-} (8.105), were invented by my consultant Sérgio.

(8.104) \textit{vacéláníva kavádíli maanjé, nooná ddihúrúga}  \{semi-elic.\}

va-célá = ní = va ka-va-á-li maanjé nooná ddi-hí-rúga
16-well = LOC = 16.DEF NEG-16-PST-be 6.water.PL then 1SG-NEG-draw.water

‘at the well, there was no water, that’s why I did not draw water’
8.2.6.2 Sequential Situative

When a verb form associates both the sequential *ba-* and the (reduced) situative prefix *-ga-*, it expresses simultaneity in the past, and more precisely, it indicates that an event is in progress at the time another event expressed by the main verb occurs. Thus the verb in the sequential situative may be translated in English as ‘while V-ing’. For instance, in (8.106), the protagonist stopped her sisters while they were leaving.

(8.106)  ábálé baapwattélá máágáddí  áawa. bagapwáttélá bagádhowá íyééne waawiméca  {maria.72}
        abalé  ba-a-pwattélá  máágáddá = awa  ba-ga-pwáttélá  ba-gá-dhowá
        2.DEM.III  SEQ-2-carry.sp  6.dry.cassava = POSS.3PL  SEQ.2-SIT-carry.sp  SEQ.1-SIT-go
        íyééne  o-a-iméca
        3SG.PRO  NAR-OM2-rigidify

‘Those carried the dry cassava on top of the head. While they were loading and going, she made them stop’

Interestingly, sequential situative verb forms do not systematically depend on a main clause, especially when simultaneous events are inserted in an enumeration process, involving repetition of the actions, as shown in (8.107).

(8.107)  áttw’ áanóóđha  ökosá mádá mårondda, ‘gányó-gányo’:  {maria.66}
        bagálábá bagádhówa, bagálábá bagádhówa
        áttú  a-ni-ôdha  ökosá mádá mårondda
        2.people  2-IPFV.DJ-15.come  15.do  6.hand  6.business.sp
        gányó-gányo  ba-gá-lábá  ba-gá-dhówa
        1earn-RED  SEQ.2-SIT-work  SEQ.2-SIT-go

‘people come and do casual work: working, leaving, working, leaving’

In other cases, as in (8.108), it even seems that the second sequential situative verb form in the sequence acts as the main verb (at least from the point of view of an Indo-European

---

46 The reason why the situative morpheme *-ga* gets reduced to *-ga-* when used with the sequential prefix *ba-* is still unclear at this stage.
speaker), but a more precise translation such as ‘then he was going, then he was singing’ better proves the juxtaposition of two dependent verb forms.

(8.108) bagáviravó, bagééba

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ba-gá-virá = vó} \\
&\text{SEQ.1-SIT-pass = 16.LOC} \\
&\text{ba-gá-fba} \\
&\text{SEQ.1-SIT-sing}
\end{align*}
\]

‘as he was going, he was singing’

### 8.2.6.3 Sequential Perfective

The sequential perfective is made of the conjoint verb form of the perfective, to which the formative \textit{ba}- is prefixed. Like the sequential situative, this verb form expresses simultaneity or coincidence of two events, but instead of describing an on-going action, the sequential perfective constitutes a temporal setting, rendered by means of the perfective marker \textit{-ile}, which here involves a stative reading, as specified in the three following examples. The simultaneity may be rendered in English as ‘while’ ‘whereas’ or ‘when’.

(8.109) a. kóddó bivingilé, ówézá mímimá, yaálí muładdu

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kóddó bi-ving-ilé} \\
&\text{ówézá mímimá e-á-li} \\
&\text{muładdu} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘in war time (lit. ‘when the war was being oppressive’), protecting one’s farmhouse in a traditional way was difficult’

b. kaddiittáddá: máánjé bágubulé

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ka-ddi-ní-ttáddá mánjé bá-gubul-ilé} \\
&\text{NEG-1SG-IPFV-fish 6.water SEQ.6-rise-PFV}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I do not fish at high tide (lit. ‘while the water is high-levelled’)’

c. ddirurumuwilé báddiruddilé vákúgúlúní

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ddirurumuw-ilé bá-ddi-rudd-ilé vá-kúgúlú=ní} \\
&\text{1SG-wake.up-PFV.CJ SEQ-1SG-urinate-PFV 16-9a.bed=LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I woke up while I had already urinated in bed (lit. ‘while I was in a state of having urinated’)’

When the sequential perfective depends on a counterfactual clause, it may rather express a consequent state, temporally linked with the present, i.e. which would hold true at the present time. A grammatical translation for English needs the verb construction ‘would have \textit{V-ed}’, but the most accurate one would be ‘by now I am in a state of having \textit{V-ed}’. Examples below propose sequential perfective cases depending on an overt counterfactual clause (8.110), or an implied one (8.111).
(8.110) a. *kohikalagá káár’ oogújúwa múdhídh’ uíbu baddifyiilé*  
\(\text{ka-o-hí-kál-ag-á} \quad \text{káár’ ogújúwa} \quad \text{múdhídhí} \quad \text{óbú} \quad \text{ba-ddi-fy-ilé}\)  
\(\text{CF-15-NEG-be-HAB-fi 9a.car 15.be.broken 3.time 3.DEM.1 SEQ-1SG-arrive-PFV}\)  
‘if the car had not broken down, at this time, I would have arrived’

b. *kuleqoogíwága ddaáñlobel’ aánáág’ ooteéne babatiziwé*  
\(\text{ka-olog-úw-ág-a} \quad \text{ddi-á-ni-lob-él-a} \quad \text{ánáága}\)  
\(\text{CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-fi.PL 1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-plead-APPL-fi 2.child.POSS.1SG}\)  
‘If I were a prayer, all my children would be baptised (by now)’

(8.111) *banimalé mabás’ ííbu Mákárá’ oónóvégíha vaddíddi*  
\(\text{ba-ní-mal-ilé} \quad \text{mabásá = chu} \quad \text{M. ó-ni-óvégh-ih-a} \quad \text{vaddíddi}\)  
\(\text{SEQ-1PL-finish-PFV} \quad 6\text{.work = POSS.2PL M. 1-IPFV.DJ-15.play-CAUS-fi much}\)  
‘I would have finished our work (by now)! But Macario is keeping me amused’

It should be noted that the sequential prefix *ba-* undergoes devoicing of the bilabial consonant when associated with the locative classes 16 *va-* and 18 *mu-*, resulting in *pava-* and *pamu-*, respectively. (8.112) provides an example with class 16. I will not attempt to account for this fact here.

(8.112) *másikiní ddivény’ óóváñéene ddiñááfiyé pavaríbilé*  
\(\text{másikiní ddi-vény-é óóváno = éne ddi-náá-fiý-é} \quad \text{pa-va-rib-ilé}\)  
\(\text{even.if 1SG-leave-SBJ 17.now = INT 1SG-FUT.CJ-arrive-IRR SEQ-16-be.dark-PFV}\)  
‘even if I leave now, I will arrive late’

In Sena, the formative *mba-* is found in the same counterfactual temporal context, but unlike Cuwabo, Sena does not distinguish a counterfactual reading (found in the subordinate clause, or protasis) from the hypothetical resultative reading (found in the main clause, or apodosis). Instead *mba-* is used for both counterfactual and hypothetical situations, as shown in (8.113).

(8.113) a. *mb-u-da-dza na mabata dzulo, mba-ndi-da-gula*  
\(\text{Torrend 1900: 159}\)  
‘if you had brought ducks yesterday, I would have bought them’

b. *mb-u-da-gua muti, mb-u-da-ku-finha*  
\(\text{Torrend 1900: 159}\)  
‘if the tree had fallen down, it would have crushed you’

In Makhuwa (at least Enahara), such counterfactual/hypothetical situations make use of different verb constructions. Example in (8.114) shows that counterfactual is expressed by
means of the TAM prefix -á-, plus the final perfective suffix -ále, the hypothetical is simply rendered by an imperfective form.

(8.114) káá-kush-álé ntsúrákhu kaánáá-hímya (Van der Wal 2009: 99)
1SG.CF-carry-PFV 3.money 1SG.IPV.DJ-speak
‘if I had taken the money, I would have said so’

Again, negative forms could not be found in narrative texts. Those provided below were created by Sérgio.

(8.115) a. wééy’ óo’ddísumulél’ éebévééne, mééy baddihigúlle {semi-elic.}
wéyó = yá o-ní-ddí-sumuléla ebévééne mfyó = yá
2SG.PRO = DEF 2SG-IPV.CJ-OM1SG-blame.APPL freely.INT 1SG.PRO = DEF

ba-ddi-hí-gúl-ílle
SEQ-1SG-NEG-buy-PFV
‘you are blaming me for nothing, while I did not buy’

b. wáámpambíy’ óoddikoséla áje, ókú baddihinutélle {semi-elic.}
ó-á-ni-pamb-fh-á o-ddi-kos-él-a áje ókú

ba-ddi-hí-mutél-ílle
SEQ-1SG-NEG-1-marry-PFV
‘you were preoccupied in making me jealous, when I am not engaged with you’ (lit. ‘you were preoccupied it is making me jealous’)

8.3 Dependent uninflected tenses

8.3.1 Infinitive [INF]

The infinitive is formed by affixing the noun class prefix o- to the verb stem. Such a prefix allows categorising the infinitive verbs among nouns, under class 15 (see section 4.1.7). Infinitives have thus the particularity of exhibiting both nominal and verbal properties. In such a way that when an infinitive represents a sentence in itself, it may be interpreted as an infinitive clause (verbal sentence) or as a noun phrase (non-verbal sentence). For instance, in (8.116), opánêla may be considered as the verb ‘be proud’ or the noun ‘pride’.

(8.116) opánêla. onipánélá: onóvitotóca

opánêla  [o-ni-pánélá]REL  o-ni-ó-ví-totóca
15.pride  1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud  1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy

‘Pride. Whoever is proud destroys himself’

In other examples, the infinitive verb clearly constitutes a purpose clause, as in (8.117), where the girls went to the well with the purpose of washing the clothes.

(8.117) aádhōw’ óóttolôni. ófûlā, ánófûlā, ánófûlā, ánófûlā.

a-hí-dhôwá  o-ttolô = ni  ófûlā  á-ni-ófûlā
2-PFV.DJ-go  17-well = LOC  15.wash  2-IPFV.DJ-15-wash

‘they went to the well, to wash. They are washing.

In (8.118), the two infinitive verbs óttaddá and osápa, which are synonymous for ‘to fish’, are infinitive clauses, juxtaposed to the main clause. It is likely here that the speaker, after resorting to a Portuguese loan (o-peškadoórí < pescador), wanted to give further details on the activity of fishing by means of Cuwabo lexicon.

(8.118) mabása ááyeaalí opeškadoórí, ótáddá, osápa

mabása  ááye  a-á-li  opeškadoórí  ótáddá  osápa
6.work  6.POSS.3SG  6-PST.IPFV-be  14.fisherman.PL  15.fish.sp  15.fish  
‘He was a fisherman. To fish.’

Beyond assuming a status of (non-)verbal sentence, the infinitive is used in several syntactic settings: i) in connective constructions as a qualitative as in (8.119) (see section 5.1.1); ii) in fixed expressions combined with relative clauses as in (8.120) (see section 10.1.6); iii) in complex constructions (see section 8.4 below).

(8.119) ãsáká: n’ oôtêlíwa

ãsáká  na  ótêl-fw-á
5.time  5.CON  15.marry-PASS-Fi
‘the age to get married’

(8.120) òdháan’ oodhilêena Ddôolrindo leñosó òttîléê; [...] 

òdhâ = na  [o-dh-ilë = na  D. leñosó  òttîléê]REL
15.come = COM  15-go-PFV.REL = COM  D.  5.tissue  5.DEM.III
‘hardly had Doolrindo brought that tissue, [...]’

Very often, infinitives appear as the complement of a certain number of modality verbs, such as okála ‘be’ (8.121), ówodhâ ‘be able’ (8.122), omála ‘finish’ (8.123), óromá or

47 ótáddá means ‘fish with a net’, whereas osápa means ‘provide food, either by fishing, hunting or farming’.
ológico (Portuguese começar) ‘start’ (8.124), ódhowá ‘go’ (8.125), ozíwa ‘know’ (8.126), wúúbúwéla ‘think’ (8.127), and ottábwa ‘get worth’ (8.128).

(8.121) **ddiinyákúwa ddiṅṅkál’ óbuléláví**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ddi-hi-nyákúwá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG-PFV.DJ-be.dirty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I am ugly and I keep falling sick’

(8.122) **kawódhile omútcýiha námwál’ uułłe**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-wódh-fle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.2-be.able-PFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘none succeeded in making that girl laugh’

(8.123) **aamal’ oøjámö’ , ořimagyédhá namálába**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-a-mala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-SIT-finish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘after eating, she accused the employee’

(8.124) a. **nyúwó karómáni wííméláani !**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyúwó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.PRO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘You, stand up first!’

b. **ddabun’ óósál’ uúkómésáar’ oodéba**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ddabunó ósálu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘then the thread began to weaken’

(8.125) **oódhow’ óokúcáwo bíríńku**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-hf-dhówá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-PFV.DJ-go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘she went and took off the earrings’

(8.126) **mwáán’ óółe kaálóga. kaaziwil’ óologá**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwááná ółe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘that child did not speak. She was not able to speak.’

(8.127) **owúúbúwéla ókosá mákága**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-hf-úúbúwéla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-PFV.DJ-think</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘he thought of consulting an oracle’
Infinitives are suitable candidates to express endless sentences, with a pragmatic effect of continuity of the action, as in (8.129).

(8.129) okomesáár’ oófwárá muúzik’ oóbúl’ oófwár’ oófwár’ oófwár’
o-komesáári oófwárá muúziká óbúle óófwárá jíbó ésíle
‘they started to follow and follow and follow that song’

Tonally, like several other tenses, distinction is made between Ø-toned verbs and H-toned verbs. Furthermore, a grammatical H is added on both types of verbs. As a verb, the infinitive may receive an object marker, which triggers tone alterations, as was already developed in section 3.4.2.1.

Finally, infinitive verbs can be inflected for negation by means of the post-initial marker -hi-. In this case, neutralisation between H- and Ø-toned verbs operates, and a substitutive grammatical H anchors onto the negative marker (and doubles onto the next mora) for every verb. Note that in (8.130), the H tone on the last mora of ohíýóoná is a boundary tone, which links related prosodic units. Further note the addition of an extra mora between -hi- and vowel-initial stems, indicated in bold italic below.

(8.130) ohíýóoná: makattamiyo mánddímúwa vaddíddi
15-NEG-see 6.difficulty.PL 6-big very
‘to not see is a serious problem’

8.3.2 Narrative [NAR]

In stories, when a string of events occurs in sequence, the narrative tense is used. It looks like a bare infinitive form, neither marked for time, nor for subject. Still it is distinguished from the infinitive by its lowered tone pattern, i.e. Ø-toned verbs remain toneless in the narrative (e.g. in (8.131) ottukula ‘he took’), while H-toned verbs preserve their lexical H on the penult mora (e.g. obuddúwa ‘he went out’), or the ultimate mora in case of a disyllabic stem (e.g. oromá ‘he started’).
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In a sequence of events, the narrative is in principle not used as the first verb. Instead it is common that the first verb form(s) be marked for past tense to establish the time frame. Only once the time is established may the successive events be presented via unmarked forms in the narrative. In this sense the narrative is a dependent verb form whose deictic center is determined by the tense of a verb form previously mentioned in the linguistic context.

Explicit time frame: previous past-reference verb form

a. múttú oovénya, oomútelá mwáadhíye; waaba lányé, omvedá namálabáyé:
múttú o-hi-vényá o-hí-mú-telá mwáadhí=yé
1.people 1-PFV.DJ-rise.up 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry 1.wife = POSS.3SG
o-a-baála ánááyé o-mu-vedá namálábá = áyé
NAR-OM2-give.birth 2.child.Poss.3SG NAR-OM1-search 1a.worker = POSS.3SG

‘A man grew up, married a woman, had his children, looked for an employee’

b. aárómá ocákácá, ócénayá núbuga eítáwá fúmú Namárógolo
ottukula núbigá, ozuguma oólélé oittükünívá:
a-hí-rómá ocákácá ócénayá núbuga entáwá fúmú N.
2-PFV.DJ-begin 15.cultivate.sp 15.sow 3.rice then 1a.sir H.

‘they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice. then Mr.Hare took the rice and turned down the root’

As (8.133) shows, events in the narrative may follow directly the introductory formula weéf(eg)é káay’ ddo, weéflegé… (pragmatically equivalent to the English ‘once upon a time’), which indicates a past context, typical in narrative texts.
Explicit time frame: ‘once upon a time’

a. weé lé k' ddo, weé lé râpaasi. orítelá mwáâdhi, waabaž' aánááwá

\[
\text{eel' áánááyanā}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&[o-ér-ilé \ káaye \ oddo]_{\text{REL}} \ [o-ér-ilé \ râpaasi]_{\text{REL}} \\
&1\text{-do-PFV.REL} \ \text{NEG.COP} \ 1\text{-DEM.II.PL} \ 1\text{-do-PFV.REL} \ 1\text{a.boy.PL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
o-\text{mu-telá} & \ mwáâdhi \\
o-\text{a-baála} & \ áná = \ áwá \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1a.boy.PL} \ \text{NAR} \ & \text{-cultivate} \\
\text{3.field=POSS.3SG} & \text{NAR-OM}=18.\text{LOC} \ 1\text{a.maize}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There once was a man. (lit. ‘the one who did, it is not that one, the one who did, it is a boy’) He married a woman. They got two children.’

b. weé lélegé káây’ ddo, weé lélegé râpaási’ ulima mundd’ ááyé:

\[
\text{omwaalámú naámbêdde.}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&o-\text{ér-il-eg-é]_{\text{REL}} \ káaye \ oddo} & \ [o-ér-il-eg-é]_{\text{REL}} \\
&1\text{-say-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL} \ \text{NEG.COP} \ 1\text{-DEM.II.PL} \ 1\text{-say-APPL-HAB-PFV.REL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
râpáási & \ o-\text{lima} \\
munddá = \ áyé & \ o-\text{mu-alá = mó} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1a.boy.PL} \ \text{NAR} & \text{-cultivate} \\
\text{3.field=POSS.3SG} & \text{NAR-OM}=18.\text{LOC} \ 1\text{a.maize}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There once was a man. (lit. ‘the one who said, it is not that one, the one who said, it is a boy’) He cultivated his fields and sowed maize.’

 Rather than the typical introductory formula seen above, speakers may also resort to alternative formulations, such as the one proposed in (8.134). Here again, the context makes it clear that a story is being narrated, and that subsequent past events are going to occur. Interestingly, in this story entitled *The cat and the dog*, about the first half of the text makes use of the narrative tense (see the Appendix).
(8.134) Explicit time frame: story context

‘I want to tell about Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog’s friendship. Here it is (lit. ‘I am telling this’) : Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog built a friendship. They made their picnics, their contribution, they cooked their own food.’

In a sequence of events expressed by the narrative tense, it may happen that the subject of the subsequent verbs is different from one clause to another. In this case, the change of subject is usually indicated by the addition of a pronoun (8.135), although this is not systematic (8.136).

(8.135) a. *namárogol’ oottamága. ottawá. áwéén’ óomutamelá omutamelá* {ddingí.22-23}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>o-ttamága</th>
<th>o-ttawá</th>
<th>áwéénne</th>
<th>o-mu-tamelá</th>
<th>o-mu-tamelá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>NAR-run</td>
<td>NAR-flee</td>
<td>3PL.PRO</td>
<td>NAR-OM1-look.for</td>
<td>NAR-OM1-look.for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Mr.Hare ran and fled. They looked for him.’

b. *Kurumáanj’ oólle: ofwanyá: múri, [...] omweerela va-ńtíyéeélén’ áápále.* {maría.33-34}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>áápále</th>
<th>iyééénne</th>
<th>o-apa</th>
<th>múyaná</th>
<th>óólle</th>
<th>o-apa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

‘That bee met a tree [...] He landed on those fruits. She plucked, that woman plucked.’
(8.136) Oódhówáwo múyaná: múyaná balogá: “nááda, (mí) ddikáló woomáríha.” {mbíri.25-26}

Waakukuselá: ánáayé

O-hí-dhówá = vo múyaná múyaná ba-logá náda ddi-kál-é
1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC 1.woman 1.woman SEQ.1-say no 1SG-be-SBJ

Wa omáríha o-a-kukus-el-á áná = ayé
1.CON 15.finish NAR-OM2-gather-APPL-Fi 2.child = POSS.3SG

‘The woman went there. She said: No, I will be the last one. He invited the children’

The habitual suffix -ag- may be added to narrative verb forms, as exemplified in (8.137).

(8.137) A. Okomesáár’ úikuł’ ookíta. Okitag’ ookitag’ ookitaga. {ddingi.21}

O-komesáári okúle okíta o-kit-ag-a
NAR-start 17.DEM.III 15.go.down NAR-go.down-HAB-Fi

‘He started to go down. He went down, went down…’

B. Eíttáwú, odhagavo afúmu báalá, afúmu dówu, afúmu ttébo {mute.8}

Eíttáwú o-dh-ag-a = vo afúmu báalá afúmu dówu...

Then NAR-come-HAB-Fi = 16.LOC 2.mister 1a.bushbuck 2.mister 9a.elephant

‘Then came mister Bushbuck, mister Elephant, etc’

The negative narrative is formed by adding the negative marker -hi-, while the tone pattern remains unchanged. Since such negative forms could not be found in narrative texts, the following example was proposed by Sérgio.

(8.138) Muddaákúlelíýé kánboo, miyó ohimugulíédha {semi-elic.}

[Mu-ddi-ákúl-el-é = fyé kánboo]REL miyó
18-OM1SG.answer-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 9a.insult 1SG.PRO

O-hi-mu-gul-ih-édh-a
15-NEG-OM1-buy-CAUS-APPL-Fi

‘When he replied (to me) by an insult, I did not sell (it) to him’

8.3.3 Resumptive [RES]

The resumptive infinitive is another verb form which does not make use of subject markers. Instead, it is built upon the infinitive verb preceded by the formative na- which probably derives from na in ‘have’ constructions (see section 9.1.3). Resumptive verb forms constitute a discourse device known as ‘tail-head linkage’, which consists in restating or resuming at the beginning of a new sentence the event described in the antecedent sentence. This
recapitulative form constitutes a subordinate clause, which invariably appears sentence-initially, assuming in such a position, a transitional function in the chronological course of a narrative. Resumptive may be translated in English as ‘having V-ed’ or ‘after V-ing’. Several examples are provided below.

(8.139) [...] pa vénéw’ ōkosósíyé masárápitt’ ááyeén’ áábo. {mbílri.18-19}

noomál’ ōkosósá wakweélá cetééně:

pa vénéwó [va-á-kosá = ñyé masárápitto ááye = éné áábo]REL

na-omála ókosá o-a-kweélá a-eté = éné
RES-15.finish 15.do NAR-OM2-call 2-all = INT

‘It is there that he decided to make that magic of his. After doing it, he called them all.’

(8.140) olóóttükůluwavo Ddóolrínddé , olóódhówána vatákúlu. {ddoo.36}

nuółhówána vatákulu ovediiwé ſíngągą:

olé-öttükůl-uw-a = vo D. o-lé-ódhówá = na va-tákulu

na-ódhówá = na va-tákulu o-ved-íw-é ſíngągą
RES-15.go = COM 16-9a.house 1-look.for-PASS-SBJ 1a.healer.PL

‘They took Ddoolrinddo home. After taking her home, they looked for a traditional healer.’

(lit. ‘a trad. healer was looked for’)

(8.141) mámúna Maríyá owúbúwa, noódéla noowóríw’ oókúl’ oomabásáni {maria.126}
oódhá vatákůluváyé [...]
mámúna M. o-hí-búwa na-óðha na-owórúwa ókúle
1.husband M. 1-PFV.DJ-appear RES-15.come RES-15.stop.work 17.DEM.III

o-mabásá = ni o-hí-dhá va-tákúlu = váye
17-6.work = LOC 1-PFV.DJ-come 16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

‘Maria’s husband showed up. After he finished working, he went back home’

(8.142) omwaálámó naámbéddde. nuółmváálá naámbéddde ; {waavedágá: áttú ...} {dingí.2-3}
o-mu-alá = mó naámbéddde na-ó-mú-alá naámbéddde
NAR-OM1-sow = 18.LOC 1a.maize RES-15-OM1-sow 1a.maize

‘and he sowed maize. When he sowed maize, he looked for [people ...]’

As expected, coalescence between both vowels in contact (a + o) occurs and interestingly, the output varies between noo- and nuu-, as can be seen in the examples above. This suggests that the infinitive prefix is underlyingly high, as is common in the eastern Bantu languages. A constraint against high vowels in word-initial position operates on the surface
(as in Makhuwa-Enahara, see van der Wal 2009: 20), but their high feature is preserved whenever preceded by a proclitic. The variation between noo- and nuu- may be explained by the ambiguous status of the formative na in resumptive constructions. As a prefix, it becomes fully part of the verb form, and coalescence occurs on the lexical level, such as the a+u sequence triggers a long mid-vowel [oo] (see section 2.4.1.1). As a proclitic, it enjoys a little more (morphophonological) independence, and coalescence is then practised on the post-lexical level. Note that no previous case has been attested on the post-lexical level with the sequence a+u. The optional nuu-resumptive suggests that the output is a long high vowel.

8.3.4 Counterfactual [CF]

Counterfactual (CF) is found in speculative conditional sentences in the form of an if-clause, which is known to be false or contrary to fact. This dependent clause expressing a condition represents the protasis. In Cuwabo, the CF is formally composed of the infinitive verb preceded by the CF formative ka-. It is likely that this formative comes from the PB reconstruction *-ka-, already seen for the situative prefix -a- (see section 8.2.5 above), which expresses a condition, translated by an if-clause. Another possible source for ka- is the subordinate conjunction akala ‘if’. It is indeed easy to imagine that ka- is a reduced form of akala.

\[(8.143)\] *kookaana koöbílri ddigaádhôw’ óöînga óöîveddá bambââyâ* 
\[\text{semi-elic.}\]
\[\text{ka-okaana} \quad \text{koöbílri} \quad \text{ddi-gaa-hí-dhôwá} \quad \text{o-Rínga} \quad \text{ó-mú-veddá} \quad \text{bambââyâ} \]
\[\text{CF-15.have.PL} \quad \text{9a.money} \quad \text{1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-go} \quad \text{17-M.da.C.} \quad \text{15-OM1-search} \quad \text{1a.potato} \]
\[\text{‘if I had some money, I would go to Maganja da Costa to fetch sweet potatoes’}\]

\[(8.144)\] *míyó kootelá: kaddigátábuwa dhayecné* 
\[\text{semi-elic.}\]
\[\text{míyó} \quad \text{ka-otelá} \quad \text{ka-ddi-gá-tábuwa} \quad \text{dhaayi=ene} \]
\[\text{1SG.PRO} \quad \text{CF-15.marry.PL} \quad \text{NEG-1SG-FUT.IPFV-suffer} \quad \text{like.this.1.PL = INT} \]
\[\text{‘if I were married, I would not suffer this way’}\]

\[(8.145)\] *kuwiibá vâddíddí ddigaállála vañmêlo* 
\[\text{semi-elic.}\]
\[\text{ka-wiibá} \quad \text{vâddíddí} \quad \text{ddi-gaa-hí-lála} \quad \text{va-ñmêlo} \]
\[\text{CF-15.sing.PL} \quad \text{much} \quad \text{1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-weaken} \quad \text{16-3.throat} \]
\[\text{‘if I sang a lot, I would damage my voice’}\]
Similarly to the resumptive, coalescence occurs with the same variation in the vowel height degree, resulting either as a long mid-vowel [oo] or as a long high vowel [uu]. This further confirms the underlying [+high] feature of noun class prefixes consisting of a single vowel (see section 8.3.3 on resumptive for a more detailed explanation). Also note that PL applies to the infinitive verb, which is not the case with the resumptive.

The counterfactual is optionally expressed as a compound verbal expression, in which one of two verbs, wíilá ‘say’ or ólogá ‘tell, speak’, is inflected for the counterfactual conditional, and then followed by the main semantic verb found in a past form, imperfective (8.147) or perfective (8.148).

(8.147) *kowiilúwága ddáíkosá řmpindduá ddigaágúlá ſándébe*  
\[
\begin{align*}
    & \text{ka-wiil-úw-ág-a} & \text{ddi-á-nf-kosá} & \text{řmpinddú} & \text{ddi-gaa-hí-gula} \\
    & \text{řándébe} & \text{ňddébe} \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{CF-15.say-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL} & \quad \text{1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-do} & \quad \text{3.business 1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-buy} & \quad \text{5.plot} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘if I had a chance to make business, I would buy a piece of land’

(8.148) *kuulogúwága ddaábaľa ddíziw’ wi káddigaataá búwile*  
\[
\begin{align*}
    & \text{ka-olog-úw-ág-a} & \text{ddi-a-hí-bála} & \text{ddi-hí-ziwa} & \text{wi} \\
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{CF-15.tell-PASS-HAB-Fi.PL} & \quad \text{1SG-PST-PFV.DJ-give.birth} & \quad \text{1SG-PFV.DJ-know} & \quad \text{CMP} \\
    \text{ňddébe} & \quad \text{ňddébe} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘if I had children, I know I would not suffer (= they would sustain me)’

The main clause introduced by the counterfactual conditional (i.e. the apodosis) expresses the result of the condition and is most generally in a conditional tense (see section 8.1.7 above) as the preceding examples illustrate. Still, other tenses are attested in the apodosis clause, such as the sequential perfective (8.149), or the future imperfective (8.150), as already seen in section 8.1.6.
8.4 Analytic tenses

Analytic tenses are built upon an infinitive lexical verb preceded by an auxiliary. In many Bantu languages, several verbs (such as go, come, do, be, etc) may assume the function of auxiliary. In Cuwabo, only the verbs wíilá ‘say, do’ and őfuná ‘want’ are regularly used as auxiliaries. Beside the disjoint future analysed in section 8.1.5, two more analytic tenses make use of the auxiliary wíilá: the past progressive (section 8.4.1), and the
counterexpectational (section 8.4.2). Constructions involving the verb ófuná ‘want’ are presented in section 8.4.3.

8.4.1 Past Progressive [PST(IPFV+‘do’)]

The past continuous consists of the auxiliary wíilá ‘do, say’ inflected for the conjoint past imperfective, marked by the TAM prefix -á- (see section 8.1.4), then followed by the infinitive. This tense verb construction insists on the progressive aspect of an action, i.e. on the dynamic quality of a process in progress. The three-vocalic sequence triggered by the subsequent SM, the TAM prefix -á- and the vowel-initial stem -ila is reduced to a bimoraic vowel, in which the SM is amalgamated with -á-, as the surface H tone on the first verb mora of the three following examples makes clear. Note that -ila was not glossed according to its lexical meaning ‘do, say’, but rather according to its structural function among the whole verb form, namely ‘AUX’.

(8.153) ółe nípóntáári: wéélootóónya : “va N íkuríbedh’ áápálé”
ółe nípóntáári o-á-fla-otóónya va N. ápálé
‘that tracker was indicating : Mr.Dugong is over there!’

(8.154) ánáénám’ cetéén’ [...] ééloóíperysegírí ééloóíňíwarí wíilél’ aañípe
áná-énáma a-eté = éne a-á-fla-ó-mú-peresegírí
2.child-9.animal 2-all = INT 2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-chase
a-á-fla-ó-mú-ńíwarí wíiléla a-mú-p-e
2-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-follow CMP 2-OM1-kill-SBJ
‘all the animals [...] were chasing him. they were following him to kill him’

As far as tones are concerned, no PL occurs on the infinitive verbs, which thus maintain the surface tone pattern found in the infinitive form, with a grammatical H assigned to the first mora of the (macro-)stem, plus the lexical contrast between Ø and H verbs, with some constraint with the latter (see section 3.4.2.1 on “Grammatical H assigned to MS1 + lexical tone contrast”). Now, in the negative verb constructions, the infinitive verb does undergo PL. This means that the verb stem remains toneless in Ø-toned verbs (8.155), but maintains the lexical H of H-toned verbs on the penult mora (8.156). Further note that the object kálðúúnga ‘sickle’ in (8.155) does not undergo PL.
8.4.2 Counterexpectational

Counterexpectational (CE) is built upon the marker -lá-, followed by the infinitive verb. It is likely that -lá- originates from the auxiliary wíilá ‘say, do’, whose form was truncated, as will be further mentioned below. CE, commonly attested in narrative texts, is used to express new and somewhat unexpected information, which was not planned. It is aspectually close to the perfective, since the event is seen as a whole, but unlike the perfective, the CE involves a surprising effect. For instance, in (8.157), an originally healthy body suddenly stopped working, because of an argument between its main constitutive parts. In (8.158), Maria, a black woman suddenly and unexpectedly becomes white.

(8.157) eňtáw’ óórómááñá labónéne řtřřlé jaá řníngó neetéčene

kaneédíle víina, ǹlágúnáñtí.

eňtáwó órómáá = ná labó = néne řtřřlé ja řníngó ni-eté = êne
then 15.start = COM 5.day = 5.INT 5.DEM.III no.longer 5.body 5-all = INT
ka-ni-édd-íle víina ni-lá-ógúnáñtí
NEG-5.walk-PFV too 5-CE-15.lie.down

‘Then, from that day on, the whole body no longer worked (walked), it kept on sleeping.’
A first counterexpected situation may trigger a chain of subsequent unexpected events, as shown in (8.159). Thanks to the hare’s smartness, the girl started to use her voice and speak, and was thus offered to the hare.

Morphologically, the CE is difficult to account for. If we compare the affirmative forms above with the negative forms in (8.160) and (8.161), we note that the auxiliary stem -ila is truncated in the affirmative forms. Furthermore, no TAM affix is involved in this verb construction. Instead, the SM is directly followed by the auxiliary.
(8.161) múkwáníya óyévhíwa dhaáwo ? kaddiílóogula, ddílóóvwáhíwa

{semi-elic.}

múkwání = ya óyévhí = wa dhaáwo ka-ddi-flá-ogulá

3.greenery = DEF 15.shorten = 15.DEF like.that.II NEG-1SG-CE-15.buy.PL

ddi-lá-óváh-fw-a

1SG-CE-15.give-PASS-Fi

‗(why) so little greenery? I did not buy it, I was given it‘

Similarly to the past progressive, the object following the negative construction is not subject to PL since this tone process is in fact applied on the infinitive verb, as the second part of the analytic verb form.

(8.162) kaddiílóogulíha nígágádda

{elic.}

ka-ddi-flá-ogul-fh-a nígágádda

NEG-1SG-CE-15.buy-CAUS-Fi.PL  5.dry.cassava

‗I did not sell dry cassava‘

Regarding tones, the affirmative CE constructions are neutralised: a H anchors onto the last mora of the auxiliary, and then spreads to the penult mora of the following verb stem, whether it is underlyingly H or toneless. On the contrary, lexical contrast is preserved in the negative constructions: whereas a grammatical H anchors onto the first mora of the auxiliary stem (since it is disyllabic), the associated verb stem contains the lexical H (on the penult mora) with H-toned verbs, or remains entirely low with Ø-toned verbs. This tone pattern in the negative constructions may explain the lack of truncation of the auxiliary stem -ila.

**8.4.3 ófuná ‘want’ + infinitive: near future**

The verb ófuná ‘want’ in the CJ present tense followed by an infinitive forms an analytic construction which indicates a prospective future, translated as ‘be about to’. Examples are provided below.

(8.163) a. ddi-ní-fúná ofiya {elic.}  

**ddi-ní-fúná** ofiya

1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 15.arrive.PL

‗I am about to arrive‘

b. nama e-ní-funa wiitta {elic.}

**nama e-ní-funa** wiitta

9a.meat 9-IPFV.CJ-want 15.be.ripe.PL

‗the meat is almost cooked‘
‘When he realised “I am going to bump into the one who is following me”, he jumped.

Such constructions are common in relative clauses. Note that the object of the infinitive is not subjected to PL, as illustrated in (8.165)a with ósalú ‘thread’.

(8.165) a. ólíééné omfün’ óópatůá ósalú dd’ iijíl’ óóbáága

‘the one who will break the thread is the one who ate my fish’

b. oméyélél’ oo’ uuñfünéeny’ uuvírá; ,

‘on the way back you will pass by, the bee.sp will land on a stone’

In exactly the same context, a similar interpretation is obtained with the verb ódha ‘come’ in the CJ present (8.166), although it is not as common as with the verb ófüná ‘want’.

(8.166) ddińdhág’ ootaabúwá vatí vářariba ddaahígúlí vela

‘I am going to suffer at night if I do not buy candles’
8.5 Defective verbs

In Cuwabo, there are only four verbs which can be considered as defective: -*idhi* ‘know’, -*ga* ‘go’, -*ya* ‘go’, and -*li* ‘be’. Defective verbs have the particularity of having an invariable stem. In no case do they take the different flectional final vowels, nor do they appear with any extension or with the infinitive prefix *o*- (except *olí* ‘be’). They are restricted to the following marking: polarity (with the pre-initial negative prefix *ka*), SM, tense (present or past), OM, and post-final locatives. Several examples are provided below. The first one in (8.167) shows that defective verbs may be employed as modals. A detailed account of the defective verb *olí* ‘be’ is given in section 9.2.3.1.

(8.167) *wulrú! namárógolo keédh’ óceyá mbúga* {mute.17}

wulrú namárógolo  *ka-idhi* óceyá mbúga
IDEO 1a.hare NEG.1-know 15.sow.PL 3.rice
‘[laugh], Mr.Hare does not know how to sow rice!’

(8.168) “*miyó kamuddúídhí:?*” belá: “*kánwúídhí.***” {maría.86}

miyó  *ka-mu-ddi-idhi* ba-ilá  *ká-ni-ú-idhi*
1SG.PRO NEG-2PL-OM1SG-know SEQ.1-say NEG-1PL-OM2SG-know
‘You do not know me? We don’t know you.’

(8.169) ‘*pa! ddaagél*’ óokúl’ úwa cívéevé {páaká.21}

epa  *ddi-a-g-él-e* ókúle wa cívéevé
INTER 1SG-PST-go-APPL-PFV.CJ 17.DEM.III 17.CON 9a.swallow
‘I was there at Mr.Swallow’s’

(8.170) *sapátó dhaamugúlelúímí: kavilémo* {semi-elic.}

sapátó  dhi-a-mu-gúl-el-é = ímí              *ka-y-flé = mo*
10a.shoe 10-PST-OM1-buy-APPL-PFV.REL = 1SG.PRO NEG-go-PFV = 18.LOC
‘the shoes I bought him did not fit him’
This chapter is concerned with the internal structure of the simple clause, involving different predicative constructions. The most usual distinction is made between verbal and non-verbal predicates. Predicates are most commonly verbal. Verbal predicates may be sub-classified as transitive or intransitive depending on their argument structure. This will be dealt with in section 9.1. In section 9.2, the different cases of non-verbal predication, subsuming nominal, adjectival and locative predicates, will be presented, as well as the different strategies used in Cuwabo to express them, such as tone alteration on the predicate (Predicative Lowering) or the use of a copula.

### 9.1 Verbal predication

In this section, I propose an analysis of verbal predication. Each Cuwabo verb is characterised both semantically and syntactically and consequently assigns specific roles to the participants in the denoted action or state. The grammatical relations resulting from this
semantic/syntax interaction are addressed in section 9.1.1. Section 9.1.2 discusses verbal valency, and more particularly the different verb classes dealing with (in)transitivity, ambitransitivit and ditransitivity. Section 9.1.3 in turn is devoted to the expression of possession. I will show that Cuwabo has two forms meaning ‘to have’, which do not (or no longer) correspond to the expression ‘be with’, otherwise commonly attested in Bantu.

9.1.1 Grammatical relations

In this section I am concerned with the different semantic and syntactic relations displayed by the different lexical terms involved by the verbal construction. Distinction will be made between core and peripheral semantic and syntactic roles, and notions like arguments, adjuncts, subject and object will be recurrently used. My approach is mostly based on Creissels (2006) and Givón (2001).

9.1.1.1 Semantic roles

From a broad perspective, two types of semantic relations are traditionally distinguished: the participants, i.e. those which participate in the event, and the peripheral adjuncts (also called “satellites” (Creissels 2006)), which do not participate in the event but only set the frame. The participants can in turn be subdivided into two categories: i) those whose presence is fundamental for the construction of the sentence. They are referred to as core arguments; ii) those whose presence is optional. Considering for instance the sentence in (9.1)a, both mírí ‘trees’ and nyenyéle ‘ants’ participate in the action expressed by the verb ója ‘eat’: mírí is the entity which undergoes the action of being eaten, it represents the patient of the verb; nyenyéle is the entity which performs the action of eating and thus represents the agent of the verb. However in many passive sentences, the agent introduced obliquely by the preposition na ‘by’ is not required, and constructions like (9.1)b are commonly attested in the language.

(9.1) a. mírí dhíňójúwá na nyenyéle
    mírí dhí-ni-ó-j-úw-á na nyenyéle
     4.tree 4-IPFV.DJ-15-eat-PASS-Fi by 10a.ant
‘the trees are being eaten by the ants’
The semantics of a verb predicate defines its argument frame and implies that each argument is assigned a semantic role. More specifically, arguments cover an array of different semantic roles, such as the well-known “agent”, “patient”, “goal” and “benefactive”, whose definitions can be found in Givón (2001: 107) and Creissels (2006a: 280-281). As will be discussed below, the core arguments are usually well coded in the verb morphology. In contrast, semantic roles linked with time, location and manner usually constitute adjuncts of the verb, since their occurrence is not constrained by the valency of the verb, and thus not represented in its morphological structure.

9.1.1.2 Syntactic roles

In addition to their semantic roles, the aforementioned participants and adjuncts also convey syntactic roles in the clause, among which two are central in the discourse information: the subject and the (direct) object. They constitute the nuclear syntactic roles present in basic transitive constructions. Beside these core constituents, the adjuncts constitute peripheral syntactic roles. Although they do not obey a strict order in the sentence, they generally occupy the final position of the sentence or are left-dislocated in sentence-initial position. For instance, in (9.2) the locative adjunct vańl g ni ‘on a stone’ follows the objectless verb, and in (9.3) the prepositional (or oblique) phrase na maámbéesí ‘in the morning’ constitutes a temporal adjunct which sets the frame on the left-edge of the sentence.

(9.2) kurumáñi’ oonecloómwerela vańlúgni
kurumánje o-naa-ilá-ómwerela vańlúgni = ni
1a.bee.sp 1-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.land.PL 16-5.stone = LOC
‘the bee.sp will land on a stone’

(9.3) Maríyá na maámbéesí ’agaamala waábbá, odhow’ óója
M. na maámbéesí a-gaa-mala waábbá o-dhowá o-ja
M. by 6.morning 1-SIT-finish 15.bathe NAR-go NAR-eat
‘In the morning, Maria, after bathing, went and ate’

In most cases, a formal distinction between objects and adjuncts is made by means of the locative classes, as seen in (9.2) with the class 16 NP vańlúgni. Furthermore, objects and
adjuncts do not have the same semantic scope: in Dryer (2007: 250)’s words “objects complete the meaning of the verb in a way that adjuncts do not.”

The nuclear syntactic roles are assumed to convey two main formal properties which constitute mechanisms coding their relations, and which therefore allow distinguishing one from another: overt coding properties and behaviour properties. Each is discussed in turn with regard to Cuwabo.

**Overt coding properties**

Encoding properties deal with both word order of the lexical constituents and morphosyntactic process of indexation of these constituents on the verb (by means of pronominal verb agreement). Note that there is no morphological case-marking on the noun phrases themselves, be they subject or object, as will be made clear throughout the examples in this section.

Word order represents a first hint toward the assignment of syntactic roles. The canonical word order of constituents in Cuwabo is SVO for transitives (9.4) and SV for intransitives (9.5).

(9.4) SVO  
\[
\text{wéyó oncelóónutelá mwánága} \\
\text{wéyó o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-telá mwánága} \\
\text{2SG.PRO 2SG-FUT.DJ-AUX-15-OM1-marrry.PL 1.child.POSS.1SG} \\
\text{‘you will marry my daughter’}
\]

(9.5) SV  
\[
\text{namárógol’ oottamága. ottawá} \\
\text{namárógolo o-ttamága o-ttawá} \\
\text{1a.hare NAR-run NAR-flee} \\
\text{‘the hare ran and fled’}
\]

Note however that SVO is not a rigid order, and that for discourse-pragmatic purposes or informational content, it may be subject to alteration (see chapter 11 on constituent order and information structure). Cases in which the verb selects two objects are discussed in section 9.1.2.3 below, on double-object constructions.

Now the question of co-indexation is crucial in determining grammatical relations. By co-indexation is meant the process of NP’s control of pronominal affixes on the verb. This is particularly true with the lexical constituents functioning as subjects, which, at the clausal level, are invariably and obligatorily co-indexed on a specific slot of the verb, by means of class-marking prefixes, as shown in (9.6) and (9.7).
As a matter of fact, a system of double marking takes place, since most Cuwabo nouns are also marked for class. In (9.6), both subject and verb are identically marked for this syntactic relation by the class 14 prefix o-. This is not the case in (9.7) as jíbó ‘song(s)’ is part of the prefixless nouns found in class 9a/10a (see section 4.1.5 on noun morphology). However the agreeing verb is marked by the co-referential class 10 prefix dhi-. Co-indexation (or agreement) of SM on the verb is a relevant criterion to differentiate the subject from other syntactic roles.

On the other hand, all objects are not systematically marked on the verb. In fact, in Cuwabo, only the persons and classes 1 and 2 objects are co-indexed on the verb. It is likely that inherent lexical content originally played a role in that only animate arguments would be marked on the verb, hence a restriction to the [+ human] classes 1 and 2. However, as these classes have been hosting a certain number of animate but humanless entities as well as inanimate objects, object marking became obligatory for every class 1/2 noun regardless of their semantics (except perhaps in some particular configurations discussed in section 9.1.2.3), as can be seen in (9.8) with the animate entity kurúmáanje ‘bee.sp’, and in (9.9) with the inanimate object naámbêdde ‘maize’.

Importantly, verb indexing of both persons and class 1/2 nouns do not require to delete the lexical object, or to move it out from its argument position, i.e. to be left-dislocated or right-dislocated. In other words, object marking on the verb can co-occur with an overt object NP.
and it thus not linked with a topical informational purpose, as is common in Bantu, but is better interpreted as a systematic grammatical agreement, which applies regardless of the informational status of the co-indexed object (see section 11.3.3 for more examples in focused constructions).

Note that SM and OM are assigned to specific verb slots. As a result, the SM always precedes the OM, and both are usually separated by TAM markers (see section 6.3 for a reminder of the verb template).

In addition to subject and object marking, Cuwabo has a third marking with a pronominal function: locative marking. It differs from subject and object marking in two respects: first it occupies the last position of the verb template; second, it is usually optional (but still very frequently attested in the language).

As already shown in section 6.3.9.2, the locative clitics cannot co-occur with an in situ (postverbal) locative phrase. For convenience, the illustrating example in (6.136) is repeated in (9.11).

(9.11) *áléddo aádhámo ŋümúřuddani > áléddo aádhá ŋümúřuddani  

áléddo a-hí-dhá = mo mu-múrúdda = ni  
2.guest 2-PFV.DJ-come = 18.LOC 18-3.village = LOC  
‘the guests arrived into the village’

The locative agreement system is therefore not symmetric with the object agreement system, which is automatically carried out regardless the position of the object NP.
**Behaviour properties**

By “behaviour properties” is meant the possibility for a lexical subject or object to undergo certain types of syntactic operations (or processes), such as reflexivisation, sequencing, *wh*-questions, focalisation, relativisation, or passivisation, etc. The most relevant for subject and object comparison are discussed in turn. Note that passivisation will be dealt with in double-object constructions, in section 9.1.2.3.

In Cuwabo, the reflexive pronoun has the invariable form *-vi*, assigned to the verb in the slot for object marking (see section 6.3.5). It co-refers to the subject of the sentence, but is semantically interpreted as an object, or rather a non-subject, since no overt lexical object is possibly present in this type of construction. This object (or non-subject) interpretation is confirmed by the type of verbs involved in reflexive constructions, namely transitive verbs, as *ótótóca ‘destroy’ in (9.12)a. In contrast, intransitive verbs are infelicitous in the same context, as illustrated in (9.12)b with *ótótówa ‘be destroyed’. This means that reflexivisation depends both on a ‘subject’ syntactic role and the ‘transitive’ syntactic property of the verb.

(9.12)  
a. *othpáylá: onóvitóca, onólitówa*  
[o-ni-páylá]REL  o-ní-ó-ví-totóca  o-ní-ólitówa  
1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud 1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-destroy 1-IPFV.DJ-15.be.destroyed  
‘whoever is proud destroys himself, is destroyed’

b. *othpáylá: onóvitówa*  
[o-ni-páylá]REL  o-ní-ó-ví-tówa  
1-IPFV.CJ-be.proud 1-IPFV.DJ-15-REFL-be.destroyed  
‘whoever is proud is destroyed (by) himself’

Regarding *wh*-questions with *aaní ‘who’, it is interesting to note a subject/object asymmetry with respect to the position of the interrogative word. *aaní* cannot question an agent (or subject) function in the ‘Immediately After the Verb’ (IAV) position (9.13)a. Nor can it fulfil the canonical subject position in the preverbal domain (9.13)b. Instead, it must be used with a copula in a cleft + relative construction (9.13)c. Inversely, an object can perfectly be questioned by means of the two constructions, involving object marking on the verb for class 1/2 noun references (9.14).

(9.13) Question on the subject  
a. *vatátúlu vagonilé aaní ?*  
va-tátkúlu  va-gon-ilé  *aaní*  
16-9a.house 16-sleep-PVF.CJ  who  
Intd. ‘who slept at home?’
Another subject/object asymmetry closely connected with the one mentioned above deals with focalisation. The only focusing strategy allowed with subjects necessarily involves the use of a copular sentence combined with a relative clause (9.15)a. The same strategy may be observed with objects (9.16)a, but more commonly, a focused object directly follows the (conjoint) verb form and undergoes PL (9.16)b. (9.15)b shows this is ungrammatical with a subject.

(9.14) **Question on the object**

a. *síkálétá oṁvahil’ āání?* 
   síkálétá o-mu-vah-ilé aání
9a.bicycle 1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ who
‘whom did you give the bicycle to?’

b. *ba aání oṁvahilééwé síkálétá?*
   ba aání [o-mu-váh-ilé=éwé síkáléta] REL
2.COP who 1-OM1-give-PFVREL=2SG.PRO 9a.bicycle
‘whom did you give the bicycle to?’

(9.15) a. *ddi Ōsánzáyá ogonilé vatákulu*
   ddi ósánzáyá [o-gón-ilé va-tákulu] REL
1.COP osanzaya 1-sleep-PFVREL 16-9a.house
‘it is Osanzaya who slept at home’

b. *vatákulu vagonilé Osanzáya*
   va-tákulu va-gon-ilé osanzáya
16-9a.house 16-9a.sleep-PFV.CJ osanzaya.PL
Intd. ‘OSANZAYA slept at home’

(9.16) a. *ddi mwááná oṁvahilééhu síkélétádhdá*
   ddi mwááná [o-mu-váh-ilé=éhu síkélétá=yá] REL
1.COP 1.child 1-OM1-give-PFVREL=2PL.PRO 9a.bicycle =9.DEF
‘we gave the bicycle TO THE CHILD’ (lit. ‘it is to the child that we gave the bicycle’)
b. síkélétá y nîn-vah-ilé mwáana  {elic.}
síkélétá = yá nî-mu-vah-ilé mwáana
‘we gave the bicycle TO THE CHILD’

In contrast, both subjects and objects may be relativised, with the same coding strategy involving (relative) agreement on the verb, as shown in (9.17) and (9.18). (see section 10.1 for an in-depth analysis of relative constructions).

(9.17)  subject relative
óllééne ojíl’ éés ájíl’ […]  {mbílri.14}
óllé = éne [o-j-ilé éésávi éjí]REL
1.DEM.III = INT 1-eat-PFV.REL 9.relish 9.DEM.I
‘The very one who ate the relish […]’

(9.18)  non-subject relative
nee-teéne nikósén’ éjíl’ eekósíle miyo  {mbílri.23}
ni-eté = éne ni-kós-é = ni ejíle [e-kós-íle miyo]REL
1PL-all = INT 1PL-SBJ = PLA 9.DEM.III 9-do-PFV.REL 1SG.PRO
‘Then, let’s all do what I did.’

9.1.1.3 Syntax-semantics interface

In the different cases of simple clauses presented so far, a certain isomorphism can be observed between semantics and syntax. The semantic roles tend to be mapped onto the syntactic roles which build the clause. The arguments thus have central syntactic roles. In transitive constructions, for instance, the subject is usually linked with the agent semantic role, whereas the object is applied for the patient semantic role. Further note that in intransitive constructions, the single nuclear argument is encoded in a similar way than the agent of a transitive construction, and both are considered as grammatical subjects. In this respect, Cuwabo respects an accusative pattern.

The differences in properties depending on each syntactic role allow drawing their hierarchy in terms of their essential character to the construction. Core arguments with nuclear roles are thus distinguished from peripheral (or oblique) roles by their coding and behavioural properties. Note however that the distinction between core and peripheral constituents is not as binary as it seems, and in-between non-prototypical cases may arise. This is the case with locative inversion constructions, whose analysis is addressed in section 11.1.4.


9.1.2 Valency and verb classes

Verb valency refers to the ability of each verb to control a specific number of arguments. Valency is thus determined by the lexical meaning of the verb. From a syntactic point of view, valency is concerned with the number and the syntactic role of the nuclear or core constituents of the verb. In simple clauses, the arguments (semantic roles) usually pattern with the syntactic roles, and both semantic valency and syntactic valency are similar. Exceptions arise as will be demonstrated later with the locative inversion constructions. Importantly, a given verb may assume several valency patterns, as will be made clear in the following subsections.

Section 6.1, on verbal morphology, showed that a variety of derivational extensions are voice mechanisms which allow to increase or diminish the valency of a verb. Among these valency-changing markers, some can be added only to intransitive verbs to form transitive verbs, and vice versa. In other cases, differences in valency are observed between constructions which make use of the same verb. This variation in valency is mostly determined by lexical/semantic properties of verbs. Both derived and underived verbs will be considered in this section.

9.1.2.1 Intransitives

Intransitive verbs have a valency restricted to one argument; they are monovalent. Different semantic subtypes of verbs display intransitivity. Among them are the stative verbs, whose single argument is necessarily interpreted as a theme. Stative verbs can be either inherently stative (9.19) or made stative by adding the neuter extension -ey- to transitive verbs (9.20).

(9.19) a. Ddóolrindo’ oökôddëla mas
    D. o-hí-kôddëla mas
    D. 1-PFV.DJ-be.beautiful more
    ‘Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful’

b. mbiři’ ij’ a’àmëna vaddëddi
    mbiři čjó e-a-hí-núma vaddëddi
    9a.fish.sp 9.DEM.I 9-PST-PFV.DJ-be.fat much
    ‘That fish was very fat (i.e. healthy).’

(9.20) a. enótwéya {maria.49}
    e-ni-ôtw-éy-a
    9-IPFV.DJ-15.break-NTR-Fi
    ‘it is going to break’

b. koonéyîle {ddoo.22}
    ka-on-éy-île
    NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV
    ‘she was not visible’
With process verbs such as ‘fall’, ‘die’, ‘grow’, ‘break’, the subject is considered as a patient-of-change, i.e. it transits from one state to another. Two examples are provided below with the verbs wúùnúwa ‘grow’ (9.21) and ókwa ‘die’ (9.22).

(9.21) áyím’ aábá: awúùnúwa vañgónó vañgónó
áyímá áába a-hí-úñúwa vañgónó vañgónó
2.child 2.DEM.I 2-PFV.DJ-grow 16.little 16.little
‘These children grew up little by little’

(9.22) eítáwú mukwélíiyé: akwilé cetééne. Mándá víín’ óokwá:
Érígu’ uukwá: Manyál’ óokwa.
eítáwú [mu-kw-él-e = iye]REL a-kw-ilé a-eté = éne
then 18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 2-die-PFV.CI 2-all = INT
mándá vííná o-kwa érígu’ul o-kwá manyáló o-kwa
6.hand too NAR-die 9.belly NAR-die 6.foot NAR-die
‘Then when he died, all died. Mr. Hands died too, Mr. Belly died, Mr. Feet died.’

Motion verbs are also intransitive verbs, but unlike stative verbs, they are active, i.e. their single argument is an agent, as shown in (9.23) with okíta ‘go down’ and (9.24) with ovénya ‘stand up’ and wéeddá ‘walk’.

(9.23) okomesáár’ uúkúl’ ookíta. okitag’ ookitag’ ookitag’ ookitaga
o-komesáári őkúlé okíta o-kit-ag-a
NAR-start 17.DEM.III 15.go.down NAR-go.down-HAB-Fi
‘he started to go down. He went down, went down…’

(9.24) baáh’ óoolóóvénya. weeddaga dhawééné burebúre
baáhí o-lé-óvénya o-edd-ag-a dhaawó = éné burebúre
enough! 1-CE.15.stand.up NAR-walk-HAB-Fi like.this.II = INT at.random
‘Enough! She stood up. She walked like this at random’

There is no impersonal or avalent verb in Cuwabo, i.e. verbs with a dummy or indeterminate subject, such as the English expressions linked to weather ‘it rains’, ‘it is cold’, etc. Such weather verbs in Cuwabo require a concrete referent, as shown in (9.25), and thus constitute a third semantic subtype of intransitive verbs.

(9.25) a. síku nibaatíziwe ɨyo, muzóg’ óowaárübwa vaddíddi
síku [ni-baatiz-iw-e ɨyo]REL muzógwé o-a-hí-rübwa vaddíddi
5.day 5-baptise-PASS-PFV.REL 1PL.PRO 3.rain 3-PST-PFV.DJ-rain much
‘the day we got baptised, it rained a lot’
This means that intransitive constructions represent the smallest type of valency in Cuwabo.

9.1.2.2 Transitives and ambitransitives

Transitive constructions involve *stricto sensu* two arguments: an agent and a patient. As already seen above, in simple clauses, semantic and syntactic transitivity tend to pattern together, i.e. the agent usually corresponds to the clause’s subject, whereas the patient normally has an object status. This object represents the additional argument present in transitive but absent in intransitives. Examples in (9.26) and (9.27) present prototypical transitive constructions, in which these semantic and syntactic roles are respectively filled by respectively *nikúrábedha* ‘dugong’ and *namárógolo* ‘hare’ (both agents and subjects of the verb) and *maare* ‘idea’ and *ribúgá* ‘rice’ (both patients and objects).

(9.26) *Nikúrábedha woóóbuwela maare* {maria.117}  
nikúrábedha o-á-úbuwela maare  
l1.dugong 1-PST.CI-think 6.idea.PL  
‘Mr. Dugong was thinking of an idea’

(9.27) *namárógolo ottukula ribúgá:* {mute.14}  
namárógolo o-ttukula ribúgá  
l1.hare NAR-hand 3.rice  
‘the hare took the rice’

Interestingly, among bivalent verbs, none is *obligatorily* transitive. In fact, any transitive verb may be ambitransitive, i.e. it may be realised both as transitive and intransitive. This variation is exemplified with *wūba* ‘sing’ in (9.28) and *olíma* ‘cultivate’ in (9.29). Both these verbs are semantically transitive, but in appropriate discourse contexts, they may become objectless and be syntactically realised as intransitives.

(9.28) a. *ddabunó wībilé jībweyé:* {ddingi.9}  
  ddabunó 6-ib-ilé [jībo=ye]OBJ  
  then 1-sing-PFV.CI 9a.song = POSS.3SG.PL  
  ‘Then, he practiced his song.’
Predicative constructions

b. oódhówávé éníperegádo. oókóś’ áákakéène, owíiba : [song] {mbílri.28}
o-hí-dhówá = vó éníperegádo o-hí-kósá ya aká = éne o-hí-fba
1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC 1a.employee 1-PFV.DJ-do 9.CON same = INT 9-PFV.DJ-sing
‘Then went the working-man. He did the same and sang [song].’

(9.29)  a. míyó ddinolímá: bámbááya
míyó ddi-ni-oflmá [bámbááya]_{ouí}
1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.negate [bámbááya]_{ouí}
‘I cultivate sweet potatoes, coconuts’

b. baavañíwá ddimááwa éjíle baalimá
baa-a-vahíw-á ddimá = áwa éjíle ba-a-limá
SEQ-2-give-PASS-FI 9a.plot = POSS.3PL 9.DEM.III SEQ-2-cultivate
‘they were given their piece of land and they cultivated it.’

In ambitransitive constructions, the subject is semantically the same, and the object may be omitted for anaphoric purpose or in order to convey a meaning of non-specification (Creissels 2006b: 2-3). In (9.30), Ddoolrinddo asks the mirror who is the most beautiful. Displeased by the answer, she breaks it and throws it away. Here there is no need to repeat the object (the mirror) since it is clearly defined by the context. In (9.31), the transitive verb ója ‘eat’ is objectless. Here, the emphasis is given on the process of eating and not on what is eaten which is unimportant to be referred to in the discourse context.

(9.30)  otnaw. orayíla. oðhow’ óogulá íína, odhana
otwa o-rayló o-dhowá ó-gulá é-ína o-dha = na
NAR-break NAR-throw NAR-go NAR-buy 9-other NAR-go = COM
‘She broke it. She threw it away, went and bought another one, and took it home.’

(9.31)  ddinosápáç , wéy’ óonoójá kuünddívaháámo
ddi-ni-osápá wéyó o-ni-ójá ku-ní-ddí-vahá = mo
‘I bring food, you eat, and do not give me anything.’

A second type of ambitransitives exists, whereby the semantic role of the subject is modified, as well as the verb valency, but the verb remains the same. For instance, in English the verb ‘break’ can be used either transitively as in ‘the boy broke the window’ or intransitively as in ‘the window broke’. In this case, the intransitive realisation has an anticausative (or passive) value. Creissels (2006b: 4) refers to these verbs as labile verbs. Whereas a language like English has many labile verbs, Cuwabo has none (at least not in my database). Instead, transitivity and intransitivity are distinguished by the two different
separative extensions -ul- (tr.) and -uw- (itr.) (see section 6.1 on verbal derivation). Compare ópátúla ‘break (tr.)’ in (9.32) with ópátúwa ‘break (itr.)’ in (9.33).

(9.32) ólíéené omíin’ ópátúla ósalú [dd’ iiil’ óobáaga]  {mbiiri.24}
ólé = éné [o-ní-fúná ópátúla ósalú]REL
1.DEM.MH = INT 1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.break 14.thread
‘The one who will break the thread [is the one who ate my fish].’

(9.33) ósálu  o-hí-pátúwa  {mbiiri.42}
osálu  o-hí-pátúwa
14.thread 14-PFV.DJ-break
‘the thread broke’

Interestingly, certain intransitive verbs may occur in transitive constructions through the affixation of an OM on the verb or the addition of a following object NP. Several examples are provided below with the verbs omála ‘stop, finish’ (9.34), ofíya ‘arrive’ (9.35) and otéya ‘laugh’ (9.36), which are typically intransitive. In this process of transitivisation whereby an object is added, the subject (be it agent or patient) is not altered.

(9.34) waábulélá vaddíddí, musébweé , pélé kadhááímalá: … {maria.6}
o-a-hí-bulélá vaddíddí musébwe pélé ka-dhi-á-mú-mala
1-PST-PFV.DJ-be.sick much 3.measles 10a.scabies NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-stop
‘she always got sick: measles, scabies never stopped (with her).’

(9.35) a. dhíndéeyína dha déréét dh  ... mwáádhí=ye {mbiiri.9}
    mwáádhíye kaánmwá mwámúni,    mwámúni kadhaááñfiya.
    [dhi-ní-dhá = iyé = na dha déréétú=dhá]REL mwáádhí = ye
    10-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO = COM 10.CON good = 10.DEF 1.wife = POSS.3SG
    ka-á-mú-vaha mwámúni mwámúni ka-dhi-a-mú-fiya
    NEG.1-PST.IPFV-OM1-give 1.husband 1.husband NEG-10-PST.IPFV-OM1-arrive
    ‘the good things he brings, […] his wife did not give them to her husband, they did not reach him.’

b. ató waáfiya yúúmó énddímúwéêne  {mute.3}
  ató o-á-fiya [yúúmó é-nddímúwá=én]OM
  until 1-PST.IPFV.DJ-arrive 9.age 9-big = INT
  ‘she had eventually got older’ (lit. ‘until she had arrived an older age’)

(9.36) baátyá : “héeé! wulrú! …namámogolo keédh’ úceyá núbìga {mute.17}
ba-á-téyá héeé wulrú namámogolo ka-idhi oceyá núbìga
SEQ.1-OM2-laugh INTER IDEO 1a.hare NEG.1-know 15.sow.PL 3.rice
‘she laughed (at them): “[excl.+laugh], Mr.Hare does not know how to sow rice!”
As already mentioned in section 6.1 on verbal derivation, verbal valency may be subject to syntactic operations which affect the number of arguments. Thus, any transitive verb can in principle be converted into an intransitive verb by means of the passive extension. More particularly, this operation implies that the object of the transitive construction becomes the subject of the passive clause, and preserves its semantic role. Thus in (9.37), the subject naámbéddé ‘maize’ is also the patient of the verb.

(9.37) naámbéddé’ oónójúwááwi
naámbéddé  ó-ni-ôj-úw-â = vi
1a.maize 1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi = RESTR
‘maize keeps being eaten’

**9.1.2.3 Double object constructions**

Prototypical double object or ditransitive constructions contain three arguments whose syntactic roles are traditionally labelled as subject, direct object and indirect object. Many trivalent verbs semantically imply motion or physical transfer toward a goal, e.g. ‘write sth. to s.o.’, ‘borrow sth. from s.o.’, ‘lend sth. to s.o.’, ‘send sth. to s.o.’. Morphologically, most of them are rendered possible by the addition of valency-increasing derivational extensions (causative and applicative). Still, the following example illustrates the verb óvahá ‘give’ which is probably one of the rare underived (or lexical) ditransitive verbs in Cuwabo.

(9.38) námásuñžilha oónívahá niívúru námásuñža
námásuñžilha  o-hí-mú-vahá [niívúru]PATIENT [námásuñža]RECIP
1a.teacher 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give 5.book 1a.student
‘the teacher gave the student a book’

In (9.38), the noun phrase niívuru ‘book’ assumes both a ‘direct’ object syntactic role and a patient-like semantic role, which undergoes a change in location, i.e. a physical transfer toward a goal (more precisely here, a recipient). The recipient, here human, is represented by the ‘indirect’ object námásuñža ‘student’. Semantically the student receives the book and it therefore the new owner of the book. However, I deliberately avoid to label these objects ‘direct’ or ‘indirect’ since none is marked, neither for case, nor obliquely, i.e. by means of a preposition\(^48\). Instead, I refer to the notions of ‘primary object’ and ‘secondary object’, following Dryer’s terminology (1986), also used by Creissels (2006a: 294). In ditransitive constructions, an object is considered either primary or secondary depending on both its

\(^{48}\) Such an inappropriate terminological use has also been pointed out in Hyman and Duranti (1982) for the whole Bantu family.
coding and behaviour properties. The object that shares most properties with the monotransitive patient is regarded as primary object. This position, which assumes that the two objects do not have a complete symmetric behaviour, questions the assumption that Bantu languages can be classified as either 'symmetrical' or 'asymmetrical' (Bresnan and Moshi 1990). A language is assumed to be symmetrical when the two objects in a ditransitive construction exhibit the same coding and behaviour properties (such as object marking or passivisation). If these properties are manifested by only one object, the language is asymmetrical. Importantly, it is claimed that symmetry or asymmetry similarly applies to the different properties tests, i.e. a language with asymmetrical object marking should also exhibit asymmetrical passivisation. By examining the objects’ behaviour with respect to these properties, it will be demonstrated that such assumptions do not hold in Cuwabo, since the language exhibits both symmetrical and asymmetrical behaviour.

**Word order and object marking on the verb**

As seen in section 9.1.1.2, a first coding property deals with word order: can either object occur in immediate adjacency to the verb? In this respect, it is important to note that the postverbal objects illustrated in this section do not occupy a focus position. This means that the word order presented in this section is not dependent on the informational weigh of each object (see chapter 11 on word order and information structure). The second coding property deals with co-indexation on the verb. In this respect, recall that: i) object marking may only be contained in one slot; ii) only persons or class 1/2 objects can be formally marked on the verb. This means that when the verb has two ‘eligible’ objects for marking, only one will be marked on the verb. For both these properties, double-object constructions are very regular: as shown in (9.38), the patient immediately follows the verb and is then followed by the recipient. A reversal of the objects order would lead to infelicity (9.39), although the sentence is semantically understandable. This rigid word order is convenient to the attribution of the semantic role of each object. According to this word order, the two objects are not symmetrical and the patient *níívuru* ‘book’ behaves more as a patient than the recipient *námásuźiža* ‘student’.

(9.39)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  #námásuźiža & o-ořívahá & námásuźiža & níívuru \\
  námásuźiža & o-hí-mů-vaha & [námásuźiža]_\text{RECIP} & [níívuru]_\text{PATIENT} \\
  1a.\text{teacher} & 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give & 1a.\text{student} & 5.\text{book} \\
  \text{‘the teacher gave the student a book’}
\end{array}
\]

Regarding object marking, the example in (9.38) shows that the agreement is controlled by the recipient rather than the patient. This is already illustrated in transitive constructions: in
(9.40)a, verbal co-indexation of the class 1a patient object *naámbédde* ‘maize’ is not allowed, whereas it is necessary with the class 2 recipient object *álêddo* ‘guests’ in (9.40)b. This means that a sentence like in (9.40)a should be interpreted as ‘the woman gave him maize’, and that the OM should be deleted if no recipient is involved as in ‘the woman gave maize’. The next two ditransitive constructions confirm the preference for the recipient co-indexation on the verb: when both patient and recipient arguments are controlled by the same verb, as in (9.40)c, the recipient object is chosen over the patient object for object marking on the verb. Marking the patient object in this case would be ungrammatical (9.40)d.

Asymmetry in word order and object marking also occurs when double-object constructions are introduced by a verb marked for causative or applicative. Recall that the causative extension increases the valency of the verb, in introducing a new subject, namely the ‘causer’ of the action expressed in the predicate. In case of a transitive verb root, the causative form comes to have two objects, the causee and the patient object. The causee tends to occupy the first position (9.41)a. Still an initial patient as in (9.41)b is not considered ungrammatical, especially since the lexical context clearly indicates which semantic role is assigned to each object, hence a certain allowance for word order flexibility. However, causee-patient order in (9.41)a remains the preferred option. With regard to co-indexation, in the presence of both objects, only the causee *átáaká* ‘cats’ (class 2) is marked on the verb, and not the (class 1a) patient object *naámbédde* ‘maize’ (9.41)c.
Similarly to the causative, when the valency-increasing applicative extension is suffixed to a transitive verb, the derived verb has two objects, one of which is a benefactive, as shown in (9.42)a. In this case, the applied object, here the benefactive áléddó ‘guests’ commonly follows the verb, and thus precedes the patient object, here mwánâku ‘chicken’. Again, this established word order has the advantage of avoiding ambiguity of interpretation: we know that it is the chicken which is being cooked for the guests and not the other way around. Reversing the order of objects would lead to infelicity (compare (9.42)a and (9.42)b). Furthermore, it is the class 2 applied object, i.e. the benefactive, which triggers object marking on the verb, and not the class 1 patient object, as further confirmed by the ungrammatical sentence in (9.42)c, whose class 1 OM -mú- demands the singular benefactive object múléddó rather than áléddo.

(9.42) a. Ósáńzáya ónówáápíyela áléddó mwánâku  
Ósáńzáya ó-ní-o-á-píy-el-a  [áléddó]_{BEN}  [mwánâku]_{PATIENT}  
Osanzaya 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi 2.guest 1.chicken  
‘Osanzaya is cooking chicken for the guests’

b. #Ósáńzáya ónówáápíyela mwánâku áléddó  
Ósáńzáya ó-ní-o-á-píy-el-a  [mwánâku]_{PATIENT}  [áléddó]_{BEN}  
Osanzaya 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi 1.chicken 2.guest  
‘Osanzaya is cooking chicken for the guests’

c. *Ósáńzáya ónóóápíyela áléddo mwánâku  
Ósáńzáya ó-ní-o-mú-píy-el-a  [áléddó]_{BEN}  [mwánâku]_{PATIENT}  
Osanzaya 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-cook-APPL-Fi 2.guest 1.chicken  
‘Osanzaya is cooking chicken for the guests’
Deletion of either object

As bivalent verbs, trivalent verbs do not necessarily require the presence of two objects and may be realised transitively, in which case the benefactive (9.43)b as well as the patient (9.43)c can be omitted. (9.43)d shows that a lexical trivalent verb may also be used intrinsically.

\[
\begin{align*}
(9.43) & \quad \text{a. Maríya oóvahá njáángara Koómüso} \\
& \quad \text{maríya o-hí-mú-vahá njáángara koómüso} \\
& \quad \text{maria 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give 5.card komuso} \\
& \quad \text{‘Maria gave a card to Komuso’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{b. Maríya oóvahá njáángara} \\
& \quad \text{‘Maria gave a card’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{c. Maríya oóvahá Koómüso} \\
& \quad \text{‘Maria gave to Komuso’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{d. Maríya oóvahá} \\
& \quad \text{‘Maria gave’}
\end{align*}
\]

Co-occurrence of object deletion and object marking

Here, I am concerned with the correlation between object deletion and object marking: to which extent may an absent (lexical) object be co-indexed on the verb? Before proceeding, note that this type of constructions was elicited, since they do not normally occur in spontaneous discourse. In (9.44)a, in the absence of further specifications, the OM necessarily refers to a recipient, not a patient. The sentence should thus be interpreted as ‘the woman gave to him’, hence the unacceptability of ‘the woman gave it’. Now, if the recipient is overtly specified, a class 1 patient object may be pronominalised on the verb in case of lexical deletion as shown in (9.44)c. Note however that this sentence is not unanimously approved among my consultants: whereas Sérgio accepts it, Agostinho does not. The acceptability of (9.44)c implies that the sentence in (9.44)d may be interpreted either as ‘the woman gave them (cl.2) to the guests’, where an aforementioned class 2 patient is reintroduced into discourse by means of the OM, or ‘the woman gave to the guests’, where the OM and the recipient are co-referential. The discourse context helps in determining the right interpretation. Inversely, (9.44)b and (9.44)e are completely felicitous, since the OM unambiguously refers to a deleted recipient.
(9.44)  a. *múyáná oómúvahā
múyáná o-hí-mú-vahā
1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give
*‘the woman gave it’ (cl.1 patient)

b. múyáná owáávahā
múyáná o-hí-á-vahā
1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give
‘the woman gave to them’ (recipient)

c. múyáná oónvahá álêddo
múyáná o-hí-mú-vahá [álêddo]RECIP
1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give 1.guest
‘the woman gave it (cl.1) to the guests’

d. múyáná owáávahá álêddo
múyáná o-hí-á-vahá [álêddo]RECIP
1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give 1.guest
Interpretation 1: ‘the woman gave them (cl.2) to the guests’
Interpretation 2: ‘the woman gave to the guests’

e. múyáná owáávahá naámbêdde
múyáná o-hí-á-vahá [naámbêdde]PATIENT
1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give 1a.maize
‘the woman gave them maize’

The same situation applies with causative and applicative constructions. An overt patient leaves the OM verb slot available for co-indexing the absent causee in (9.45)b or benefactive in (9.47)b. Inversely, a non-overtly specified patient will be uppermost co-indexed over the primary object, i.e. the causee in (9.45)a, or the benefactive in (9.47)a. As can be expected, a double interpretation arises from a sentence like (9.47)c, whereby the OM may either co-index an absent patient object of class 2 (interpretation 1), or co-refer to the benefactive object (interpretation 2). However, (9.45)c shows that the overt causee cannot be co-indexed on the verb if no patient is meant at all. This unexpected behaviour, confirmed by both Sérgio and Agostinho, is difficult to account for, all the more if we compare it with (9.41)a above. It may suggest that the OM slot is exclusively reserved for the reference to the absent lexical object, be it causee or patient. If no reference to it is made, then the OM remains empty as in (9.45)c. However such an assumption does not hold in (9.46)a, in which Sérgio now demands co-indexation of the postverbal object on the verb and refuses its absence. Interestingly, the opposite is observed with Agostinho in (9.46)b, in coherence with the result found in (9.45)c. Unfortunately, the number of available examples is too restricted to
account for such a variation. There seems to be no doubt that inter-speaker variation plays a role, but it remains to be seen whether certain causative constructions are more prone to object co-indexation than others. I leave this complex issue open for further investigation.

(9.45) Causative constructions

a. *ddiýmú̇jiňa ápáakā* {elic}
   ddi-hi-mú̄-j-ih-a
   1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-eat-CAUS-Fi 2.cat
   ‘I made the cats eat (cl.1)’

b. *ddiyaâyjĩha naámbeđde* {elic}
   ddi-hi-á-j-ih-a
   1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi 1a.maize
   ‘I made them eat maize’

c. *ddiyaâyjĩha ápáakā ➔ ddijaýjĩha ápáakā* {elic}
   ddi-hi-á-j-ih-a
   1SG-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-Fi 2.cat
   ‘I made the cats eat’

(9.46) ‘he made the woman wash’ {elic.}

a. Sérgio
   oomúsúwiha múyanā
   o-hi-mú̄-súw-ih-a
   1-PFV.DJ-OM1-wash-CAUS-Fi 1.woman
   ‘Osanzaya is cooking it (cl.1) for the guests’

b. Agostinho
   oosúwiha múyanā
   o-hi-súw-ih-a
   1-PFV.DJ-wash-CAUS-Fi 1.woman
   ‘Osanzaya is cooking chicken for them’

(9.47) Applicative constructions

a. *Ósáñjáya ńonóŕpíyela áléddo* {elic.}
   Ósáñjáya ńi-o-mú-píy-el-a
   Osanzaya 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-cook-APPL-Fi 2.guest
   ‘Osanzaya is cooking (cl.1) for the guests’

b. *Ósáñjáya ńonówápíyela mwánaku* {elic.}
   Ósáñjáya ńi-o-á-píy-el-a
   Osanzaya 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi 1.chicken
   ‘Osanzaya is cooking chicken for them’
Chapter 9

Passivisation

The passive extension can attach to ditransitive verbs, which select both a primary and secondary object as internal arguments. Now, in contrast to the aforementioned properties discussed above, passivisation involves perfect symmetry in that each object may be promoted as the subject of the passivised clause, as first shown with the lexical ditransitive verb óvahá ‘give’ in (9.48)a and (9.48)b.

(9.48) múyáná owáávahá mbúzí akálába
múyáná o-hí-á-vahá [mbúzí]PATIENT [akálába]RECIP
1.woman 1-PFV.DJ-OM-give 9a.goat 2.older
‘the woman gave a goat to the old people’

a. mbúzí eéváhíwa akálába na múyánā
[mbúzí]PATIENT e-hí-váh-iw-á [akálába]RECIP na múyánā
9a.goat 9-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi 2.older by 1.woman
‘a goat was given to the old people by the woman’

b. akálába adiváhíwa mbúzí na múyánā
[akálába]RECIP a-hí-váh-iw-a [mbúzí]PATIENT na múyánā
2.older 1-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi 9a.goat by 1.woman
‘the old people were given a goat by the woman’

Interestingly, the recipient object in (9.48)a cannot be co-indexed on the verb. Both my main consultants refused to substitute eéváhíwa by eyááváhíwa which contains the class 2 OM -a-.

The sentence in (9.49) provides an example extracted from a narrative, whereby the benefactive object Maria is passivised.

(9.49) Maria [...] ddabunó ónlábúwa
maríya ddabunó ó-ni-oláb-úw-a
maríya today 1-PFV.DJ-work-PASS-Fi
‘Maria today is a boss.’ (lit. ‘she is being worked’ = people work for her)

The same operation of passivisation occurs with causative and applicative verbs: both the causee object and the patient object are able to be converted into the subject of a passive
construction. Such a symmetric behaviour goes against the tendency of many Bantu languages, in which the patient object is usually banned of performing this operation.

\[\text{(9.50) a.} \ ápáaká aájíhiwa naámbêdde \ (*aamújíhiwa) \quad \text{(elic)}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[ápáaká]} & \text{a-hi-j-ìh-ìw-a} \\
\text{2.cat} & \text{2-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{naámbêdde} & \text{1a.maize} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Cats were made to eat maize’

\[\text{b.} \ naámbéddé oójíhiwa na ápáaká \quad \text{(elic.)}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[naámbêdde]} & \text{o-hi-j-ìh-ìw-a} \\
\text{1a.maize} & \text{1-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ápáaká} & \text{2.cat} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Maize was made to be eaten by the cats’

\[\text{(9.51) a.} \ áléddó ánópíyeliwa mwánaku na Osánzaya \ (*ánónípíyeliwa) \quad \text{(elic.)}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[áléddó]} & \text{á-ni-o-píy-el-ìw-a} \\
\text{2.guest} & \text{2-IPFV.DJ-15-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mwánaku} & \text{1.chicken} \\
\text{na} & \text{by osanzaya} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the guests are being cooked a chicken by Osanzaya’

\[\text{b.} \ mwánaku ńpíyeliwa áléddó na Osánzaya \ (*ónówáápíyeliwa) \quad \text{(elic.)}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[mwánaku]} & \text{ó-ni-o-á-píy-el-ìw-a} \\
\text{1.chicken} & \text{1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{áléddó} & \text{2.guest} \\
\text{na} & \text{by O.} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the chicken is being cooked for the guests by Osanzaya’

Again, there is no possibility to object-mark the postverbal element, be it patient (the forms aamújíhiwa in (9.50)a and ánónípíyeliwa in (9.51)a are considered ungrammatical) or benefactive (*ónówáápíyeliwa in (9.51)b).

Co-occurrence of passivisation and object marking

In fact, it seems that passivisation excludes all possibility of object-marking on the verb, even when the postverbal object is meant but not overly expressed, as shown in every following example. Instead an independent co-referential pronoun (represented in bold below) must follow the verb. But again, inter-speaker variation exists regarding the acceptance in using an independent pronoun when referring to non-human entities. Thus, in contrast with Sérgio, Agostinho does not fully acknowledges sentences like akálába aáváhíwa fýééne in (9.52)b, ápáaká aájíhiwa fýééne in (9.53)b, and áléddó ánópíyeliwa fýééne in (9.54)b.
Chapter 9

(9.52) a. *naámbéddé owáávahíwa
   naámbéddé o-hí-á-vah-iw-a
   1a.maize 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-give-PASS-Fi
   ‘maize was given to them’
   » naámbéddé oóváhíwa áwééne

b. *akálába aámúvahíwa
   akálába a-hí-mú-vah-fw-a
   2.older 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-give-PASS-Fi
   ‘the old people were given it (the maize)’
   » akálába aáváhíwa fyééne

(9.53) a. *naámbéddé owaájíhiwa
   naámbéddé o-hí-á-jh-iw-a
   1a.maize 1-PFV.DJ-OM2-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi
   ‘Maize was made to be eaten by them’
   » naámbéddé oójíhiwa (na) áwééne

b. *ápáaká aamújíhiwa
   ápáaká a-hí-mú-jh-fw-a
   2.cat 2-PFV.DJ-OM1-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi
   ‘Cats were made to eat it (the maize)’
   » ápáaká aájíhiwa fyééne

(9.54) a. *mwánaku ónówáápíyeliwa
   mwánaku 6-ni-o-á-píy-el-iw-a
   1.chicken 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi
   ‘the chicken is being cooked for them (the guests)’
   » mwánaku ónópíyeliwa áwééne

b. *áléddó ánóópíyeliwa
   áléddó án-i-o-mú-píy-el-iw-a
   2.guest 2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi
   ‘the guests are being cooked it (a chicken)’
   » áléddó ánóópíyeliwa fyééne

Co-occurrence of passivisation and object deletion

Note though that the examples above whereby the referred postverbal objects are referred to by independent pronouns is not much attested in the language. Instead, preference is given
on intransitive passive constructions, whereby any reference to a syntactic object is omitted, as illustrated in the following examples.

(9.55) a. naámbéddde oóváhíwa
   naámbéddde  o-hí-váh-íw-á
   1a.maize  1-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi
   ‘maize was given’

b. akálába aáváhíwa
   akálába  a-hí-váh-íw-a
   2.older  1-PFV.DJ-give-PASS-Fi
   ‘the old people were given’

(9.56) a. naámbéddde oójíhiwa
   naámbéddde  o-hí-j-íh-iw-a
   1a.maize  1-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi
   ‘maize was made to be eaten’

b. ápáaká aajíhiwa
   ápáaká  a-hí-j-íh-iw-a
   2.cat  2-PFV.DJ-eat-CAUS-PASS-Fi
   ‘cats were made to eat’

(9.57) a. mwánaku ónópíyéliwa
   mwánaku  ó-ni-o-píy-él-iw-a
   1.chicken  1-IPFV.DJ-15-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi
   ‘the chicken is being cooked’

b. áléddó ánópíyéliwa
   áléddó  á-ni-o-píy-él-iw-a
   2.guest  2-IPFV.DJ-15-cook-APPL-PASS-Fi
   ‘the guests are being cooked for’

Summary

The following table summarises the different symmetry tests mostly developed by Bresnan and Moshi (1990), and applied to Cuwabo along this section.
I conclude that Cuwabo double object constructions have both symmetrical and asymmetrical properties, which suggests that co-variation is not systematic and cannot be reduced to “a single parameter of variation” (Bresnan and Moshi 1990: 147).

### 9.1.3 Expressing ‘to have’

The most common way of expressing ‘to have’ in Bantu is by means of the verb(s) for ‘be’ followed by the preposition *na* ‘and, with’, which introduces the possessed noun phrase. The literal meaning of this construction is ‘be with’. The possessor has the subject status and the possessee is considered as an “associative indirect object” (Givón 2001a: 135). Interestingly, the rare attestations of this ‘be with’ construction in Cuwabo indicate that it is restricted to a locative or stative meaning. Never does it involve a meaning of possession, in which case the (more or less defective) verbs *okáâna* and *-na* ‘have’ are used. Thus Cuwabo speakers clearly distinguish between (9.58)a and (9.58)b. In the first case, I am accompanied by two children, but they are not necessarily my children. In the second case, I am referring to my children.

(9.58)  a. *míyó ddilí: na ááná ēeli*  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{míyó} & \quad \text{ddi-} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ááná} \quad \text{á-ili} \\
1\text{SG.PRO} & \quad 1\text{SG-be} \quad \text{with} \quad 2\text{.child} \quad 2\text{-two} \\
& \quad \text{‘I am with two children’}
\end{align*}
\]

\{elic.\}

b. *míyó ddiikááná: ááná ēeli*  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{míyó} & \quad \text{ddi-hi-} \quad \text{kááná} \quad \text{á-ili} \quad / \quad \text{ddi-} \quad \text{ná} \\
1\text{SG.PRO} & \quad 1\text{SG-PFV.DJ-have} \quad 2\text{.child} \quad 2\text{-two} \quad 1\text{SG-have} \\
& \quad \text{‘I have two children’}
\end{align*}
\]
More examples of the constructions ‘be with’, involving both *oli* and *okála* are provided below. As is made clear, the meanings conveyed by these constructions are either locative (9.59) or stative (9.60).

(9.59) a. mwáádhag’ oolí ná nikúrábedha mwaári {maria.140}

mwáádhaga mwáádhaga o-li ná N. mwaári
1.wife.POSS.1SG 1.wife.POSS.1SG 1-be with D. 18.inside
‘my wife is with Mr. Dugong in the sea’

b. [Maríyá  olóówýélëla vat k l’] uúlóókálá na mwámúnë:

ó-lé-ókála na mwámúnë
1-CE-15.stay with 1.husband.POSS.3SG
‗[Mary went back home,] she remained with her husband’

(9.60) Maríy’ óosadduwá okala na pélë […] {maria.92}

maríyá o-sadduwá o-kala na pélë
maria NAR-change NAR-stay with 10.scabies
‘Maria changed, she remained with scabies […]’

It is likely that the two verbs expressing ‘have’ *okáâna* and -*na*, discussed in turn below, are derived from the expressions *okála na* and *oli na*, respectively, which have then been reduced to avoid any ambiguity between the two semantic interpretations ‘have’ and ‘be with’.

9.1.3.1 *okáâna*

The verb *okáâna* ‘have’ is the most commonly used to express possession in Cuwabo, in independent as well as dependent clauses, as the following examples make clear. Note that expressing possession in the present implies the perfective form of the verb, with the TAM marker -*hi*, as illustrated in (9.61).

(9.61) Perfective

wéy’ óokáâna gárí vaddíddi {maria.45}

wéyó o-hí-káâna gárí vaddíddi
2SG.PRO 2SG-PFV-have 9a.luck much
‘you are very lucky’
Past perfective

\[ \text{omóonúwélo oku mu-modha o-a-hí-káaná = vó ŋítówa} \]

‘in the growing process, one of them got cursed’

Past imperfective

\[ \text{Maríyá baáhi waákáana mpáddó dháaye} \]

‘Maria only had her comfortable chairs’

Future

\[ \text{ddi-á-véd-e akala ni-naa-ilá-ókaana mikálélo dhi-íná} \]

‘I will go and investigate to see if I can have another way of life, [different from this one]’

Subjunctive

\[ \text{míyó maásíkiní ddíkaánë dálá dhaaví, ójá múkucé: ? néé!} \]

‘I am very hungry, but to eat the leftovers? No way!’

Counterfactual

\[ \text{kuukaan’ oókwírí múyán’ óólë kaddigaamućéélëlcë} \]

‘if I had malefic powers, that woman I would not give her up (= she would not escape)’

Negating \text{okáána} is rarely attested in Cuwabo. The only negative form available in my database is provided in (9.67) in the counterexpectational tense.

\[ \text{muhi-ná-káana ebaríbarí mulunáváhe koóbírírdha} \]

‘as long as you are not sure, do not give the money’

In (9.68), with the post-final locative marker =mo (class 18), \text{okáána} is interpreted as a strong wish, which comes from inside. The character feels inside of him that he needs to know who keeps eating that relish.
9.1.3.2 -na

The defective verb -na ‘have’ has a more restricted use than okáána, in that it can only be inflected for present and past tense markers.

(9.69) waaddikwëlle oná mwánayé, [bel’ óódh’ óóíváhe ŋúína]  {páaká.10}
o-a-ddi-kúwél-el-e o-ná mwánayé
1-PST-OM1SG-call-APPL-PFV.CJ 1-have 1.child.POSS.3SG
‘he called me because he has a son, [he asked me to come and give him a name]’

(9.70) ábále arééli aáná koóbílíridhawa dhiínjí dhéené, [...]  {mute.25}
ábále arééli [a-á-ná] koóbílíri = dhawa dhi-ínjí dhéené
2.DEM.III 2.rich 2-PST.IPV-have 10a.money = 10.POSS.3PL 10-many 10.INT
‘those rich people who had money, [...]’

-na may be attached the pre-final habitual suffix -ag-, as shown in (9.71).

(9.71) kaáziwá ddi rmbáalawa ōlé waanága péle  {maria.76}
ka-á-ziwá ddi rmbáalawa ōlé [o-á-nága péle]REL
NEG.2-PST.IPV-know 1.COP 1.sister.POSS.3PL 1.DEM.III 1-PST.IPV-have.HAB 1a.scabies
‘They did not know she was their sister, the one who had scabies.’

Interestingly, the comitative post-final enclitic =na can be added to -na when it is used in a non-subject relative clause. In this case, it always follows a first enclitic corresponding to the pronominalised semantic subject. Two illustrating examples are provided below.

(9.72) ottuküle éjí yaapíléew’ ééneéwána rímađaní: [...]  {maria.48}
o-ttukül-e éjí [e-ap-flé = ewe]REL
2SG-take-SBJ 9.DEM.I 9-pluck-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO
[e-ná = éwé = na mu-máda = ní]REL
9-have = 2SG.PRO = COM 18-6.hand = LOC
‘take what (the fruit) you plucked and now have in your hands’
The negation of *-na*, formed by adding the pre-initial negative marker *ka-* is the preferred way of expressing ‘not have’ in Cuwabo. Examples are provided below in both present (9.74) and past (9.75) tensed forms.

(9.74)  a. míyó kaddiná mwáha

míyó  ka-ddi-ná  mwáha
1SG.PRO  NEG-1SG-have  3.reason.PL
‘I have no problem’

b. [...] olí vá-tákulu va ábáabe. kaná y’óókósa

olí  vá-tákulu  va  ábáabe  ka-ná  ya  óókósa
1-Be  16-9a.house  16.CON  2.parent  NEG.1-have  9.CON  15.do
‘[...] she remains in the parents’ house; she has nothing to do’

(9.75)  íyééne kaáná maare mééna oókósa

íyééne  ka-á-ná  maare  má-ína  a  óókósa
3SG.PRO  NEG.1-PST.IPVF-have  6.idea.PL  6-other  6.CON  15.do
‘she had nothing else to do’

## 9.2 Non-verbal predication

Predication is also possible in the absence of verbs. Dryer (2007) identifies three types of predicates that typically occur in clauses with non-verbal predication: adjectival predicates (‘my dog is black’), nominal predicate (‘my dog is a cocker spaniel’), and locative predicate (‘my dog is in the house’). These three examples show that non-verbal predication in English makes use of the copula verb *be*. However, it is common that a language uses different strategies to express each of these non-verbal clauses. This is the case in Cuwabo, which counts three strategies: the first one involves a tonal modification of the predicate known as Predicative Lowering (section 9.2.1). The second one makes use of the inflecting non-verbal copula (section 9.2.2), whereas verbal copulas expressing ‘be’ constitute the third strategy (section 9.2.3). Section 9.2.4 is devoted to negative existential forms. Against what

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49 The three quoted example are extracted from Dryer (2007).
might be expected, a given predicate may be expressed by more than one strategy, and a
given strategy is not exclusively assigned to one predicate only.

Non-verbal predication has an identificational value, relating to equational relations, such
as permanent or inherent qualities/conditions or temporary states. Most often, the subject
assumes the semantic role of patient.

9.2.1 “Predicative Lowering”

Recall that the process of PL consists in deleting the first primary H tone together with the
doubled H resulting from HTD (Stucky 1979, Katupha 1983, Schadeberg and Mucanheia
2000, van der Wal 2006). The different environments (already described in section 3.5.3) in
which PL applies include non-verbal predication. For instance, changing the tonal pattern of
a noun in its citation form results in a predicative reading of this noun, as shown in (9.76).
Note that for each lowered predicate found in the following examples, the corresponding
citation form (with the original tone pattern) is further provided.

\[(9.76)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&a. \text{namárógoló namapuja} & < \text{namápûja} & \text{(LHFL)} & \{\text{ddingí.10}\} \\
&\quad \text{‘the hare is a joker’} \\
&b. \text{ńttó nikokomezo} & < \text{nikókómezo} & \text{(LHHL)} & \{\text{body.24}\} \\
&\quad \text{‘this is an advice’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (9.76), both namápûja ‘joker’ and nikókómezo ‘advice’ lose their primary H and become
completely toneless.

PL is effective on nouns as seen above in (9.76), and lexical adjectives (3.91). Note that
infinitives, which are considered as nouns, may also be used predicatively (9.78).

\[(9.77)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PL on lexical adjectives} \\
\text{Mosambíki munddimúwá, Portugal muñgoóno} & \{\text{elic.}\} \\
\text{Mosambjíki} & \text{mu-nddimúwá} & \text{Portugal} & \text{mu-ñgoóno} \\
\text{Mozambique} & 1\text{-big.PL} & \text{Portugal} & 1\text{-small.PL} \\
\text{‘Mozambique is big, Portugal is small’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(9.78)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PL on infinitives} \\
a. \text{e-ní-kósá = imf} & \text{wiibá} & < \text{wiibá} & \{\text{elic}\} \\
\text{9-IPFV.CJ-do = 1SG.PRO} & \text{15.sing.PL} & \quad & \text{ddíma yááhe osapa} & < \text{osápa} \\
\text{‘what I am doing is singing’} & \text{ddíma, yááhe osapa} & 9a.task & 9.\text{POSS.3SG} & 15.\text{hunt.PL} \\
\text{‘his task is to hunt’} & \text{elic} & \text{elic}
\end{align*}
\]
c. kattiyânu wuuluvála óku ddáánílimaga  
\{semi-elic.\}

ka-ttîyâ = ni wuuluvála óku ddí-á-ni-lim-ag-a  
IMP-stop = PLA 15.be.old.PL 14.DEM.I 1SG-PST.IPFV-IPFV.DJ-cultivate-HAB-Fi

‘Stop it, this is oldness, I used to cultivate before’

It is to note that when the predicate is composed of several constituents, usually a noun and a modifier, only the first one is submitted to PL, as illustrated in (9.79) with a noun and its adjective and in (9.80) with a noun followed by a connective construction.

(9.79)  
a. ohíyoná: makattamiyo mánddímúwa vaddíddi  
\{semi-elic.\}
o-hí-onà makattamiyo mánddímúwa vaddíddi  
15-NEG-see 6.difficulty.PL 6-big  
‘to not see is a very big problem’

b. ábá k’aabaaláága !?  
\{maria.70\}
ábá ki abaaláága  
2.DEM.I EMPH 2.sister.POSS.1SG.PL  
‘are these not my sisters’

(9.80)  
a. ddabunó maríya vat k l v aye muttu w’ook l vaddíddí  
\{maria.65\}

ddabunó maríya va-tákúlu váaye muttu wa okálá vaddíddí  
today maria 16-9a.house 16.POSS.3SG 1.person.PL 1.CON 15.be much  
‘today maria, in her house, is a self-made person’

b. poddógóma wéélooddittámagíha akala kadd(i)ttíddîle gaari ya nábûya  
\{semi-elic.\}
poddógóma o-á-íla-o-ddi-ttámag-fh-a akala ka-ddi-ttiidd-îlé  
1a.lion 1-PST.IPFV-AUX-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi if NEG.1-OM1SG-grab-PFV  
gaari ya nábûya  
9a.benediction.PL 9.CON 1a.lord  
‘the lion made me run, if he did not grab me, it is thanks to the lord’s benediction’

Tone-lowered predicates may be used as (pseudo)cleft constructions, which function with relatives clauses.

(9.81)  
Nikúrábedha mwancesám’ oo nkála tibára [muciddõ vatí va máänje]  
\{maria.107\}

N. mwana-enámá [o-ni-kála mu-bára ...]REL  
D. 1.child-9.animal.PL 1-IPFV.CJ-be 18-9a.sea ...  
‘Mr.Dugong is an animal which lives [in the bottom of the sea]’

Interestingly, the first and second persons cannot be directly followed by lowered nominal or adjectival predicates. Instead, some agreement markers which are formally identical to the verbal prefixes are obligatorily inserted between the subject pronoun and the
Predicate constructions

This is not the case when the subject is in class 1 or 2. Compare adjectival predication involving first and second persons in (9.82) with adjectival predication with class 1 and 2 pronominal subject (9.83).

(9.82) míyó dda munndimúwa ‘I am big/tall’
wéyo wa munndimúwa ‘you (2SG) are big/tall’
íyó na anddimúwa ‘we are big/tall’
nyúwó mwa anddimúwa ‘you (2PL) are big/tall’

(9.83) íyééné mu-nndimúwa áwééne a-nndimúwa
3SG.PRO 1-big.PL 3PL.PRO 2-big.PL

‘he is big/tall’ ‘they are big/tall’

By comparing (9.84) and (9.85), the same parallelism occurs with nominal predication, but in this case, the connective relator is added to the intervening agreement markers, transforming ddi for instance into dda.

(9.84) míyó dda muyaná * míyó muyaná
wéyo wa muyaná * wéyó muyaná
íyó na ayaná * íyó ayaná
nyúwó mwa ayaná * nyúwó ayaná

(9.85) íyééné muyaná áwééne ayaná
3SG.PRO 1.woman.PL 3PL.PRO 2.woman.PL
‘she is a woman’ ‘they are women’

Note that in similar environment, verbal predication is made possible by the insertion of the verb copular olí ‘to be’ (discussed below in section 9.2.3.1), as shown in (9.86).

(9.86) míyó (ddili) nmosambikááno / íyó (nili) amosambikááno {elic.}
míyó ddi-li mu-mosambikááno / íyó ni-li a-mosambikááno
1SG.PRO 1SG-be 1-mozambican.PL 1PL.PRO 1PL-be 2-mozambican.PL
‘I am Mozambican / we are Mozambican’

For prosodic purposes, a boundary H tone can be added on surface to the ultimate mora.

(9.87) ólē ki namarogol6 < namárógolo (LHHL) {ddingí.19}
ólē ki namarogolo
1.DEM.ILL EMPH 1a.hare.PL
‘that one there is the hare’

Qualities or attributes may be specified by degree, through the traditional distinctions comparative and superlative (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 14). In Cuwabo, both these
semantic categories are expressed by means of non-verbal predicates in combination with an infinitive clause constituted of the verb opítta ‘surpass’ followed by the compared entity. For instance, to express comparison, a biclausal construction of the type ‘João is big, surpassing Maria’ is applied. The quality or content with respect to which a comparison is drawn can be expressed predicatively by an adjective (9.88) or a noun (9.89)\textsuperscript{50}.

\begin{verbatim}
(9.88)  pākâ  mu-ŋgon-ŋgônô  opítta  mwânâbwâ  {semi-elic.}
           1a.cat 1-small-RED.PL 15.surpass 1a.dog

         'the cat is smaller than the dog'

(9.89)  Lūka  ñpâllî:  opítta  Mariya
        Lucas 1.boy.PL 15.surpass Maria

         'Lucas is younger than Maria’
\end{verbatim}

The first participant can also be followed merely by opítta inserted into a connective construction in order to say that he is ‘better’ than another participant, as shown in (9.90).

\begin{verbatim}
(9.90)  kaâvô  ñbava  w’  oopítta  míyo  {maria.203}
          kaâ = vô  ñbava  wa  opítta  míyo
          NEG.COP = 16.LOC 1.thief.PL 1.CON 15.surpass 1SG.PRO

         'there is no thief more clever than me’
\end{verbatim}

When comparing two entities of equal status, the preposition nînga ‘like’ is used before the second participant to be compared.

\begin{verbatim}
(9.91)  ñyéêne  munddimúwâ  nînga  míyo  {elic.}
          ñyéêne  mu-nuddimowâ  nînga  míyo
          3SG.PRO 1-big.PL like 1SG.PRO

         'he is as tall as me’
\end{verbatim}

PL is also used to express the equivalent to a superlative construction (‘the more’ or ‘the most’). In order to depart an entity from a whole group, two possible non-verbal predicative constructions are possible. In the first, the quality upon which the comparison is drawn is first uttered, and then followed by the differentiated participant in predicative position by

\begin{verbatim}
50 In addition to adjectival and nominal predicates, comparison can also be expressed by a verb predicate as illustrated below:

nikúrúkumwa  ni-hi-kââna  malágó  opítta  wéyo  {elic}
5.wild.cat.sp  5-PFV.DJ-have  6-sagacity 15.surpass  2SG.PRO

         'the wild cat is wiser than you’
\end{verbatim}
means of PL. Such a configuration is illustrated in (9.92)a (uttered by Guilherme), which can be literally translated as ‘the big one is the elephant’. In the second construction, the differentiated participant is first mentioned and it is the following adjective which is subject to PL, as in (9.92)b (uttered by Fransisco), giving literally ‘the elephant is big’.

(9.92)  
a. **námá dheetédhéne, énddímúwa-ya: ttebo**  
\[ \text{námá dhi-eté = dhéne é-nddímúwa = ya } \text{ttebo} \]  
10a.animal 10-all = 10.INT 9-big = DEF 9a.elephant.PL

b. **mwa vinámá dheetédhéne, dówú enddimúwa**  
\[ \text{mwa vinámá dhi-eté = dhéne } \text{dówú}^{51} \text{ e-nddimúwa} \]  

‘of all animals, the elephant is the biggest’

### 9.2.2 Copula

Non-verbal predication is also rendered by the use of a copula. Copulas are overt particles which function as a link between a subject and its predicative complement. In many languages, the copulas constitute grammaticalised forms derived from a subset of verbs. Such copulative verbs exist in Cuwabo and will be discussed in section 9.2.3. In other languages, copulas are clearly not verb-derived. This section is concerned with non-verbal copulas, which are also attested in Cuwabo, and more particularly discusses their morphological and syntagmatic properties, as well as their distribution in discourse.

Although (non-verbal) copulas are widespread all over the Bantu area, variation among languages exits with respect to the inflectional status of the copula. For instance, whereas Makhuluwa (Enahara) only has the invariant copular *ti*\(^{52}\) (van der Wal 2009), Cuwabo has class-inflected forms of copulas, listed in Table 50. Note that these copular particles are non-segmentable.

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51 Note that two class 9a/10a words exist in Cuwabo to express ‘elephant’: *ttebo* and *dówu*.
52 Note that classes 4 and 10 can also have the form *pi*. 
In copular constructions, the element following the copula is to be considered as the predicate, whereas the copula represents a “function word” (Dryer 2007: 225), whose function is mainly presentative. Copula in Cuwabo combines with different parts of speech, subsuming:

- nouns and noun phrases (including locative NP)
- personal and demonstrative pronouns
- cleft-questions
- relative initiator
- constructions headed by a connective (includes adjectival use)

Each sequence is discussed in turn. On the other hand, the copula cannot be used with true adjectives, which require the PL strategy.

\[(9.93)\]

a. *Maríyá ddi mú-nddimúwa

maríyá ddi mú-nddimúwa
maria 1.COP 1-tall

‘Maria is tall’

b. Maríyá mu-nddimúwa

maríyá mu-nddimúwa
maría 1-tall.PL

In most cases, the copula is phonologically bound to the following predicate. Furthermore, it does not alter the tone pattern of the following predicate, which therefore appears as in citation form. Unlike verbal copulas (section 9.2.3), the non-verbal copula in Cuwabo, as in most Bantu languages, is not marked for tense-aspect-mood.

### 9.2.2.1 Nouns and noun phrases

With nominal predicates, in addition to PL, the insertion of the copula is very commonly attested in Cuwabo, as the examples below show. In this respect, Cuwabo differs from...
Makhuwa, in which PL is the only strategy of non-verbal predication allowed with nominal predicates.

(9.94)  
érúgulu na máda orómile onyóónyeyá: ddi máda  
érúgulu na máda [o-róm-ile onyóóny-ey-á]REL ddi máda  
9.belly and 6.hand 1-start-PFV.REL 15.annoy-NTR-FI 1.COP 6.hand  
‘between Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, the one who got first annoyed is Mr.Hands’

(9.95)  
ji gáhál ’ééríinnèéch’ üútágiha íyó ddabuno vénèva  
ji gáhálá [e-ní-fúná = íhu otágiha íyó ddabuno vénèva]REL  
9.COP 9a.story 9-IPFV.CJ-want = 1PL.PRO 15.tell 1PL.PRO today 16.EDEM.I  
‘This is the story we want to tell here today.’

A copula is necessarily required with locative predicates, as shown in (9.96) and (9.97). PL in this context would be ungrammatical.

(9.96)  
k’ uudhulú oñálá nénéeérí  
ku odhulú [o-ní-kála nénéeérí]REL  
17.COP 17.sky 17-IPFV.CJ-be 10a.star  
‘it is in the sky that the stars are’

(9.97)  
pu nimúráni nimóttile mwáâna  
pu mu-múrí = ni [mu-mótt-ile mwáâna]REL  
18.COP 18-3.tree=LOC 18-fall-PFV.REL 1.child  
‘it is from the tree that the child has fallen’

Interestingly, in case of coordinated NP, the copula agrees only with the first constituent in the sequence. This means that two singular coordinated nouns (9.98) or a singular followed by a plural noun (9.99)a are introduced by a singular copula, here class 1 ddi. The introduction of class 2 ba in these contexts is considered ungrammatical (9.99)b. It is however required if the first noun appears as a plural (9.99)c.

(9.98)  
ókúle omün’ óolábáwó: ddi sagáínpira na nhááva  
ókúle [o-ní-fúná53 olábâ = wó]REL ddi sagáínpira na nhááva  
17.DEM.III 1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.work = 17.LOC 1.COP 1a.artist and 1.thief  
‘There the one who is going to work is (are) the artist and the thief.’

53 In “ókúle omünfúná…”, the subject marker on the relativised verb can refer either to the class 17 preverbal grammatical subject or class 1 logical subject (see section 10.1.3 on non-subject relatives)
(9.99) (un)grammatical examples elicited from {maria.149}

a. ókúle [o-ní-fúná olábà=wó]REL ddi ságámpira na ámbáva
17.DEM.III 1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.work=17.LOC 1.COP 1a.artist and 2.thief
‘There the one who is going to work is (are) the artist and the thieves.’

b. *ókúle [a-ní-fúná olábà=wó] REL ba ságámpira na ámbáva
17.DEM.III 1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.work=17.LOC 2.COP 1a.artist and 2.thief
‘There the one who is going to work are the artist and the thieves.’

c. ókúle [a-ní-fúná olábà=wó]REL ba aságámpira na ámbáva
17.DEM.III 1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.work=17.LOC 2.COP 2.artist and 1.thief
‘There the one who is going to work are the artists and the thief.’

9.2.2.2 Personal and demonstrative pronouns

Personal and demonstrative pronouns used predicatively are necessarily introduced by the (agreeing) copula. Examples with demonstratives are first provided below.

(9.100) wéyó akala mukálélo wááwo b’ uúbúvéne kunáátélé
wéyó akala mukálélo wááwo bu óbú=éne ku-náá-tél-e
2SG.PRO if 3.behaviour 3.POSS.2SG 3.COP 3.DEM.I = INT NEG.2SG-FUT-marry-IRR
‘if you behaved that way, you will not marry’

(9.101) agórá akala j’ íjú wééne [...] kaddinu ttébaani víîna
agórá akala ji ėjó wééne ka-ddi-ní-ú-ttéba=ni víîna
then if 9.COP 9.DEM.II INT NEG-1SG-IPFV-OM2SG-carry=PLA também
‘ok, if it is like that, [...] I am not carrying you anymore’

(9.102) va Nikúrábedha pa ápa
va nikúrábedha pa ápa
16.CON 5.dugong 16.COP 16.DEM.1
‘Here is Mr.Dugong’s’

(9.103) sísi! k’ uúlé, ólle ki namarogoló
sísi ku ólle ólle ki namarogolo
INTER 17.COP 1.DEM.III 1.DEM.III EMPH 1a.hare.PL
‘Hey! Here it is, that one there is the hare’

Class 1 copula ddi is invariably used for all the persons, except the 3pl which makes use of ba. As can be seen from the examples (9.104) and (9.105), the class 1 copula controls the agreement of the relativised verb.
(9.104) oñlógá ddi míyo Férnáanda
{oñlógá ddi míyo Férnáanda}
{oñlógá ddi míyo Férnáanda}
[0-ní-lógá]REL ddi míyo Férnáanda
1-IPFV.CJ-speak 1.COP 1SG.PRO Fernanda
‘it is me, Fernanda, who is speaking’

(9.105) dhiálaba míyó dheete dhênée, oñj ddi wéyo
{body.3}
{body.3}
dhiálaba míyó dheete dhênée, oñj ddi wéyo
[o-ní-já]REL ddi wéyo
10-IPFV.CJ-work 1SG.PRO 10-all = 10.INT 1-IPFV.CJ-eat 1.COP 2SG.PRO
‘everything I produce, the one who enjoys is you’

(9.106) “hää, ddi nyúwó muufíya?” “niifíyá see.”
{maria.80}
{maria.80}
hää ddi nyúwó mu-hi-fiya ni-hi-fiýá see
INTER 1.COP 2PL.PRO 2PL-PFV.DJ-arrive 1PL-PFV.DJ-arrive yes
‘Humm, here you are, you came? Yes, we did.’

Finally, (9.107) shows an example of a possessive pronoun introduced by the class 9 copula ji. Grouped together, ji and yááwa surface as jwááwa, which has the meaning of ‘their belongings’. Instead of aakáána jwááwa, another possible construction could be aakáána dhááwa, without the intervention of the copula, and where dhááwa refers to ‘10.POSS.3PL’.

(9.107) aadhówá mmiátákulu mwááwá: [...] aakáána jwááwa: aadhówá mmiátákulu mwááwá: [...] aakáána jwááwa:
a-hí-dhówá mu-miátákulu mwááwá a-hi-káána ji yááwa
2-PFV.DJ-go 18-6.home 18.POSS.3PL 2-PFV.DJ-have 9.COP 9.POSS.3PL
‘They lived in their houses [...] and they have their properties.’

9.2.2.3 Cleft questions

One way of expressing content wh-questions is to use cleft sentences, which constitute focus constructions in Cuwabo. Three examples are provided below, with aani ‘who’ (9.108), uuvi ‘where’ (9.109) and -vi ‘which one’ (9.110). The reader is referred to section 10.2 for an in-depth analysis of wh-question formation.

(9.108) k’ütinimúja naámbédde ba aani?
{k’ütinimúja naámbédde ba aani?}
k’ütinimúja naámbédde ba aani?
k’ütinimúja naámbédde ba aani?
[0-ní-mu-ja naámbédde]REL ba aani
EMPHEM 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-eat 1a.maize 2.COP who
‘who is eating my maize?’
(9.109)  
\( k' \text{ uuví ońdhówá áyín' aábó araarú?} \)  
\{elic.\}  
\[ ki \text{ uuví [o-ní-dhówá áyíma ábó araarú]} \_\text{REL} \]  
17.\ COP where 17-IPFV.CJ-go 2.child 2.DEM.II 2.three  
‘where are these three kids going?’

(9.110)  
\( \text{ńzáyína nígúllééwe ttiíví?} \)  
\{elic.\}  
\[ \text{ńzáyína = na [ní-gúll-ilé=éwe]} \_\text{REL} \]  
5.egg = 5.DEF 5-buy-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO 5.COP.which  
‘the egg you bought, which one is it?’

### 9.2.2.4 Relative initiator

Copulas commonly serve to introduce relative clauses as shown below.

(9.111)  
\( \text{namárógo'l' ooddú ddi onímmútamagígéényú?} \)  
\{ddingf.26\}  
\[ \text{namárógolo ooddú ddi [o-ní-mú-ttamag-íh=inyú]} \_\text{REL} \]  
1a.hare 1.DEM.I 1.COP 1-PRS.CJ-OM1-run-CAUS-F\_i\_3 = 2PL.PRO  
‘the hare is the one you are making run!’

(9.112)  
\( \text{ółlééne oónfín' óòpatúla ósalú ddi' iijíl' óobáága} \)  
\{mbífri.24\}  
\[ \text{ółlé = éné [o-ní-fúná ópátúla ósalú]} \_\text{REL} \]  
1.DEM.III = INT 1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.break 14.thread 1.COP 1-eat-PFV.REL  
\[ \text{obá = ága} \_\text{REL} \]  
9a.fish = POSS.1SG  
‘The one who will break the thread is the one who ate my fish.’

In a few cases, it seems that the copula is linked to the relativised verb in such a way that it triggers on surface the deletion of the SM on the verb. In the interlinear gloss, I indicate the underlying (expected) agreement markers, but on surface such expressions seem frozen.

(9.113)  
\( \text{tutútú s' éfélégáani} \)  
\{body.19\}  
\[ \text{tutútú si [dhi-ér-flégé=ani]} \_\text{REL} \]  
IDEO 10.COP 10-do-PFV.HAB.F\_i\_3 = 3PL.PRO  
‘this is how it happened’ (lit. ‘these are what they did’)

In a few cases, it seems that the copula is linked to the relativised verb in such a way that it triggers on surface the deletion of the SM on the verb. In the interlinear gloss, I indicate the underlying (expected) agreement markers, but on surface such expressions seem frozen.
9.2.2.5 Connective constructions

As already seen in section 5.1.1, the most productive way of creating adjective-associated meanings is by inserting intransitive infinitive verbs into connective constructions. These constructions can be used predicatively if they are preceded by the copula, as shown in the following examples.

(9.115) *munddííddela míy’ óokálá dda mwaaná* {ddingí.7}

mu-ni-ddí-idd-íd-a míyó okálá ddi-a mwaaná
2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate-APPL-Fi 1SG.PRO 15.be 1.COP-CON 1.child.PL
‘you hate me because I am a child’

(9.116) niító nikokomézo, ninaákókoméza íyó, alí b’ óopáněla {body.24}

ñító nikokomézo [ni-ni-á-kókoméza iyó] [a-lí ba-a opáněla]REL
5.DEM.II 5.advice.PL 5-IPFV.DJ-OM2-advise 1PL.PRO 2-be 2.COP-CON 15.be.proud
‘this is the advice we want to give to the proud people.’

(9.117) a. *músólro wa mwááná óddu b’ oolápa* {elic.}

músólro wa mwááná óddu bu-a olápa
3.body 3.CON 2.woman 2.DEM.I 3.COP-CON 15.be.big
‘the head of this child is big’

b. *níínó na mwáán’ óódđu tt’ oocéna* {elic.}

níínó na mwááná óddu tti-a océna
5.tooth 5.CON 1.child 1.DEM.I 5.COP-CON 15.be.white
‘the tooth of this child is white’

Copular connective constructions can be inserted into comparative or superlative constructions (‘the more’ or ‘the most’), again in combination with the verb *opítta* ‘surpass, exceed’. The example in (9.118)a, uttered by Fransisco, literally means ‘Maria is very beautiful, surpassing the others’. Note that an equivalent expression for *Mariýa dd’óókóddéla* is rendered by the perfective form of the stative verb *ókóddéla* ‘be beautiful’,

(9.118) [nigaagumanihá: , entáwú. p’ aałkáláani p’ aałváahnání égůmi] {body.20}

ni-gaa-guman-ih-á entáwú pa [va-ni-kalá = ani]REL
1PL-SIT-assemble-CAUS-Fi then 16.COP 16-IPFV.CJ-stay = 3PL.PRO
pa [va-ni-váahnání = ani]REL égůmi
16.COP 16-IPFV.CJ-give = 3PL.PRO 9.health
‘when unified, it works, it brings health.’ (lit. ‘when unified, it is there that they stay, it is there that they give health’)

‗when unified, it works, it brings health.’ (lit. ‗when unified, it is there that they stay, it is there that they give health’)}
which results in a stative interpretation (see section 8.1.1.2). This alternative is proposed in sentence (9.118)b, pronounced by Guilherme.

(9.118) a. Maríyá ddi' oókóddélá vaddiddí opítta ééna \{elic.fd\}
    Maríyá ddi-a oókóddélá vaddiddí opítta á-ina
    Maria 1.COP-CON 15.be.beautiful much 15.surpass 2-other
    ‘Maria is the most beautiful’

b. Maríyá oókóddélá opíttá eetéene \{elic.gmr\}
    Maríyá o-hí-kóddélá opíttá a-eté=ene
    Maria 1-PFV.DJ-be.beautiful 15.surpass 2-all=INT
    ‘Maria is the most beautiful’

The invariable adjective paáma ‘good, well’ may be introduced by the copular-connective particle as illustrated in (9.119).

(9.119) níbíla ñíti niíja míyo tta paáma \{elic.\}
    níbíla ñíti [ni-ní-ja míyo]REL tti-a paáma
    5.lamb 5.DEM.I 5-IPFV.CJ-eat 1SG.PRO 5.COP-CON good
    ‘the goat I am eating is good’

9.2.3 (copular) verbs ‘to be’

Two verbs ‘to be’ exist in Cuwabo: oli and okála. The first is irregular in that it never occurs with the final vowels -a or -e. There does not appear to be significant semantic differences between the non-verbal copula discussed above and the copular verbs, although the latter incorporate a locative dimension that the non-verbal copula does not inherently bear. Furthermore, unlike the non-verbal copula, which cannot host temporal markers and is thus restricted to a general present time reference, copular verbs may be marked for TAM, still with different allowance degrees, as will discussed below.

9.2.3.1 Copular verb oli ‘be’

Whereas both aforementioned strategies of non-verbal predication trigger non-verbal clauses, the use of the copula verb oli implies verbal clauses, in the same way as the copula verb ‘be’ in English. This means that the resulting clause involves non-verbal predicates, but is not non-verbal in itself, since oli is a verb, or at least a copular verb, acting in most cases
as a dummy verb. This means that it functions as the head of the phrase but carries a minor semantic load (instead carried by the following non-verbal predicate).

The copular verb *oli* is much attested with nominal predicates as examples (9.120)-(9.123) illustrate. This includes infinitives as in (9.125) with the class 15 verb *otteéga* ‘sin’. Note that PL tone process systematically applies to the predicate, as the following examples show.

(9.120)  

\[
\text{míyó } \text{ddili } \text{mbava}
\]

1SG.PRO 1SG-be 1.thief.PL
‘I am a thief’

(9.121)  

\[
\text{naáli } \text{ñsaká } \text{n’ } \text{oócéyá } \text{ñbúga}
\]

5-PST.IPfv-be 5.time.PL 5.CON 15.sow 3.rice
‘it was the season to sow rice’

(9.122)  

\[
\text{mabása } \text{ááye } \text{aáli } \text{opeškadoóri } , \text{ótáddá } , \text{osápa}
\]

6.work 6.POSS.3SG 6-PST.IPfv-be 14.fisherman.PL 15.fish 15.fish
‘He was a fisherman. To fish’

(9.123)  

\[
\text{díla } \text{yiína } : \text{yaáli } \text{díla } y’ \text{ oonyákúwa } \text{viína}
\]

9a.way 9-other 9-PST.IPfv-be 9a.way.PL 9.CON 15.be.dirty too
‘The other path was a dirty path.’

Interestingly, *oli* appears in complementary distribution with the PL non-verbal strategy discussed above. In (9.120), the copula verb is necessarily required with the 1st and 2nd persons (here *míyó* ‘1SG.PRO’), but not with the 3rd persons, as the corresponding sentence in (9.124) shows. In the three following examples (9.121)-(9.123), the past reference involves the intervention of the copula verb which receives the past imperfective TAM marker -á-. In contrast, *oli* becomes optional when not specified for tense, as shown in (9.125).

(9.124)  

\[
\text{íyééné } \text{ñbava}
\]

3SG.PRO 1.thief.PL
‘he is a thief’
(9.125) ́otélá (olí) gari, orárúw’ (olí) otteéga

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ótelá} & \quad \text{o-}lí \quad \text{gari} \quad \text{orárúwa} \quad \text{o-}lí \quad \text{otteéga} \\
15.\text{marry} & \quad 15.-\text{be} \quad 9a.\text{luck.PL} \quad 15.\text{betray} \quad 15.-\text{be} \quad 15.\text{sin.PL}
\end{align*}
\]
‘getting married is a chance, betraying is a sin’

However, note that PL does not apply on strongly modified nouns (e.g. with an encliticised possessive), nor on proper names:

(9.126) míyó ddili mwáninyu, míyó ddili nábáaliinyu, míyó ddili Maríya

\[
\begin{align*}
míyó & \quad \text{ddi-li} \quad \text{mwáninyu} \quad \text{míyó} \quad \text{ddi-li} \quad \text{nábáaliinyu} \\
1SG.PRO & \quad 1SG.-be \quad 1.\text{child.POSS.2PL} \quad 1SG.PRO & \quad 1SG.-be \quad 1.\text{sister.POSS.2PL}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
míyó & \quad \text{ddi-li} \quad \text{maríya} \\
1SG.PRO & \quad 1SG.-be \quad \text{maríya}
\end{align*}
\]
‘I am your daughter, I am your sister, I am Maria.’

\textit{olí} may also be used with adjectival predicates as in (9.127), but one should note that PL on the adjective (see section 9.2.1) is in this case the preferred predicative strategy.

(9.127) oýey’ ólí múkkittikittikittikitt’ oímála wóódda

\[
\begin{align*}
o-hí-yévá & \quad o-\text{lí} \quad \text{mó-kítf-kítf-kítf-kítf} \quad o-hí-mála \quad wóódda \\
1-PFV.DJ.-be.small & \quad 1-be \quad 3.-\text{unripe-RED} \quad 1-PFV.DJ.-finish \quad 15.-\text{be.thin}
\end{align*}
\]
‘She was small, very thin, she has turned thin’

\textit{olí} also serves to link a theme expression to an expression denoting a location as in (9.128)-(9.131). In this case, \textit{olí} incorporates a locative meaning and implies the presence of a given entity in a given place. A non-verbal copula cannot be used in such cases.

(9.128) alí vátákúluvawa

\[
\begin{align*}
a-lí & \quad \text{va-tákúlu} = \text{vawa} \\
2.-\text{be} & \quad 16.-9a.\text{house} = 16.\text{POSS.3PL}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(all) are in their house’

(9.129) mwámána Maríya, ol’ úumábásáíni

\[
\begin{align*}
mwámána & \quad \text{maríya} \quad o-\text{lí} \quad o-mábásá = \text{ni} \\
1.\text{husband} \quad \text{maríya} & \quad 1-be \quad 17.-6.\text{work} = 1\text{LOC}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Maria’s husband is at work’

(9.130) odoóólé lëánso ̀nlí mb’ oódhéna

\[
\begin{align*}
o-dhóól-č & \quad lëánso \quad [\text{ni-lí} \quad \text{mbá}]_{REL} \quad o-dh-č = \text{na} \\
2SG.-fetch-SBJ & \quad 5.\text{tissue} \quad 5.-\text{be} \quad 18.-\text{into} \quad 2SG.-go-SBJ = \text{COM}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Fetch the tissue which is inside and come back with it’
(9.131) *Maríyá múmwa ool’ úuí vi?*

M. múima o-li uuvi
M. 1.child 1-be where
‘Maria, where is that child?’

The locative meaning of *oli* is also clearly expressed when it is prefixed by a locative SM as in (9.132).

(9.132) *íyéén’ áagadha kanšíyedha vali Mariya*

íyééné a-gaa-dha ka-ní-fíy-edh-a va-li maríya
3SG.PRO 1-SIT-come NEG.1-IPFV-arrive-APPL-Fi 16-be maria
‘When he reached the bank, he did not go where Maria was’

Beside a locative meaning, *oli* can also be described as existential in that it is used to state the existence of something, as shown in (9.133). However existential clauses are more commonly attested with *okála*, as will be discussed below.

(9.133) *[weerlégé keerléége dhaweene,] waálí Mädá: Érígúlú: na Manyáló.*

o-á-li mádá érígúlú na manyáló
1-PST-be 6.hand 9.belly and 6.foot
‘[Once upon a time,] there were Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet.’

As can be seen from the above examples, *oli* is a highly defective verb. The most common form is unmarked for TAM and solely consists of the stem -li preceded by a verb SM. In complex sentences, the sequential pre-prefix may be added as illustrated in (9.134).

(9.134) *eyíb’ éjó ddivahiwé baddíli músuńzi*

eyíbá éjó ddi-vah-íw-é bá-ddi-li músuńzi
‘I was given this hoe when I was an apprentice’

The other attested form of *oli* bears in addition the past imperfective TAM marker -á- as illustrated in several examples above. We conclude that *oli* constitutes a true copula verb, in that it has most restricted verbal properties (in contrast with the verb *okála* discussed below).

*oli* can be employed with the pre-initial negative marker *ka*-.

(9.135) *íyééné kaál’ úuttolon’ úkó*

íyééné ka-á-li o-ttolo=ni ókó
3SG.PRO NEG.1-PST.IPFV-be 17-well.PL=LOC 17.DEM.II
‘Wasn’t she there at the well? Wasn’t she washing?!’
9.2.3.2 Verb okála ‘be, stay, live’

As already seen in section 8.3.1 on TAM, okála ‘be’ can be used as a modality verb, in which case it indicates a durative or persistent event, best translated as ‘keep V-ing’, as illustrated in (9.138).

(9.138) míyó ddinolímâ: bámbááya, ddinolímâ: kôkô, dinolíma máfûgi:, {body.4} mazhi wéyó oḵkâ oltre ojá wééne, kuńddívahámo.

míyó ddi-ni-olímâ bámbááya ... kôkô ... máfûgi 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate 1a.sweet.potato ... 9.coconut ... 6.banana
mazhi wéyó o-mi-kâl-â-a òjá wééne ku-ní-ddí-vahá=mo but 2SG.PRO 2-IPFV.CJ-be-APPL-Fi 15.eat 15.INT NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-give=18.LOC

‘I cultivate sweet potatoes, coconuts, bananas. But you keep eating, you do not give me anything.’

okála may be followed by a noun, an adjective or a connective construction, as the following examples show. Note again the PL tone process applied on the nominal predicates múzúgu ‘European’ (9.139), and mbílri ‘fish.sp’ (9.140), as well as the adjectival predicate múreddá ‘sick’ (9.142).

(9.139) María’ óolóósáddúwá, ddabun’ óókala muzugu, okala w’ oocéna {maria.61} M. o-lé-ósáddúwa ddabunó o-kála muzugu o-kála wa océna M. 1-CE-15.change now NAR-be 1.European.PL NAR-be 1.CON 15.be.white

‘Maria changed, she was now a white person, she was white.’

(9.140) osadduw’ ookala mbílri vińagúwa {mbílri.43} o-sadduwa o-kála mbílri vińa-gúwa

NAR-change NAR-be 9a.fish.sp.PL too-again

‘she got transformed, she became a ‘mbílri’ fish too.’
Predicative constructions

(9.141) nááda, ddikáló w’ oomáríha

\[
\text{nááda ddí-kál-é wa omáríha}
\]

‘No, may I be the last one.’

(9.142) kaávódh’ oott(i)dda masbas’ aápále vatákułú: sabw’ eelá waákála mureddáví:

\[
\text{ka-á-vódha ottidda mabasá áápále va-tákúlu sabwa wiilá}
\]

‘she was not able to clean the house because she was always sick’

In the same way as olí, okála can link a theme expression to an expression denoting a location, i.e. a locative predicate (9.143). In this case, it is best translated as ‘live’ or ‘stay’.

(9.143) Nikúrbedha mwanenám’ óońkála nhbárá mucíddô vatí va máánje

\[
\text{N. mwanenámá [o-ni-kála mu-bárá mucíddô vatí va máánje]}
\]

‘Mr.Dugong is an animal which lives in the bottom of the sea.’

Finally, okála may have an existential interpretation, as in English ‘there is/are’. A locative meaning can be further added by means of a locative post-final enclitic (9.144) or by a locative adjunct (9.145) and (9.146). But preliminarily, the existence of something is stated through okála.\(^{54}\)

(9.144) ŋsáká nimodhá waákálawo mwánámwiyaná

\[
\text{ňsáká ni-modhá o-á-kála=wo mwánámwiyaná}
\]

‘one day (intd. ‘once upon a time’), there was a girl’

---

\(^{54}\) Remember that the expression olı́eká ‘there is’ represents another existential expression in Cuwabo (see section 5.5.5).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{olı́eká Nikúrbedha, olí vatákułú váaye} \\
olı́ = \text{eká N. o-íf va-tákúlu = váaye} \\
1.CJ = \text{alone D. 1-be 16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘there is Mr.Dugong, he is in his house’

\(^{55}\) Note here that the SM o- is not interpreted as a class 17 prefix, since substituting the singular inverted subject mwáńänwiyaná ‘girl’ (class 1) by its plural form (ánänwiyaná, class 2) would trigger a class 2 agreement on the verb.
(9.145) *ottólón’ uükül’ ookálá fulfilór’ iiníbá vacélání* ∑ {ddoo.25}

o-tóló = ni ókúlé *o-hi-kálá* fulfilór’ [e-ní-ibá va-célá = ni]REL

17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III 17-PFV.DJ-be 9a.flower 9-IPFV.CJ-sing 16-well = LOC

‘There at the well there is a flower which sings at the well.’

(9.146) *rípúle níbara, muukálá mwáncenámá ońkúvéélíwa Nikúrábedha* {maria.104}

rípúle mu-bárá *mu-hi-kálá* mwáncenámá [o-ní-kúvéél-iw-a N.]REL

18.DEM.III 18-9a.sea 18-PFV.DJ-be 1.animal 1-IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi D.

‘There in the sea, there is an animal called Mr.Dugong.’

As can be seen in the three examples above, *okála* is much used in locative inversion, also called “existential-presentative” clauses (Givón 2001a: 191).

Unlike *olí*, which has a strong defective paradigm, *okála* admits a wider range of forms inflected for TAM. For instance, whenever the nominal or adjectival predicates refer to a future time reference, *okála* is required, as shown in (9.147).

(9.147) *kí dhaáyí níáákálé dhaavi?* {maria.18}

kí dhaáyí *ní-náá-kál-é* dhaavi

EMPH like.this 1PL-FUT.CJ-be-IRR how

‘How will I be then?’

The next examples illustrate the use of *okála* in different TAM constructions: a subjunctive (9.148), a sequential (7.110), a counterexpectational (9.150). This means that unlike *olí*, *okála* displays a wider array of verbal properties, although I could not find any negative form of *okála* in my database. It seems that *olí* is preferred in this environment.

(9.148) “*akále Ddoolríndo, peénöto!”* “*sií, nááda nyúwó múnózívála*” ∑ {ddoo.27}

a-kál-e D. peénó = to sí nááda nyúwó mú-ni-ózívála

1-be-SBJ D.PL maybe = then INTER no 2RESP.PRO 2RESP-IPFV.DJ-15.lie

‘Is it Ddoolrinddo?!’ “I don’t know!” “Sii, no! You are lying.”

(9.149) [kurúmáany’ oódha wolololoo] bagákála ñnga múttú w’ oónvuzédhá {maria.24}

ba-gá-kála ñnga múttú wa ó-mú-vuuz-édh-a

SEQ.1-SIT-be like 1.people 1.CON 15-OM1-ask-APPL-Fi

‘[The bee.sp came ‘bzzbzzbzzz’], he looked like he was giving her a greeting’

(9.150) *olóómúásanyedha Ddóólríndo’ óólélé; Ddóólríndo’ óolóókálá muttu* ∑ {ddoo.37}

o-lé-ó-mú-sasany-edh-a D. óólélé D. *o-lé-ókálá* muttu


‘he cured that Ddoolrinddo, she became a person (again).’
9.2.4 Negative copulas

Cuwabo has two distinct negative copulas. The first type is invariable and has an existential meaning, translated in English as ‘there/it is not’. Two forms are freely attested in Cuwabo, kahíyo and kahíye, which can also appear on surface as kaáyo and kaáye, respectively, where the middle vowel assimilates with the preceding vowel. It seems difficult to extract the underlying morphological structure from these forms. If the pre-initial negative marker ka- is formally and semantically transparent (it is used to negate the existence of something), the following segment -hi-, as well as the two final suffixes -o and -e cannot be accounted for synchronically. Hence the choice of the (somewhat vague but functional enough) gloss ‘NEG.COP’ in the following illustrating examples.

(9.151) bírííkw’ ìísì dhiddigúllèle wóóč, kaa’ dha wóóru?


kaaye  dha  wóóru
NEG.COP 10.CON 14.gold

‘these earrings you bought me, aren’t they made of gold?’

(9.152) kahíyó mwáha!

kahíyó  mwáha
NEG.COP 3.problem

‘No problem!’

(9.153) s’ eetédhéné dhikósiléényu, kahíy’ éélóbwéene


kahíyo  élóbó = ene

‘all you did, it is nothing really’

Unexpectedly, and in contrast with the affirmative (verbal and non-verbal) copulas, this negative copula does not trigger PL on the following predicate as can be seen in (9.152) with mwáha ‘problem’ and (9.153) élóbwéene ‘thing.INT’, uttered as in citation form.

The negative existential form is often used by story-tellers in the introductory formula weé lé k ye óddo, literally translated as ‘the one who did, it is not that one’. For instance, both stories entitled ‘ddingí’ and ‘ddoolrinddo’ told by Fernanda from Macuze start with this formula. An example is given in (9.154).

56 Remember that an equivalent assimilation process is (almost systematically) attested with the perfective marker -hi- (adja ‘they ate’ is morphologically segmented as a-hi-já, see section 2.4.1.4).
The negative existential form also functions as a rhetorical interrogative device, which consists in asking for confirmation, and thus normally implies a positive answer. Such an interro-negative construction is commonly known under the label ‘question tag’. Two examples are provided below.

(9.155)  
Aíssa oottúkúla ṭıpíka, kaíyo ?

aíssa 1-PFV.DJ-take 3.bucket  NEG.COP
Aissa took the bucket, didn’t she?’

(9.156)  
cíí ! wéyo kahíye wa Maríya ?

cíí NEG 2 SG.PRO NEG.COP 2 SG.CON maríya
‘[excl.], are you not Maria?’

Unexpectedly, when kahíyo is followed by an infinitive verb, it is understood as an affirmation. It thus can be considered as a pragmatically-linked linguistic device which consists in postulating affirmation through negation, in the same way as the English expression ‘is it not that …’ or the French ‘n’est-ce pas … que/de’. In this context, it could be replaced by a perfective (ahídhowá) or a narrative (odhowá) form. Such expressions in Cuwabo are usually confined to narrative texts.

(9.157)  
áttú kahíy’ oódhów’ óottúló’ uúkúle kahíy’ óóptáálá

áttú 2 people NEG.COP 15.go 17-well=LOC 17.DEM.III NEG.COP 15.hide
‘people went to the well and hid themselves around’

(9.158)  
rapáríga ddabunó kahíy’ óókálá dhiidho:

rapáríga 1a.girl then NEG.COP 15.be.naked
dhiidho then the mistress remained naked’

The second type negative existential form derives from kahíyo/kahíye, but inflects for subject marking and also contains one of the three locative clitics. Class 16 =vo is used to express ‘is not here’, class 17 =wo means ‘is not there, does not exist’, and class 18 =mo refers to ‘is not inside’. The full paradigms are given in Table 51.
### Table 51  Inflected negative copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/class</th>
<th>ka-SM-hí = 16.LOC</th>
<th>ka-SM-hí = 17.LOC</th>
<th>ka-SM-hí = 18.LOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>kaddívwó</td>
<td>kaddíwó</td>
<td>kaddíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>kawiívwó</td>
<td>kawiíwó</td>
<td>kawiíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>kaniívwó</td>
<td>kaniíwó</td>
<td>kaniíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>kamwiívwó</td>
<td>kamwiíwó</td>
<td>kamwiíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaávwó</td>
<td>kaáwó</td>
<td>kaáwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kaávwó</td>
<td>kaáwó</td>
<td>kaáwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kawiívwó</td>
<td>kawiíwó</td>
<td>kawiíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kadhiívwó</td>
<td>kadhiíwó</td>
<td>kadhiíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kaniívwó</td>
<td>kaniíwó</td>
<td>kaniíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kaávwó</td>
<td>kaáwó</td>
<td>kaáwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kayívwó</td>
<td>kayíwó</td>
<td>kayíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>kawiívwó</td>
<td>kawiíwó</td>
<td>kawiíwímo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kamwiíwímo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are a few examples in context.

(9.159) *naámbédd’ oônójúwááví, ma namárógolo kaawó!*  
naámbédde  ó-ni-ój-úw-á = vi  
1a.maize 1-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi = RESTR but 1a.hare NEG.COP.1 = 17.LOC  
‘maize keeps being eaten, but the hare is not here!’

(9.160) *mwáádhíye kaávo, ánááye kaávo, dhoóbódhaye kadhiívo*  
mwáádhí = ye  kaá = vo  ánááye  kaá = vo  
1.wife = POSS.3SG NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC 2.child.POSS.3SG NEG.COP.2 = 16.LOC  
dhoóbó = dhaye kadhií = vo  
10.furniture = 10.POSS.3SG NEG.COP.10 = 16.LOC  
‘his wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here’

Interestingly, and in contrast with the invariable negative copula *kahíyo/kahíye*, the element that follows an inflected negative copula is affected by PL, be it a noun (9.161) or a tensed verb (5.156).

(9.161) *[elábw’ céejí y’ ooténe] kaávwó řbava w’ opítta miyo*  
kaá = vó  řbava wa opítta miyo]REL  
NEG.1 = 16.LOC 1.thief.PL 1.CON 15.surpass 1SG.PRO  
‘[in this whole place], there is no thief better than me.’
(9.162) *kaáwó odhileewód*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaá} & = \text{wó} & \text{o-dh-ile} & = \text{wo} \\
\text{NEG.COP.1} & = \text{17.LOC} & \text{1-come-PFV.PL} & = \text{17.LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

‘nobody came’
This chapter has two main focuses: first it gives a detailed description of the relative clause constructions in Cuwabo, and second, it describes the strategies used to form \textit{wh}-questions. The first topic about relatives has much relevance to the second on question formation, since one way of questioning things is by means of cleft constructions, thus involving relative clauses.

Note that yes-no questions, in virtue of their prosodic behaviour, are not treated here, but in section 3.6.2.

\section{10.1 Relative clauses}

According to Schachter and Shopen (2007: 16), “the expression of adjectival meanings through verbs in languages with closed adjective classes typically involves relativization to express the equivalent of a modifying adjective”. Cuwabo, as many Bantu languages,
conforms to that assertion, in that it has a very restricted class of lexical adjectives (see section 5.4), and necessarily relies on relative constructions to modify noun heads.

I present in this section the structure and the morphology of subject and (section 10.1.2) non-subject (section 10.1.3) relatives in Cuwabo. For both, different relative clause types – restrictive, non-restrictive, free, and cleft – will be exemplified. In section 10.1.4, instrumental and comitative relatives will be treated. Section 10.1.5 will briefly overview the negative relatives, and finally in section 10.1.6, I will discuss specific relative issues.

### 10.1.1 Formal properties

Whereas most Bantu languages make use of some relative markers, usually derived from demonstrative or possessive pronouns, on first sight, Cuwabo does not have any morphological markers to indicate relativeness. Rather, the language uses specific verb forms that are formally identical to the conjoint forms (see section 11.3). In Cuwabo, seven tenses display the conjoint/disjoint alternation: present (imperfective), past imperfective, perfective, past perfective, future, future imperfective and hypothetical. Table 52 below confronts both conjoint and relative verb forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CJ</th>
<th>REL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRS IPFV</strong></td>
<td><strong>ongulihá</strong> [57] nigagádda</td>
<td><strong>ongultha</strong> (nigágádda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he is selling dry cassava’</td>
<td>‘who is selling (dry cassava)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PST IPFV</strong></td>
<td><strong>waágúla</strong> nyumba</td>
<td><strong>waágúla</strong> (nyúmba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he was buying a house’</td>
<td>‘who was buying (a house)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PFV</strong></td>
<td><strong>ofúllé</strong> mútede</td>
<td><strong>ofúllé</strong> (mutéde)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he washed the dress’</td>
<td>‘who washed (the dress)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PST PFV</strong></td>
<td><strong>waaveéttle</strong> mbuga</td>
<td><strong>waaveéttle</strong> (mbúga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he had winnowed the rice’</td>
<td>‘who had winnowed (the rice)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUT</strong></td>
<td><strong>onaábúddúgélé</strong> gulwe</td>
<td><strong>onaábúddúgélé</strong> (gulúwe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he will attack the pig’</td>
<td>‘who will attack (the pig)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUT IPFV</strong></td>
<td><strong>ogáskúla</strong> kalruúngíngá</td>
<td><strong>ddigásákúla</strong> (kálruúngíngá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he will be choosing the hoe’</td>
<td>‘who will be choosing (the hoe)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HYP</strong></td>
<td><strong>ogaattukúlé</strong> nyangaséra</td>
<td><strong>ogaattukúlé</strong> (nyangaséra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he would carry the fishing basket’</td>
<td>‘who would carry (the fishing basket)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[57] Note that the tone difference between the CJ and the REL forms is not relevant here and is explained by constraints on High Tone Doubling (see section 3.5.1 for a detailed analysis of HTD).
Table 52 shows that Cuwabo relatives have no specific morphology, nor do they exhibit a specific tone pattern, except for the perfective tense, in which an additional H tone stands on S2, or S1 in case of bisyllabic stems (see the conjoint form ofuĩlɛ versus the relative form ofuĩlɛ). The reason why a tone difference between conjoint and relative forms exists only for the perfective is still unclear at this moment.

An interesting question arises: how to distinguish between relative and conjoint verbs if their forms are strictly identical (except for the perfective)? One first important thing to have in mind is that conjoint forms can in principle not appear in the final position of a sentence (this will be demonstrated in section 11.3.2). This explains why we always have a following object in the Table 52 above. It therefore means that in sentence-final position, there is never ambiguity: we always have a relative form. In the case of transitive verbs, we can distinguish relative and non-relative forms thanks to the tone pattern of the object following the verb: after a conjoint form, the Predicative Lowering (PL) process occurs, i.e. the augment, which is purely tonal in Cuwabo, does not appear on the object, as illustrated in (10.1)a (see section 3.5.3 for more details on PL). Inversely, after a relative verb the object appears in citation form, without tone alteration (10.1)b.

(10.1) a. CJ múyaná oŋgúl̩ihá nígágádda
    múyaná o-ní-gúl̩ihá nígádda
    1.woman 1-IPFV.CJ-sell 5.dry.cassava.PL
    ‘the woman is selling dry cassava’

    b. REL múyaná oŋgúl̩iŋa nígádda […]
    múyaná [o-ní-gúl̩iŋa nígádda]REL
    1.woman 1-IPFV.CJ-sell 5.dry.cassava
    ‘the woman who is selling dry cassava […]’

Still, note that no all elements following a CJ form are affected by PL (see section 11.3.2). This means that under certain circumstances, both CJ and relative readings can be obtained, and that only the context will help in determining which reading prevails. For instance, the story context from which the sentence in (10.2) was extracted makes it clear that the CJ form dhińdha is to be interpreted as a CJ verb (implying a focus reading on the postverbal element). But, taken out-of-the-blue, the same sequence could be considered as a noun phrase, made of a head noun modified by a relative clause.

(10.2) jíbó dhińdá ríbára
    a. jíbó dhi-ní-dá mu-bára
    jíbó dhi-ní-dá mu-bára
    10a.song 10-IPFV.CJ-come 18-9a.sea
    ‘the songs come from the beach’
10.1.2 Subject relative clauses

As previously said, there is at first sight no segmental relative marker in Cuwabo. Instead, the agreement on the conjoint verb form is triggered by the relativised noun phrase (NP). The different subject relatives below confirm it: in the restrictive one in (10.3), the subject marker in nińl gél agrees with the class 5 noun þjáángara ‘card’, and o-ntóónyá agrees with class 1 muttú ‘man’.

(10.3) oddív he viína þjáángara nińl gél kaávó muttú o-ntóónyá: baaddíppá míyo {maria.180}
o-ddí-váh-e viína þjáángara [ni-ńl-lóg-á] kaá = vó
2SG-OM1SG-give-SBJ too 5.card 5-IPFV.CJ-say-APPL-Fi NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC
muttú [o-ni-tóónyá ba-a-ddí-pítá míyo]REL
1.people.PL 1-IPFV.CJ-show SEQ-1-OM1SG-surpass 1SG.PRO
‘give me too a card that says there is no one who is better at tracking the way than I.’

This example is interesting in that it shows in the same sentence the tone difference between the two verbal forms nińl gélä (from H verb ólogá ‘say, talk’) and o-ntóónyá (from toneless verb otóónyá ‘show, indicate’).

In the free relative one in (10.4), e-ńfüña agrees with the implied class 9 élóbo ‘thing’.

(10.4) eńfüña ‘ñbúddúwaamó wmaárí mwa ṁpúlër
wóy’ óoddódd’ eejú wéeéne
[e-ńfüña őbúddúwa=mó wmaárí mwa ṁpúlër]REL
9-IPFV.CJ-want 15.go.out-18.LOC 18.into 18.in 18.DEM.III
wéyó o-ddódd-e ejó wéeéne
2SG.PRO 2SG-snatch-SBJ 9.DEM.II INT
‘what will go out from inside, snatch it’

Free relatives, which have no referent in the clause, are syntactically singular or plural, depending on what they refer to. When one refers to a human entity, the subject marker on the relativised verb is necessarily class 1 -o for a singular or class 2 -a for a plural. When one refers to a non-human entity, class 9 prefix e- for singular (as in (10.4)) and class 10 prefix dhi- for plural, are used. This can probably be explained by the fact that the class 9/10
The word élôbo ‘thing’ is implied at the head of this type of construction. Thus in (10.4), ‘what will go out’ could be paraphrased ‘the thing which will go out’.

And in the cleft relative in (10.5), wóonávó agrees with class 1 personal pronoun iyééne ‘he’.

(10.5) ddi iyééne wóónaávó baáhi. wóónaávó ddi iyééne baáhi {maria.146}

`he was the only one to see’

Both cleft relatives contained in (10.5) are semantically identical. It means that the constituent order in this sentence does not matter: the copula (which is inflected for class in Cuwabo) and the cleft constituent can precede the cleft clause or follow it. Nonetheless, more occurrences of the second order are attested in my data.

Another interesting observation regarding cleft relatives is the possibility of omitting the copula, thanks to the Predicative Lowering process. In the sentence in (10.6), kurumaanje, whose tone pattern in citation form is ØHHØØ (kurúmáanje), is in a predicative position and has the same meaning as the copular expression ddi kurúmáanje ‘it is a bee.sp’.

(10.6) odhíl’ oonípáddwel’ oosogóró waayé kurumaanje {maria.23}

`a bee.sp came and showed up in front of her’ (lit. ‘who came and … it is a bee.sp’)
Chapter 10

Table 53: Relative agreement pattern with classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NC</th>
<th>Subject pfx</th>
<th>Rel. present</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mwááná</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the child who says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ááná</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the children who say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>múrí</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the tree which says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mírí</td>
<td>dhi-</td>
<td>dhi-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the trees which say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ňzayí</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>ni-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the egg which says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mázayí</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the eggs which say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>eñíba</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>e-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the hoe which says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhiñíba</td>
<td>dhi-</td>
<td>dhi-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the hoes which say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>oñíbo</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the glue which says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ópa</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘the pain which says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ápa</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘where it says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>óku</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘where it says’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ñmpu</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-ňlóga</td>
<td>‘when it says’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, if we look at the non-restrictive relative in (6.139), we see that the agreement marker on o-ńlóga does not match with the expected subject marker of the 1PL person ni-. Instead we have the subject marker corresponding to cl.1 o-.

(6.139) noóotéen iy’ óońńvééérí vatákúl’ ápá, (nivúč voósálnún’ áápá) {mbílí.13}

ni-oté = éne iyó [o-ńlóga]va-ńlóga ápa
1PL=all=INT 1PL.PRO 1-IPFV.CJ-live 16-9a.house 16.DEM.1
‘all of us, who live in this house, (let’s go on this thread)’

It actually turns out that the four persons 1SG, 2SG, 1PL and 2SG have the same agreement marker in the subject relatives, as shown in Table 54.

Table 54: Relative agreement pattern with persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Subject Pfx.</th>
<th>Rel. present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>míyo</td>
<td>ddi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>wéyo</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg (cl.1)</td>
<td>ñyééne</td>
<td>o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>íyo</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>nyúwo</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl (cl.2)</td>
<td>áweéne</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that verbs in the subject relatives agree with the noun classes but not the persons is not easy to account for. The persons refer to human beings and this semantic detail may explain why a single subject marker, corresponding to class 1, has been chosen. Whenever a
human reference is being made, in a singular or plural form, the $o$-subject marker is used on the verb, probably on account of the subject marker $o$- of the human-referent noun class 1. However as soon as the plural reference deals with the 3PL, i.e. class 2, the subject marker on the verb gets back to the noun class agreement system.

On the other hand, although these agreement markers on the verb seem to be subject markers, it is not proven whether they actually are the subject markers. The fact that there is no agreement with persons, as shown above in Table 54 may also suggest that these represent in some way another sort of marker. They may rather be considered as relative markers, occupying the subject marker slot. Note that the nature of this agreement with the head noun and the absence of regular subject agreement are properties found in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2010).

Last, an interesting point deals with relativisation and possession. Typologically, languages do not like to relativise formally a possessor (Creissels, p.c.), and usually make use of circumvented strategies, such as alteration of the verbal valency. The relative in (10.7)a establishes a relation of possession between the head constituent mírí ‘trees’, the possessor, and the possessee matábayá ‘the leaves’. What may look like a non-subject relative is in fact a subject relative with a specific incorporation structure, confronting ‘whole’ and ‘part’ of a given entity: the possessor, i.e. the tree, is considered as the subject, while the leaves assume an oblique interpretation (known as “chômeur”). If we accept such an interplay between a change of valency on surface and the whole/part relationship, the sentence could thus be interpreted as ‘the trees which have been affected by the fall of their leaves’. This whole/part relation is commonly observed in French with sentences such as j’ai mal à la tête / ma tête me fait mal, or j’ai la peau noire / je suis noir de peau. Further note that in a construction like (10.7)a, no possessive marker is attested after the possessed logical subject, and (10.7)b shows it would be ungrammatical to introduce one.

(10.7)  a. mírí, dhikokówíle matábayá, dhínójúwá na nyenyélé  {elic.}
mírí [dhí-koków-fle matába=ýa]REL dhí-ni-ój-úw-á na nyenyélé
4.tree 4-fall-PFV.REL 6.leaf=DEF 4-IPFV.DJ-15.eat-PASS-Fi by 10a.ant
‘the trees, whose leaves have already fallen, are being eaten by the ants’
b. *mírí dhikokówíle matábayá dáwa (POSS), dhínójúwá na nyenyélé
10.1.3 Non-subject relative clauses

By non-subject relatives is meant relatives in which the head noun corresponds to a constituent other than the logical subject. Instead the head can be an object, a locative, or some other adjunct.

Similarly to the subject relatives, the non-subject relatives have no overt relative morphology (except the agreement marker on the verb if we consider it to be relative), and when the subject is lexical, they look identical to the subject relatives. In this case, the subject always appears in postverbal position, and is not allowed to precede it. Furthermore, the relative verb always agrees in noun class with the head noun, and not with the postverbal logical or semantic subject. This means that in non-subject relatives, the object or adjunct found in front becomes the grammatical subject of the relativised clause, and the logical subject is left stranded after the verb, as illustrated in (10.8).

(10.8)  
a. bíríńkw’ íísí dhiddigúlélíle wéyo  
    bíríńku čsí [dhi-ddi-gúl-él-ile wéyo]REL  
   10.earing 10.DEM.I 10-OM1SG-buy-APPL-PFV.REL 2SG.PRO  
   ‘these earings you bought me, ...’

     b. j’ iįįjílé enkósa mwánábwa ni pááká  
     ji éjílé [e-ni-kósa mwánábwa ni pááká]REL  
   ‘this is what the dog and the cat are doing’

In the restrictive object relative in (10.8)a, the agreement marker on the verb respects the noun class of the head noun bíríńku ‘earings’. This example also shows that the object marking of 1SG ddi- on the verb holds for the object in the relative clause, here with the use of the applicative extension. In the cleft object relative in (10.8)b, the verb agrees in noun class with the cleft constituent which is a demonstrative pronoun of class 9.

Both these examples confirm the postverbal position of the logical subject, wéyo in (10.8)a and mwánábwa ni pááká in (10.8)b. This subject-verb inversion in non-subject relatives is apparently something common in many languages of the world (Demuth and Hardford 1999). But this inversion does not prevent the postverbal subject to give its agreement mark to the verb, as shown in Shona in (10.9). In this example, the relative marker dza- agrees with the relativised NP mbatya ‘clothes’, while the verb agrees with the subject NP of the relative vakadzi ‘woman’.
(10.9) Shona (S10)

mbatya dza-va-kason-era vakadzi mwenga  (Demuth & Harford 1999)

10.clothes 10REL-2SM-sewed-APPL 2.woman 2.bride
‘clothes which the women sewed for the bride’

In Cuwabo, there is no specific slot on the left-side of the verb to express relativisation, as in Shona. Instead, the slot for subject marking assumes this function, which is conceivable, since it also assumes other functions such as the infinitive marking. The subject marker being occupied by the “relative marker”, it can no longer be filled with an agreement with the postverbal logical subject. This typological characteristic, exceptional in Eastern Bantu, is also found in Makhuwa and Sena relatives, respectively illustrated in (10.10) and (10.11), where the agreement markers on the verbs correspond to the noun class of the head nouns enúpá ‘house’ in Makhuwa and chuma ‘farmhouse’ in Sena, while the pronominal logical subjects remain postverbal.

(10.10) Makhuwa  (Van der Wal 2009)

enúpá [e-tek-ale Hasááníf]REL
9.house 9-build-PFV.CJ Hasan
‘the house that Hasan has built’

(10.11) Sena  (Torrend 1900: 107, my gloss)

ndi-pas-e chuma changa [chi-da-kuata iwe]REL
OM1SG-give-SBJ 7.farmhouse 7.POSS.1SG 7-PFV-take 2.SG.PRO
‘give me my farmhouse that you took’

Now, when there is no lexical subject in a non-subject relative, the pronominal form can appear separately as a free morpheme always behind the relativised verb, as already seen in (10.8)a, or it can become a dependent form cliticised to the right-edge of the verb, as illustrated in (10.12) with a present tense form, and in (10.13) with a perfective tense form.

(10.12) V + Pronoun  Enclitics

orívirá míyo  ➤ oríviréemi /orívirá = imi/  ‘where I am passing by’
orívirá wéyo  ➤ oríviréewe /orívirá = iwe/  ‘where you are passing by’
orívirá ỳvééné  ➤ oríviréeye /orívirá = iyé/  ‘where he is passing by’
orívirá ỳyo  ➤ oríviréehu /orívirá = ihu/  ‘where we are passing by’
orívirá nyáwo  ➤ oríviréenyu /orívirá = inyu/  ‘where you are passing by’
orívirá áwééne  ➤ orívirááni /orívirá = ani/  ‘where they are passing by’
Chapter 10

(10.13) V + Pronoun | Enclitics
--- | ---
mukwéle míyo | mukwélíimí /mukwéle=ími ‘when I died’
mukwéle wéyo | mukwélíiwé /mukwéle=iwe ‘when you died’
mukwéle iyééne | mukwélíiyé /mukwéle=iye ‘when he died’
mukwéle íyó | mukwélíiíyú /mukwéle=iýu ‘when we died’
mukwéle íyówo | mukwélíiíyú /mukwéle=iýu ‘when we died’
mukwéle áwééne | mukwélíáání /mukwéle=ání ‘when they died’

The encliticisation of the personal pronoun modifies on surface the nature of the verb final vowel, which suggests that the bound pronoun is vowel-initial. Both outputs [ee] and [ii] respectively observed in (10.12) and (10.13) suggest that the enclitic pronouns begin with the vowel [i]. Indeed, the vowel sequence a+i in (10.12) gives a long [ee], and in (10.13), e+i gives [ee]. However it is common to find outputs such as a+i=ii and e+i=ee, as shown in (10.14).

(10.14) a+i enlímími ‘what I cultivate’ vs enlógííi ‘what I say’
a+i yahílimími ‘what I cultivated’ vs yaálogíí ‘what I said’ (IPFV)
a+i enáálímími ‘what I will cultivate’ vs enáálogííi ‘what I will say’
e+i elibélélíími ‘what I’ve sworn to’ vs elógííí ‘what I have said’
e+i yaalibélélíími ‘what I had sworn to’ vs yaalímííí ‘what I had cultivated’
e+i egaalibélélíími ‘what I’d swear to’ vs egaalogííi ‘what I would say’

Despite the fact that both outputs seem acceptable in these contexts, it seems that some verbs prefer certain outputs. It is also interesting to note that the outputs found in (10.12) and (10.13) correspond to a coalescence process practiced at the lexical level (see section 2.4.1.1). This might suggest that the different outputs found in the second column of (10.14) may be the result of phonological processes (elision for a+i=ii, and coalescence for e+i=ee) practiced on the post-lexical level. Furthermore, the fact that we have no other attested cases of vowel sequence between e+i and a+i on the post-lexical level, and that those on the lexical level are not common in the language, may allow a certain flexibility in the output.

Regarding tones, it seems that the enclitic does not bear any H tone. Instead it adapts to the nature of the preceding verb. On the first line of (10.14), in enlígíí ‘what I say’, from the H-toned verb ólogá ‘say’, the grammatical H tone on the present tense marker doubles onto the next mora, and the lexical H on the final vowel also doubles onto the next mora which gives the long high -íí- (as the result of coalescence). On the same line, in enlímíemí ‘what I cultivate’, from the Ø-toned verb olíma ‘cultivate’, the grammatical H doubles, but there is no lexical H on the final vowel. It is then likely that the final H on the cliticised
form is a prosodic tone at the boundary of related clauses, and which then signals the sentence is not finished.

The sentences below show more examples of the encliticisation of the personal pronoun in non-subject relatives, mostly extracted from narratives.

(10.15) 1SG relative enclitics

mwádhâga waámhúlogúmí dd’ úáddu {maria.122}
‘this is the wife I talked about’

(10.16) 2SG relative enclitics

ésó dhiíndívuúzéewé, kaddin sza {semi-elic.} ésó [dhi-ní-ddí-vúzá = iwe]REL ka-ddi-ná-súňza 10.DEM.II 10-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-ask = 2SG.PRO NEG-1SG-CE-learn ‘I have not studied yet what you are asking me’

(10.17) 3SG relative enclitics

múmottélyé múmáánjéní osadduwa {mbílri.43}
[mu-mott-él-é = iye mu-máánjé = nf]REL o-sadduwa 18-fall-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 18-6.water = LOC NAR-change ‘when she fell in the water, she got transformed’

(10.18) 1PL relative enclitics

Maríy’ óodd’ únunvedíhú dd’ uálllé {maria.148}
Maríyá óddú [o-ní-mú-vedá = fhu]REL ddi ólé 1.DEM.I 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-look.for = 1PL.PRO 1.COP 1.DEM.III
‘Maria, the one we are looking for, it is that one’

(10.19) 2PL relative enclitics

céntúnéenýu kalogáni {maria.141}
[e-ní-fúná = ínyu]REL ka-lógá = ni 9-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO IMP-say = PLA ‘tell whatever you want’

(10.20) 3PL relative enclitics

adôwo aâjântaari komíídha dhîttîyîlâání mîba {páaká.22}
a-dhôw-e a-áâjântaari komíidá = dha [dhi-tttîy-îlé = âní]REL mîba 2-go-SBJ 2-IT-have.dinner.SBJ 10a.food = 10.DEF 10-leave-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO 18.inside ‘so that they go and eat the food that they left inside’
A question concerning the morphological status of these enclitics arises: are they derived from personal pronouns or from possessives? It appears that all the persons do not work the same way. Table 55 lists the relative enclitics pronouns and compares them with the free personal pronouns (column 3) and the possessive pronouns (column 4). All the formal similarities appear in bold.

Table 55  Comparison between bound and free personal pronouns, and possessives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>bound pers.</th>
<th>free pers.</th>
<th>possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td>pronouns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>=imi</td>
<td>mfyo</td>
<td>-aga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>=iwe</td>
<td>wéyo</td>
<td>-awo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>=iye</td>
<td>fyééné</td>
<td>-aye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>=ihu</td>
<td>íyó</td>
<td>-ihu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>=inyu</td>
<td>nyúwo</td>
<td>-inyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>=ani</td>
<td>áwééné</td>
<td>-awa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comparison of the enclitics relative pronouns with the two other paradigms reveals a significant syncretism: on the one hand, the three singular persons (including class 1) look like a short version of the respective free personal pronoun, and more precisely correspond to their first syllable. On the other hand, the 1PL and 2PL are more likely to derive from the corresponding possessive pronouns. In this case, the system works exactly the same way as in Makuwa (van der Wal 2009, 2010), in which the postverbal subjects in their pronominal forms are formally equal to the possessive pronouns, as illustrated in examples (10.21) and (10.22).

(10.21)  a. ehópá ts-áka   ‘my fish’ (van der Wal 2009: 131)
        b. ki-m-phéélá   ekamisá [e-pasar-aly-áka]REL
                      1SP-PRS.CJ-want  9.shirt  9-iron-PFV.REL-POSS.1SG
                       ‘I want the shirt that I ironed’

(10.22)  a. ekofíyó ts-áwe  ‘his hats’ (van der Wal 2009: 131)
        b. ki-m-phéélá   ekanetá [tsi-ki-vah-aly-áwe]REL
                      1SG-PRS.CJ-want  10.pens  10.1SG-give-PFV.REL-POSS.3SG
                       ‘I want the pens that he gave me’

Among the Bantu languages, the possessive pronoun may be found in relative constructions, but in its whole form, and as an equivalent of the relative pronoun (Nsuka Nkutsi 1977). In Cuwabo and Makuwa, its use is different in that it fills the function of the logical subject of the relative clause. Considering Nsuka Nkutsi (1977)’s comparative analysis on relatives, this function has been attested only in certain North-Western Bantu languages, and in these
languages the possessive pronoun is not an enclitic as in the P30 languages but a preverbal element, as shown in the examples (10.23) and (10.24) extracted from Nsuka Nkutsi (1977: 71), and presenting non-subject relatives in the A30 languages Noho and Benga, respectively.

(10.23) Noho
a. kalati yami ematilan (cl.7) ‘the letter I am writing’
b. mwibi monyu mwabwean (cl.3) ‘the thief you will catch’

(10.24) Benga
a. bato bame bamayene (cl.2) ‘the men I saw’
b. bepokolo biahu behambake (cl.8) ‘the hats we bought’

Finally, if we come back to Table 55, we note that the class 2 form =ani is the only relative bound pronoun which is distinct from both the free personal pronoun áwééne and the possessive pronoun -awa. Even if we recognise the class 2 prefix a-, this form is hard to decompose. It is also of interest to point that this form is used for all other classes. This is illustrated in (10.25) with the class 5 word ňzu ‘voice’, but after checking with my main consultant, the same happens with the other classes.

(10.25) ňzu nítica oonđhianí iyééne keedhúwo {maria.26}

ńzu ŋtíle [o-nf-dhá = ani] REL iyééne ka-ídhi=wo
5.voice 5.DEM.III 17-IPFV.CJ=COME = 3PL.PRO 3SG.PRO NEG.1-know = 17.LOC
‘that voice, where it comes from, she does not know’

To conclude on the status of the relative enclitic pronouns, we can say that it is difficult to postulate hypotheses on the process of emergence of such a paradigm. It is thus wise to think that, from a synchronic point of view, they represent as a whole an independent paradigm and not a mix of personal pronouns on the one hand and possessive pronouns on the other hand.

Adjunct relatives such as manner relatives or locative relatives function as an adverbial clause and are most commonly headless. The headless manner relatives are introduced by the complementiser nínga ‘as’, and the subject marker on the verb is usually in classes 9 (10.26) and 10. With regard to locative relatives, the subject agreement on the verb is made with the three locative classes, 16, 17 and 18, as shown in (10.27).

(10.26) ddínfúná ddikálé ŋìng’aaligíími vatákúluvényu {maria.90}

ddi-ní-fúná ddí-kál-é nínga [e-á-ligí=ìm] REL
1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 1SG-be-SBJ as 9-PST.IPFV-be.HAB = 1SG.PRO
va-tákúlu = vényu REL
16-9a.house = 16.POSS.2PL
‘I want to be the way I used to be in your house’
(10.27) a. Class 16
\[
ddídhówe dléédde. \text{vàñgómédhímí ddiígóma.}
\]
\[\text{ddi-dhów-e ddi-á-edd-e} \quad [\text{va-nf-góm-édh-á = imf}]_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{ddi-hí-góma}
\]
1SG-go-SBJ 1SG-IT-walk-SBJ 16-IPFV.CJ-stop-APPL-Fi = 1SG.PRO 1SG-PFV.DJ-stop
‘I will go and walk. Where I stop, I stop!’

b. Class 17
\[
\text{waádhówíí yé kańzíwaa}
\]
\[\text{[o-á-dhówá = fye]}_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{ka-ní-zíwa = wo}
\]
17-PST.IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO NEG.1-IPFV-know = 17.LOC
‘she did not know where she was going’

c. Class 18
\[
\text{mu vír míyó m n dd ganyedha}
\]
\[\text{[mu-ní-vírá míyó]}_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{mú-ní-ó-ddí-ganyedha}
\]
18-IPFV.CJ-go 1SG.PRO 2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-suspect
‘wherever I go by, you suspect me’

Manner and locative relatives can also be constructed with an antecedent head noun such as the noun \textit{mukálélo} ‘way’ in (10.28)a, or the Portuguese loan \textit{mánééra} ‘way’ (from \textit{maneira}) in (10.28)b, for the manner relatives. Regarding the locatives relatives, they may be preceded by locative noun phrases as in (10.29)a or simply by the locative demonstrative pronouns, as in (10.29)b.

(10.28) a. \textit{mikálélo dhaáliyé:}
\[
mikálélo \quad [\text{dhi-á-if = iye}]_{\text{REL}}
\]
4.way 4-PST.IPFV-be = 3SG.PRO
‘the way she was’

b. \textit{moonélíyé: mánééra aícéya namárógo lo íbúga}
\[
[\text{mu-on-él-é = iye}]_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{mánééra} \quad [\text{a-á-céya}]_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{N. íbúga}
\]
18-see-APPL.PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 6.way 6-PST.IPFV.CJ-sow H. 3.rice
‘when she noticed the way the hare was sowing rice’

(10.29) a. \textit{odhowá váátkúlu apálé vattiyiláání kómiúd’ eésíle}
\[
o-dhówá vá-tákmúlu apálé \quad [\text{va-ffy-iflé = ani}]_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{kómiúdá eésíle}
\]
‘He went back to that house where they left that food.’

b. \textit{ók’ óodhíle weyo na kurúmáan’ ooddú, [...]}
\[
o-kó \quad [\text{o-dh-fflé}]_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{wéyo na kurúmáanje óoddú}
\]
17.DEM.II 17-come-APPL.PFV.REL 2SG.PRO with 1a.bee.sp 1.DEM.I
‘There where you came from with this bee.sp, [...]’
Beyond spatial meaning, locative relatives are also a very productive way to express
temporal meaning, especially in class 18, as exemplified in (10.30). The context allows
deciding between a locative or temporal reading.

(10.30) mìmwerékélévé kurúmáánjé, [...] \{maria.53\}
[mu-mwerél-el-é = vó] kurúmáánjé\_REL
18-land-APPL-PFV.REL = 16.LOC 1a.bee.sp
‘when the bee.sp landed, [...]’

It also happens, although more rarely, that temporal meaning is expressed on the
relativised verb by the concordial prefix of class 5 ni-, presumably in reference to the word
ásaká ‘time, moment’ which belongs to class 5 and is implied in such sentences.

(10.31) ñvádelíyína vañhúgúnú cétwéha \{maria.54\}
[ni-vád-el-é = fyé = na] vañhúgúnú = ni\_REL e-hí-tw-éy-a
5-hit-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO = INSTR 16-5.stone = LOC 9-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi
‘when she hit the stone, it broke’

10.1.4 =na ‘COM’ or ‘INSTR’

=na is one of the few reported prepositions in Bantu languages. As already seen in section
6.3.9.1, between a verb and its object, it has an instrumental (10.32)a, or a comitative
reading (10.32)b.

(10.32) a. ootóróla múkwáátte na mwáálágo \{elic.\}
o-hí-tóróla múkwáátte na mwáálágo
1-PFV.DJ-pierce 3.pot with 3.spear
‘he has pierced a hole in the pot with a spear’

b. Mádá baalogá na Érúgulu \{body.3\}
mádá ba-a-logá na érúgulu
6.hand SEQ-1-speak with 9.belly
‘Mr.Hands spoke to Mr.Belly’

In the case of instrumental and comitative relatives, it looks like this conjunction =na
becomes a clitic postponed to the relativised verb, as illustrated in (10.33) for the
instrumental relatives (with (10.33)a as a cleft version of (10.32)a), and in (10.34) for the
comitative ones.
(10.33) Instrumental relatives

a. *bu mwáálag‘ ootorólíhyína múkwáátte*  
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{bu} & \quad \text{mwáálago} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{toról} & \quad \text{é} & \quad \text{fye} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{múkwáátte} \\
   & \quad 3.\text{COP} & \quad 3.\text{spear} & \quad 3.\text{pierce-CAUS-PFV.REFL} & \quad \text{INSTR} & \quad 3.\text{pot}
   \end{align*} \]
   
   ‘it is with a spear that he has pierced the pot’

b. *etélo éj \text{c}íNVégi\text{wííuna}*  
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{etélo} & \quad \text{éj} & \quad \text{e} & \quad \text{ní} & \quad \text{véga} & \quad \text{fwe} & \quad \text{na} \\
   & \quad 9.\text{winnowing.tray} & \quad 9.\text{DEMONSTRATIVE} & \quad 9.\text{IPFV.REFL} & \quad 2.\text{SINGULAR PRO subject} & \quad 1.\text{the}
   \end{align*} \]
   
   ‘this winnowing tray which you are playing with’

c. *óbú bu řbění osuvéyi\text{lěn}a múwáána*  
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{óbú} & \quad \text{bu} & \quad \text{řbění} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{suv} & \quad \text{éy} & \quad \text{îl}e & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{múwáána} \\
   & \quad 3.\text{SINGULAR DEM} & \quad 3.\text{cop} & \quad 3.\text{knife} & \quad 3.\text{cut-NTR-PFV.REFL} & \quad \text{INSTR} & \quad 1.\text{child}
   \end{align*} \]
   
   ‘this is the knife that the child cut himself with’

(10.34) Comitative relatives

a. *dhińdéeyín dha \text{d}éřétú\text{dh}’ \text{g}amal’ \text{o}opíya*  
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{dhi} & \quad \text{n}i & \quad \text{d}há=iyé=n \\
   & \quad 10.\text{IPFV.COM} & \quad 10.\text{CON} & \quad \text{good} & \quad 10.\text{DEF} & \quad 1.\text{SIT} & \quad \text{finish} & \quad 15.\text{cook}
   \end{align*} \]
   
   ‘the good things he brings, after she cooks them’

b. *dá=na Ddóó\text{l}rínddo \text{le}nsó \text{nítítuloe}  
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{Ddóól} & \quad \text{r}i\text{n}d\text{do} & \quad \text{le}n\text{s}\text{o} & \quad \text{nítítuloe} \\
   & \quad 15.\text{come} & \quad 15.\text{IPFV.COM} & \quad \text{COM} & \quad \text{Ddóól} & \quad \text{r}i\text{n}d\text{do} & \quad 5.\text{tissue} & \quad 5.\text{DEMONSTRATIVE}
   \end{align*} \]
   
   ‘Hardly had Ddoolrinddo brought (came with) that tissue’

c. *ńzayí: nińdhá\text{na} \text{f}y\text{o}*  
   
   \[ \begin{align*}
   \text{ńzayí} & \quad \text{ni} & \quad \text{nf} & \quad \text{dh}á=\text{na} & \quad \text{f}y\text{o} \quad \text{REL} \\
   & \quad 5.\text{PL} & \quad 5.\text{IPFV.COM} & \quad \text{COM} & \quad \text{1PL} & \quad \text{PRO}
   \end{align*} \]
   
   ‘it is an egg we brought (came with)’

Instrumental and comitative marking in Cuwabo relatives is very similar to English relatives, where the preposition *with* appears at the right-edge of the relative clause (‘the knife I cut myself with’). But unlike in English where *with* is a preposition standing as a separate word, *na* in Cuwabo gets cliticised to the verb. Two arguments support this assertion. First in (10.33)a, a full conjunction would cause a misreading of the sentence’s meaning, with the following interpretation: ‘*it is a spear that he has pierced with the pot.’ Second, in (10.33)a, (10.33)b, and (10.34)a, the nature of the underlying vowel which precedes the clitics =na changes. In the three examples, it appears as a high vowel (a front [i] or a back [u] according to the preceding consonant), whereas in all cases the mid-vowel
[e] is expected, as the short version -e of the perfective suffix -ile in (10.33)a and as final vowel of the relative personal pronouns clitics in (10.33)b and (10.34)a. If we can postulate a case of vocalic harmony in (10.33)a, the systematic occurrence of the two other examples with the cliticised short pronouns is nonetheless more difficult to account for. But this vocalic alteration supports the idea that na must be considered as an enclitic, since such a sound change is more likely to occur between two clitics than between a clitic and a free morpheme.

10.1.5 **Negative relatives**

Negative relatives are rarely used in Cuwabo. The examples below were elicited. As previously said, the negation in relatives is formally marked by the post-initial negative morpheme -hi-, added to the affirmative conjoint verb forms. Contrary to affirmative relatives, these negative forms no longer compete with the negative conjoint verb forms, which are no longer used in Cuwabo.

(10.35)  
\[ \text{önkósáaní: mábën’ úúbú ohiìngwádda?} \]  
\[ o-ní-kósá = ní mábëni óbú [o-hi-ní-gwádda]_{\text{REL}} \]  
3-IPFV.CJ-do = what 3.knife 3.DEM.I 3-NEG-IPFV-cut  
‘what good is a knife which won’t cut?’

b. ahikáláw’ aáttú ahlívîle  
\[ a-hì-kálá = wò ãttú [a-hì-lfiv-fle]_{\text{REL}} \]  
2-IPFV.DJ-be = 16.LOC 2.people 2-NEG-pay-IPFV  
‘there are men who do not pay’

(10.36)  
\[ \text{kavényìhávo mízíyó dhìhinájéllìwe sìyáari} \]  
\[ ka-vény-ìh-á = vò mízìyó [dhì-hì-náá-j-él-ìw-e}sìyáari]_{\text{REL}} \]  
IMP-leave-CAUS-Fi = 16.LOC 4.plate 4-NEG-FUT-eat-APPL-PASS-IRR 9a.dinner  
‘remove the plates which are not required for the evening meal’

In (10.37), an easier strategy to express negation is possible through the verb ókóódda ‘refuse’ followed by the main verb in its infinitive form.

(10.37)  
\[ \text{káddívahedhé sábbá eekoóddìl’ óosíghìhwà} \]  
\[ ká-ddì-vah-edh-è sábbá [e-a-kóódd-fle] \]  
 IMP-OM1SG-give-APPL-Fi 9a.soap 9-PST.CJ-refuse-IPFV 15.apply-PASS-Fi  
‘give me the soap which has not been used’
10.1.6 Set phrases

The expressions below are interesting in that they present a particular construction in Cuwabo, build from a verb in the infinitive, i.e. in class 15, followed by a relative form of the same verb, in the perfective tense, as illustrated in (10.38). In these expressions, the first infinitive verb presents the action and the relativised following form indicates the consummation of that action. The whole construction expresses a temporal situation, which could be translated in English as ‘as soon as …’, ‘hardly …’, or ‘once …’.

(10.38) a. ōruméél’ óoruméél’ oół’ oökule ohúlú [...] amottélá mbaárúkuní; {maria.163}

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ōruméélá [o-ruméél-ile ólle ókúle ohúlú]REL} \\
15.\text{disappear} \\
\text{a-mott-él-á mu-baárúku = ní} \\
2-\text{fall-APPL-Fi.SEQ 18-1a.boat = LOC}
\end{array}
\]

‘Once that one above disappeared (lit. the disappearing which that one disappeared) from the place above [...] , he fell in the boat’

b. ofíy’ ofíy[ilí=án], alottúkúla=mo [dhootédhén’ eési …] {maria.172}

\[
\begin{array}{l}
ofíyá [o-fíy-ilé = ánl]REL \\
15.\text{arrive} \\
\text{a-lé-óttúkúla = mo} \\
2-\text{CE-15.take = 18.LOC}
\end{array}
\]

‘hardly had they arrived (lit. ‘the arriving that they arrived’), they took [everything …]’

It is interesting to note that the equivalent semantic expressions are found in Makwe by a connective between two infinitives, as illustrated in (10.39), taken from Devos (2008 : 136).

(10.39) màmàáye| kúmmóona| kwákúmmóona| kufúlááï| (mama-i-e ku-mu-on-a ku-a-ku-mu-on-a ku-fulai)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
9.\text{mother_9.POSS} \\
15.1.\text{see.INF} \\
15.\text{CON_15.1.see.INF} \\
15.\text{be:happy.INF}
\end{array}
\]

‘his mother became happy the very minute she saw him’

This relative construction is also attested in the present tense (10.40). But in this case, and unlike the perfective, no temporal reading is obtained. According to my main consultant Sérgio, such expressions rather represent an elegant way of insisting on the truth value of things.
Now that relative clauses have been explored in detail, let us examine how they interact with the *wh*-question formation.

### 10.2 Content (*Wh*-)questions

Content questions, also called constituent questions or *wh*-questions, are formed with interrogative pronouns. These *wh*-words provide a clear indication on the sentence-type of the utterance (rather than prosody, which is more effective with polar questions, see section 3.6.2).

The interrogative pronouns comprise a small class of seven members, given in Table 56, divided in turn into independent and modifying. Both independent and modifying interrogatives are inherently focused, i.e. they always require a focused constituent, and then necessarily appear within cleft sentences or immediately after conjoint verb forms, which constitute the two possible focus constructions in Cuwabo (see section 11.3.3 for an analysis of the conjoint/focus relationship). What differentiates independent and modifying interrogatives is that while the first ones function on their own, the latter are dependent on a noun they modify, and with which they form a unit.

As far as I know, no specific restrictions apply on the use of either cleft or conjoint form of *wh*-questions, and as will be shown below, some interrogatives seem to prefer the first focusing method while others prefer the second.

---

58 except for subject question words, only attested in (pseudo)cleft constructions, see section 10.2.1.1 below
Two important precisions are in order here. First, the order of the constituents is ruled by the specifics of each focusing construction. In conjoint constructions, the wh-element necessarily follows the conjoint verb form, without anything intervening between both. Such an IAV (Immediatley After the Verb) position is typical of the conjoint constructions. On the other hand, cleft wh-questions are more flexible and can either precede or follow their modifying relative clauses, allowing a preverbal focused constituent in the first case. This is observed in constructions like ‘it is who that is arriving?’ (i.e. ‘who is arriving?’).

Second, in every example below, the final element of the sentence, be it the interrogative or another word, is optionally uttered with an interrogative intonation pattern. This means that a high tone might be marked or not on the final syllable of the sentence.

### 10.2.1 Independent interrogatives

#### 10.2.1.1 aani ‘who’

The interrogative aani ‘who’ can appear as a plain interrogative after a conjoint verb form (10.41), or it can occur in a (pseudo)cleft construction, in which it always follows a copula with a class 2 agreement (10.42).

(10.41) CJ form + aani

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. Osáízáya } & \text{ mwánáku } \text{ onáápíyela aani } ? \quad \{\text{elic.}\} \\
\text{osáízáya } & \text{ mwánáku } \text{ o-ni-á-pfý-él-a } \text{ aani} \\
\text{osanzaya } & \text{ 1-chicken } \text{ 1-IPFV.CJ-OM2-cook-APPL-Fi } \text{ who} \\
\text{‘who is Osanzaya cooking the chicken for?’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. omooni aani okápééla membees’ ábáno } ? \quad \{\text{elic.}\} \\
\text{o-mu-on-ilé aani o-kápééla membeesi ábá= no} \\
\text{2SG-OM1-see-PFV.CJ who 17-9a.church 4.morning 2.DEM.1=INT} \\
\text{‘who (cl.1) did you see at the church this morning?’}
\end{align*}
\]
(10.42) Copula + *aaní in (pseudo)cleft construction

a. *ba aaní ōnhváhlilɛvé sîkâlɛta ?
   ba aaní [o-mu-váh-ilé=éwɛ] sîkâlɛta
   2.COP who 1-OM1-give-PFV.REFL = 2SG.PRO 9a.bicycle
   ‘whom did you give the bicycle to?’

b. *ba aaní waapéŋegezel’ osânzâyâ manûvuru, ayím ābe ābâaba ?
   ba aaní [o-a-péŋegez-el-c] O. manûvuru ayím ābe ābâaba
   2.COP who 1-OM2-send-APPL-PFV.CJ O. 6.book 2.child.PL or 2.parent
   ‘whom did Osanzaya send the books to: the children or the parents?’

In both (10.41) and (10.42) the interrogative *aaní queries the object and the beneficiary of the verb. As already developed in section 9.1, object agreement occurs on the verb whenever it belongs to class 1 as in (10.41)a and (10.42)a or class 2 as in (10.41)b and (10.42)b. Regarding subject agreement on the verb, conjoint forms (10.41) always agree with the logical subject, whereas relativised verbs (10.42), as free relatives, have no referent in the clause, and thus agree by default in singular class 1 or plural class 2. As already seen in section 10.1.3 above in non-subject relative constructions, their logical subject is moved postverbally. The reason why these cleft sentences make use of the class 2 copula *ba, rather than class 1 copula *ddi is unclear. It seems that the singular/plural distinction has been semantically neutralised in favour of the plural copular form *ba, without requiring a plural agreement on the relativised verb, which exhibits by default a class 1 agreement, as seen in (10.42). Still, class 2 agreement on the verb is possible in case the awaited subject of the answer is contextually known to be plural. An example of plural agreement is provided below in (10.43)b.

Interestingly, there is a subject/object asymmetry with respect to the position of the interrogative word. *aaní cannot question an agent (or subject) function when it is used with conjoint constructions, as illustrated in (10.43)a and (10.44)a. Instead, it must be used with a copula in a cleft + relative construction, as seen in (10.43)b and (10.44)b.

(10.43) a. *osîkôlôa ońdhôwâ *aaní ? ba ánâaga
   o-śikôlôa o-nî-dhôwâ *aaní ba ánâaga
   17-9a.school 17-IPFV.CJ-go who 2.COP 2.child.POSS.1SG
   Intd. ‘who is going to school? my children’

b. *ba aaní ańdhôwâ ośikôól’ eęji ? ba ánâaga
   ba *aaní [a-nî-dhôwâ o-śikôlôa]REL ba ánâaga
   2.COP who 2-IPFV.CJ-go 17-9a.school 2.COP 2.child.POSS.1SG
   lit. ‘it is who the ones who are going to school? these are my children’
(10.44) a. *vatákulu vagonilé aani? {elic.}
    va-tákulu va-gon-ilé aani
    16-9a.house 16-sleep-PFV.CJ who
    Intd. ‘who slept at home?’

    b. ogónílé vatákulu ba aani? {elic.}
    [o-gón-ilé va-tákulu]REL ba aani
    1-sleep-PFV.REL 16-9a.house 2.COP who
    lit. ‘the one who slept at home, it is who?’

The two following examples are extracted from narratives.

(10.45) kamuttíddíle ba aani omújíle naámbèdde {ddingí.27}
    ka-mu-tídd-ilé ba aani [o-mú-j-ilé naámbèdde]REL
    NEG.2-OM1-catch-PFV 2.COP who 1-OM1-eat-PFV.REL 1a.maize
    ‘they did not find out who ate the maize’

(10.46) míyó na Ddólínddí okoddéllé ba aani? {doo.5}
    míyó na D. [o-koddél-illé]REL ba aani
    1SG.PRO and D. 1-be.beautiful-PFV.REL 2.COP who
    ‘who is the most beautiful, I or Ddoo.lindo?’

Both these examples are interesting in that they show that the cleft interrogative can either introduce the relative clause (10.45) or follow the relative clause on its right edge (10.46). It is not the case for conjoint wh-questions, in which the interrogative always follows the conjoint verb form, as can be seen in the preceding examples in (10.41).

Note that the combination of the interrogative aani with the cleft construction is far more attested than with the conjoint verb.

aani is also used after a copula amalgamated with the connective in order to question belonging, usually expressed by ‘whose’ in English.

(10.47) ŋgóm’éeji ja aani? ja mwíimélélì {elic.}
    ŋgómá éji ji-a aani ji-a mwíimélélì
    ‘whose drum is this? it is the chief’s’

(10.48) mwáán’óddú dda aani? {elic.}
    mwááná óddú ddi-a aani
    1.child 1.DEM.1 1.COP-CON who
    ‘whose child is this? it is mine’
Although the main function of *aani* is to question about a person, it can be found after an enumeration of persons or characters, with the meaning of *et cetera.*

(10.49)  
\[
etéén’ aánénám’ etéén’ apóddógom’ aanyaárúgwé aání, \]
\[
écélòôîn珀esegirí
\]
\[
a-eté = éne  \quad \text{áná-énáma}  \quad \text{apóddógoma}  \quad \text{anyárúgwé}  \quad \text{aání} \\
2-all = \text{INT}  \quad 2.\text{child-9.animal}  \quad 2-all = \text{INT}  \quad 2.\text{lion}  \quad 2.\text{leopard}  \quad \text{who}
\]
\[
a-á-fla-ó-mű-peresegirí
\]
\[
2.\text{PST.IPFW-AUX-15-OM1-chase}
\]
\[
‘every animal, all of them, lions, leopards, etc were chasing him’
\]

(10.50)  
\[
poddógóma, nyárúgwé, mútulú, ápáká, bá aání
\]
\[
poddógóma  \quad nyárúgwé  \quad mútulú  \quad ápáká  \quad \text{bá}  \quad \text{aání}
\]
\[
1a.\text{lion}  \quad 1a.\text{leopard}  \quad 3.\text{mongoose}  \quad 2a.\text{cat}  \quad 2.\text{COP who}
\]
\[
‘lion, leopard, mongoose, cats, etc’
\]

10.2.1.2  \textit{=ni} ‘what’

The interrogative \textit{=ni} ‘what’ has the same distribution as *aani* ‘who’, except that it usually does not appear as a plain interrogative, but gets cliticised to the conjoint verb form (10.51), triggering lengthening of the preceding vowel. When used in a cleft construction, the form used is \textit{cííni} (10.52).

(10.51)  
\[
\text{CJ form} + \quad \textit{=ni}
\]
\[
áléddo  \quad aagulelééní  \quad ámúdhåáwa ?
\]
\[
áléddo  \quad a-a-gul-el-é = \text{nf}  \quad \text{ámúdhi} = \text{áwa}
\]
\[
2.\text{visitors}  \quad 2.\text{OM2-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ} = \text{what}  \quad 2.\text{parent} = \text{POSS.3PL}
\]
\[
‘what did the visitors buy for their families?’
\]

(10.52)  
\[
\text{COP} + \quad \textit{-ni} \quad \text{in (pseudo)cleft construction}
\]
\[
cííni  \quad \text{dhaagulêle}  \quad áléddo  \quad ámúdhåáwa ?
\]
\[
cííni  \quad [\text{dhi-a-gul-él-e}  \quad \text{áléddo}  \quad \text{ámúdhi} = \text{áwa}]_{\text{REL}}
\]
\[
7.\text{COP.what}  \quad 10.\text{OM2-give-APPL-PFV.REL}  \quad 2.\text{visitors}  \quad 2.\text{parent} = \text{POSS.3PL}
\]
\[
‘what did the visitors buy for their families?’
\]

Note that no copula in Cuwabo has the form \textit{ci}. This means that synchronically \textit{cííni} should be considered as a \textit{portemanteau}, amalgamating a copula and the interrogative for ‘what’. If we have a closer look at the morphology of this interrogative word, we can infer that it is historically built upon the constituents \textit{ci} (presumably an old form of the class 7/9
copula *ji* and *eni* ‘what’. As a synchronic segmentation of *cííni* is not possible, it is glossed as ‘7.COP.what’ throughout this work. More examples extracted from narratives are given in (10.53).

(10.53) Cleft *wh*-question in ‘what’ > *cííni*

a. *yuubúwéle ifyééne *cííni* ? {maria.16}
   \[e-ubúwél-e ifyééne\] \textsubscript{REL} *cííni*
   9-think.APPL-PFV.REL 3SG.PRO 7.COP.what
   ‘what is it she thought?’

b. *cíín’ íím páddûwa ?* {maria.75}
   \[e-ní-páddûwa\] \textsubscript{REL} *cííni*
   7.COP.what 9-IPFV.CJ-happen
   ‘what is happening?’

Regarding the cliticised *=ni*, my main consultant claims that it should be considered as a plain and independent form, namely *eni*, which then coalesces with the final vowel of the preceding verb form. This is a satisfactory account when the final vowel is -e, hence a long [ee] output as shown in (10.51), which conforms to the hiatus resolution of an identical vowel sequence. Still, when the final vowel is -a, examples in (10.54) show that the output is a long [aa], while we would expect a long [ee] on the post-lexical level ([a + e] → [ee], see section 2.4.1). I do not deny the fact the *=ni* is originally derived from *eni*, but I just hypothesise that the interrogative loses its agreement prefix *e-* when it gets cliticised to a verb.

(10.54) a. *ořífünááni* ? {maria.39}
   \(o-ní-fúná=\textbf{ni}\)
   2-IPFV.CJ-want = what
   ‘what do you want?’

b. *nyúwó muñífünááni* ? {maria.177}
   \(nyúwó\) \(mu-ní-fúná=\textbf{ni}\)
   2PL.PRO 2PL-IPFV.CJ-want = what
   ‘what do you want?’

More non-elicited examples of the construction CJ verb + *=ni* are presented in examples (10.55) and (10.56). Interestingly, in the second, *=ni* follows another clitic, namely the class 17 locative clitic *=wo*.

(10.55) *múlóbwana ọolith’ uubuwelééni* ? {maria.131}
   \(múlóbwana\) \(ólíle\) \(o-ubuwel-é=\textbf{ni}\)
   1.man 1.DEIM.II 1-think.APPL-PFV.CJ = what
   ‘what did that man think about?’

(10.56) *nyúwó celí [...], odhúlú okó muñlógáwóóni* ? {body.6}
   \(nyúwó\) \(a-ili\) \(odhúlú\) \(okó\) \(mu-ní-lógá=wó=\textbf{ni}\)
   2PL.PRO 2-two 17.TOP 17.DEIM.II 2PL-IPFV.CJ-speak = 17.LOC = what
   ‘you two, what are you talking about up there?’
We saw in section 10.2.1.1 that *aani* ‘who’ functions more with the cleft construction than with the conjoint verb form. *=ni* functions differently as it seems equally distributed in both constructions.

When both the applicative extension and the *=ni* clitics are added to the conjoint verb, the question may deal with the reasons of an event, and can be translated as ‘for what’ or ‘why’, as shown from (10.57) to (10.59).

(10.57)  
\[ oňjélăăńi ? \]  
\[ o-ní-j-él-ă=ni \]  
\[ 2SG-IPFV.CJ-eat-APPL-Fi=what \]  
‘why are you eating?’

(10.58)  
\[ ttítítítt’ uünŏódűṳvela ttítítítt’ uındĎųveleléęcéeni ? \]  
\[ ttítítítt’ ó-ní-ó-ddí-kưvela ttítítítt’ o-ní-ddí-kuwel-el-ęc-ă=ni \]  
\[ IDEO 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-call IDEO 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call-APPL-DUR-Fi=what \]  
‘Again and again he is calling me, but why is he calling me?’

(10.59)  
\[ [...] aakal’ olŏöbwin’ óobwina muuńshateyaaréēéeni ?” \]  
\[ akala o-lé-ŏbwína o-hi-bwína muú-ní-shateyaar-él-ă=ni \]  
\[ if 1-CE-15.sink 1-PFV.DJ-sink 2PL.OM1SG-IPFV.CJ-bother-APPL-Fi=what \]  
‘[...] if she sank, she sank, why are you bothering me!’

An alternative strategy for reason questions makes use of the Portuguese loan *para* with the clitics *=ni*. The distribution of this question word is less strict: it may be separated from the verb by a modifier (10.60)a, and it is not restricted to conjoint verb forms (10.60)b.

(10.60)  
\[ a. oňjá weeká párăni ? \]  
\[ o-ní-já weeká pára=ni \]  
\[ 2SG-IPFV.CJ-eat 2SG.alone for=what \]  
‘why do eat on your own?’

\[ b. onoňjá weeká párrani ? \]  
\[ o-ní-ňjá weeká pára=ni \]  
\[ 2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat 2SG.alone for=what \]  
‘why are you going to eat on your own?’

If *=ni* is added to a conjoint form of the verb *ódha* ‘come’, with a locative subject marker, the question may ask for the origin of something, translated by ‘where … from’ in English.
(10.61) *pévo énovúdhééla.  nyúwó munózíw’ óónídáani?* {elic.}

*pévo é-ní-óvúdhééla nyúwó mu-ní-ózíwá ó-ní-dhá = ni*


‘The wind is blowing. Do you know where it comes from?’

Note that =ni can also be added to the preposition *nínga* ‘like’, as shown in (10.62).

(10.62) *mázmáwa aizíva níngáani? kaddinájága* {semi-elic.}

*mázmáwa a-ní-zíva níngá = ni ka-ddi-ná-â-g-a*

6.coco.germ 6-IPFV.CJ-be.tasty as = what NEG-1SG-CE-eat-HAB-Fi

‘how does coconut’s germ taste? I have never eaten (some)’

Finally, *cííni* can be used predicatively in non-verbal sentences to express wondering like ‘what is it?’ or ‘what is wrong’, as illustrated in (10.63).

(10.63) *mwáádhíye kaávo, ánááye kaávo, dhoóbódhaye kadhívo: “ci! haaaa! cííni?”* {maria.168}

*mwáádhí = ye kaá = vo ánááye kaá = vo*

1.wife = POSS.3SG NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC 2.child.POSS.3SG NEG.COP.2 = 16.LOC

dhoóbó = dhaye kadhí = vo ci haa cííni

10.furniture = 10.POSS.3SG NEG.COP.10 = 16.LOC INTER INTER 7.COP.what

‘His wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here. “[excl.] What is it?”

Along with the clitic =ni, the interrogative *sabwaani* ‘why’ figures as a strategy to question the reason of something, although it is rarely attested. It is built upon the class 9 noun *sábwa* ‘reason, cause’, which underwent Predicative Lowering, and to which the aforementioned clitic =ni ‘what’ is suffixed, triggering a vowel lengthening of the stem final vowel. A literal translation in English would give ‘it is the reason what’. Note that in the rest of this work, I gloss *sabwa* by ‘because’, since it mainly functions as a conjunction (see section 7.6.2.6).

(10.64) *sabwaani: é-nilébíiwe?* {elic.}

*sabwa = nf* [é-ní-lébá = iwe] _REL_

9.reason.PL = what 9-IPFV.CJ-write = 2SG.PRO

‘why are you writing?’
10.2.1.3  uuvi ‘where’

The same happens when enquiring after a place, with the interrogative uuvi ‘where’, which is attested either in full form after a CJ verb form (10.65), or in a copular construction within a cleft (10.66).

(10.65)  CJ form + uuvi

a. Mariya niívü' uudhilená "uuvi ?
  maríya niívúru o-dh-ile=ná  Ṽuuvi
maria 5.book 1-come-PFV.CJ=COM where
‘where did maria get this book?’

b. ddaahigúlihi mafugi, koóbíri y’ oógúl’ óóba ddináádhéna "uuvi?
  ddi-a-hí-gúlih-i mafugi koóbíri ya ógúlá óba
ddi-náá-dh-é= na uuvi
1SG-FUT.CJ-come-IRR = COM where
‘If I do not sell bananas, where will I find money to buy fish?’

(10.66)  Copula + uuvi in cleft construction

ku uuvi odhilená Mariya niívüru ?
  ku uuvi [o-dh-ile=ná maríya niívüru]REL
17.COP where 17-come-PFV.REL = COM maria 5.book
‘where did maria get this book?’

As seen in (10.65), an epenthetic labialised glide [w] can be freely inserted between the verb final vowel and uuvi.

Other examples extracted from stories are provided in (10.67) for conjoint constructions. (Pseudo)cleft constructions are less common and none was found. Example in (10.68) was produced from elicitation.

(10.67)  CJ wh-question in ‘where’ > uuvi

muúzik’ oób’ oóñźivá dhaáyi, oíddá uuvi ?
  muúziká óbó [o-ní-zívá dhaáyi]REL o-ní-dhá uuvi
3.music 3.DEM.II 3-IPFV.CJ-be.nice like.this.1 3-IPFV.CJ-come where
‘such beautiful music, where does it come from?’
(10.68) Cleft wh-question in ‘where’ > ku uuvi

a. ku uuvi úúttúwële mbúz’ ñso ?
   ku uuvi [o-ttáw-él-e] mbúzí ñso[REL]
   17.COP where 17-flee-APPL-PFV.REL 4.goat 4.DE.M.H
   ‘where did these goats flee?’

b. ku uuvi oúdhówá ayim’ aábo araarrú ?
   ku uuvi [o-ní-dhowa ayima ábó a-raarú][REL]
   17.COP where 17-IPFV.CJ-go 2.child 2.DE.M.H 2-three
   ‘where are these three kids going?’

As expected, the (pseudo)cleft construction with k’ uuvi as the head element of the sentence implies that the following relativised verb agrees in class 17, in accordance with the copula ku.

In addition to conjoint verb forms, uuvi is also attested with the subjunctive.

(10.69) baahito ddidhów’ úuvi ?
     baayí=tó ddi-dhów-é uuvi
     enough=then 1SG-go-SBJ where
     ‘but then, where shall I go?’

In my database, the interrogative uuvi is very often attested after the defective verb -LI ‘to be’ (10.70), in which case its form can be shortened on the surface, as shown in (10.70)c.

(10.70) a. mím’ óol’ úuvi ?
     míímá o-lí uuvi
     1.child 1-be where
     ‘where is the child?’

b. al’ úuvi álóbwana aní-fíñá olába ?
     a-lí úuvi álóbwana [a-ní-fíñá olába][REL]
     2-be where 2.man 2-IPFV.CJ-want 15.work
     ‘where are the men who wanted to work?’

c. Maríyá agaanjáná : “mééyá ddilú ?”
     Maríyá a-gaanjáná míyó=yá ddi-lí uuvi
     Maria 1-SIT-look 1SG.PRO=DEF 1SG-be where
     ‘Maria, when she looked : Where am I ?’

d. ñzáyína níggúlëewe níli (w)uuvi ?
     ñzáyí = na [ni-gúl-ilé = éwe][REL] ni-lí uuvi
     5.egg = 5.DEF 5-buy-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO 5-be where
     ‘the egg you bought, where is it?’
10.2.1.4 *dhaavi* ‘how’

The invariable *dhaavi* ‘how’ is a manner interrogative, which investigates in which way something is done (10.71). It is always found in final position.

(10.71) a. ońbáálá *dhaavi*?
   o-ní-bálá *dhaavi*
   1-IPFV.CJ-give.birth how
   ‘how does it give birth?’

b. *muńžiwá: dháav*’ ūlá mýójó *ddi-li mariya*?
   mu-ní-zíwá *dhaavi* wílá mýójó *ddi-li mariya*
   2RESP-IPFV.CJ-know how CMP 1SG.PRO 1SG-be maria
   ‘how do you know I am maria?’

c. *kabál’ óōgwaddilé dháav*? na ṭńbění
   *kabálá o-gwadd-ilé *dhaavi* na ṭńbění
   9a.rope 2SG-cut-IPFV.CJ how with 3.knife
   ‘how did you cut the rope? with a knife’

*dhaavi* ‘how’ also questions the state of a person is (10.72).

(10.72) a. *kí dhaáyi ináákalé dhaavi*?
   kí *dhaáyi ni-náá-kál-é *dhaavi*
   EMPH like.this.1 1PL-FUT.CJ-be-IRR how
   ‘how will I be then?’

b. *nyúwó mulí dhaávi*?
   *nyúwó mu-li* *dhaavi*
   2RESP.PRO 2RESP-be how
   ‘how are you?’

No cleft usage was found in my database. It then seems that *dhaavi* exclusively occurs after conjoint verb forms, as well as with subjunctive (10.73).

(10.73) *ddikósé dhaavi*?
   ddi-kós-é *dhaavi*
   1SG-do-SBJ how
   ‘How/What shall I do?’

As already seen in (10.69) with the interrogative *uuvi*, (10.73) seems to confirm that the independent interrogatives can function with subjunctive verb forms.
Strangely enough, *dhaavi* happens to occur with a disjoint verb form (10.74), contradicting this assumption that independent interrogatives only function with conjoint forms. It is however difficult to account for the sentence in (10.74), since it is the only one attested in my entire database.

(10.74) Disjoint present + *dhaavi*

```
ónotelá dháav’ oó kudhówíl’ oók’ óóvéncéne ?  {maria.110}
ó-ni-ótelá  dháavi  wéyo  ku-dhów-íle  ókú  óváne = éne
2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.marry how 2SG.PRO NEG.2SG-go-PFV 17.DEM.I now = INT
```

‘How are you possibly marrying? Have you not just left (right now)?’

To ask for a price, *dhaavi* can be used (after conjoint constructions) with the meaning of ‘how much’.

(10.75) a. *muńguliha dhaavi máfugi ?*  {elic.}

```
mu-ni-guliha  dháavi  máfugi
2RESP-IPFV.CJ-sell how 6.banana
‘how much are the bananas?’
```

b. *ńzáyi ńttó nińgóóno nińguliwa dhaavi ?*  {elic.}

```
ńzáyi ńttó  nińgóóno  ni-ni-gúl-úw-a  dháavi
5.egg 5.DEM.II  5-little  5-IPFV.CJ-buy-PASS-Fi how
‘how much does this little egg cost?’
```

*dhaavi* can also be used in verbless sentences, to ask for someone’s state as shown in (10.76), which is another formulation of (10.72)b.

(10.76) *ėgúmi ényu dháâvi ?*  {elic.}

```
ėgúmi  ényu  dháâvi
9.health 9.POSS.2RESP how
‘how are you?’
```

### 10.2.2 Modifying interrogatives

#### 10.2.2.1 Invariable *gaani* ‘which, what kind of’

The invariable *gaani* ‘which/what kind of’ always follows the head noun.
Relative clauses, clefts and question formation 501

(10.77) *kanákóswaga ŋing’ ecsééné ; k’ íiyó ddabunó gári gan’ íji ?*  
ka-ná-kós-iw-ag-a  nínga  esí=éné  
NEG-CE-do-PASS-HAB-Fi  like  10.DEM.1=INT  
kí  íiyó  ddabunó  gári  gaani  éji  
EMP  1PL.PRO  today  9a.luck  which  9.DEM.1  
‘things like this have never been done before, and we, today, which luck is this?'  

(10.78) “[...] ddinóórndhoóláwo mwádhaga.” “na mıkálelo gaani?”  
ddi-ní-ó-mú-dhoólá=wo  mwádhaga  na  mıkálelo  gaani  
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch=17.LOC  1.wife.POSS.1SG  with  4.way  which  
‘[...] I will fetch my wife. How/Which way?’  

*gaani* can be used in cleft constructions (10.79), in which case the noun undergoes Predicative Lowering, with the presentative meaning ‘it is …’ (see section 9.2.1).  

(10.79) *muri gaani ogwáddíle wéyo ?*  
muri  gaani  [o-gwáádle  wéyo]REL  
3.tree.PL  which  3-cut-PFV.REL  2SG.PRO  
‘which tree did you cut?’ (lit. ‘it is which tree that you cut?’)  

*gaani* also appears with conjoint verb forms. In the three following examples, it is used to ask for temporal expressions under the form of ‘which’-questions. Head nouns such as *óra* ‘hour’ (10.80), *nsíku* ‘day’ (10.81), *múdhídhi* ‘time’ (10.82) are recurrently used when asking for a general time.  

(10.80) *odhilé óra gaani ?*  
o-dh-ilé  óra  gaani  
2SG-go-PFV.CJ  14.hour  which  
‘when did you come?’  

(10.81) *nsíku gaani ninááfíye mwáán’ óoddo ?*  
ní-síiku  gaani  ni-náá-fíy-e  mwááná  óddo  
5.day  which  5-FUT.CJ-arrive-IRR  1.child  1.DEM.II  
‘when is this child coming?’  

(10.82) *ofiilé múdhídhi gaani ?*  
o-fiilé  múdhídhi  gaani  
2SG-arrive-PFV.CJ  4.time  which  
‘when did you arrive?’
10.2.2.2 Variable -ví ‘which one’

The variable interrogative -ví is used to design one or more entities out of a defined set of entities. It corresponds to English ‘which one’, and is thus to be distinguished from gaani seen above, which means ‘what kind of’.

When the interrogative -ví is used with a noun phrase, or pronominally in isolation, it marks agreement with the head noun, whether present or implied, by means of a concordial prefix. In this affixation process, a long bimoraic vowel is systematically produced. The source for this vowel lengthening is not clear, but we may hypothesise that the underlying form of -ví is in fact -ví, which would thus have a lengthening effect on the preceding vocalic segment. Due to this ambiguity, I will not try to further segment the different agreeing -ví forms into morphemes. The whole paradigm showing the different agreement patterns is given in Table 57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PFX</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wuuví káddíváhé mwááná! (mwááná) wuuví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the child! which (child)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aaví káddíváhé áyíma! (ááná) aaví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the children! which (children)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wuuví káddíváhé muhóre! (muhóre) wuuví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the hen! which (hen)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>dhiiví káddíváhé mihóre! (mihóre) dhiiví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the hens! which (hens)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>niiví káddíváhé ñzáyi! (ñzáyi) niiví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the egg! which (egg)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>aaví káddíváhé mázáyi! (mazáyi) aaví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the eggs! which (eggs)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yiiví káddíváhé ehíba! (ehíbá) yiiví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the hoe! which (hoe)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dhiiví káddíváhé dhihiiba! (dhihíbá) dhiiví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the hoes! which (hoes)?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>wuuví káddíváhé olíbo! (olíbó) wuuví ?</td>
<td>‘give me the birdlime! which (birdlime)?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When used with a relative clause, -ví is preceded by an agreeing copula, as shown in (9.110), to express literally ‘it is which?’. Again, vowel lengthening takes places, and the output form is non-segmentable.

(10.83) a. ñzáyín na nigúléléewe ttiiví ?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ñzáyí} = \text{na} & \quad [\text{ni-gúl-ilé} = \text{éwe}]_{\text{REL}} & \text{ttiiví} \\
5.\text{egg} = 5.\text{DEF} & \quad 5.-\text{buy-PFV.REL} = 2\text{SG.PRO} & 5.-\text{COP},\text{which} \\
\text{‘the egg you bought, which one is it?’}
\end{align*}
\]

b. mwa mázáyí ábo baaví eyíwé na nówa ?

\[
\begin{align*}
mwa & \quad \text{mázáyi} \quad \text{ábo} & \quad \text{baaví} & \quad [\text{a-ey-fw-é} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{nówa}]_{\text{REL}} \\
18.-\text{CON} & \quad 6.\text{egg} & \quad 6.\text{DEM.II} & \quad 6.-\text{COP},\text{which} & \quad 6.-\text{steal-PASS-PFV.REL} & \quad \text{by} & \quad 9a.-\text{snake} \\
\text{‘which of these eggs were stolen by the snake?’}
\end{align*}
\]
The full paradigm of -vi used in copular constructions is provided and exemplified in Table 58.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NC</th>
<th>COP + -vi</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dduuví</td>
<td>dduuví mwánáku omugúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which one is the chicken you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>baaví</td>
<td>baaví ánáku aagúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which ones are the chicken you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>buuví</td>
<td>buuví múrí ogúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which one is the tree you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>siiví</td>
<td>siiví mírí dhigúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which ones are the trees you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ttiiví</td>
<td>ttiiví ŋzáyi nigúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which one is the egg you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>baaní</td>
<td>baaví mázáyi agúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which ones are the eggs you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>jiiví</td>
<td>jiiví ehíb  egúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which one is the hoe you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>siiví</td>
<td>siiví dhiíb  dhigúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which ones are the hoes you bought?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>buuví</td>
<td>buuví olíbó ogúlléeewé?</td>
<td>‘which one is the birdlime you bought?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.2.2.3 Variable -ngaasi ‘how many’

-ngaasi ‘how many’ is the only interrogative which behaves like an adjective and takes a noun class agreement (10.84), except for class 10 (10.85). The same invariant form for class 10 is found in Makhuluwa with the form kavi, and van der Wal explains it as “a reflex of an earlier form with prenasalisation” (Van der Wal 2009: 62).

Two tone patterns are attested, which differ according to my consultants: a toneless pattern -ngaasi, with a possible prosodic rising of the last mora, and a High tone pattern -ngáási. Note that the H pattern is only (but systematically) found with my consultant Francisco (noted ‘fd’ after the source reference).

(10.84) a. ogúllée: mábíla mangáási ?

ogul-ilé mábíla ma-ngáási
2SG-buy-PFV.CJ 6.lamb 6-how.many
‘how many lambs did you buy?’

b. mírí mingaasi dhigwáddilééwe ?

mírí mi-ngaasi [dhi-gwádd-ilé=éwe]REL
4.tree 4-how.many 4-cut-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO
‘how many trees did you cut?’

(10.85) a. oba ngáási dhimagáléeéwe ?

oba ngáási [dhi-mág-ilé=éwe]
10a.fish 10.how.many 10-tie-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO
‘how many fish did you catch?’
b. kúgúlu ngaasi dhílí múba múpo?

{kúgúlu ngaasi dhílí múba múpo
10a.bed 10.how.many 10-be 18.inside 18.DEM.II
‘how many beds are there in the house?’

-ngaasi can be used anaphorically as a free pronoun, always preceding a cleft construction.

(10.86) aneéddéyaná ángaasi?

{elic.
a-ni-éddéyana a-ngaasi
2-IPFV.CJ-be.honest 2-how.many
‘how many are really honest?’

-ngaasi also serves to question mass nouns. Compare the relative construction in (10.87)a, pronounced by Guilherme, with the conjoint construction in (10.87)b, pronounced by Francisco.

(10.87) a. máánjé mangaasi eekíléewé múbíyâni?

{elic.gmr

máánjé ma-ngaasi [a-ik-ílé=ewé mu-bíyâ=ni]REL
6.water 6-how.much 6-put-PFV.REL = 2SG.PRO 18-9a.stove = LOC
‘how much water did you pour in the stove?’ (lit. ‘how much water that you put in the stove?)

b. wiikilémo máánjé mangáási múbíyâni?

{elic.fd

o-ik-ílé=mo máánjé ma-ngáási mu-bíyâ=ni
2SG-put-PFV.CJ = 18.LOC 6.water 6-how.much 18-9a.stove = LOC
‘how much water did you pour in the stove?’ (lit. ‘you put how much water in the stove?)

Remember that ‘how much’ dealing with the price of something is formed with the interrogative dháavi ‘how’, as already shown in section 10.2.1.4 above.
We saw in chapter 9 that constituent order is part of the properties which allow coding and determining grammatical relations. But whereas more emphasis was given to co-indexation marking and behavioural properties, in this chapter I return in more detail to the question of constituent order and the implications it may have on the information structure in discourse. Although the canonical word order is SVO, modifications among the sentence unit may occur, involving a dislocation of a word or a subset of words in a non-canonical position. Such a variation in constituent order is in fact motivated by information structure, in licensing different discourse-pragmatic functions like topic and focus. A topic is a discourse element upon which a comment is made. A topic may be conditioned by i) the shared knowledge among the interlocutors, ii) the context (aforementioned elements); iii) the properties toward topicality that certain nouns inherently carry or obtain as a result of their semantic role: thus the humans (inherent feature) and the agents are more commonly used as topics than non-humans and patients. On the other hand, a focused element carries a more salient informational value. Both the notions of ‘topic’ and ‘focus’, whose aforementioned definitions mostly stem from Givón (2001b: 277) and Creissels (2006b: chapter 28), will be
repeatedly used throughout this chapter, since their position in the sentence is strongly conditioned.

Sections 11.1 and 11.2 look into the preverbal and postverbal domains and examine the properties of their constitutive elements. It will be shown that the preverbal domain is tied to topicality whereas the postverbal domain comprises non-topical constituents. Importantly, constituent order is not the only means of encoding information structure. Specific verbal morphology (known as the conjoint/disjoint alternation) also conveys informational content. An analysis of the formal and interpretational properties of the conjoint/disjoint alternation is proposed in section 11.3.

Note that in many respects, word order and information structure in Cuwabo are similar with Makhuwa. The structure of this chapter is thus much inspired from van der Wal (2009: chapters 4 and 5). Still, as an exhaustive study of the communicative function of constituent order is beyond the scope of this study, the present analysis should be considered as preliminary. Further note that the discussion will basically focus on simple clauses.

### 11.1 The preverbal domain

This section presents an overview of the elements that may occur in the preverbal domain in Cuwabo, in term of their syntactic properties, their informational interpretations, and the principles which determine their occurrence. Note that the term “preverbal” is used here to refer to the linear order of the elements in a sentence. After exploring the possible positioning of subjects, objects and adjuncts, I report four syntactically different types of preverbal elements: (non-dislocated) preverbal subjects (section 11.1.2), left-dislocated objects (section 11.1.3), locative inversion (section 11.1.3.3) and scene-setting elements (section 11.1.5). These four preverbal elements all share the impossibility of having a focus function (section 11.1.1), which represents a broadly attested constraint in Bantu (Morimoto 2006, among others). Still, they have different syntactic, interpretational, and prosodic properties that will be exposed throughout the present section. I will also discuss the possible combinations in case two topic elements precede the verb (section 11.1.6). Whenever relevant, I will draw up comparisons with the preverbal domain elements in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009).
11.1 A domain for topicality

Cuwabo, like many Bantu languages (Morimoto 2000, van der Wal 2009, among others), does not tolerate preverbal focal constituents. As a matter of fact, the fronting of topics is generally considered as a pragmatic universal (Givón 2001b). This constraint is well illustrated by \textit{wh}-elements, assumed to be inherently focused, which are banned from the preverbal position. This is first seen with the ungrammatical subject \textit{wh}-question (11.1)a and answer (11.1)b, where the focused subject cannot appear in its canonical preverbal position. As already discussed in section 10.2.1, subject \textit{wh}-questions require a cleft construction introduced by a copula in both question (11.2)a and answer (11.2)b.

\begin{itemize}
\item (11.1) a. *\textit{aaní oði\textit{pi}y\textit{ilé} n\textit{b\textit{iy\textit{â}}ni} ?} \{elic.\}
\begin{verbatim}
  aani o-mu-p\textit{iy}-ilé mú-b\textit{iy\textit{â}} = ni
  who 1-OM1-cook-PFV.CJ 18-9a.stove = LOC
\end{verbatim}
WHO cooked in this stove?’

b. *\textit{Maríy\textit{â} oði\textit{pi}y\textit{ilé} n\textit{b\textit{iy\textit{â}}ni}} \{elic.\}
\begin{verbatim}
  maríyá o-mu-p\textit{iy}-ilé mú-b\textit{iy\textit{â}} = ni
  maria 1-OM1-cook-PFV.CJ 18-9a.stove = LOC
\end{verbatim}
‘MARIA cooked in the stove’

\item (11.2) a. \textit{ba aani oði\textit{pi}y\textit{ilé} n\textit{b\textit{iy\textit{â}}ni} ?} \{elic.\}
\begin{verbatim}
  ba aani [o-mu-p\textit{iy}-ilé mú-b\textit{iy\textit{â}} = ni]_REL
  2.COP who 1-OM1-cook-PFV.REL 18-9a.stove = LOC
\end{verbatim}
‘WHO cooked in this stove?’ (lit. ‘it is who the one who cooked…’)

b. \textit{ddi Maríy\textit{â} oði\textit{pi}y\textit{ilé} n\textit{b\textit{iy\textit{â}}ni}} \{elic.\}
\begin{verbatim}
  ddi maríyá [o-mu-p\textit{iy}-ilé mú-b\textit{iy\textit{â}} = ni]_REL
  1.COP maria 1-OM1-cook-PFV.REL 18-9a.stove = LOC
\end{verbatim}
‘it is MARIA who cooked in the stove’
\end{itemize}

Note however that the sentence in (11.1)a is a correct answer the question ‘within which device did Maria cook?’, which confirms the postverbal position of focus in Cuwabo (see section 11.3.3 below).

Other examples of questions whereby the \textit{wh}-element is barred from the preverbal domain are provided below.
(11.3) a. *aanì omooní okápééla membeés’ áábâno?

{elic.}

aaní o-mu-on-ile o-kápééla membeésí ábâ = no
who 2SG-OM-see-PFV.CJ 17-9a.church 4.morning.PL 2.DEM.I = PROX
‘who did you see at the church this morning?’

b. » omooní aanì okápééla membees’ áábâno?

(11.4) a. *úuví ogulilé mákárá?

{elic.}

úuví o-gul-ilé mákárá
where 2SG-buy-PFV.CJ 6.charcoal
int. ‘where did you buy the charcoal?’

b. » ogulilé úuví mákárá?

As expected, the answer such wh-questions, which constitute new information and thus necessarily acquire a focus interpretation, cannot be preposed to the verb, as illustrated in (11.5).

(11.5) a. Question:

áléddo aaguleléení ámúdháawa?

{elic.}

áléddo a-a-gul-el-é=ní ámúdháwa
2.visitors 2-OM2-give-APPL-PFV.CJ = what 2.relative.POSS.3PL
‘what did the visitors buy for their families?’

b. Answer:

* dhaábaló áléddo aagulelé ámúdh’ aáwa

{elic.}

dhaábaló áléddo a-a-gul-el-é ámúdháwa
10.cloth 2.visitors 2-OM2-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ 2.relative.POSS.3PL
‘the visitors bought clothing for their families’

» áléddo aagulelé dhaábaló ámúdh’ aáwa (with PL on dhaábaló)

The only case where an object may occur preverbally is when it answers a yes/no question, as in (11.6), but in this case, the object is not considered as a focus. See section 11.1.3 below for a discussion of preverbal objects.

(11.6) k’ áápó ŋźínán’ utúwáváha?

{páaká.11}

kí ápó ŋźíná = na o-hí-mú-vahá
EMPH 16.DEM.I 5.noun = 5.DEF 2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give
‘and then, the name, did you give him?’

sí, ŋźínáne, ddiúwáváha

{elic. from páaká.11}

sí ŋźíná = ne ddi-hí-mú-vahá
yes 5.noun = 5.POSS.3SG 1SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give
‘Yes, his name, I gave him’
Thus, the focalised elements which answer *wh*-questions necessarily appear in their canonical position, i.e. after the verb for the objects and locative or temporal adjuncts. The only exception concerns subject *wh*-questions, which invariably appear in cleft constructions, as seen above.

All the aforementioned examples show that the preverbal domain cannot host focused elements, but is instead reserved for topicalisation. The following subsections explore the different elements that can be topicalised by reaching the preverbal domain.

### 11.1.2 Preverbal subjects

As previously seen in section 11.1.1, a focused subject is always introduced by means of a copular or inverted construction (see thetic sentences in section 11.2.2 below). This means that preverbal subjects function in the sentence as topics. In this position, they necessarily manifest certain properties which are developed in turn.

A first interesting characteristic of preverbal subjects is their tendency toward definiteness or specificity. In the locative inversion in (11.7)a, the logical subject folóóri ‘flower’ appears postverbally, and assumes a focus interpretation (confirmed by predicative lowering) as new element in the story. In the next sentence (11.7)b, the flower is henceforth a known element in the discourse, assuming a topic function in the preverbal domain, with an anaphoric reading confirmed by the use of a demonstrative.

(11.7) vattóló = vá-mel-ilé folóóri énddímúwá [vaddiddí y’ oökôddêla vaddiddí.] {ddoo.23}

\[\text{fölöör’ ijil’ ookomesáári wïíbà}\]

a. va-ttóló = ní vá-mel-ilé folóóri é-nddímúwá ...

16-well = LOC 16-blossom-PFV.CJ 9a.flower.PL 9-big

b. fólöóri éjíle o-komesáári wïíbà

9a.flower 9.DEM.III NAR-start 15.sing

‘Then, there at the well, a very big [and very beautiful flower blossomed.] That flower began to sing’

Definiteness is further illustrated by definite enclitics (11.8), possessives (11.9), and even combinations of definite enclitics + demonstratives (11.10)a, or definite enclitics + possessives (11.10)b.
(11.8) íyéénéyá mwááń’ óółle kaáłóga

íyéné=ní ye mwááńá óółle kaáłóga

‘she, that child, did not speak’

(11.9) mwáádhíye kaávo, ánááye kaávo, dhoóóbódhaye kadhiyo

mwáádhí=ye kaá=vo, ánááye kaá=vo, dhoóóbó= dhaye kadhi=vo

‘His wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here.’

(11.10) òk’ úük’ waadhowilüh’ úulába, múzágw’ échuy’ oologilé wíí […]

Furthermore, noun phrases modified by universal quantifiers are allowed as subjects in the preverbal domain. In (11.11), both subjects dhááwo ‘belongings’ and másóóso ‘suffering’ are modified by the quantifiers oté=ene ‘all’, and in (11.12), élóbo ‘thing’ is modified by kadda ‘each’.

(11.11) dhááwo dhootédhéne ddabunó, másóóso=sú ááw’ ootééné ddabunó aamála

dhááwo dhí=óte= dhéne ddabunó másóóso ááwó a-óte=áne

ddabunó a-hi-mála
today 6-suffering 6-poss.2sg 6-all=int

ddabunó today 6-ptv.dj-finish

ddabunó 6-suffering 6-poss.2sg 6-all=int

ddabunó today 6-poss.2sg 6-all=ptv.dj-finish

ddabunó a-hi-mála
today 6-suffering 6-poss.2sg 6-all=int

ddabunó a-hi-mála
today 6-poss.2sg 6-all=int

ddabunó today 6-poss.2sg 6-all=int

ddabunó today 6-poss.2sg 6-all=int

‘Everyone you have today, all your suffering today is over.’

(11.12) kadd’ élóbó eek’ ecetttongélwáání

kadda élóbo e-hi-kála [e-ttong-él-úw-é=âni] rel

each 9-thing 9-ptv.dj-remain 9-order-appl-pass-pfv.rel=3pl.pro

every part of the body has its function’

Other nominal modifiers such as relatives (11.13) and connective constructions (11.14) may also participate in the definiteness of the preverbal subject.
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(11.13) *múzúgú’ oód’d  úúnikosá  iyo dhaáyi,  ba aani?*  

\[
múzúgú = ya  \quad \text{oód’d}  \quad [\text{o-ní-ní-kosá}  \quad iyo  \quad \text{dhaáyi}]_{\text{REL}}  \quad \text{ba aani}
\]

1. European = DEF 1. DEM I 1. IPFV. CJ-OM 1PL- do 1PL. PRO like. this. I 2. COP who ‘this white person who treats us like this, who is she?’

(11.14) *nyúwó w’ oókáánece’ oówáli munááwane*  

\[
\text{nyúwó}  \quad \text{wa}  \quad \text{okáán-ec-a}  \quad \text{ówáli}  \quad \text{mu-náá-wan-e}
\]

2PL. PRO 1. CON 15. have-DUR-Fi 14. rage 2PL- FUT- fight- PROH ‘you (2pl.) who are so fierce, do not fight!’

Eventually, when definiteness is not overtly specified on the preverbal subject (by one or several of the aforementioned modifiers), the context usually suffices for interpreting it as definite. In (11.15), *múlóbwana* ‘man’ refers to the main male character in the story and is, as such, inherently definite.

(11.15) *eítáwú, múlóbwana oorúméela*  

\[
eítáwú  \quad \text{múlóbwana}  \quad \text{o-hi-rúméela}
\]

then 1. man 1. PFV. DJ-agree ‘Then, the man accepted’

On the contrary, indefinite or non-specific subjects are not encountered in the preverbal domain, and are considered ungrammatical (11.16)a. Instead they are best attested postverbally (11.16)b in thetic sentences (see section 11.2.2), or are encoded in a biclausal construction involving a relative, as in (11.17).

(11.16) a. *múttú kadhílévó*  

\[
múttú  \quad \text{ka-dh-flé=vó}
\]

1. person NEG. 1. come-PFV = 16. LOC ‘nobody came’

b. kadhílévó muttu

(11.17) *okálá wiityíle ńpádd’  oóskóóla wééhu*  

\[
o-kálá  \quad [\text{o-íy-íle}  \quad ńpáddó  \quad \text{oóskóóla}  \quad \text{wééhu}]_{\text{REL}}
\]

1. be 1. steal-PFV. REL 3. bench 17. school 17. POSS. 2PL ‘somebody has stolen a bench from our school’ (lit. ‘there is who stole...’)

We conclude that subjects in Cuwabo are canonically preverbal. As might be expected though, they are not the only elements which can occur in the preverbal domain. In the following subsections, other preverbal constituents such as objects and locative NPs are discussed.
11.1.3 Left-dislocated objects

As suggested by the canonical word order SVO, the object should pertain to the postverbal domain. However, left-dislocation of the object, in which the object appears preverbally and thus has an indirect syntactic relation to the verb, is commonly attested in Cuwabo. It is used to mark topical referents, which have formerly been introduced as a focus. Left-dislocating these objects is a way to bring them back into discourse, often with a contrastive function. Their topic status usually involves an anaphoric reference and thus definite marking (although it is not the case with generic NPs as will be further shown). Two examples are provided below.

(11.18) namárógol’ oóddó káńttiweni  

namárógolo óddó ká-mú-ttiy-e = nǐ
1a.hare 1.DEM.II IMP-OM1-leave-IMP = PLA
‘leave that hare!’

(11.19) míyó müyán’ ólle kańnímúceeléla, míyó müyán’ óólle ŋnéomútela  

míyó müyáná ólle ka-ní-ní-mú-ceeléla
1SG.PRO 1.woman 1.DEM.III NEG-IPL-IPFV-OM1-give.up
míyó müyáná ólle ni-ní-ó-mú-tela
1SG.PRO 1.woman 1.DEM.III 1PL-IPFV-15-OM1-marry
‘Me, that woman, I cannot give her up! Me, that woman, I am going to marry her!’

11.1.3.1 Agreement properties

Certain Bantu languages like Rundi (JD62) allow subject-object reversal, in which a preverbal object determines the subject agreement marker on the verb, while the subject remains postverbal. This is illustrated in (11.20).

(11.20) ibītabo bi-á-som-ye Yohani

amatá y-á-ny yöye abána
8.book 8-PST-read-PFV John
6.milk 3SG-PST-drink.PFV 2.children
‘John read the books’ (lit. ‘books read John’)
‘Children drank milk’ (lit. ‘Milk drank children’)

Cuwabo does not function like Rundi and does not allow subject-object reversal. As examples (11.18) and (11.19) above show, the SM on the verb always agrees with the
logical subject. Agreement with the preverbal object would be considered ungrammatical in the context of verbal predication. Compare (11.20) and (11.21).

(11.21) *mbúga  e-hi-líma  álóbwana {elic.}
  9a.rice  9-PFV.DJ-cultivate  2.man
  intd. ‘the men cultivated rice’
  ➤ álóbwana  a-hi-líma  mbúga

Another argument in favour of the preserved ‘object’ status of the left-dislocated objects deals with object marking on the verb. Again, examples (11.18) and (11.19) above show that the argument function of the dislocated objects is respected through object marking on the verb. Remember that such an agreement only concerns class 1/2 objects and persons (11.22).

(11.22) míyó munóddíziwá ? {maria.86}
  mító  mu-ni-ó-ddí-ziwá
  1SG.PRO  2PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-know
  ‘Do you know me?’

11.1.3.2 Tendency toward definite interpretation

Indefinite objects are in principle ungrammatical in preverbal position, as the following example illustrates.

(11.23) Question: onowííbá jíbo ? {elic.}
  o-ni-ó-íbá  jíbo
  2SG-IPFV.DJ-15-sing  9a.song
  ‘are you going to sing a song?’

Answer: # jíbó, ddinowííbá  ➤ ddinowííbá

Note however that such a sentence would be well accepted in case of contrast between two notions, such as jíbó, ddinowííbá, mbónye múšááje, ìme!, ‘a song, I am going to sing, but not a funeral lament’.

In most cases, definite or specific modification is needed, such as demonstratives (11.24), definite enclitics (11.25), possessives (11.26), or relatives (11.27).

(11.24) óba ésí ddilóógúlá macíkwi záña {semi-elic.}
  óba  ésí  ddí-lá-ógúlá  ma-cíkwi  záña
  10a.fish  10.DEM.I  1SG-CE-15.buy  6-thousand hundred
  ‘I bought this fish for 50 meticais’
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(11.25) a. *elóbóyá kalógíle so ónóníkuwéla bááhi

\[
\text{\textit{elóbó=ýá} ka-́lóg-íle so ó-ni-ó-ní-kuwéla bááhi}
\]

9.thing = DEF NEG.1-say-PFV but 1-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1PL-call only

‘she did not say why, she only called us’

b. agóra k’ áápó rízínán’ úuínhah?

\[
\text{\textit{agóra kí ápó rízná=na o-hí-mú-vahá}}
\]

then EMPH 16.DEM.1 5.noun = 5.DEF 2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-give

‘and then, the name, did you give him?’

(11.26) baáhi mífíyedh n’ o kulé páárí ye mab s’ al gôma

\[
\text{\textit{baáhi [mu-fíy-édh-é=áni ókulé]REL ñpónttárí}}
\]

only 18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 3PL.PRO 17.DEM.III 1.tracker

\[
\text{\textit{áaye mabása a-lé-ógoma}}
\]

6.POSS.3SG 6.work 6-CE-15.finish

‘now that they arrived there, the tracker’s work was done’

(11.27) óllééne ojíl’ éésav’ iújí oncelólómutidda vénëva

\[
\text{\textit{óllé=ëné [o-jílé éssávi éjí]REL o-naa-ilá-ó-mu-ttidda vénëva}}
\]


‘the very one who ate the caril, it will catch him straight away’

Interestingly, by substituting the demonstrative in (11.24) by an existential modifier, such as the quantifier vangónó ‘few’ in (11.28), the left-dislocated object becomes indefinite and the sentence is ungrammatical.

(11.28) *óba vangónó ddilóógúlá macíkwi zána

\[
\text{\textit{óba vangónó ddí-lé-ógúlá ma-cíkwi zána}}
\]

10a.fish few 1sg-CE-15.buy 6-thousand hundred

‘I bought a few fish for 50 meticais’

However, in some cases, it happens that definiteness is not overtly specified on the preverbal object (by one of the aforementioned modifiers). As a matter of fact, the context also functions as a vector of definiteness and may help to interpret the object as definite information, either discourse-old or presumably known from the hearers. In (11.29), mwámúni ‘husband’ in bold is highly accessible by the discourse context, since introduced in the preceding sentence. Being well definite by the context, it does not need further definite modifier.
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(11.29)  dhiñdëeyína dha dëreétú=dhá [...] mwáádhí=ye kaáñvaha mwámúni,  
{mbírì.9}  
mwámúni / kadhaáññiya  
[dhi-ní-dá = iyí = na  
 dha dëreétú = dhá][REL] mwáádhí = ye  
10-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO = COM 10.CON  
good = 10.DEF 1.wife = POSS.3SG  
ka-á-mú-vaha mwámúni mwámúni  
NEG.1-PST-OM1-give 1.husband 1.husband  
NEG-10-PST-OM1-arrive  
‘the good things he brings, [...] his wife did not give them to the husband; to the husband they did not arrive’

Furthermore, when asking something about a given object by means of a wh-question, the answer tends to privilege dislocation of this already-known object in the preverbal domain, where it functions as a topic, as shown in (11.30)a. The postverbal position, i.e. the canonical object position, is thus available to express the focused element, here a temporal adjunct. The sentence in (11.30)b, where the object follows the focused element is not natural, although not ungrammatical.

(11.30)  a. máfígí / ddináágúle sumaáná éjó cëndhâwo  
{elic.}  
máfígí  
‘the bananas, I will buy (them) next week’ (question: ‘When will you cook the bananas?)

b. #ddináágúle sumaáná éjó cëndhâwo máfígí  
{elic.}

11.3.3 Prosodic properties

A last argument toward the dislocated status of the preverbal object deals with prosody. It is common to hear a pause (indicated by | in the following examples) between the preverbal object and the remaining sentence.

(11.31)  wútú / ddiliúkâna, kúní / ddiliúkâna, [dduahúgúlihi mafugi,  
{semi-elic.}  
koóbílirí y’oogúl’ óóba ddináádhéna “uuví ?]  
wútú  
14.flour 1SG-PFV.DJ-have 5a.log 1SG-PFV.DJ-have  
‘Flour, I have. Log, I have. [If I do not sell bananas, where will I find money to buy fish?]’

Furthermore, the left-dislocated NP often forms an intonational unit marked by a lengthened boundary tone, as shown in (11.32) with naámbéddé: ‘maize’, uttered naámbéddea in citation form.
Both sentences in (11.31) and (11.32) are interesting in that they exhibit examples of left-dislocated generic NPs, which are not marked for definiteness. This shows that the relation between topicalisation and definiteness is more complex than it seems and is by no means exclusive, since generic NPs also easily topicalise (probably because they display in some way proper noun properties).

11.1.4 Locative inversion(s)

In Cuwabo, temporal or locative adjuncts may be introduced obliquely by a preposition such as na ‘with, by’, e.g. in na mámbéésí ‘in the morning’. However most are grouped together under the locatives classes. Locative NPs usually function as an optional complement to the verb and occupy a peripheral position. Still it is a well-known fact that in many Bantu languages, locative NPs may be raised to the position of syntactic subject, where they control the SM on the verb. This is shown in the following examples where the locative NPs ottólóni ókúle ‘at that well’ in (11.33) and nípúle níbará ‘there in the sea’ in (11.34) are coindexed with the SM on the following verb okála ‘be’.

(11.33)  ottólón‘uükül’ ookála fúlóóri  \{doo.25\}
  o-ttólo=ni ókúle o-hi-kála fúlóóri
  17-well = LOC  17.DEM.III  17-PFV.DJ-be  9a.flower
  ‘at that well there is a flower’

(11.34)  nípúle níbara, muuklá mwánénámá oükûwêlîwa nikuřabedha  \{maria.104\}
  nípúle  mu-bará  mu-hi-kálá  mwáná-enámá  [o-ní-kûwêl-íw-a  N]_REL
  ‘There in the sea, there is an animal called dugong.’

Among Bantuists such reversed constructions are known under the label “locative inversion” (LI). Givón (2001a: 191) refers to them as “existential-presentative” clauses. LIs are thus a good example of some constructions in which a peripheral constituent is turned into a core syntactic constituent of the clause, but only to a certain extent. Indeed in many
Bantu languages, inverted locative subjects are considered as non-prototypical subjects, since they lack certain behaviour properties, such as relativisation and equi-subject complementation (see the case of Lunda-Ndembu in Givón 2001a: 192). LI constructions thus represent a non-canonical constituent order, whereby the argument encoded as the subject is displaced from its original canonical preverbal position and appears after the verb, whereas the locative noun phrase moves forward to preverbal position. LI is well-reported in many Bantu languages and has been the topic of an abundant literature (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006, Buell 2007, Creissels 2011, Diercks 2011). This long-lasting tradition is explained by the interesting issues raised by LI constructions, such as the morphology associated to LI, the agreement patterns it implies, and the available thematic structure. These parameters strongly vary across Bantu. This section discusses each parameter with regard to Cuwabo LI. Of particular interest is the presence of two constructions, a formal one (section 11.1.4.1) and a semantic one (section 11.1.4.3). Note that most data presented here stem from Guérois (2014).

11.1.4.1 **Morphosyntactic properties**

As mentioned above, LI implies a linear inversion of the subject and the locative noun phrase. This positional reordering correlates with an agreement change: the front-shifted locative expression triggers subject agreement on the verb, and not the logical subject, which follows the verb. This is illustrated in the three-way morphological contrast of locative subject markers in (11.35). Each verb agrees in noun class with the fronted locative noun phrase, while the logical subject (maánje ‘water’ in (11.35)a, fúlóóri ‘flower’ in (11.35)b, and álêddo ‘guests’ in (11.35)c), remains postverbal.

(11.35) a. vattólóní vahíínjívâ maánje
   va-ttóló = ní va-hí-ínjívâ maánje
   16-well = LOC 16-PFV.DJ-abound 6.water
   lit. ‘at the well abound water’

   b. ottólón’ uíkál’ ookálá fúlóóri
   o-ttólo = ni o-ki-kála o-ki-ála fúlóóri
   17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III 17-PFV.DJ-be 9a.flower
   ‘at that well there is a flower’

   c. mmúríiddání: muúdha álêddo
   mu-múríddda = ní mu-hí-dha álêddo
   18-3.village = LOC 18-PFV.DJ-come 2.guest
   lit. ‘in the village came the guests’
The corresponding uninverted sentences, in which the verb agrees in noun class with the preceding logical subject while the locative noun phrase follows the verb, are shown in (11.36).

(11.36)  a. *maánje ahúnjívá vattólóní* {elic.}
        maánjé  a-hí-ínjívá  va-ttóló = ni
        6.water  6-PFV.DJ-abound  16-well = LOC
        ‘water abound at the well’

        b. *fülóóri eekálá ottólóni ókúle* {elic. from ddo.25}
        fúlóóri  e-hi-kálá  o-ttóló = ni  ókúle
        9a.flower  9-PFV.DJ-be  17-well = LOC  17.DEM.III
        ‘there is a flower at that well’

        c. *áléddo aádha nmúrúddani* {elic.}
        áléddó  a-hí-dha  mu-múrúdda = ni
        2.guest  2-PFV.DJ-come  18-3.village = LOC
        ‘the visitors came in the village’

Both (11.35) and (11.36) share the same thematic role structure, but differ in their syntactic properties. The subject-verb agreement observed in (11.35) brings evidence that the locative phrase may be analysed as the grammatical subject. Co-variation between the three class possible locative class prefixes (class 16 va- in (11.35)a, class 17 o- in (11.35)b, and class 18 mu- in (11.35)c) exists both on the locative expression and on the subject prefix of the following verb, which agrees accordingly. An argument in favour of this agreement morphology (i.e. the grammatical subject status assumed by the locative noun phrase) is that the locative noun phrase can be post-posed, as shown in (11.37).

(11.37)  a. *vahúnjívá maánje vattólóní* {elic.}
        va-hí-ínjívá  maánjé  va-ttóló = ni
        16-PFV.DJ-abound  6.water  16-well = LOC
        lit. ‘abound water at the well’

        b. *ookálá füloóri ottólóni ókúle* {elic.}
        o-hi-kálá  fúlóóri  o-ttóló = ni  ókúle
        17-PFV.DJ-be  9a.flower  17-well = LOC  17.DEM.III
        ‘there is a flower at that well’

        c. *muúdha álëddo nmúrúddani* {elic.}
        mu-hí-dha  álëddó  mu-múrúdda = ni
        18-PFV.DJ-come  2.guest  18-3.village = LOC
        lit. ‘came the visitors in the village’
Interestingly, locative complement found in canonical SVO/Adjunct sentences may be passivised, as shown in intransitive (11.38) as well as transitive (11.39) constructions.

(11.38) a. áyíma ánósúńza vasíkóóla ápa  
áláyíma á-ni-ósúńza va-síkóóla ápa  
2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.study 16-9a.school 16.DEM.1  
‘children are studying in this school’

b. vasíkóóla ápa vánósúńźíwa  
vá-síkóóla ápa vá-ni-ósúńź-fw-a  
16-9a.school 16.DEM.1 16-IPFV.DJ-15.study-PASS-Fi  
lit. ‘this school there-is being studied’

(11.39) a. áyíma ánósúńza dhílógélo dhíínji vasíkóóla ápa  
áláyíma á-ni-ósúńza dhílógélo dhííjí va-síkóóla ápa  
2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.study 10.language 10-many 16-9a.school 16.DEM.1  
‘children are studying several languages at this school’

b. vasíkóóla ápa vánósúńźíwa dhílógélo dhíínji  
vá-síkóóla ápa vá-ni-ósúńź-fw-a dhílógélo dhííjí  
16-9a.school 9.DEM.1 16-IPFV.DJ-15.study-PASS-Fi 10.language 10-many  
lit. ‘at this school there-is being studied several languages’

In this respect, the inverted locative subjects behave like prototypical objects undergoing a passivisation process. Thus, in (11.38) and (11.39), the locative NP vasíkóóla ápa ‘at this school’ can be assimilated to an object of the transitive verb ósúńza ‘study’, which then becomes subject of the passivised verb.

Whereas there is solid evidence for the subjecthood of the fronted locative noun phrase, the grammatical status of the postverbal logical subject is less clear. Considering word order, it assumes an object position, since it always occurs in immediate adjacency to the verb. Yet, it fails the typical test of objecthood in that it cannot be cross-referenced with an object marking on the verb, as shown in (11.40). As a comparison, the sentence in (11.41) illustrates the necessity of object marking (but only restricted to classes 1 and 2 in Cuwabo) when the postverbal element assumes an object grammatical function.

(11.40) *mu-múrüdda=ni  mu-hí-a-dha  álèddo  
18-3.village=LOC 18-PFV.DJ-OM2-come 2.guest  
lit. ‘in the village came the guests’
(11.41) *müttü oovényá: , oómútelá mwáadhíyé:, waabaál’ áánááyé, [...] {mbírí.7}

müttü o-hi-vényá o-hí-mú-telá
1.person 1-PFV.DJ-rise.up 1-PFV.DJ-OM1-marry

mwáadhí = yé o-a-báála áná = áyé
1.wife = POSS.3SG NAR-OM2-give.birth 2.child = POSS.3SG

‘a man grew up, married a woman, had his children, [...]’

Furthermore, the postposed logical subject cannot be demoted to an optional adjunct in that it cannot be omitted (11.42), nor can it be separated from the verb by the locative noun phrase (11.43).

(11.42) a. *vattólóní vahíínjíva {elic.}

va-ttoló = ni va-hí-injíva
16-well = LOC 16-PFV.DJ-abound
lit. ‘at the well abounds’

b. *ottolóni ókúle ookála {elic.}

o-ttoló = ni ókule o-hí-kála
17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III 17-PFV.DJ-be
lit. ‘at that well there is’

c. *múumaruddání muúdha {elic.}

mu-múrudda = ní mu-hí-dha
18-3.village = LOC 17-PFV.DJ-come
lit. ‘in the village came’

(11.43) a. *vahíínjívá vattólóni maánje {elic.}

va-hí-injíva va-ttoló = ní maánje
16-PFV.DJ-abound 16-well = LOC 6.water
lit. ‘abounds at the well water’

b. *ookálá ottólóni ókule fólóóri {elic.}

o-hí-kála o-ttoló = ni ókule fólóóri
17-PFV.DJ-be 17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III 9a.flower
lit. ‘there is at that well a flower’

c. *muúdha múumaruddani álèddo {elic.}

mu-hí-dhá mu-múrudda = ní álèddo
18-PFV.DJ-come 18-3.village = LOC 2.guest
lit. ‘came in the village the guests’

The linear order of the elements in LI is thus not free, and the postverbal logical subject systematically follows the verb. This close relation between the verb and the postverbal
logical subject is further confirmed by prosodic evidence: a pause (represented in (11.44) by | ) is usually heard after the topicalised locative noun phrase, but never between the verb and the postverbal logical subject. Furthermore, both these elements seem to form a suitable environment with respect to H tone doubling (HTD) at the phrasal level. In (11.44), each verb has a primary (underlined) H tone on the penult mora, which doubles onto the following mora when the next word has an initial $\emptyset$H sequence (11.44)a, but does not double when the next word has an initial H tone (11.44)b and (11.44)c, because of the Obligatory Contour Principle effect. These constraints on HTD suggest that both the verb and the postverbal logical subject form a prosodic unit, represented into brackets in (11.44).

Note that there is no penultimate lengthening in Cuwabo, hence the difficulty of referring to phonological phrases.

(11.44) a. vattólóní | (vahívíjíva mañje) {elic.}
    lit. ‘at the well abounds water’

b. ottólón’ nükülé | (ookála fólóri) {elic.}
    ‘at that well there is a flower’

c. mmúrúddání | (muûdha áléddo) {elic.}
    lit. ‘in the village came the guests’

All these aforementioned syntactic and prosodic properties of the postverbal element are explained by its “presentational focus” discourse function (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmuse 1997, Marten 2006). Compare the noun phrase áyaná ‘women’ in (11.45), immediately following the verb and introducing new information, with (11.46), where it represents a right-dislocated topic, with an afterthought interpretation.

(11.45) munólóbela áyaná {elic.}
    mu-ni-ólóbela     áyaná
    18-IPFV, DJ-15.pray 2.woman
    lit. ‘in there are praying the women’

(11.46) anólóbela, áyaná {elic.}
    a-ni-ólóbela     áyaná
    2-PVF, DJ-15.pray 2.woman
    ‘they are praying, the women’

Locative inversion constructions illustrated in this subsection have been widely discussed in the Bantu literature. Buell (2007) refers to these constructions as “agreement constructions”, opposed to “non-agreeing constructions”, which often make use of a single verb prefix with an expletive function.
Locative marking on the verb

Interestingly, an agreeing locative enclitic on the verb (class 16 =vo, class 17 =wo, and class 18 =mo) cannot co-occur with the locative head-agreeing prefix, as shown in (6.140).

(6.140) a. *vattólóni vahínjívá = vo maánje {elic.}
   lit. ‘there at the well abound (there) water’

b. *ottólóni ökúle ookálá = wo fúlóóri {elic.}
   lit. ‘there at the well there is (there) a flower’ {elic. from ddoo.25}

c. *nimúřiddání: muuídhá = mo álêddo {elic.}
   lit. ‘in the village came (in there) the visitors’

In comparison, such a double locative marking on the verb is obligatory in Bukusu (J30, Kenya). Diercks (2011) refers to this construction, exemplified in (11.47), as “repeated agreement” LI.

(11.47) mú-múširú mw-á-kwá = mó kú-músaala [Bukusu]
18-3.forest 18-PST-fall = 18.LOC 3-3.tree Repeated Agreement LI
‘in the forest fell a tree’

Furthermore, note that another construction with a preverbal locative exists in Cuwabo, which strongly differs from the aforementioned LI in term of verbal agreement. Instead of agreeing with the preverbal locative noun phrase, the verb prefix agrees with the postverbal logical subject. In parallel, a locative agreement clitic (=vo, =wo, =mo) is obligatorily suffixed to the verb, as illustrated in (11.48). Omitting these locative suffixes is considered ungrammatical.

(11.48) a. vattóló / awínjívávo maánje {elic.}
   va-ttóló = ní a-híínjívá = vo maánje
   16-well = LOC 6-PFV.DJ-abound = 16.LOC 6.water
   lit.’at the well (it) abounds there water’

*vattólóni, awínjívá maánje

b. ottólóni ökülé / eekáláwo fólóóri {elic.}
   o-ttóló = ni ökülé e-hi-kálá = wo fólóóri
   17-well = LOC 17.DEM.III 9-PFV.DJ-be = 17.LOC 9a.flower
   lit. ‘at that well over there (it) is there a flower’

*ottólóni ökülé, eekálá fólóóri
Constituent order and information structure

In such constructions, the preverbal locative is more loosely connected to the verb and does not constitute a core constituent of the sentence. Instead it occupies a peripheral position, where it displays a scene or frame setting function for the remaining sentence, and is interpreted as an external topic. Note that these constructions do not represent instances of LI in the strict sense.

Interestingly, this construction is the only one attested in Makhuwa, which does not display LI. Van der Wal (2008) reports that the subject marker always agrees with the postverbal logical subject (11.49)a, whereas a locative subject agreement on the verb is not allowed (11.49)b.

The crucial difference between Cuwabo and Makhuwa is the presence of the agreeing locative enclitics on the verb, not needed in Makhuwa, while obligatory in Cuwabo as seen in the examples in (11.48) above. Further note that such a construction is not available with transitive verbs, as exemplified in (11.50).

**LI and disjoint verb forms**

The careful reader will have noted that every aforementioned LI construction makes use of a disjoint verb form, which is rather unexpected. In order to introduce a focused element, the conjoint form is required in Cuwabo, as will be discussed in section 11.3 below. And yet, in LI constructions, disjoint verb forms are necessarily chosen over conjoint verb forms, since the latter would involve a relative reading, as shown in (11.51) and (11.52).
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(11.51) \textit{vasĭkōlō āpā vaasuńzile āyíma} \{elic.\}
\begin{align*}
\text{vasĭkōlō} & \quad \text{āpā} \\
& \quad \text{[va-a-suńiz-īle} \\
& \quad \text{āyíma]}_{\text{REL}} \\
& \quad \text{16-9a.school} \\
& \quad \text{16-DEM.I} \\
& \quad \text{16-PST-learn-PFV.CJ} \\
& \quad \text{2.children} \\
\end{align*}
‘at this school where children had studied’

(11.52) \textit{ńumárűddáni muňlába álóbwana} \{elic.\}
\begin{align*}
\text{mu-műrűddá=ní} & \quad \text{[mu-ni-lába} \\
& \quad \text{álóbwana]}_{\text{REL}} \\
& \quad \text{18-3.village} \quad \text{LOC} \\
& \quad \text{18-IPFV.CJ-work} \\
& \quad \text{2.men} \\
\end{align*}
‘in the village where the men work’

Such constructions are common in the language, but they do not represent cases of LI, but rather locative relatives, in which the locative noun phrase is the head noun to be modified. In order to avoid a relative reading, LI constructions rely on the other available verb forms in the language, namely the disjoint verb forms. But interestingly, one conjoint tense is attested in LI constructions: the perfective, as illustrated in (11.53) and (11.54), extracted from stories. Remember that for this tense, the conjoint form and the relative exhibit a different tone pattern (see Table 52 in section 10.1). In both examples below, no ambiguity in interpretation is possible, since the tone pattern of \textit{vamélō}\textsuperscript{59} ‘blossomed’ and \textit{obuddūwilē} ‘went out’ corresponds solely to the conjoint form. In contrast the relative forms for these forms would be \textit{vamélō} ‘where blossomed’ and \textit{obuddūwilē} ‘where went out’. Furthermore, the focus position of the postverbal logical subjects \textit{foloóri} ‘flower’ and \textit{ttúngulru} ‘trill’ is confirmed by Predicative Lowering (\textit{foloóri}).

(11.53) \textit{ddabun’ ōókwééněr, vattlóni vamélō foloóri ėnnddímúwá vaddíddí y’} \{doo.23\}
\begin{align*}
\text{ddabunó ōkū = éně} & \quad \text{va-ttóló = ní} \\
& \quad \text{vá-mel-illé} \\
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{then} & \quad \text{17.DEM.I = INT} \\
& \quad \text{16-well = LOC} \\
& \quad \text{16-blossom-PFV.CJ} \\
\text{foloóri} & \quad \text{é-nddímúwá} \\
& \quad \text{vaddíddī ya ōkōddēla vaddíddī} \\
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
9a.\text{flower.PL} & \quad 9-\text{big} \\
& \quad \text{much} \\
& \quad 9.\text{CON} \\
& \quad 15.\text{be.beautiful} \quad \text{much} \\
\end{align*}
‘Then, there at the well a flower blossomed, a very big and very beautiful flower. [That flower began to sing: ...]’

(11.54) \textit{eňtáwá: ōkúle omũnddá obudduwilé ttúngulru, [báábe na māy’ ēčézívéliwáj]} \{mute.18\}
\begin{align*}
eňtáwú & \quad \text{ōkúle} \\
& \quad \text{o-mũndda} \\
& \quad \text{o-budduw-ilē} \\
& \quad \text{ttúnguru} \\
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{then} & \quad \text{17.DEM.III} \\
& \quad \text{17-3.field} \\
& \quad \text{17-go.out-PFV.CJ} \\
& \quad 9a.\text{trill.PL} \\
\end{align*}
‘then trilling went out in the plantation, [the parents were pleased.’

\textsuperscript{59} Note that in the form \textit{vamélō}, the H tone found on the locative prefix \textit{va-} is the result of High Tone Doubling.
Now that the formal and agreement properties of LI in Cuwabo have been discussed, let us examine the range of arguments and verb types with which LI may occur.

### 11.1.4.2 LI & argument structure

The Bantu languages in which locative inversion is attested differ in the (semantic) type of verbs allowed in such constructions. The thematic restrictions imposed on predicates undergoing LI vary from one language to another. The array goes from languages which restrict LI to unaccusative verbs only (e.g. Chewa, see Bresnan and Kanerva 1989), to languages which only prohibits LI to ditransitives (e.g. Herero, see Marten 2006). Among this existing variation, this subsection examines how the two different LI constructions in Cuwabo interact with argument structure. Verbs of different argument structure (unaccusatives, unergatives, and transitives), which involve different thematic roles (theme, agent, or both theme and agent), will be discussed.

First, unaccusative verbs, which typically comprise verbs of movement or location, whose single argument is assigned a theme role, not actively responsible thus for the verb action, are widely attested in LI constructions. It is also the case in Cuwabo, as illustrated in (11.55)a with the motional verb *ofiya* ‘arrive’, (11.55)b with the postural verb *wīíméla* ‘stand’, and (11.55)c with the verb *wīínjíva* ‘abound’, which expresses a container-contained relation between arguments.

(11.55) a. *mümü̃rúddáni muufiya álêddo*  
mu-múrüdda = ní mu-hi-fiya álêddo  
18-3.village = LOC 2-PFV.DJ-arrive 2.visitor  
lit. ‘at the village arrived the visitors’

b. *mukápéelia mwihiíméla áyaná*  
mu-kápéélá mu-hi-iméla áyaná  
18-9a.church 18-PFV.DJ-stand 2.women  
‘in the church are standing the women’

c. *vattólóni vawíínjívâ maánjé*  
va-ťóló = ní va-hi-ńjívâ maánjé  
16-well = LOC 16-PFV.DJ-abund 6.water  
‘at the well abounds water’

Unergative verbs, which are also intransitive but rather imply an agentive subject, also fit in LI constructions. Motional (11.56) and non-motional (11.57) verbs are provided below.
This means that LI applies to all intransitive verbs in the language. In contrast, transitive verbs, which have a thematic object in their argument structure in addition to the subject argument, fail to undergo LI. This ungrammaticality is exemplified below with two transitive verbs, ōddaddá ‘catch, find’ (11.58) and ōsuwá ‘wipe’ (11.58)b.

As expected, ditransitivity, involving the presence of a second object (usually a benefactive), is not compatible with LI. Compare (11.59)a and (11.59)b.
b. *vatákúlu: vahlébéla mwááná njángára
   va-tákulu va-ählébéla mwááná njángára
   16-9a.courtyard 16-PFV.DJ-write-APPL-Fi 1.child 5.card
   lit. ‘at home wrote the child a letter’

Note however that (di)transitive verbs that have been passivised allow LI. (11.60) provides an examples of LI applied to a transitive verb which underwent passivisation.

(11.60) a. dhoója dhi-hí-píy-íw-a mu-mükáátté = ni òbu
   dhoója dhi-hí-píy-íw-a mu-mükáátté = ni òbu
   10.food 10-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi 18-3.jug = LOC 3.DEM.I
   ‘the food was cooked in this pot’

b. mu-mükáátté = ni òbu mu-hí-píy-íw-a dhoója
   18-3.jug = LOC 3.DEM.I 18-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi 10.food
   ‘the food was cooked in this pot’

### 11.1.4.3 Recapitulative table

Table 59, adapted from comparative works by Demuth and Mmusi (1997: 14) and Marten (2006: 116), gives a typological overview of the constituent and thematic structures displayed in Cuwabo LI (in bold), in comparison to well-documented Bantu languages on this issue.

<table>
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<th>Table 59</th>
<th>Variation in LI constructions, comparing Cuwabo to other Bantu languages</th>
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<td><strong>Language</strong></td>
<td><strong>Constituent Structure</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>loc. morph.</td>
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<td>Chewa</td>
<td>16/17/18</td>
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<td>Herero</td>
<td>16/17/18</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>16</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
From Table 59, the data of Cuwabo bring a further piece of evidence of the existing variation of LI constructions among Bantu languages. In terms of morphology, Cuwabo patterns with Chewa, Shona and Herero, but differs from these three languages regarding thematic restrictions. In this respect, Cuwabo can be considered more liberal than Chewa, Chaga, and Shona, but more restricted than Herero, where LI is also possible with transitive predicates.

II.1.4.4 Semantic locative inversion

Another LI pattern known as semantic LI exists, which is less widely discussed in the Bantu literature. Semantic LI is not essentially different from formal LI: the fronted expression occupies the grammatical subject position and triggers agreement on the following verb, but the difference lies on its non-locative morphology. Instead, it appears in its canonical class, and denotes the place or the space inherently rooted in the semantic of the noun. This means that semantic LI is only allowed with expressions which refer to a possible location, such as school, house, church, shop, etc.

An agreement relation is thus established between the inherent noun class of the fronted expression and the verb. Such constructions are found in Zulu and Tharaka (Buell 2007), respectively illustrated in (11.61), and (11.62).

(11.61) lezi zindlu zi-hlala abantu abadala [Zulu]
   10. these 10.houses 10-stay 2people 2old
   ‘old people live in these houses’

(11.62) kanisa i-thom-ag-ır-a twana [Tharaka]
   9.church 9-study-HAB-APPL-Fi 13.children
   ‘the children study at the church’

It has been suggested (Buell 2007) that semantic and formal LI constructions are essentially equivalent, but that they cannot co-exist in a language. In Cuwabo, a considerable preference is given on formal locative LI. Still, it turns out that semantic LI is also considered grammatical, at least with the stative unaccusative verb okála ‘be, stay’, as shown in (11.63).

(11.63) nyúmba éji ekálá akálába {elic.}
   nyúmba éji e-hi-kálá akálába
   9a.house 9.DEM.1 9-PFV.DJ-be 2.older
   lit. ‘this house were/lived old people’
Now, with another stative unaccusative verb, namely wíímëla ‘stand’ (11.64), and with unergatives (11.65), which imply an agentive thematic role, two of my consultants have different judgements on the acceptability of such sentences. On the first hand, Agostinho thinks that they are grammatical, but that they do not represent natural options in discourse. In other words, he can interpret such sentences, but will presumably not utter them spontaneously. On the other hand, Sérgio perfectly accepts them.

(11.64) a. (?) kàpëélà éji ehíímëla ãyanà {elic.}
kàpëélà éji e-hí-imëla ãyanà
9a.church 9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-stand 2.women
‘in this church stood the women’

(11.65) a. (?) síkóóla éji eésúŋza ãyîma {elic.}
síkóóla éji e-hí-súŋza ãyîma
9a.school 9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-learn 2.children
‘at this school have studied the children’

b. (?) kàpëélà éji enólóbëla ãyanà {elic.}
kàpëélà éji e-ní-ölóbëla ãyanà
9a.church 9.DEM.I 9-PFV.DJ-15.pray 2.women
‘in this church are praying the women’

c. (?) ñíbhúró ési dhiídhówa álëddo éfnjééne {elic.}
ñíbhúró ési dhí-hí-dhówa álëddo á-fnjí=éne
4.place 4.DEM.I 4-PFV.DJ-go 2.guests 2-many=INT
‘to these places went many guests’

Note that the first consultant prefers constructions in which the verb receives a locative subject agreement, as illustrated in (11.66) with the class 16 prefix va-, in (11.67) with the class 17 prefix o-, and in (11.68) with the class 18 prefix mu-.

(11.66) kàpëélà éji vahíímëla ãyanà {elic.}
kàpëélà éji va-hí-imëla ãyanà
9a.church 9.DEM.I 16-PFV.DJ-stand 2.woman
lit. ‘this church, (there) are standing the women’

(11.67) ñíbhúró ési oódhówa álëddo éfnji {elic.}
ñíbhúró ési o-hí-dhówa álëddo á-fnjí
4.place 4.DEM.I 17-PFV.DJ-go 2.guest 2-many
lit. ‘these places, (there) went many guests’
In such cases, the subject position is no longer assumed by the preverbal noun phrase, henceforth analysed as a frame-setting adjunct occupying a peripheral position and assuming a topic interpretation. With respect to the locative subject markers, they cannot be considered as expletive since they have a clear locative interpretation. The choice between the three locative classes seems to be determined in function of the locative semantic implied by the preverbal noun phrase, toward which the subject marker entertains an anaphoric locative reference.

Furthermore, whereas Agostinho refuses the construction in (11.69), with the unergative verb *olába* ‘work’, Sérgio acknowledges it.

Finally, whereas intransitives seem to tolerate semantic LI (with some variation), transitive verbs are generally more subject to a consensus among my two consultants, who both disallow semantic LI constructions, as illustrated in (11.70) and (11.71).

All these data about semantic LI reveal two important points. First, they demonstrate the co-existence of both formal and semantic LI in Cuwabo. This is of particular interest from a typological point of view, since it has been proposed that a given language can only have one of the two constructions (Buell 2007). In Cuwabo, both formal and semantic LI are attested with a sample of intransitives. However, and this constitutes the second important point, a high degree of variation exits among speakers, which may indicate a change in progress, whereby semantic LI would represent a recent innovation, in a process of gradual
diffusion, with variation implications. In view of the limited nature of the data presented here, further research is needed, which would cover a greater number of verb types, to be surveyed over a greater number of speakers.

11.1.5 Other frame-setting preverbal elements

Noun phrases related to temporal meaning are often attested in preverbal position, and more specifically on the left edge of the sentence, in order to introduce the scene or the frame of the remaining sentence. They thus fulfil the role of framing topics. Such expressions are more loosely connected to the verb than the locative inversion constructions seen above, since they do not trigger any agreement on the verb, as shown in the following examples.

(11.72) *sikú-ñne ŋító: óbá yaapílédéyé: yaaicémberuwa mbílri*  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{snkú} & = \text{néné} \quad \text{ŋíttó} \quad \text{óbá} \quad \text{[e-a-p-ílé} & = \text{íyé]}_{\text{rel}} \\
5.\text{day} & = 5.\text{INT} \quad 5.\text{DEM.I} \quad 9\text{a.fish} \quad 9\text{-PST-kill-PFV.REL} = 3\text{sg.pro} \\
\text{e-á-cémberl-uada} & \quad \text{mbílri} \\
9\text{-PST.IPFV.CJ-call-PASS-Fi} & \quad 9\text{a.fish.sp} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘This day, the fish that he had caught was called ‘mbílri’ fish.’

(11.73) *ózómbe wáaga w’ ootééne ddaágúla kokó*  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ózómbe} & \quad \text{wáaga} \quad \text{o-óté} = \text{éne} \quad \text{ddi-ágúla} \quad \text{koko} \\
14.\text{youth} & \quad 14.\text{POSS.1SG} \quad 14\text{-all} = \text{INT} \quad 1\text{SG-IPFV.CJ-buy} \quad 10\text{a.coconut.PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘during my whole childhood, I used to buy coconut’

(11.74) *meerí mi.inddí ddihílógágá na mwámúnaga*  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{meerí} & \quad \text{mí-inddí} \quad \text{ddi-hí-ló-gá} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{mwámúnaga} \\
4.\text{month} & \quad 4\text{-two} \quad 1\text{SG-NEG-speak-PART} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{1.husband.POSS.1SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I have not spoken with my husband for two months’

(11.75) *ókwá wa bíbííni míyó kaddoonddíle*  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ókwá} & \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{bbfííni} \quad \text{míyó} \quad \text{ka-ddi-a-undd-íle} \\
14.\text{death} & \quad 14.\text{CON} \quad 1\text{a.my.grandpa} \quad 1\text{SG.PRO} \quad \text{NEG-1SG-PST-cry-PFV} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘when my grandpa died, I did not cry’

Dependent clauses can also appear preverbally, as frame-setting elements. (11.76) and (11.77) provide two situations of logical or temporal precondition, rendered by the two available situative morphemes in Cuwabo, namely -*a-* in (11.76), and -*gaa-* in (11.77).
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(11.76) *maanje akuvwa ddinokupa nttadda nttile* {semi-elic.}

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{maanje} & \text{a-a-kuvuwa} & \text{ddi-ni-okupa} & \text{nttadda nttile} \\
6.&\text{water} & 6.&\text{SIT-fall.from.top} & 1SG-IPFV.DJ-\text{fish} & 5.&\text{lake} & 5.&\text{DEM.III} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘when/if the water diminish, I am going to fish in that lake’

(11.77) *[aabal’ aga anoddinypwaary kaiddifuná]* {maria.19}

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ddigaadhow} & \text{m} & \text{m tak l mwaaw’ aan ddttamagih} \\
\text{ddi-gaa-dhow} & \text{mu-matakkulu mwaawa} & \text{a-ni-6-ddi-ttamag-fh-á} \\
1SG-\text{SIT-go} & 18.&\text{6.house} & 18.&\text{POSS.3PL} & 2-\text{IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-Fi} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘[My sisters despise me, they do not want me.] When I go to their home, they make me run all around.’

Combinations of adverbs and dependent phrases are perfectly attested, as illustrated in (11.78).

(11.78) *Mariyá na maambécesi agamala waábá: odhow’ óója [dhiirñnnééy’ oottúkúla] {maria.102}*

M. *[na maambécesi] [a-gaama laabá] o-dhowa o-ja
M. by 6.morning 1-\text{SIT-finish} 15.bathe NAR-go NAR-eat

‘In the morning, Maria, after bathing, went and ate [whatever she wanted]’

### 11.6 Topics succession

Unlike focalisation, which is generally applied to a single element in the sentence, topicalising can affect several elements in the same sentence. It is even not uncommon that two topic elements be placed before the verb, usually separated one from the other by a pause, represented by | in the following examples. In Cuwabo, this pause is reinforced by the boundary High tone on the last syllable of the first preverbal element.

The following examples illustrate the different types and orders of preverbal elements attested in Cuwabo. The most recurrent pattern in my database has the subject put left-forward, separated from the verb by an intervening object (11.79), or adverbial phrase (11.80). Note in (11.80)c that the pause between the preverbal elements is not necessarily carried out.

(11.79) Subject - Object + Verb

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nyúwó / mukítto óbó / mudhiléná úuvi ?} & \{\text{semi-elic.}\} \\
[\text{nyúwó}] & [\text{mukítto óbó}] & \text{mu-dh-ilé=ná} & \text{úuvi} \\
\text{2PL.PRO} & \text{3.phone} & \text{3.DEM.1} & \text{2PL-go-PFV.CJ = COM} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘you, that phone, where did you bring it from?’
Constituent order and information structure

Subject - Adjunct + Verb

a. áttú / ddabunó / ka-ní-fúná biya dh’ oólógo
   {semi-elic.}
   [áttú] [ddabunó] ka-ní-fúná biya dha ólógo
   2.people today NEG.2-IPFV-want 9a.stove 9.CON.14.clay
   ‘today people no longer want clay stove’

b. María nikómé áttile na bárá nöot’ ónólímítá:há
   {maría.64}
   [maría] [nikómé áttile na bárá ni-oté] ó-ni-olím-ih-á
   maría 5.bank 5.DEM.III 5.CON 9a.sea 5-all 1-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate-CAUS-F
   ‘Then along the whole sea bank, María has people cultivating.’

c. míy’ óómunddáaw’ óök’ óñołógíinyú, kaddiiddúwo kaañávíragáwo
   {ddingí.6}
   [míyó] [o-múnddá = wa ókó [ó-ní-lógá = fnyú]REL]
   1SG.PRO 17-3.field = 17.DEF 17.DEM.II 17-IPFV.CJ-say = 2PL.PRO
   ka-ddi-ídhí = wo ka-ni-ná-vír-ag-á = wo
   NEG-1SG-know = 17.LOC NEG-1PL-CE-go.by-HAB-Fi = 17.LOC
   ‘I, in this plantation you are referring to, I have never been, I have never been through it.’

Subject - Complement - Object + Verb

míyó ñingá kaddiídhi dereét , na ámbédde ddigámúlima na mättí
   {semi-elic.}
   [míyó] [ñingá ka-ddi-ná múdhíhdi dereétú] [na ámbédde]
   1SG.PRO as NEG-1SG-have 3.time well 1a.maize
ddi-gá-múlima na mättí
   1SG-IPFV.CJ-OM1-cultivate by 6.night.PL
   ‘as I don’t have time enough, I will be cultivating maize at night.’

Adjunct - Subject + Verb

máángwána míyó ddinowájéedhela onáajómbe
   {semi-elic.}
   [máángwána] [míyó] ddi-ni-o-ú-jéedh-el-a o-náá-jOMB-e
   tomorrow 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-wait-APPL-Fi 2SG-IPFV-miss-PROH
   ‘tomorrow I will wait for you, do not miss’

Adjunct - Object - Subject + Verb

bábáání balíwó, ója míyó ddiáánsakulaga
   {semi-elic.}
   [bábáání] [ba-li = wó] [ója] [míyó] ddi-á-ni-sakul-ag-a
   1a.my.father SEQ.1-be = 17.LOC 14.food 1SG.PRO 1SG-PST-IPFV.DJ-choose-HAB-Fi
   ‘when my father was alive, I could choose my food’
(11.84) Secondary Object - Primary Object + Verb

\[ \text{dhikós}lé \ Maárk’ uusíkóóla, bábé kaddiiłóomwaaddela, oziwilé dháaví pééno. \{\text{semi-elic.}\} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[dhi-kós-fle Maárkú o-síkóóla]}_{\text{REL}} \\
10-\text{do-PFV.REL} \text{ Marco} \text{ 17-9a.school} \text{ la.father} \\
\text{ka-ddílé-o-mu-add-el-a} \text{ o-ziw-ilé} \text{ dháaví pééno} \\
\text{NEG-1SG-CE-15-OM1-inform-APPL-fi.PL} \text{ 1-know-PFV.CJ} \text{ how WOND} \\
\end{array} \]

‘what Marco did at school, I did not inform father, I do not know how he got to know it’

In case of double object constructions implying focalisation of one of the two objects, the other (already-known) object is usually fronted in the preverbal domain as a topic. In this case, there does not seem to be any restriction on the order of the two preverbal topics. Two examples are provided below.

(11.85) ‘whom did mother give the oranges?’

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{a. mááýé ožzhwalé aani mááráanja ?} \\
\text{mááýé o-mu-vah-ilé} \text{ aani mááráanja} \\
\text{1.mother} \text{ 1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ} \text{ who 6.orange} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{b. mááýé mááráanja ožzhwalé aani ?} \\
\text{c. mááráanja} \text{ mááýé ožzhwalé aani ?} \\
\end{array} \]

(11.86) ‘the teacher gave the winner a medal’

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{a. námásunziha ožzhwalé málruwatti nípémbeélri} \\
\text{námásunziha o-mu-vah-ilé} \text{ málruwatti nípémbeélri} \\
\text{1a.teacher} \text{ 1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ} \text{ 6.medal.PL} \text{ 1.winner} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{b. námásunziha nípémbeélri ožzhwalé málruwatti} \\
\text{c. nípémbeélri} \text{ námásunziha ožzhwalé málruwatti} \\
\end{array} \]

In (11.85)b-c and (11.86)b-c, the two sequences subject-object and object-subject in the preverbal domain are possible. Sérgio does not recognise any difference of interpretation between both, but tends to prefer the subject-object order. Furthermore, (11.85)c and (11.86)c are prosodically more conditioned: omitting the pause between the left-dislocated object and the subject would lead to ungrammaticality.

More research is undoubtedly needed to deal with the question of the preverbal elements order and the way it interacts with the information structure.
11.2 The postverbal domain

This section investigates the elements that may occur in the postverbal position. As seen above, the preverbal domain is the domain for topicality. It is thus to be expected that the postverbal elements have a non-topical interpretation. Cuwabo is part of the Bantu languages (together with Makhuwa (van der Wal 2009), Matuumbi (Odden 1984), Matengo (Yoneda 2011)), which use different verb forms depending on whether the following element has a focal interpretation. In this respect, a distinction must be made in Cuwabo between the elements following a conjoint verb form (necessarily focused) and those following a disjoint verb form, which have a non-topic and non-focal interpretation. Importantly, while the first will be discussed in section 11.3 below, this section exclusively focuses on the postverbal domain in disjoint verb constructions. In this environment, three types of postverbal elements exist: non-focused objects (section 11.2.1), postverbal subjects (section 11.2.2), and right-dislocated elements, also known as ‘afterthought’ (section 11.2.3).

11.2.1 SVO as topic-comment sentences

In most communication acts, utterances are constituted of a topic followed by a comment. As already seen above, the topic constitutes the already known or pre-supposed information and functions as a referential entry or ‘starting point’ of the utterance, upon which a comment is made. In turn, the comment provides information about the topic, and more particularly what one says about it. In this configuration, the topic is often the canonical preverbal subject, and the comment, which combines both the verb and the object, usually corresponds to the whole predicate. For instance, in (11.87) the predicate o'kosá: masarápitw’ aábále ‘(he) made that magic’ is affirmed of the subject múlóbwana ‘the man’. Other examples are provided below, in which brackets are used to delimitate the topics (TOP) and the comments (COMM).

\[(11.87) \text{múlóbwana\'o'kosá: masarápitw’ aábále} \quad \{\text{mbíli.16}\}
\]
\[
[múlóbwana]_{\text{TOP}} \quad [\text{o-hí-kosá} \quad \text{masarápitto} \quad \text{áábále}]_{\text{COMM}}
\]
\[
1.\text{man} \quad 1-\text{PFV.DJ-do} \quad 6.\text{magic} \quad 6.\text{DEM.III}
\]
‘The man made that magic.’
In each example above, the postverbal object is interpreted as non-topic/non-focus, since it follows a DJ verb, which never attracts focus, unlike CJ verbs, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Thus each example constitutes a neutral descriptive sentence, in which a statement is made. It does not answer a potential question, nor does it contain any narrow focus. Lambrecht (2000) takes a topic-comment articulation as the unmarked state of affairs and refers to it as a Predicate Focus construction.

Interestingly, if topic-comment constructions in Cuwabo are restricted to DJ verb phrases, it is not the case in a language like Tswana (Creissels 2014), which necessarily requires in this context the use of CJ forms. For instance, in (11.90), the postverbal object Kitso following a CJ verb form does not assume a focus position but rather “forms part of the comment expressed by the verb phrase” (Creissels 2014: 10).

(11.90) *Re thusa Kitso.*  
{Creissels 2014: 11, adapted gloss}  
ri-tʰús-a iˈkɪtsɔ  
1PL-help-Fi(CJ) 1.Kitso  
“We help / are helping Kitso.”

In addition to the CJ/DJ distinction, another interesting difference between the two languages deals with the co-indexation of the postverbal object on the verb: whereas it is considered ungrammatical in Tswana (11.91), Cuwabo unvariably exhibits a grammatical agreement with the following (class 1/2) object (11.92), except when a comitative or instrumental enclitics is attached to the verb (11.93).

(11.91) *Maríyá oomál’ oofiš’ oottúkúla guwódh’ óódhówa vatákulu* {ddoo.16}  
Maria 1-PFV.DJ-finish 15.wash 1-PFV.DJ-take 10a.cloth = 10.POSS.3SG  
[o-hi-dhówa va-tákulu]COMM  
1-PFV.DJ-go 16-9a.house  
‘Maria finished to wash, took her clothes, and went home.’

(11.92) *‘The dog took the key, entered the house, opened as always. He ran towards the food place, took the plate’*
Constituent order and information structure

(11.91) Tswana

* Re mo thusa Kitso.
* ŭ-{mû₄,ûs-à} ki-tsà₄
1PL-OM1-help-Fi(CJ) 1.Kitso
‘We help / are helping Kitso.’

(11.92) Cuwabo

a. míyó ddinôntwodhá nikúrábedha, ddinôntdoóláwo mwáádhága
[miyó]TOP [ddi-ni-ò-mû₄, wodhá nikúrábedha]COMM
1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-defeat 1a.dugong
[ddi-ni-ò-mû₄, dhoólá = wo mwáádhága]COMM
1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch = 17.LOC 1.xwife.POSS.1SG
‘I will defeat Mr.Dugong, and I will fetch my wife.’

b. balogá : “iiii, náadat’ óonwaáláv’ aánáayíma
[mbûri.38]
ba-logá hiii náada=tó [o-ni-à₄, láva áná-áyíma]COMM
SEQ.1-say INTER no=then 2SG-IPFV.DJ-OM2-curse 2.child-2.child
‘He said : [excl.], then not this way, you are going to bring curse on the children.’

(11.93) mangwáána mangwáána mangwáána! míyó ñóôdhána múnnánddo
[mangwáána]TOP [ni-ni-ôdhá= na múnnánddo]COMM
tomorrow 1SG.PRO 1PL-OM1-come= COM 1.xwife.POSS.2SG
‘tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow! I will bring your co-wife’

In Tswana, co-indexation of the postverbal object on the verb is only carried out when the object is expressed as an afterthought (which necessarily involves a DJ verb form, unless another phrase forming part of the comment is present between the verb and the right-dislocated object). An illustrating example is provided below. Note that the pause between the DJ verb and the extraposed object is optional.

(11.94) Re a mo thusa (,) Kitso.
[Creissels 2004: 11, adapted gloss]
raction:ri-à-{mû₄,ûs-à} kî-tsà₄
(no pause between thusa and Kitso)
raction:ri-à-{mû₄,ûs-à} kî-tsà₄ (with a pause between thusa and Kitso)
1PL-OM1-help-Fi 1.Kitso
‘We help / are helping him, Kitso that is.’
11.2.2 Thetic VS sentences

In addition to non-subject relative clauses and locative inversion, VS inverted structures (known as thetic sentences) constitute another construction in Cuwabo whereby the logical subject appears postverbally, rather than in its usual preverbal position.

Among Bantu languages, van der Wal (2008) reports two types of subject agreement on the verb in thetic sentences: a default agreement (e.g. in Tswana, see Creissels 2011) and an agreement with the postverbal subject. Cuwabo belongs to the second type, in that the postverbal subject maintains the control of verb agreement. This is shown in (11.95), where the class 14 subject marker on the verb agrees with the class 14 postverbal subject ósálu ‘thread’.

(11.95) a. olóódh’ oósálu, singáno dh’ ootédhéen’ eésîle  
   o-lé-ódha  ósálu  singáno  dh-oté = dhéne  ésîle
   ‘there came the thread, the needle and everything’

b. elóódhá singáno, ósálu …  
   e-lé-ódha  singáno  ósálu
   9-CE-15.come  9a.needle  14.thread
   ‘there came the needle, the thread, etc’

This means that the subject marker on the Cuwabo verb agrees in noun class with the subject both in categorical sentences with the SVO order (11.96) and thetic sentences (11.96).

(11.96) a. ora y’ aárímoós’  eefíyá, árímoós’  óopíyíwá  
   ora  ya  árímoósó  e-hi-fíyá  árímoósó  o-hi-píy-iw-á
   9.hour  9.CON  1a.lunch  9-PFV.DJ-arrive  1a.lunch  1-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi
   ‘Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked’

b. eefíyá wóóra ya árímoósó, oopíyíwá árímoósó  
   e-hi-fíyá  wóóra  ya  árímoósó  o-hi-píy-iw-á  árímoósó
   9-PFV.DJ-arrive  9.hour  9.CON  1a.lunch  1-PFV.DJ-cook-PASS-Fi  1a.lunch
   ‘Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked’

With regard to information structure, thetic sentences are often considered to be presentational focus constructions whereby the postverbal subject occupies a focus position (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Demuth and Mmusi 1997, Marten 2006). For instance, new participants in a story are often introduced by means of VS constructions. In Cuwabo thetic VS structures, if the postverbal subject is undoubtedly detopicalised (in that there is no
Constituent order and information structure 539

presupposed information in this sentence), focalisation seems to be co-related with the conjoint/disjoint alternation, used as a focus strategy device in the language. When the verb is conjoint, the postverbal subject is considered as the most salient piece of information. For instance, in (11.97)a, the postverbal subject mwánámwíyaná ‘girl’ can easily be interpreted as a presentational focus (implying an indefinite reading) for two reasons: first, it follows a CJ verb form; second, it is introduced at the beginning of the story as one of the main protagonists. Note here that the SM o- is not to be interpreted as a class 17 prefix, since substituting the singular inverted subject mwánámwíyaná ‘girl’ by its plural form (ánámwíyaná ) would trigger a class 2 agreement on the verb, as shown in (11.97)b. In (11.98), the postverbal subject cetééne ‘all’ follows the CJ verb form akwilé ‘(they) died’. However, in contrast with (11.97), the characters implied by cetééne are not considered as new information since they have already been introduced in the story. Thus, rather than presentational focus, cetééne seems best interpreted as an identificational focus.

(11.97) a. ŋísáká nimodhá waákálawo mwánámwíyaná {mute.1}
    ŋísáká ni-modhá o-á-kála=wo mwáná-mwíyaná
    5.time 5-one 1-PST.IPFV.CJ-be=17.LOC 1.child-1.woman
    ‘one day (intd. ‘once upon a time’), there was a girl’

b. ŋísáká ni-modhá aákálawo ánámwíyaná {elic. from mute.1}
    ŋísáká ni-modhá a-á-kála=wo áná-mwíyaná
    5.time 5-one 2-PST.IPFV.CJ-be=17.LOC 2.child-1.woman
    ‘one day (intd. ‘once upon a time’), there were girls’

(11.98) eštáwwu mukwélíiyé:, akwilé cetééne {body.17}
    eštáwwu [mu-kw-él-é = iye]REL a-kwilé a-eté=éne
    then 18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3sg.pro 2-die-PFV.CJ 2-all = INT
    ‘then when he died, all died’

However, thetic sentences built upon CJ verb forms are very little attested in Cuwabo and, in my database, most make use of DJ verb forms, which thus exclude the following constituent from the verb phrase (see section 11.3 below). Such constructions occur “out of the blue”, in that they typically introduce a (usually unexpected) event taking place, but without focusing on one particular element. Instead, the verb and the postverbal subject express a conceptual unity in which none is interpreted as a focus in relation to the other. Both carry equally salient information. In addition to (11.95) and (11.96) presented above, other examples of DJ thetic sentences are provided below.
Lambrecht (2000) refers to such thetic sentences as “sentence-focus constructions”, in which both the subject and the predicate constitute new information and thus assume a focus function. Note that the same interpretation is given by van der Wal (2008, 2009) to Makhuwa thetic sentences, which only occur with disjoint verb forms.

From all the examples above, it seems that Cuwabo thetic sentences are restricted to intransitive (unaccusative) verbs. Transitive verbs, with the subject following the verb and the object, are not attested in this type of inverted construction, as the example in (11.102), elicited from (11.101) above, shows.

(11.102) **[n الماللأاتيّ: هنفيّا ىشاكا نا وؤيموّا، اوؤيموّ اکتّاين’ اابّلة. ]** *owâáfwanyá álôbwana Máriya*  {elic. from mute.2}  
mu-mal-ál-á = ní ni-hi-fiya ŋsáká na wûûnûwá  
18-finish-APPL-F = LOC 5-PFV.DJ-arrive 5.time 5.CON 15.grow  
a-hí-ûûwá a-etê = ène ábâle  
2-PFV.DJ-grow 2-all = INT 2.DEM.III  
‘Then came the growing phase : all these grew up.’
interpretation. Other examples of DJ thetic sentences with personal pronouns as postverbal subjects are provided below.

(11.103) a. kattíyan’ ók’ üreddá: , ddáânsoma míyo
   ka-ttíya = ni ókú oreddá ddf-á-ni-soma míyo
   IMP-leave = PLA 14.DEM.I 14.illness 1SG-PST-IPF.DJ-copulate 1SG.PRO
   ‘leave me alone, this is illness which left me this way, I used to have sex!’

b. ddigahílábá míyo, ohisuñzá ók’ uuddiségédhilé
   ddi-gaa-hí-lábá míyo o-hi-suñzá óku
   1SG-HYP-PFV.DJ-work 1SG.PRO 15-NEG-study.PL 15.DEM.I
   [o-ddi-ségé-dh-ilé]REL
   15-OM1SG-cause.trouble-PFV.REL
   ‘I am willing to work, but it is not having studied which prevents me to’

11.2.3 Right-dislocation (‘afterthought’)  

Another instance of VS order is attested, in which the subject is right-dislocated in the sentence final position. This extraposed subject fulfils the discourse role of ‘antitopic’, commonly referred to as ‘afterthought’. Afterthought is a pragmatic device which consists in recoding a NP at the end of a sentence, usually as a reminder, a clarification, or as an *a posteriori* specification, which is thought to be missing for the good comprehension of the message by the interlocutor. Thus, in contrast to thetic sentences, the right-dislocated subject does not provide new information; the referent is not new in the discourse. Prosodically, an afterthought is necessarily preceded by a pause, in order to demarcate it from the rest of the sentence. It is thus not really part of the sentence, but rather considered as an additional element, bringing back old information. Note that the following examples were elicited since afterthought is hardly attested as such and I could not find any occurrence of what may look like an afterthought in my database.

(11.104) áwééne ánólóbéla mukápééla / áyaná
   áwééne á-ni-ólóbéla mu-kápééla áyaná
   3PL.PRO 2-IPFV.DJ-15.pray 18-9a.church 2.woman
   ‘they are praying at the church, the women’

Afterthought is not restricted to subject NP. Locative NP can also fulfil this discourse function, as illustrated in (11.105).
Conjoint and disjoint verb forms

Conjoint and disjoint verb forms are a way of expressing information structure in languages. While constituent order is one way of conveying information, word order and specific morphological markings on verbs also play a role. These markings are known as conjoint/disjoint alternation and occur in Bantu languages, among others. The terms conjoint and disjoint were introduced by Meeussen (1959), but other terminology, such as conjunctive/disjunctive, is also used (Creissels 1996).

In this section, we delve into the conjoint/disjoint alternation in detail, examining the formal (section 11.3.1), syntactic (section 11.3.2), and interpretational (section 11.3.3) properties of these forms. The distinction between conjoint and disjoint also involves prosodic marking, particularly through a tonological process called ‘Predicative Lowering’. This marking is observed throughout the whole section.

In Cuwabo, the CJ/DJ system is similar to Makhuwa, with the main difference being the number of tenses displaying the alternation. Makhuwa, at least Enahara, has four pairs of CJ/DJ verb forms, while Cuwabo has seven.

11.3.1 Formal properties

The morphology of each Cuwabo CJ and DJ form has already been introduced and exemplified in section 8.1 on TAM. For ease of reading, they are summarised in Table 60.
Table 60  Conjoint and Disjoint verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CJ</th>
<th>DJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS IPFV</td>
<td>onogúlíhá nígágádda</td>
<td>onogúlíhá (nígágádda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he is selling dry cassava’</td>
<td>‘he is selling (dry cassava)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST IPFV</td>
<td>waágúla nyumba</td>
<td>wáángulá (nyúmba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he was buying a house’</td>
<td>‘he was buying (a house)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS PFV</td>
<td>ofullé mútede</td>
<td>ohffulá (mutéde)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he washed the dress’</td>
<td>‘he washed (the dress)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST PFV</td>
<td>waaveéttlé mibuga</td>
<td>wahíveéttta (míbúga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he had winnowed the rice’</td>
<td>‘he had winnowed (the rice)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>onábóddúgélé gulüwe</td>
<td>oneelóobuddugela (gulüwe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he will attack the pig’</td>
<td>‘he will attack (the pig)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT IPFV</td>
<td>ogásákula kalruúnga</td>
<td>ogánsakula (kálruúnga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he will be choosing the hoe’</td>
<td>‘he will be choosing (the hoe)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HYP</td>
<td>ogaattukúlle nyangaséra</td>
<td>ogahfftúkula (nyángáséra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘he would carry the fishing basket’</td>
<td>‘who would carry (the fishing basket)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, CJ and DJ verb forms considerably differ with regard to their morphology, and the latter usually has a more complex TAM marking, as is often attested in Bantu languages which display the CJ/DJ variation. However, it is worth pointing out that specific TAM markers intervene in CJ verb forms, but not in DJ ones, and vice versa. It is the case of the perfective suffix -ilé, found exclusively in CJ forms, whereas the prefix -hi- occurs in DJ forms. It is thus possible to segmentalise (and gloss) a CJ morpheme on the one hand (the suffix -ilé) and a DJ morpheme on the other hand (the prefix -hi-). The imperfective prefix -ni- also tends to be used in DJ forms only. Compare CJ waágúla with DJ wáá-ni-gulá for the past imperfective and CJ ogásákula with DJ ogá-nf-sakula for the future imperfective). However, the present tense constitutes an exception since both CJ o-nf-gúlíhá and DJ ó-ni-ógúlíhá make use of -ni-. This last case prevents us to consider -ni- as a fully DJ morpheme.

Note that the addition of the postverbal object in Table 60 is not carried out at random. This issue of sentence-final distribution is discussed in the next subsection.

In addition to the seven CJ/DJ pairs listed in Table 60, the subjunctive tense constitutes a single form which displays both CJ and DJ features. Like CJ forms, this tense can be used in wh-question (11.106), but it can also appear sentence-finally (11.107), which is only attested in DJ forms as will be shown in the next section.

(11.106) baahito ddidhów’ úuvi?    {maria.57}
    baahít = té    ddí-dhów-é    úuvi
    enough = then  1SG-go-SBJ  where
    ‘but then, where shall I go?’
(11.107) 

\[
mudhé !  õkūno. muwíwá: ?
\]

\[
\text{mu}-\text{dh-é}  \quad \text{õkū= no}  \quad \text{mu-hi-wá}
\]

\[
2\text{PL-go-SBJ}  \quad 17.\text{DEM.I} = \text{INT}  \quad 2\text{PL-PFV.DJ-hear}
\]

‘Come! Right here. Did you hear?’

The distinction between CJ and DJ forms is likely to have existed with the negative verb forms but has since then neutralised in favour of the DJ forms, whereas the CJ forms have fallen into disuse. This means that any negative SVO order, be it either a topic-comment construction or a postverbal focus construction, will always exhibit a single form built upon the pre-initial negative marker \(\text{ka-}\). Nowhere in my database could I find a corresponding form with the negative marker \(-\text{hi-}\), and obtaining elicited forms from my main consultant Sérgio was not successful, although he acknowledges a possible former existence (involving morphological similarity with negative relative forms). These \(-\text{hi-}\) negative forms have thus specialised exclusively toward a relative interpretation, and the CJ/DJ alternation is synchronically only relevant for an assertive piece of information.

### 11.3.2 Distribution characteristics

A further distinction between CJ and DJ verb forms deals with syntactic coding and more particularly with their final distribution in the sentence. Consider first the DJ verb forms. The examples provided in section 11.2.1 on SVO as topic-comment sentences, show that DJ forms can be followed by different kinds of constituents. The following examples show that they can occur sentence-finally.

(11.108) 

\[
míyó  ñnowásápela  ddinosápá,  wéy’  óonoójá
\]

\[
míyó  \quad \text{ni-ni-o-ú-sápela}  \quad \text{ddi-ni-osápá}  \quad \text{wéyó}  \quad \text{o-ni-ójá}
\]

\[
1\text{SG.PRO}  \quad 1\text{PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-feed}  \quad 1\text{SG-IPFV.DJ-15.hunt}  \quad 2\text{SG.PRO}  \quad 2\text{SG-IPFV.DJ-15.eat}
\]

‘I feed you. I bring food, you eat’

(11.109) 

\[
eňtáwú  ěmpeğágódó  oövírá  owíyéla
\]

\[
eňtáwú  \quad \text{ő-h-fírá}  \quad \text{ő-h-fyéla}
\]

then  \(1\text{a.employee} \quad 1\text{-PFV.DJ-pass} \quad 1\text{-PFV.DJ-go.back}
\]

‘there the employee passed through and went back.’

(11.110) “míyó  munóddíziwá: ?” […] “kanuwíídhi”

\[
míyó  \quad \text{mu-ni-ö-ddí-ziwá}  \quad \text{ka-ni-ú-idhi}
\]

\[
1\text{SG.PRO}  \quad 2\text{PL-IPFV.DJ-15-1-know}  \quad \text{NEG-1PL-2SG-know}
\]

‘Do you know who I am? […] (No,) we don’t know you’
In contrast to DJ forms, CJ verb forms are excluded from prepausal contexts and are necessarily followed by some element. In this case, different constituents or phrases are allowed to occur in postverbal position. Each is discussed and exemplified in turn.

**CJ + (pro)nominal phrases**

Very commonly, an object in its full form (11.111) follows a CJ verb.

(11.111) *ddabunó wíbílé jíbweyé, mmállíiy’ óom’sasanyilé víyoólá*  {ddingí.9}

then 1-sing-PFV.CJ  9a.song = POSS.3SG.PL  18-finish-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

{o-mu-sasany-ilé}  víyoólá
1-OM1-fix-PFV.CJ  1a.guitar.PL

‘Then, he practiced his song. Having done, he fixed the guitar’

If we compare the aforementioned example with equivalent clause types using disjoint verbs (as in (11.87) but repeated here in (11.112)), the tonal distinction between the postverbal noun phrases becomes apparent. The first primary H tone of the noun following a CJ is removed (by the PL process). Note that in (11.111), the first H on *jíbweye* and *víyoólá* is a surface H resulting from doubling. On the other hand, the tone pattern of the element following a DJ form remains unchanged, as seen with *masárápitto* in (11.112).

(11.112) * múlóbwana o-hí-kosá: masárápitto’ ábále*  {mbíri.16}

múlóbwana  o-hí-kosá  masárápitto  ábále
1.man  1-PFV.DJ-do  6.magic  6.DEM.III

‘The man made that magic.’

However PL after CJ verbs does not occur with all kinds of nouns: proper names (11.113)a and certain nouns with a particular status in the language (usually loans) (11.114) do not undergo any tone alteration.

(11.113) *eetéén’ aáb’ wáái’ámagyedha Namárógolo*  {ddingí.5}

a-eté = ěne  ábo  a-á-mú-magyedha  namárógolo
2-all = INT  2.DEM.II  2-PST.IPV.CJ-OM1-slander  1a.hare

‘all of them were slandering Mr.Hare’
Further note that no PL occurs after the verb *okáâna* ‘have’, as shown in (11.115).

(11.115) a. *Maríyá baáhi waákáana mîpáddó dhaâye*  
*Maríyá baáhi o-á-káana mîpáddó dhaâye*  
Maria only 1-PST.IPV.CJ-have 4.chair 4.Poss,3SG  
‘Maria only had her comfortable chairs’

b. *ãwééne aákáana mákán’ dâwa muðíla*  
*ãwééne a-á-káana mákán=áwa muðíla*  
3PL.PRO 2-PST.IPV.CJ-have 6.talk=Poss,3PL 18-9a.díla  
‘They were having an argument on the way.’

(11.116) provides an example of an infinitive form following a CJ verb. The nominal status of the infinitive implies it undergoes PL too.

(11.116) *ddi-a-dhow-flé o-mu-vahá mwánáye ńzíná viíná-gúwa*  
*ddi-a-dhow-flé o-mu-vahá mwánáye ńzíná viíná-gúwa*  
1SG-PST-go-PFV.CJ 15-OM1-give,PL 1.child.Poss,3SG 5.name too-again  
‘I went and gave his child a name again’

Finally, a demonstrative pronoun may also follow a CJ verb form as a noun substitute, as shown in (11.117).

(11.117) *ddiíntüñá ńtägíyó omáálr ñáaíká na Mwánábw. ddiíntüñá’ ējí :*  
*ddiíntüñá ńtägíyó omáálr ñáaíká na Mwánábw. ddiíntüñá’ ējí :*  
Pááká na Mwánábw’ ookung’ oomáálr.  
1SG-IPV.CJ-want 1SG-tell-SBJ 14.friendship 1.a.cat and 1.dog  
‘I want to tell about Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog’s friendship. Here it is (lit. ‘I am telling this’) :’
Constituent order and information structure

**CJ + connective constructions**

(11.118) *gáhálá: enlógá: oňdőle: oňtótá náma vaddíddi* {mbílri.2}

\[\text{gáhálá} \quad \text{e-nf-lógá} \quad \text{yá} \quad \text{oňdőle} \quad [\text{o-ni-tótá} \quad \text{náma} \quad \text{vaddíddi}]_{\text{REL}} \]

\[\text{9a.story} \quad \text{9-IPFV.CJ-tell} \quad \text{9.CON} \quad \text{1.DEM.III} \quad \text{1-IPFV.CJ-hunt} \quad \text{9a.game} \quad \text{much} \]

‘The story tells about a great hunter.’ (lit. ‘tells about that one who hunts a lot of game’)

**CJ + prepositional phrase**

Following is an example in which the postverbal element consists of a phrase introduced by the preposition *na* ‘and, with’ in (11.119).

(11.119) *ňééne: waaddamahlé: na íyo* {elic.}

\[\text{ňééne} \quad \text{o-addaman-ilé} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{íyo} \]

\[\text{3SG.PRO} \quad \text{1-be.neighbour-PFV.CJ} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{1PL.PRO} \]

‘you are seated next to us’

In case of an instrumental prepositional phrase, the oblique object is affected by PL, as illustrated in (11.120) with *koolríyo* ‘hoe.sp’, uttered as *kóólríyo* in citation form.

(11.120) *múrí ddigwaddilé na koolríyo* {elic.}

\[\text{múrí} \quad \text{ddi-gwadd-ilé} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{koolríyo} \]

\[\text{3.tree} \quad \text{1SG-cut-PFV.CJ} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{1a.hoe.sp.PL} \]

‘I cut the tree with a hoe.sp’

**CJ + adjunct**

Adjuncts include both adverbs and locative NPs. Several examples are provided below, comprising manner (11.121), temporal (11.122) and locative (11.123) meanings. Unlike nouns, none of these adjuncts undergoes PL.

(11.121) *[ji gáhál’ čeḿfúńcéié’ úútágíhá íyó ddabuno vénëva.] eromilé dhááyi* {mbílri.6}

\[\text{e-rom-ilé} \quad \text{dhááyi} \]

\[\text{9-start-PFV.CJ} \quad \text{like.this.1} \]

‘[This is the story we want to tell here today.] It starts this way.’

(11.122) *ábále ańńvéddile Ańńámá naafwanyilé ſźílo* {elic.}

\[\text{ábále} \quad [\text{a-mu-vád-ile} \quad \text{Ańńámá}]_{\text{REL}} \quad \text{ni-a-fwany-ilé} \quad \text{ňźílo} \]

\[\text{2.DEM.III} \quad \text{2-OM1-hit-PFV.REL} \quad \text{Ańńámá} \quad \text{1PL-OM2-find-PFV.CJ} \quad \text{yesterday} \]

‘we met those who hit Ańńámá yesterday’
The adjunct following a CJ verb may also have the form of a headless locative relative clause as in (11.124).

(11.124) *mfyedhíyé, odhowilé vaáréla mwánákú, ottúkúla ázáyí, ótwa*

\[\text{mu-fiy-edh-e=iyé} \quad \text{o-dhow-ilé} \quad [\text{va-á-rélá} \quad \text{mwánákú}]
\]

\[\text{18-arrive-APPL-PFV.CJ = 3SG.PRO} \quad \text{1-go-PFV.CJ} \quad \text{16-PST.IPfv.CJ-lay} \quad \text{1.chicken}
\]

\[\text{ottúkúla} \quad \text{ázáyí} \quad \text{ótwa}
\]

\[\text{15.take} \quad \text{5.egg} \quad \text{15.break}
\]

‘when he arrived, he went where the laying hen was, he took an egg, and broke it’

A noun with an inherent locative meaning may appear as an adjunct without being added a locative prefix as seen (11.125). Interestingly, in this case, no PL occurs.

(11.125) *kurúmánanje: odhowilé diléén’ eéjíle y’ onyákúwa*

\[\text{kurúmánanje} \quad \text{o-dhow-ilé} \quad \text{dilá=éne} \quad \text{éjíle} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{onyákúwa}
\]

\[\text{1a.bee.sp} \quad \text{1-go-PFV.CJ} \quad \text{9a.path=INT} \quad \text{9.DEM.III} \quad \text{9.CON} \quad \text{15.be.dirty}
\]

‘The bee.sp went into that dirty path.’

**CJ + interrogatives**

*Wh*-question words (extensively discussed in section 10.2) always appear immediately after the verb form (IAV), which is necessarily conjoint. Examples are provided below with *uuví* ‘where’ and *dhaavi* ‘how’. Note that section 11.3.3.1 below gives further details on *wh*-elements and IAV position.

(11.126) *ogullé uuví mágágádda?*

\[\text{o-gul-ilé} \quad \text{uuví} \quad \text{mágágádda}
\]

\[\text{2SG-buy-PFv.CJ} \quad \text{where} \quad \text{6.dry.cassava}
\]
Constituent order and information structure

(11.127) ońbáálá dháavi? {páaká.17}

o-ní-báálá dháavi
1-IPFV.CJ-give.birth how
‘how does it give birth?’

**CJ + complement clauses**

Complement clauses are often introduced by CJ verb forms. As already discussed in section 7.6.2.1, the complementisers wíilá or wí ‘that’ (11.128) and sóbwa ‘because’ (11.129) are usually optional in this context.

(11.128) a. ońjéédhel’ áákwaáy’ aageelá: ańmálá mábásá {maria.150}
o-ni-jéédh-el-a [ákwé = áye a-ga-elá a-hi-málá mábásá]CMP
1-IPFV-wait-APPL.FL.CJ 2.friend = POSS.3SG 2-SIT-say 6-PFV.DJ-finish 6.work
‘he is waiting for his friends to say: “the work is done” ’

b. ĭyééne ologilé óńdhówá mángwáána {elic.}
ĭyééne o-log-ilé [ó-ní-dhówá mángwáána]CMP
3SG.PRO 1-say-PFV.CJ 1-IPFV.CJ-go tomorrow
‘He said he’s coming tomorrow’

(11.129) a. waaddikúwéélle oná máwánayé: , [bel’ óódh’ óóníváhe ŋízíña] {páaká.10}
o-a-ddi-kówél-el-e [o-ná máwánayé]CMP
1-PST-OM1SG-call-APPL-PFV.CJ 1-have 1.child.POSS.3SG
‘He called me because he has a son, [he asked me to come and give him a name.]’

b. muńddióíddełá miy’ óółála dda máwaaná {ddingí.7}
mu-ní-ddf-śđd-éla míyó okálá ddi-a máwaaná
2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate-APPL 1SG.PRO 15.be 1SG.COP-CON 1.child.PL
‘you hate me because I am a child’

Another example of complementation with the conjunction nínga ‘as, like’ is provided below.

(11.130) muńddióoná níngá muttengú dda táduweényu {ddingí.8}
u-ní-ddf-oná níngá muttengú ddi-a táduwá = ényu
2PL-IPFV.CJ-1SG-see as mistaken 1SG.COP-CON 1a.fool = POSS.2PL
‘you see me as your fool’

CJ forms may also be completed by direct reported speech, as shown in (11.131) and (11.132).
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(11.131) kádda múttú ‗úúndh‘ óóníla : “míyo kaddiňvódhá waaméla” {ddingí.4}

kádda múttú [o-ní-dhá]REL o-nf-fla míyo ka-ddi-ní-vódhá waaméla

‘Everyone who comes says: “I cannot protect it” (lit. “I cannot chase”).

(11.132) onííl : “moyó, míyó ddítíye waaméla” {mute.10}

móoyá míyó ni-ní-ófúna ódhówa o-múnddá

‘he is saying: “father-in-law, I want to go to the field tomorrow with you and with the girl”

**CJ + certain tenses**

The verbs ófuná ‘want’ (11.133) and ódhówa ‘go’ (11.134) may function as modal verbs expressing a wish or a prospective action. In this case, they are inflected for the CJ present tense and followed by the (itive) subjunctive form of the main lexical verb.

(11.133) míyó ddiňfúná: ddittíye owúsápela {body.5}

míyó ddi-ní-fúná ddi-ťty-e o-ũ-sáp-el-a

1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 1SG-stop-SBJ 15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi

‘I am going to stop feeding you’

(11.134) niňdåhwá nágwâddde kúní waâddámæna yiíko {elic.}

ni-ní-dhówá ni-a-gwâdd-e kúní waâddám-an-a yiíko

1PL-PRS.CJ-go 1PL-IT-cut-SBJ 5a.firewood 15.be.close-REC-Fi 9.river

‘we are going to cut firewood at the river’

CJ verbs may also be followed by sequential subordinate clauses, which can in turn be a bare sequential form (11.135) or further marked for either situative (11.136) or perfective (11.137).

(11.135) ehbé éejó ddìvahìwe báddilí músuńzi {elic.}

ehbá éjó ddi-vah-ì-wé bá-ddí-lf músuńzi


‘I was given this black hoe when I was an apprentice’

(11.136) nińdåhówa nágwàddde kúní waâddámæna yiíko {elic.}

ni-ní-dhówá ni-a-gwâdd-e kúní waâddám-an-a yiíko

1PL-PRS.CJ-go 1PL-IT-cut-SBJ 5a.firewood 15.be.close-REC-Fi 9.river

‘we are going to cut firewood at the river’

(11.137) ehbé éejó ddi-vahìwe báddilí músuńzi {elic.}

ehbá éjó ddi-vah-ì-wé bá-ddí-lf músuńzi


‘I was given this black hoe when I was an apprentice’
Constituent order and information structure

(11.136) *odhilé bágáttamága* {semi-elic.}

\begin{align*}
o-	ext{dh}-	ext{i}lé & \quad bá-	ext{gá-ttamága} \\
1\text{-come-PFV.CJ} & \quad \text{SEQ.1-SIT-run} \\
\text{'he came running'} & \quad \text{} 
\end{align*}

(11.137) *ddirurumuwilé báddiruddilé vâkúgúlúní* {semi-elic.}

\begin{align*}
dd-	ext{i}rurumu-	ext{w}i-\text{l}é & \quad bá-	ext{ddi}-rudd-	ext{u}l-\text{il}é & \quad \text{vâ-kúgúlú=ní} \\
1\text{SG-wake.up-PFV.CJ} & \quad \text{SEQ.1SG-urinate-PFV} & \quad 16-9\text{a.bed}=\text{LOC} \\
\text{'I woke up while I had already urinated in bed'} & \quad \text{} 
\end{align*}

Finally, CJ verbs may be followed by a subordinate temporal clause making use of a counterexpectational verb, as in (11.138).

(11.138) *afiyilé m yan  a n mâriy' oopíya* {elic.}

\begin{align*}
a-	ext{fiy}-	ext{i}lé & \quad \text{múyaná a} \quad \text{mâriya} \quad \text{opíya} \\
2\text{-arrive-PFV.CJ} & \quad 1\text{.woman} & \quad 1\text{-NEG-CE-finish} & \quad 15\text{.cook} \\
\text{'they arrived before the woman had finished cooking'} & \quad \text{} 
\end{align*}

All the aforementioned examples show that a conjoint verb form is not restricted in the type of constituent it controls. We thus conclude that the argument structure is not a vector of distinction between conjoint and disjoint verb forms.

### 11.3.3 Difference in information coding

Despite their different segmental morphology, CJ and DJ verb forms work in pairs, which encode the same tense/aspect semantics as was illustrated in section 8.1. In this section, I show that CJ/DJ forms differ in their relation with what follows the verb, and more particularly, their conditioning is exclusively determined by information structure.

#### 11.3.3.1 CJ and IAV focus

In Cuwabo, the “Immediate After Verb” (IAV) position is closely associated with a focus interpretation. By IAV position, it is understood that nothing may intervene between the verb and the focused element. For instance, the questioned element in interrogative clauses is a good illustration of this tight relationship. A *wh*-element is indeed usually assumed to be inherently focused, and as such is always questioned IAV (except for the subject as discussed below). Two examples are given below.
(11.139) a. ogulé úuví mágágádda? {elic.}

  o-gul-ilé úuví mágágádda
  2SG-buy-PFV.CJ where 6.dry.cassava
  ‘WHERE did you buy dry cassava?’

b. ámákaákó ceyikëni {elic.}

  ámákaákó a-iy-ilé=ní
  2.monkey 2-steal-PFV.CJ = what
  ‘WHAT did the monkeys steal?’

The same questions are ungrammatical with DJ verb forms, as the following examples show.

(11.140) a. *oógúlá úuví mágágádda? {elic.}

  o-hí-gúlá úuví mágágádda
  2SG-PFV.DJ-buy where 6.dry.cassava
  ‘WHERE did you buy dry cassava?’

b. *ámákaákó ahííyáani {elic.}

  ámákaákó a-hí-íyá=ni
  2.monkey 2-PFV.DJ-steal= what
  ‘WHAT did the monkeys steal?’

This suggests that IAV focus position is only relevant after a CJ verb form. Now, and as already pointed out on several occasions, the IAV questioning is not worth for subjects, which typically appear in the preverbal domain. In this initial position, it cannot be questioned, as shown in (11.141)a. Instead, a cleft construction accompanied by a relative clause is required (11.141)b, for both questioning and answering (see section 10.2 for a more detailed discussion).

(11.141) Question: ‘WHO is taking this girl to the hospital?’

a. *námwál’ uúddu aani oninmuttükülel’ osímítëli ? {elic.}

  námwáli óddu aani o-ni-mu-ttükül-el-a o-símítëli
  1a.girl 1.DEM.1 who 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-take-APPL-Fi 17-9a.hospital

b. námwál’ uúddu oninmuttükülel’ osímítëli ba aani ? {elic.}

  námwáli óddu [o-ni-mu-ttükül-el-a o-símítëli]REL ba aani
  1a.girl 1.DEM.1 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-take-APPL-Fi 17-9a.hospital 2.COP who

But, interestingly, an exception arises with the quantifier otë/etë ‘all’, which cannot be introduced in a cleft construction (11.142)b when answering the subject question given in (11.142)a. Instead, it occupies the postverbal position, as shown in (11.142)c. Whereas there
is no apparent reason for such a restriction, it turns out to be attested in many languages of
the world (Creissels p.c.).

(11.142) a. wiibilé bá aaní ? {elic.}
[ô-ib-ilê]REL ba aani
1-sing-PFV.REL 2.COP who
‘who sang?’

b. * wiibilé bá cetééne {elic.}
[ô-ib-ilê]REL ba a-etê = éne
1-sing-PFV.REL 2.COP 2-all = INT
‘everyone sang’

c. wiibilé cetééne {elic.}
o-ib-ilê a-etê = éne
1-sing-PFV.CJ 2-all = INT
‘everyone sang’

This inversion structure reminds of thetic constructions discussed in section 11.2.2, which
are usually used to express new information. Here, the semantics of the quantifier cetééne
‘all = INT’, inherently definite, indicates an emphatic focus, rather than new information.
Note that thetic sentences with the postverbal subject oté/eté ‘all’ are the only one in my
database which make use of a CJ verb. VS constructions are normally built upon DJ verb
forms. An example of VS structure extracted from a story is provided in (11.143) where
cetééne ‘all = INT’ does not refer to new participants, but rather emphasises that all the
participants died.

(11.143) eñtáwú mukwelíiyé:, akwilé cetééne {body.17}
eñtáwú [mu-kw-êl-e = iye]REL a-kw-ilê a-etê = éne
then 18-die-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 2-die-PFV.CJ 2-all = INT
‘Then when he died, all died.’

So far, I only discussed the IAV position in the context of wh-questions. As expected,
answering these questions involves the same CJ + IAV focus combination, as illustrated in
(11.144) a-b which respectively match with the questions in (11.139).

(11.144) a. Answer: mágágáddá: nigul’ óómusìka {elic.}
mágágáddá ni-gul-ilê ó-musìka
6.dry.cassava 1PL-buy-PFV.CJ 17-3.market
‘the dry cassava, we bought it AT THE MARKET’
b. Answer: ámákaáko eeyilé ṅipaddo

ámákaáko a-iy-ilé ṅipaddo
2.monkey 2-steal-PFV.CJ 3.bench
the monkeys stole THE BENCH’

In the question-answer pairs observed in (11.139) and (11.144), the new element present in the answer is easily detectable, since it comes in replacement of the wh-word in the question. It thus occupies the IAV position and is interpreted as new information, therefore as the focus. In the same context, the use of a DJ form is grammatically correct but pragmatically unfelicitous, since it does not emphasises the questioned element and thus does not properly answer the question. This is shown with nincelógulíh ‘we will buy (DJ)’ in (11.145)a, which makes perfect sense on its own as a simple assertion, but is infelicitous in the context of a wh-question, which demands a CJ form as in (11.145)b.

(11.145) Question: ‘what will you sell at the market?’

Answer: a. #vamusika nincelógulíh mázáyi
va-musika ni-naa-ilá-ógulíh mázáyi

b. vamusika nínaágúlíhe mazayi
va-musika ni-náa-gúlíh-e mazayi
16-3.market 1PL-FUT.CJ-sell-IRR 6.egg.PL

As a matter of fact, in example (11.145)a, mázáyi ‘eggs’, introduced by a DJ form, is neither considered as a topic, nor as a focus. Instead, it associates to the verb to form a comment on the preverbal topic vamusika ‘at the market’. The speaker asserts that the given action or event took place, as a mere information (see section 11.2.1 on topic-comment sentences). Inversely, introducing mázáyi ‘eggs’ as a new information necessarily implies the use of a CJ form as in (11.145)b. Note that a topic-comment sentence (with a DJ verb) may also come as an answer a question, which necessarily involves a CJ verb. An example of such a pairing is provided below.

(11.146) a. Question: mír’ íísó dhíñúúníwa dháavi ?

mírí èsó dhí-ní-únúwa dháavi
4.tree 4.DEM.II 4-IPFV.CJ-grow how
‘how do these trees grow?’

b. Answer: èsó dhíñoñúmáánjé mèénjí na múrítí vangóóno
èsó dhí-ní-óñúmáánjé mèénjí na múrítí vangóóno
4.DEM.II 4-IPFV.DJ-15.want 6.water 6.a.lot and 3.shadow 16.little
‘these need a lot of water and a little shadow’
In (11.146)b, no specific postverbal element receives a focus reading. Instead, the whole predicate is interpreted as a comment on the topical pronominal subject ēso ‘these’, referring to the aforementioned mírí ‘trees’. But this is in fact explained by the semantics of *how*-questions, which usually query a whole comment rather a specific constituent in the sentence. The same is true with *why*-questions.

On the other hand, focused elements in IAV position do not necessarily occur as an answer to a question. Assertive clauses may also imply an IAV focus position, if the speaker is willing to refer to some new element in the discourse or to emphasise on a specific constituent. A few examples extracted from stories are provided below. In (11.147), ósālu ‘thread’ (whose H on the class prefix results from HTD), is a new relevant element introduced in the story. In (11.148), viyoólá ‘guitar’ does not bear a new information interpretation, since it has already been mentioned in the story. Instead, the use of a CJ verb here seems to bring emphasis on the following constituent.

(11.147) mākāgā áayé: ottukullé ósālu, [ovírřá kobělỳ ya murrjì] {mbílri.12}

mākāgā áayé o-tukul-ilé ósālu
‘For his oracle, he took A THREAD, [made it go till the opposite river bank].’

(11.148) namárógol’ oonusemilé: viyoólááyé: {ddingí.11}

namárógolo o-mu-sem-ilé viyoólá = áyé
1a.hare 1-OM1-work.wood-PFV.CJ 1a.guitar = POSS.3SG.PL
‘Mr.Hare fixed HIS GUITAR’

In case of assertive clauses displaying CJ verbs with more than one postverbal phrase, only the IAV one can be interpreted as the focus. Consider the following double object construction with the underived verb óvahá ‘give’. (11.149)a questions the recipient, i.e the one who was given a bicycle. In the answer in (11.149)b, the patient object is in the topic preverbal domain, and the new information indicating the recipient is given right after the verb. In both the question and the answer, nothing may intervene between the CJ verb and the focused constituent.

(11.149) a. Question: wéýó o’invahil’ áání sīkālétì ? {elic.}

wéýó o-mu-váh-ilé áání sīkālétì
2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-give-PFV.CJ who 9a.bicycle
‘WHOM did you give the bicycle to?’
Interestingly, the focused recipient mwáana ‘child’ is object-marked on the verb. Whereas in many Bantu languages such a co-indexation is considered ungrammatical in a focalisation context, this example brings evidence that in Cuwabo object agreement is fully grammatical.

In (11.150)a, the CJ applicative verb questions the patient object. Two answers are possible which differ in the constituent ordering. The preferred option (11.150)b consists in placing the two topics (both the subject and the benefactive) in the preverbal domain and then introducing the focused patient immediately after the CJ verb. In the second option in (11.150)c, the benefactive object is right-dislocated, suggesting an afterthought. The resulting sentence would probably be best translated as ‘the visitors bought them A DOG, (I mean) to their families’. What is important in each sentence is that the patient, as new information, is placed IAV and thus acquires a focus interpretation, confirmed by PL. In contrast, in (11.150)c the right-dislocated object appears as in citation form.

The same bond between CJ and IAV focus occurs in the causative construction provided in (11.151). The preverbal causee occupies a topic status, whereas the patient object is newly introduced in IAV position.
Note that in both applicative and causative constructions, object marking on the verb has a co-referential function vis-à-vis the topicalised objects (the benefactive in (11.150)b and the causee in (11.151)b), which constitute the primary objects in Dryer (1986)’s terms.

All these examples convincingly show that IAV position linked to a CJ verb is occupied by the focus. Note that IAV, first referred to by Watters (1979) and Hyman and Watters (1984) for the Grassfields Bantu language called Aghem, is a very common focus position among Bantu languages. But Cuwabo, as Makhuwa (van der Wal 2006, 2009) has the specificity to exclusively associate IAV focus with CJ verb forms. In other words, CJ verbs necessarily encode a focus interpretation for the constituent immediately following.

As already pointed out, nouns occupying the IAV focus position are affected by a tonal modification known as PL. This means that PL participates alongside CJ verbal morphology to focus marking. In this respect, Cuwabo functions as Makhuwa.

### 11.3.3.2 Different types of focus

A distinction is traditionally made between two types of focalisation: informational focalisation and contrastive focalisation.

**Informational focus**

Informational focalisation usually responds to missing information in the discourse-context, hence it is directly associated with *wh*-questions, which ask for an informational lacuna, and their corresponding answers, which fulfill this lacuna. Most focused constituents exemplified so far in this section can be interpreted as informational, either conveying new information or expressing emphasis on the IAV element. Further examples are provided below. In (11.152), *nyumba* ‘house’ is given as new information. It does not exist yet but is an object
of desire from the protagonist. In (11.153), the IAV focused constituent kovaaye ‘her face’ represents an emphasised piece of information in the sentence.

(11.152) supeéyó supeéyo míyó ddi-ní-fúnó nyumb‧ée nddimúwa  
  supeéyo míyó ddi-ní-fúnó nyumb‧ée nddimúwa  
  9a.mirror.PL 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 9a.house.PL 9-big  
  ‘Mirror, mirror, I want a very big and beautiful house, with everything in it.’

(11.153) agaa g na’ naáángána kovaaye  
  a-gaa-añgána o-ní-añgána kove=aye  
  1-SIT-look 1-IPFV.CJ-look 9a.face=POSS.3SG.PL  
  ‘when she looks, she sees her face’

Note that the CJ may be part of the focus when answering questions like ‘what happened?’. In this case, the whole predicate falls under the scope of focalisation, and the use of a DJ form would be considered ungrammatical. An illustrating example is provided below.

(11.154) Question: okosílééni ?  
  o-kos-ilé=ni  
  1-do-PVF.CJ=what  
  ‘what did he do?’

Answer: olímilé míbuga  
  o-lim-ilé míbuga o-hí-líma míbuga  
  1-cultivate-PVF.CJ 3.rice.PL 1-PVF.DJ cultivate 3.rice  
  ‘he cultivated rice’

Contrastive focus

A contrastive focus sets in contrast two given pieces of information. The focused information is asserted in contrast with some alternative information, explicitly announced or only presupposed (Creissels 2006b: chapter 28). The cleft constructions typically constitute the contrastive focus device used in Cuwabo, in which the focused element is either introduced by a copula (11.155) or undergoes PL (11.156).
Constituent order and information structure

(11.155) *ddi naámbédde: onáámúlimééyé ŋsáká ŋttí, ji fölá enáámúlimééyé ŋsáká ŋítto*  
{elic.}

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ddi naámbédde} \quad [o-náá-mú-lím-é = éyé} \quad ŋsáká \quad ŋítto]_{\text{REL}} \\
&1.\text{COP} \quad 1a.\text{maize} \quad 1-\text{FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR} = 3S.G.\text{PRO} \quad 5.\text{period.PL} \quad 5.\text{DEM.I} \\
&ji \quad fölá \quad [e-náá-lím-é = éyé} \quad ŋsáká \quad ŋítto]_{\text{REL}} \\
&9.\text{COP} \quad 9.\text{tobacco} \quad 1-\text{FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR} = 3S.G.\text{PRO} \quad 5.\text{period.PL} \quad 5.\text{DEM.II}
\end{align*}
\]

‘it is maize that he will cultivate this season; tobacco, he will cultivate next season’

Still, the constrastive focus is not restricted to cleft constructions. (11.157) and (11.158) provide examples where the IAV focus following a CJ verb also bears a constrastive focus value. This is particularly clear in (11.157), which contradicts and corrects the information included in the question. In (11.158), it is said that whereas maize will be cultivated this season, in contrast, next season will be devoted to tobacco. Finally, in (11.159), a choice between the two recipient objects áyimá ‘children’ or ábáabá ‘parents’ is given in the question. Note that in this IAV coordinated NP, only the first constituent (áyimá ‘children’) is affected by PL. The answer to such a question implies a contrastive focus of selection.

(11.156) *onáámúlimééyé ŋsáká ŋttí / naaembedde, enáámúlimééyé ŋsáká ŋítto / föla*  
{elic.}

\[
\begin{align*}
&[o-náá-mú-lím-é = éyé} \quad ŋsáká \quad ŋítto]_{\text{REL}} \quad naaembedde \\
&1-\text{FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR} = 3S.G.\text{PRO} \quad 5.\text{period.PL} \quad 5.\text{DEM.I} \quad 1a.\text{maize.PL} \\
&[e-náá-lím-é = éyé} \quad ŋsáká \quad ŋítto]_{\text{REL}} \quad föla \\
&1-\text{FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR} = 3S.G.\text{PRO} \quad 5.\text{period.PL} \quad 5.\text{DEM.II} \quad 9.\text{tobacco.PL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘what he will cultivate this season is maize; what he will cultivate next season is tobacco’

(11.157) Question: ‘did the teacher give the student flowers?’

Answer: *née, námásunžiha ořivahilé níivuru námásuža*  
{elic.}

née námásunžiha o-mu-vah-ilé níivuru námásuža
no 1a.teacher 1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ 5.book.PL 1a.student
‘no, the teacher gave the student a book’

(11.158) *naámbédde: anáámúliméé ŋsáká ŋttí, ŋsáká ŋítto: anáálime föla*  
{elic.}

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{naámbédde} \quad a-náá-mú-lím-e} \quad ŋsáká \quad ŋítti \\
&1a.\text{maize} \quad 2-\text{FUT.CJ-OM1-cultivate-IRR} \quad 5.\text{period.PL} \quad 5.\text{DEM.I} \\
&ŋsáká ŋítto \quad a-náá-lím-e} \quad föla \\
&5.\text{period.PL} \quad 5.\text{DEM.II} \quad 2-\text{FUT.CJ-cultivate-IRR} \quad 9.\text{tobacco.PL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘maize, they will cultivate this season; next season they will cultivate tobacco’
(11.159) Question: Osánzáyá maníívuru waaperengezelé áyimá óbe ábáabá? {elic.}

ósánzáyá maníívuru o-a-perengez-el-é áyimá óbe ábáabá
osanzaya 6.book 1-OM2-send-APPL-PFV.CJ 2.child.PL or 2.parent
‘did Osanzaya send the books to the children or the parents?’

Answer: Osánzáyá waaperengezelé ábáabá {elic.}
ósánzáyá o-a-perengez-el-é ábaabá
osanzaya 1-OM2-send-APPL-PFV.CJ 2.parent.PL
‘Osanzaya send (them) to the parents’

Restricted or exclusive focus

As already seen in section 7.1.2.1, the restrictive modifier =vi, translated as ‘only’, is used to restrict the referential scope of a category and focus exclusively on the designated constituent. In (11.160), the whole body is covered with pimples only. In (11.161), the character is complaining about her endless sufferings.

(11.160) maníngw’ áaye adhaal lé ttúgu, tínga náándwe
maningo áaye a-dhaal-ilé ttúgu =vi tínga náándwe
6.body 6.POSS.3SG 6-be.full-PFV.CJ 9a.pimple.PL = RESTR like 1a.frog
‘Her body was full of pimples, like a frog’

(11.161) míyó ddiinyákúwá ddiíkkál’ óobulélávi
míyó ddi-hi-nyákúwá ddi-ni-kálá óobulélá =vi
1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-be.dirty 1SG-IPFV.CJ-be 15.suffer.PL = RESTR
‘I am ugly and I keep falling sick’

The adverb baáhi ‘only’ seems to attract a focus interpretation when used as a noun modifier. Consider the following example: in (11.162)a, I answer the question ‘what did you give to Maria?’ My interlocutor then asks me in (11.162)b if I also gave her a book. Note here the use of a disjoint verb. I then indicate that I only gave her a dress in (11.162)c by means of a CJ verb. In this sentence, the focalised element ombulrólo ‘dress’ now has a restricted or exclusive interpretation. In the same context, a DJ verb form (11.162)d would be infelicitous.

(11.162) a. Maríyá, ddiínhvalié ombulrólo
maríyá ddi-mu-vah-ilé ombulrólo
maria 1SG-OM1-give-PFV.CJ 3.dress.PL
‘I gave Maria A DRESS’
The following sentences provide further examples of a restricted (or exclusive) focus on the IAV constituent, expressed through the modifier baáhi ‘only’. Interestingly, in (11.164) and (11.165), the comparison between CJ and DJ verb forms in the same contexts reveals a difference in meaning: with CJ forms, baáhi applies exclusively to the IAV element with the aforementioned restricted reading. Thus in (11.164)a, bananas are the only thing I bought, and (11.165)a, Maria is the only one to receive a flower from Fernando. Now, with DJ forms, it seems that baáhi does no longer act as a noun modifier but as a clause adverb, usually bearing the somewhat pejorative meaning ‘(it’s) enough!’. For instance, a possible context for the sentence in (11.164)b to occur could be one in which my mother is complaining about my being lazy, to which I reply that (at least) I bought bananas and that’s enough, implying that I do not want to be bothered anymore.

(11.163) oddivahilé mìkàtté mínddi baáhi, ddìitàkùna
{o-ddi-vuh-ìlé \ \ mìkàtté \ \ mínddi \ \ baáhi \ ddìhi-tàkùìna}
1-OM1SG-give-PFV.CJ \ \ 4.rice.cake \ \ 4.two \ \ only \ \ 1SG-PFV.DJ-chew
‘he gave me two rice cakes and I have already eaten them’

(11.164) a. ddìgùlì mafùgùi baáhi b. ddìgùlì mafùgùi baáhi
{ddi-gul-ìlé \ \ mafùgùi \ \ baáhi \ ddi-hì-gùlì \ \ mafùgùi \ \ baáhi}
1SG-buy-PFV.CJ \ \ 6.banana.PL \ \ only \ \ 1SG-PFV.CJ-buy \ \ 6.banana \ \ enough
‘I only bought bananas’ ‘I bought bananas, it’s enough’

(11.165) a. Fénnàndì oòrlùwa oòrivahilé Maríyá baáhi
{fénnàndì \ \ òrlùìwa \ \ o-mu-vuh-ìlé \ \ maríyá \ \ baáhi}
fénnàndì \ \ òrlùìwa \ \ 5.flower \ \ 1-OM1-give-PFV.CJ \ \ maríyá \ \ only
‘Fernando gave a flower to Maria only’
Exclusivity has already been pointed out by van der Wal (2009) as the main reading of CJ-IAV constructions in Makhuwa-Enahara. In Cuwabo, it is undoubtedly an attested reading, but a more systematic research would be needed to determine whether this is the main one as in Makhuwa.

11.4 Summary

I conclude that information structure is manifested in different ways in Cuwabo: constituent order, morphological marking and prosody. A topical element thus occupies the preverbal position, whereas a non-topical element is tied to the postverbal domain. Within the postverbal domain, the focus interpretation is given to the IAV element, provided that the verb is morphologically marked in the conjoint form. This means that the IAV focus position is relevant only in tenses where the CJ/DJ alternation is attested. In this case, both the conjoint verb and the focused element are prosodically linked, in that the latter, depending on its grammatical nature, is affected by a tonal alteration, known as ‘Predicative Lowering’, whereby the first primary H tone is deleted. An element following a disjoint verb form is interpreted both as non-topic and non-focal. Instead, it associates with the verb to form the comment of the preverbal topic. We thus conclude that constituent order, morphological marking and prosody conjointly interact to define the intended semantic-discursive interpretation of the sentence.
Conclusion

This conclusion is intended to draw a brief overview of the primary typological features of the language, some of which are briefly addressed in a genetic and areal perspective. I will also briefly explore topics for future research that arise from this dissertation.

**Phonological typology**

As is common in Bantu languages, the syllable structure in Cuwabo is CV, in which the vowel constitutes the nucleus and the consonant is the initial onset. The nucleus is generally a vowel but can also be a syllabic sonorant (nasal or liquid). Cuwabo has a common 5-vowel system, which further distinguishes short and long vowels. There are a few morphophonological processes that affect vowels, including vowel coalescence, vowel deletion, and vowel harmony. The consonant system is about three times the size of the vowel system and includes voiced prenasalised consonants in its inventory.

Among the consonants, a striking feature shared by the P30 languages is the denasalisation of Proto-Bantu prenasalised clusters *mb, *nd, *ŋg, realised respectively /b/ /d/ /g/ in Cuwabo and /p/ /t/ /k/ in Makhuwa (where devoicing also occurs). This denasalisation shared by Cuwabo and Makhuwa is strongly divergent in relation to other Bantu languages and thus an argument in favor of a genetic relationship between both languages. Interestingly this phonological evolution is also displayed in the Sotho-Tswana
languages, numbered S30 by Guthrie. Shared correspondences between these two geographically distant linguistic groups have first been pointed by Janson (1991-92), and was further evidenced by Philippson and Guérois (2013), who examine further phonological issues. However, Cuwabo and certain Makhuwa dialects also comprise NC consonants in their phonological inventories, synchronically attested for many everyday words (e.g. in Cuwabo: nyimbo ‘house, mbúzi ‘goat’, kúnguni ‘bed bug’, etc). The introduction of such sounds probably results from more recent periods of language contact with Sena or Nyanja (which retained the PB nasal clusters), with convergence effects on the sound inventory of the P30 languages in contact.

Cuwabo is also a tone language with a binary distinction between H and Ø tones, as often attested in eastern Bantu languages. Interestingly, it is the only P30 language which retained a lexical H tone contrast on nouns and verbs. In this respect, Cuwabo can be considered as more conservative than its neighbouring languages (recall that Sena is a toneless language). However, Cuwabo and Makhuwa both share the tone process known as ‘Predicative Lowering’, otherwise unattested across Bantu. PL applies in different environments and fulfils different functions accordingly, including non-verbal predication, focalisation, and vocative.

**Grammatical typology**

Nouns and verbs constitute the main word classes in Cuwabo. They have a lexical content and form an open system, i.e. they may easily enlarge their inventories. In contrast, a word class like adjectives is reduced to a handful of words and constitutes a closed word class. The expression of adjectival properties is in fact assumed by verbs, by means of connective constructions or through the stative reading of the perfective tense. Again, in this respect, Cuwabo patterns with most Bantu languages. Both nouns and verbs are typically realised through morphological processes applying to a root. The most productive is affixation. Reduplication is also attested but no longer in a productive way and compounding only applies with nouns.

Nouns are divided into different genders referred to as noun classes and shown by prefixation. The division into noun classes is to a certain extent made on semantic grounds. The noun class system productively interacts with other constituents in the sentence, within the NP as well as on the predicate, whose agreement is controlled by the head constituent (usually a noun). Regarding the NP structure, modifiers usually follow the head noun.

Cuwabo is also typically Bantu in its agglutinative verbal morphology. Verbs are built upon an extensive template with different slots potentially filled with inflectional markers
(negative, subject, object, TAM), derivational verbal extensions, and post-final clitics. Interestingly, the range of TAM prefixes in Cuwabo is much wider than in Makhuwa, and for some of them, Sena influence is easily recognisable. This is the case for the situative (Cuwabo -gaa- < Sena -nga-) and the sequential (Cuwabo pre-initial ba- < Sena mba-), as shown in chapter 8.

Cuwabo and Makhuwa share several grammatical features, not (or only sporadically) found in other Bantu languages. A first striking similarity deals with the formation of locative noun phrases, combining a locative prefix with the locative enclitics =ni (e.g. o-mabásá =ni ‘at work’ in Cuwabo and o-ţéko =ni ‘at work’ in Makhuwa). To the best of my knowledge, this combination is attested in no other Bantu language. In fact, in Eastern Bantu, locative NPs are formed either by the locative prefixes *pa-, *ku-, *mu-, or by the locative suffix -(i)ni. Interestingly, these two strategies are mutually exclusive, except in P30 languages which exhibit both. The uniqueness of this double-marking presumably results from a contact situation. Whereas =ni can be regarded as an inherited feature among P30, the addition of the locative prefixes was in all likelihood borrowed from neighbouring languages (P20 Yao group, N30 Chewa-Nyanga group, N40 Senga-Sena group), which exclusively display the first aforementioned strategy, namely the prefixation of locative prefixes.

Relative clauses are another construction which distinguishes P30 languages from the other eastern Bantu languages, in that the verb always agrees with the head noun, and not with the postverbal logical subject in case of non-subject relatives. In this structure, the relative marker occupies the slot of the subject marker. Interestingly, whereas the different neighbouring languages (P20, N30 and N40) do not display this relativisation strategy, the same construction is unexpectedly found in Sena as shown in section 10.1. This suggests that relative clauses in Sena were once different and that they gained their actual constructions under a longstanding contact with Makhuwa and Cuwabo languages. Relative constructions thus constitute an example of linguistic areal structure, with convergence effects.

Cuwabo has a SVO constituent order, like in most Bantu languages, with an accusative alignment, whereby the subject argument of an intransitive construction and the agent argument of a transitive construction are similarly encoded. In addition to transitive and intransitive, ditransitive clause types are also attested. There is no case marking in Cuwabo. Instead grammatical relations are encoded by constituent order and verbal morphological marking (through a system of grammatical agreement). Furthermore, several derivational extensions have the effect of modifying the verb valency. As expected, in double object or ditransitive constructions, Cuwabo exhibits both symmetrical and asymmetrical behaviour.
with respects to constituent order, object marking (with or without object deletion) and passivisation.

Constituent order is also motivated by semantic-discursive factors. Whereas the preverbal domain is tied to topicality, the postverbal domain comprises non-topical constituents. In addition, information structure is also encoded by the conjoint/disjoint alternation. More particularly, the presence of a focused element is reflected by the conjoint form of a verb. This focused element always occupies the IAV position and, depending on its grammatical nature, is affected by a tonal alteration (known as Predicative Lowering), which thus participates in the focus marking. Interestingly, these co-occurring focus strategies, not commonly attested cross-linguistically, are also found in Makhuwa.

A fascinating phenomenon in Cuwabo syntax is locative inversion (LI), which applies both in formal and semantic constructions as seen in section 11.1.4. This suggests that formal LI and semantic LI are not exclusive of one another. Contrary to Cuwabo, locative inversion constructions are not attested in Makhuwa, which constitutes a major divergence in the locative system of both languages. It remains to be seen how Sena behaves with regard to locative inversion.

Topics for further research

Finally, this work represents the first detailed description of the Cuwabo language. By providing data that were so far non-existent, it is hoped that it can contribute to the current typological and comparative discussions within and beyond the Bantu area. Although it covers the most typical fields of grammar, a few relevant topics were left for further research. For example, the syntax-phonology interface is probably an issue worth examining in further details. Recall that penultimate lengthening, which is attested in many eastern Bantu languages, does not occur in Cuwabo. It would be interesting to analyse which strategy or strategies Cuwabo adopts to mark the relationship between prosodic structure and syntactic structure. The different cases of noun-modifier sequences discussed in section 3.3.2 constitute interesting examples of morphosyntactic structures in which specific tonal alternations operate, seemingly to indicate phrasal information. This interaction between nominal phrasal syntax and tonal phonology is probably a topic worth investigating in more details.

The dialectal variation among Cuwabo would also be a challenging project to embark on. Examining the structural properties which distinguish one dialect from another, and investigating how they are spread across space to potentially relate them to areal features
have become research topics which are increasingly acknowledged as contributing to linguistic typology.

Finally, on a slightly broader scale, the few elements of comparison between Cuwabo, Makhuwa and Sena mentioned throughout the dissertation show that a more systematic comparative analysis would be needed to establish which phonological and morphosyntactic features were commonly innovated among P30 languages, and which ones were more likely contact-induced. Such an investigation would refine the established genetic classification on the one hand and set the limits for areal features (i.e. isoglosses) on the other. This would thus shed light on the divergence and convergence processes in this region of the Bantu area. The data at my disposal already reveal interesting patterns, which will be more elaborately discussed in a separate publication.


Barrett-Keach, Camilla N. 1986. Word-internal evidence from Swahili for AUX/INFL. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 559-64.


———. 2006. The dj verb form and an empty Immediate After Verb position in Makhuwa. ZAS Papers in Linguistics 43: 233-56.


This appendix contains seven glossed and translated folktales. Most were recorded in Macuse in July 2013. They were then transcribed and translated with the help of Sérgio.

Each sentence is identified by a noun which evokes the title of the story, followed by a reference number. The timing is also specified so that the reader can easily track the sentence on the audio files, which accompany the thesis. As a reminder, the boundary H tones are indicated on the first line, but not on the second line, restricted to the primary H and their surface H tones resulting from tonological rules (H-tone doubling and long-distance spreading).
Text 1: The maize and the hare (by Fernanda)

ddingi.1.3.5’
ofílóga ddi míyo Féfnánda
[o-ní-lóga]REL ddi míyo Féfnánda
1-IPFV.CJ-speak 1.COP 1SG.PRO Fernanda
It is me, Fernanda, who is speaking.

ddingi.2.6.5’
wééfleégé kááy’ ddo, wééfleégé rápáási’ ulíma munddááyé’ , omwwaalámó naámbédde.
[o-ér-ilegé]REL káilye oddo [o-ér-il-eg-é]REL rápáási
1-say-IPFV.REL-HAB NEG.COP 1.DEM.II.PL 1-say-IPFV.REL.HAB 1a.boy.PL
o-líma munddá = åye o-mu-ulá = mó naámbédde
NAR-cultivate 3.field = POSS.3SG NAR-OM1-sow = 18.LOC 1a.maize
There once was a man. (lit. ‘the one who said, it is not that one, the one who said, it is a boy’) He cultivated his field and sowed maize.

ddingi.3.13’
nuúmwaálá naámbédde’, waavadégá: åttú wíllá amwwáámele naámbédde.
na-ó-mú-alá naámbédde o-a-véé-ąg-ą åttú wíllá a-mú-ámel-e naámbédde
RES-15-OM1-sow 1a.maize NAR-OM2-look.for-HAB-FI 2.people CMP 2-OM1-chase-SBJ 1a.maize
When he sowed maize, he looked for people to protect it (from thieves, like monkeys for instance)

ddingi.4.18’
kádda mútt’ únuúdh’ óóóníla : “míyó kaddíñvódhá waaméla” (x2)
kádda múttú [o-ní-dhá]REL o-ní-fla míyó ka-ddí-ní-vódhá waaméla
each 1.man 1-IPFV.CJ-come 1-IPFV.CJ-say 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG-IPFV-can 15.chase.PL
Everyone coming says : “I cannot protect it” (lit. ‘I cannot chase’).

ddingi.5.23’
eháwö: , námárógóló: eetéén’ aá’ wááñmágayeha Namárógolo.
eháwö námárógóló a-ét = ènè abó a-á-mú-mágayeha námárógolo
then 1.hare 2-all = INT 2.DEM.II 2-PST.IPFV.CJ-OM1-slander 1a.hare
Then all of them were slandering Mr.Hare.

ddingi.6.27’
belúw’ ááp’ óónimújá (námáró) naámbédde’ oóddú ddu wéé Namarogolo. Namárógolo belá : “nááda míyó omúánddáaw’ oók’ óólóggíinyú, kaddíñfíwów koáñáñvragáwó.
ba-il-úw-á ápó [o-ní-mú-já naámbédde óddú]REL ddi wéyo
SEQ.2-say-PASS-FI 16.DEM.II 1-IPFV.CJ-OM1-eat 1a.maize 1.DEM.I 1.COP 2SG.PRO
namarogolo N. ba-ilá nááda míyó o-múndáá = wa ókó [6-ní-lóga = inyú]REL
1a.hare.PL H. SEQ.1-say no 1SG.PRO 17-3.field = 17.DEF 17.DEM.II 17-IPFV.CJ-say = 2PL.PRO
ka-ddí-ídí = wo ka-ni-ná-vír-ag-á = wo
NEG-OM1SG-know = 17.LOC NEG-1PL-CE-go.by-HAB-FI = 17.LOC
It was said: “the one who eats this maize, it is you Mr.Hare!” Mr.Hare said : “No, in this plantation you are referring to, I don’t know it, I have never been through it.
ddí 7.35’

ddige só; , nyúwó múnóddifőda, áp’ óoddif’ óök’ únddiifóda nyúwó, muñóddifóda mý’ óokálá dda mwaaná.

ddi-ga-elá só nyúwó mú-ni-ó-ddi-ídda ápó o-ddi-ídda ókú
1SG-SIT-do IDEO 2PL.PRO 2PL-IPFV.DI-15-OM1SG-hate 16.DEM.II 1OM1SG-hate 15.DEM.I

[0-ni-ddi-ídda nyúwó]REL mu-ni-ddi-ídd-èl-a mýó
15-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate 2PL.PRO 2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-hate-APPL-Fi 1SG.PRO

okálá ddi-a mwaaná
15.be 1.COP-CON 1.child.PL

If I pay attention, you hate me, (lit. ‘this hating me that you hate me’) you hate me because I am a child

ddí 8.41’
níngá dda mwaaná múñgííñgííní, muñóddóoná níngá muttengú: dda táduwéényu.”

níngá ddi-a mwaaná múñ-ñgíí-íñgííní mu-ní-ddi-oná níngá muttengú
as 1SG.COP-CON 1.child.PL 1-little-RED 2PL-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see as mistakenly
ddi-a táduwá = ényu
1SG.COP-CON 1a.fool = POSS.2PL

Because I am small, you see me as your fool.”

ddí 9.45.5’
ddabunó wííbílé jfbweyé: , rhmállífíy’ óoohsasanyílé víyoolá, odhowáná nhbárá, ...

ddabunó ő-ib-ilé jibo = ye [mu-mál-el-è = fyè]REL
then 1-sing-IPFV.CJ 9a.song = POSS.3SG.PL 18-finish-APPL-IPFV.REL = 3SG.PRO

o-mu-sasany-ilé víyoolá o-dhowá = ná mu-bárá
1-OM1-fix-IPFV.CJ 1a.guitar.PL NAR-go = COM 18-9a.sea

Then, he practiced his song. Having done, he fixed the guitar, went to the beach with it,

ddí 10.52’

... ovítómeya odhlúl wa muyéré na sóbw’ aálá eetéén’ aánénénm’ eetéén’ apódódóom’ aanyaárúgwe aani, éélódóompe perspective, éélóóófwará wíílé’ aampe, wíílá namápógo wíílapa.

o-ví-tómeya odlúlú wa muyéré na sóbwá wíílá a-eté = éne áná-énáma
NAR-REFL-hang.up 17.top 17.CON 3.tree.sp with because CMP 2-all = INT 2.child-9.animal
a-eétè = éne apódódóoma aanyakwe aání a-á-íla-ó-mú-pereperséí
2-all = INT 2.lion 2.leopard who 2-PST-IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-chase
a-á-íla-ó-mú-fwará wííléa a-mú-p-e wíílá namápógo wíílapa

climbed up the tree.sp because every animal, all of them, lions, leopards, and others were chasing him, they were following him to kill him, because the hare is a joker.

ddí 11.63.8’
namárógól’ oomusemílé: víyooláayé: , odhowá wíítómeya nhbá’ oóól’ oomuyéréni, okomesáári wííbá, muñóddákulegé. belá :

namárógólo o-mu-sem-ilé víyoolá = áyé o-dhowá o-ví-tómeya
1a.hare 1-OM1-work.wood-PFV.CJ 1a.guitar = POSS.3SG.PL NAR-go 15-REFL-hang.up

mu-bárá ókúle o-muyéré = ni o-omesáári wííbá mu-ddí-ákuleg-è ba-ilá
18-9a.sea 17.DEM.III 17-3.tree.sp = LOC NAR-start 15.sing 2PL-OM1SG-answer-SBJ SEQ.1-say

Mr. Hare fixed his guitar, went and climbed up the tree sp. at the beach, he started to sing -answer me-, he said:
The hare is at the top of the tree sp., he is singing up there.

When they watched in the direction of the one singing, they could not see him. ―Where is he singing?‖

Lion, leopard, mongoose, cats, etc, every wild species of animals arrived at the beach.

That hare is torn (has his voice torn)

Then, those who are in the village (said): ―[excl.], such beautiful music, where does it come from? Who is this?‖

They started to follow and follow that song (the direction from where it came). follow, follow… the songs come from the beach.

Namárogol oÔkúle őnôtôyéya : ďdingi muniÔrá mûnôdôdâganyedha ď (x4)

Namárogolo őkûle ő-nî-ôtô-yé-yà …

1a.hare 1.DE.M.1 1.IP.FV:DJ-15.tear-NTR-Fî

That hare is torn (has his voice torn)

Poddôgoma : nyârûgwe , mûtûlû , âpàkà , ba aaní êêtên’ aânééânàma a muddêbe aasîyà mbâra.

Poddôgoma nyârûgwe mûtûlû âpàkà ba aaní â-etê=êne âná-éânàma

1a.lion 1a.leopard 3.mongoose 2a.cat 2.COP who 2-all=INT 2.child-9.animal
a muddêbe a-hi-fyà mu-bâra
2.CON 3.wild.land 2-IPFV:DJ-arrive 18-9a.sea

Lion, leopard, mongoose, cats, etc, every wild species of animals arrived at the beach.

Agaaamwaangàn őôníbâ , kakîmôonà. Ma ôôdíyô oôníbà őûvî? ôôdíyô őôníbà őûvî? ôôníbà őôníbà őûvî?

A-gaa-muu-angána [o-nî-ibâ] rel ka-nî-mî-onà mas ôdû=dû=ya o-nî-ibà őûvî
2-SI-T-OM1-watch 1-IPFV:CI-sing NEG.2-IPFV-OM1-see but 1.DE.M.1=DEF 1-IPFV:CI-sing where

When they watched in the direction of the one singing, they could not see him. ―Where is he singing?‖

Namârogolo oû úûdûlû wa muyêr’ oônôwîbà wênêwo : ď [song] ď

Namârogolo o-li oûdûlû wa muyêr ô-nî-ô-ibâ wênêwo

The hare is at the top of the tree sp., he is singing up there.
The one who had cultivated the maize: “maize keeps being eaten, but the hare is not here!”

Someone says: “Hey! Here it is, that one there is the hare, that one there is at the top of the tree sp.! Catch him! (lit. ‘Climb after him!’)

Then someone started to climb that tree sp., climb, climb, they climbed to the hare.

When he realised “I am going to bump into the one who is following me”, he jumped, ran and fled.
Then (came the moment when) he said: “Leave that hare! I see that the thieves who eat my maize are many!

My maize which was sowed in the fields has gone, now the hare is the one you are making run! Who is eating my maize?”

They did not find out who ate the maize.

‘end of the story: this is what it did/said’
ddoo.1.0’
weéflé kááy’ ddo, weéflé râpaasi orhételá mwâádhí.

‘There once was a man. He married a woman.’ (lit. ‘Who did it is not that one, who did it is a boy’) 

ddoo.2.7’
wasbaâl’ ânááwy  cel’ ânááyanâ: rímdho ñzînánë waálí Marfýá: rímdho waálí Ddóólrínddo.

‘They had two children, both girls: one was called Maria, the other was Ddoolrinddo.’ 

ddoo.3.14’
agóra nuwâábaâla ânááwy aâbalé: “síí! Ddóólrínddo’ oókódéra mas.” (x4)

‘Then, after having those girls, people kept saying: “Oh! Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful.” ’ 

ddoo.4.25.5’
ddabunó Máríyá’ òdhowó’ òguló’ ééshpéélyu. odhana vatákulu.

‘Then Maria went and bought a mirror, and brought it home.’ 

ddoo.5.29.3’
núdhh’ òdhowuxúâga ééshpelyu: “súpééyó supeéyo, mîyó na Ddóólrínddo okoddélé bá aanf?”

‘Once she came, she asked the mirror: “Mirror, mirror, who is the most beautiful, I or Ddoolrinddo?” ’ 

ddoo.6.34.5’
shpééyo: “síí, okoddélé (ki) ki Ddoolrínddo.” otwa shpéély’ iyíle, òdhowó’ ògulá yíína, odhana.

‘The mirror: “[excl.], Ddoolrinddo is more beautiful.” She broke that mirror, went and bought another one, and brought it.’
"supeéyó supeéyó, miyó na Ddóólrínddo okoddélé bá aani?" “suí, okoddélé ki Ddoolrinddo”. otwa.

They left with Ddoolrinddo and went to the well, to wash. They are washing.

At this very moment (she said): “Sii, Ddoolrinddo, let’s go to the well, let’s go and wash (do the laundry).”

Aavéná n’ Ddolrinddo, ñdhów’ óottólóni ñdhówé nafílé.

2-PFV.DJ-go.out with D. 2-PFV.DJ-go 17-well = LOC 15.wash 2-IPFV.DJ-15.wash

They left with Ddoolrinddo and went to the well, to wash. They are washing.

Álíé Maríya’ òómumurum Ddólriinddo : “(kahdówála va) kahdówá vatakúlu!” Ddólriinddo oôhówá vatókulú.

Oñófúla, á-ñófúla, áñófúla, áñófúla.

2-PFV.DJ-go.out with D. 2-PFV.DJ-go 17-well = LOC 15.wash 2-IPFV.DJ-15.wash

That Maria ordered Ddoolrinddo: “Go home!” Doolrinddo went back home.

“odoñééli leñsó hí mb’ ñódhén’ owítíwa?” Ddólriinddo : “ddiwiíwa.”

“Ddólriinddó eottamág’ óodhówá vatókúlu. ottukula leñso.”

D. o-ttamágá o-dhówá v-tákúlu o-ttukula leñoso.

D. NAR-run NAR-go 16-9a.house NAR-take 5.tissue

‘Ddoolrinddo ran, went back home and took the tissue.’
‘Hardly had Ddoolrinddo brought that tissue, and when she arrived at the place her sister Maria was, Maria pushed Ddoolrinddo with all her strength.’

‘Ddoolrinddo fell into the well, in the water. She sank. When Ddoolrinddo sank, Maria finished to wash, took her clothes, and went home.’

‘Lunch time came, the lunch has already been cooked, she was asked : “Maria, where is that child?” ’
ddoo.20.104'

"agórà (ttwelé??) kamwaadhowléwó vanodhá kí mímíw’ ool’ úúvi ?"
agórà o-ttoló=ní ka-mu-a-dhow-ilé=wo va-modhá kí mímíma o-lí úúvi
now 17-well =LOC NEG-2PL-PST-go-PFV =17.LOC 16-one EMPH 1.child 1-be where
"Now, did not you go there together? Where is the child?"

ddoo.21.107’

"fíi I paddí kamútamaarí míyó kadddimóni. ‘átá arímáala.
fíi paddí ka-mu-tamaarí míyó ka-ddi-mú-ón-ile áttú a-hí-máála
INTER Lsaid NEG-2PL-provoke.SBJ 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG-OM1-see-PFV 2.people 2-PFV.DJ-shut.up
"Ihí, I said don’t annoy me, I have not seen her!” People shut up.

ddoo.22.111.7’

omahá súmáána súmáána bili; , mwásán’ ótámélúwá koonéyile.
o-hí-mála súmáána súmáána bili mwásáná o-hí-támél-uw-á ka-on-éy-ile
17-PFV.DJ-complete 9a.week 10a.week 10.two 1.child 1-PFV.DJ-look.for-PASS-Fi NEG.1-see-NTR-PFV
‘One week passed away, two weeks, and the child was being looked for, she could not be seen (was not visible).’

ddoo.23.115.5’

ddabùn’ ókweéné; , vattólóní váméllé foloóri énddímúwá vaddiddí yaokóddéla waddiddí. fóólóér’ iifíl’
ookomesáári wibá :

ddabunó őkú=éné va-ttoló=ní vâ-mel-ilé foloóri é-nddimúwá
then 17.DEM.I =INT 16-well =LOC 16-blossom-PFV.CJ 9a.flower.PL 9-big
vaddiddí ya ókóddéla vaddiddí folóóri épjíe o-komesáári wíibá
much 9.CON 15.be.beautiful much 9a.flower 9.DEM.III NAR-start 15.sing
’Then, there at the well a flower blossomed, a very big and very beautiful flower. That flower began to sing’

ddoo.24.124’

’ “Ddóólrínddo, ddi míyó vórgónya-ya-ya, Ddóólrínddo, Maríyá’ őóolóóddirumá-ya-ya. Ddóólrínddo, kadhówéla leño-so-ya-ya, Ddóólrínddo odhówén’ ootólóni-ya-ya” ’

D. ddi míyó vórgónya D. Maríyá o-lé-ó-ddi-ramá
D. 1.COP 1SG.PRO 9a.shame D. Maria 1-CE-15-OM1SG-order
D. ka-dhów-él-a leño D. o-dhów-é=na o-ttoló=ní
D. IMP-go-APPL-Fi 9a.tissue D. 2SG-go-SBJ =COM 17-well =LOC
”Ddoolrindo, it is me, shame, Ddoolrindo, Maria sent me, Ddoolrindo, go and fetch the tissue,
Ddoolrindo bring it to the well.”

ddoo.25.148’

"saá, abowwána, ottólón’ uulkú’ ookáálá fúólóér’ ifnibá vacéláni.
saá abowwána o-ttoló=ní ókúlé o-hí-káálá fúólóóri [e-ní-fá va-célá = ni]REL
“Ooh, men! There at the well there is a flower which sings at the well.
They had to look for people. They went to the well, took the water out of that well. The water dried.

People went to the well and hid themselves around. Ddoolrinddoo is singing:

Where is the child? Do not bother me, she was there at the well, to wash, go and fetch the tissue, bring it to the well. Maria said to not bother me, she was there at the well, to wash, go and fetch the tissue, bring it to the well. People went to the well and hid themselves around. Ddoolrindo is singing: “[…]”

I said to not bother me, she was there at the well, to wash, if she sank, she sank, why are you bothering me!”

“Is it Ddoolrindo??!” “I don’t know!” “[excl.], no! You are lying.”

“Maria!” “Father.” “Where is the child?”

“I said to not bother me, she was there at the well, to wash, if she sank, she sank, why are you bothering me!”

There is a lot of water in the well. What shall we do with it?”

They had to look for people. They went to the well, took the water out of that well. The water dried.
ddoo.33.219

otíbwa n’ aahfsa. otíbùw’ otíbùw’ otíbùw’ otíbùw’ otíbùwa (n7). Ddólóiřindd’ őónówítábvi : ♪ [song] ♪

o-tib-uw-a na ehíba otib-uw-a D. ő-ni-ő-ftá = vi
NAR-dig.out-PASS-Fi with 9.hoe 15.dig.out-PASS-Fi D. 1-IPFV.DJ-15-sing = RESTR

It was dug out with a hoe. Dug out, dug out… Ddoolrinddo still singing : [song]

ddoo.34.250.5’

átw’ ánótfsa, ánótfsa. cíbařeen’ ahiřáfwanyá Ddólóiřindدو.
átu á-ni-őtífa cíbařééne a-hí-mú-fwanyá D.

2.people 2-IPFV.DJ-15.dig.out really.INT 2-PFV.DJ-OM1-meet D.

People dug out, dug out. And really they met Ddoolrinddo.

ddoo.35.257’

őóyév’ őółf múktísimotkíttskíttskíttskíttskíttskítt’ ohrmała wóódda. só kanákwá.
ő-hí-yévá o-li múktísimotkíttskíttskíttskíttskíttskíttskíttskítt’ o-hí-mála wóódda só ka-ná-kwa
1-IPFV.DJ-be.small 1-be 3-unripe-RED 1-IPFV.DJ-finish 15.be.thin but NEG.1-CE-die

She was small, very thin, she had turned thin, but she had not died yet.

ddoo.36.263’

olóóttúkuwuwo Ddólóiřinddó , olóóhówána vatákúlu. mutúhówána vatákúlu' úuvédúwó ţangágá ,
oló-ôttúkuwu wo D. olóóhówána vatákúlu D.

na-ôdhówá = na va-tákúlu [o-véd-uw-č]REL ţangágá
15.go = COM 16-9a.house 1.look.for-PASS-PFV.REL 1a.healer.PL

They took Ddoolrinddo there and went home with her. After taking her home, a traditional healer was looked for.’ (lit. ‘the one who was looked for, it is a traditional healer’)

ddoo.37.268.3’

olóódhá , olóómússasanyedha Ddólóiřindd’ őółľé , Ddólóiřindd’ őółókáľá muttu.
oló-ôdhá oló-ô-mú-sasany-edh-a D. őółľé D. oló-ôkáľá muttu

He came, cured that Ddoolrinddo, she dug out a person (again).

ddoo.38.272.7’

tutúř yeeřľége. áñán aabaalľífəvě cell bagáwanséř’ őókođdela.
tutúř [e-ér-ilége]REL áñán [a-a-baal-řw-č]REL a-illľREL
ideo 9-do-PFV.REL,HAB 2.child 2-PST-give.birth-PASS-PFV.REL 2-two
ba-gá-wan-ľ-a őókođdela
SEQ,2-SIT-fight-APPL-Fi 14.beauty

(That was the story of) children who were born in the same house (lit. ‘who were born two’) and fighting for beauty.
The hands, the belly and the feet (by Guilherme)

1.0

body.

weeflége keeflége dhaawene, waalí Mádá: Érúgúlú; na Manyálo. swéêné: aákána mákán’ ááwa mudíla.


na manýalo áwééné a-ákána mákání = ááwa mu-díla

and 6.foot 3PL.PRO 2-PST.PFV-have 6.talk = POSS.3PL 18-9a.díla

‗(lit. ‘the one who did did not do like this’) Once upon a time, there were Mr.Hands, Mr.Belly and Mr.Feet.

They were having an argument on the way.’

1.15

entáwú Érúgulú na Máda orómfe onyóónyeyá: ddi Máda.

entáwú érúgulú na máda [o-róm-ile onyóóny-ey-á]REL ddi máda

then 9.belly and 6.hand 1-start-PFV.REL 15.annoy-NTR-Fi 1.COP 6.hand

‗Between Mr.Belly and Mr.Hands, the one who got annoyed first is Mr.Hands.’

1.23.5

Mádá basalogá na érúgulu, belá : “nínga wéyo onoddípúja vaddíddí. dhihlábá mifó dheete dh ne, ońj ddi wéyo. kuñddívañámo.

madá ba-a-logá na érúgulu ba-ilá ningá wéyo o-ní-o-ddi-púja

6.hand SEQ.1-speak with 9.belly SEQ.1-say VOC 2SG.PRO 2SG-IPFV.DJ-15-om1SG-despise

vaddíddí [dhi-ní-lábé mifó dhi-eté=dheñe]REL [o-ní-já]REL ddi wéyo

much 10-IPFV.CJ-work 1SG.PRO 10-all = 10.INT 1-IPFV.CJ-eat 1.COP 2SG.PRO

ku-ní-ddi-vahá = mo

NEG.2SG-IPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

‗Mr.Hands spoke to Mr.Belly and said: You are making a fool of me. Everything I produce, the one who enjoys is you. You do not give me anything.’

1.34.5

mifó ddiolímmé: bámábáya, ddiolímmé: kókó, ddiolímmé: máfúgi; , mazhi wéyo (ono...) oňkálél’ oójá wééne, kuñddívañámo.

mifó ddi-ní-ólímá bámábáya ... kókó ... máfúgi

1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.cultivate 1a.sweet.potato ... 9.coconut ... 6.banana

mazhi wéyo o-ní-kál-él-a oójá wééne ku-ní-ddi-vahá = mo

but 2SG.PRO 2-IPFV.CJ-be-APPL-Fi 15.eat 15.INT NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

‗I cultivate sweet potatoes, coconuts, bananas. But you keep eating, you do not give me anything.’

1.45.5

oójá weeká párañí? entáwú órómnáná ddabuno pá? oosongóro, mifó ddiífrúnké ddiítye owúsápela.’

o-ní-já weeká pára = ni entáwú órómná = ná ddabunó pára oosongóro

2SG-IPFV.CJ-eat 2SG.alone for = what then 15.start = COM today until 17.front

mifó ddi-ní-fúná ddi-ttíy-e o-ú-sáp-el-a

1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 1SG-stop-SBJ 15-OM2SG-provide.food-APPL-Fi

‗Why do you eat on your own? Then, from now on, I am going to stop feeding you.’
agórá Manyálo becwá mákñinya belá : “ǹngáni nyúwó eell Êrúgulu, na Máda, odhúl’ úûkó mudlógáwóoní?”

agórá manyálo ba-iyá mákñí = ya ba-ilá ningá = ni nyúwó a-ilí érügulu na now 6. foot SEQ.1-listen 6.talk = DEF SEQ.1-say VOC = PLA 2PL.PRO 2-two 7.belly and máda odhúlú ókú mu-nil-lógá = wó = ni 6.hand 17.top 17.DEM.II 2PL-IPPFV.CJ-speak = 17.LOC = what

‘Now, Mr. Feet listened to their talk and said : ‘Hey! You two, Mr. Belly and Mr. Hands, what are you talking about up there?’”

(baa..., baa..., baakosá) baatagíha dlá biili, wifíl’ : “óókúnó niwánéláawo: ósápélíwa.”

ba-a-tagíha dlá biili wifíl ókú = nó ni-hí-wánélá = wó ósápél-íw-a SEQ-1-repeat 10a.time 10.two CMP 17.DEM.I = PROX 1PL-IPPFV.DJ-fight.for = 17.LOC 15.feed-PASS-Fi

‘He said again : we are fighting here about food supply.’

mükwáaga belá : “míyó ñnwúsápelá: [ñ ñnwúsápela] ddinosápē: , wéy’ óonoójá kuándáháhó.”

today 2SG-IPPFV.DJ-15.eat NEG.2SG-IPPFV-OM1SG-give = 18.LOC

‘My friend said : I feed you. I bring food, you eat, and do not give me anything.’

agórá belá : “táabe, agórá akala j’ ñjú wééné: , míyó vifína órómáná ddabunó : par’ oosogóllo
kaddimúttébaani vifína.

agórá ba-ilá táabe agórá akala jí ejó wééné míyó vifína órómá = ná then SEQ.1-say ok then if 9.COP 9.DEM.II INT 1SG.PRO too 15.start = COM
ddabunó para oosogóllo ka-ddi-ni-ú-téba = ní vifína today to 17.future NEG-1SG-IPPFV-OM2SG-carry = PLA tambéém

‘Then he said : ok, if it is like this, me too, from now on, I am not carrying you anymore.’


para óóhówá osápa [o-ni-mú-útuuka = wó]REL ddi míyó to 15.go 15.hunt 1-IPPFV.CJ-OM1-hold = 17.LOC 1.COP 1SG.PRO

‘Because, it is me who lifts you! That Mr.Hand cannot balance itself. I am the one who carries him (Hand) to go hunting.’
because Mr.Feet refused to carry him (Mr.Hands), Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food.

Then, from that day on, the whole body no longer worked (walked), it kept on sleeping.

At the bananas (plantation), where he (Mr.Hand) refers to, on the field, at work... wherever he goes through, I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.

Then if he wants to annoy you, I do want too, both of you. I no longer carry you!

When he (Mr.Hand) refers to, on the field, at work... wherever he goes through, I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.

Then if he wants to annoy you, I do want too, both of you. I no longer carry you!

Then if he wants to annoy you, I do want too, both of you. I no longer carry you!

At the bananas (plantation), where he (Mr.Hand) refers to, on the field, at work... wherever he goes through, I am the one who carries him! He does not walk on his own.

Briefly, Mr.Feet refused to carry Mr.Hands, Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food. Because Mr.Feet refused to carry him (Mr.Hands), Mr.Hands refused to go and fetch food.

Then if he wants to annoy you, I do want too, both of you. I no longer carry you!
They cannot be on their own (body parts). Work, god is the one who divided it.'

When unified, it works, it brings health.'

Then, this is how it happened. Every part of the body has its function.'

They were carried in the coffin, the three of them, who were fighting there.'

They were left, all. Mr. Hands died too, Mr. Belly died, Mr. Feet died.'

Then when he died, all died. Mr. Hands died too, Mr. Belly died, Mr. Feet died.'

They were carried in the coffin, the three of them, who were fighting there’

‘Then, this is how it happened. Every part of the body has its function.’

When unified, it works, it brings health.’

‘They cannot be on their own (body parts). Work, god is the one who divided it.’

₆₀ múttu is optional here
‘Mr. Feet’s task is to carry, Mr. Hands’ task is to work, Mr. Belly’s task is to eat and share inside.’ (for the organs)

‘Then, this is how it happened. Pride. Whoever is proud destroys himself, is destroyed, disappears from society.’

‘This is the advice we want to give to the proud people.’
Text 4: The mute girl (by Guilherme)

mute.1

ñsáká nimodhá naakálawo [→ waakálawo] mwánamwíyaná mwánanámwáli, woonówle vatákúlu vaábáabé.

ñsáká ni-modhá o-á-kála = wo mwáná-mwíyaná mwáná-námwáli
5.time 5-one 1-PST.IPV-be = 17.LOC 1.child-1.woman 1.child-1a.girl

[ o-unúw-ifle va-tákúlu va ábáabé ]REL
1-grow-PFV.REL 16-9a.house 16.CON 2.parent

once upon a time, there was a girl who grew up in her parent’s house

mute.2

mwáná’ gólle kaádhówa omundda. (báábé na mááyé; waáfíya ñsáká: n’ oötél-fwa; mas fyéénelay mwán’
gólle kaálóga. kaaziwil’ ologá.

mwááná ñlle ka-á-dhówa o-mundda o-a-hí-flya ñsáká na ótél-fw-á
1.child 1.DEM.III NEG.1-PST.IPV-go 17-3.field.PL 1-PST-PFV.DJ-arrive 5.time 5.CON 15.marry-PASS-Fi

mas fyééné = yá mwááná ñlle ka-á-lóga ka-a-ziw-flé ologá
but 3SG.PRO = DEF 1.child 1.DEM.III NEG.1-PST.IPV-speak NEG.1-PST-know-PFV 15.speak.PL

that child did not go to the field. she had reached the age to get married, but she, that child, did not speak.

She was not able to speak.

mute.3

ató waáfíya yúúmó énddímúwéêne.

até o-a-flya yúúmó é-nddímúwá = ène

until 1-PST.IPV.DJ-arrive 9.age 9.big = INT

she eventually got older

mute.4

ákwáaye abaálíwe na fyééne ahímála ótél-fwa (rhmú rhmuruddání mwák , rhmuruddá) rhmuruddani mpúlé; ,
ma fyééne baahalá dhawééné s’ oötél-fwa.

ákwé = áye [a-baál-fw-e na fyééne]REL a-hí-málá ótél-fw-a

2.friend.POSS.3SG 2-give.birth-PASS-PFV.REL with 3SG.PRO 2-PFV.DJ-complete 15.marry-PASS-Fi

mu-murudda = ni mpúlé mas fyééne ba-a-halá dhaawó = ène sé ótél-fw-a

18-3.village.PL = LOC 18.DEM.III but 3SG.PRO SEQ-1-say PRO.DEM.II = INT without 15.marry-PASS-FI.PL

the friends who were born at the same time were already married in the village but she remained like this,
without getting married

mute.5

ehtáwú; , báábé: na rómá áaye; baalóga dhááyi na ápáli

ehtáwú báábé na rómá áaye ba-a-logá dhááyi na ápáli
then 1a.father and 1.mother 2.POSS.1 SEQ-2-say like this.1 with 2.boy
then, the parents spoke like this to the young men
ok, he said: “I want us to go and sow rice”. It was (indeed) the season to sow rice.

they said: “this daughter of mine wants to get married, but she does not speak, she can not speak. she does not smile, nothing! Since she has been born.

now, whoever makes my daughter laugh will marry her.

then came mister Bushbuck, mister Elephant, etc, none succeeded in making that girl laugh

he is saying: “father-in-law, I want to go to the field tomorrow with you and with the girl”
she laughed (at them): ―[excl.+laugh], Mr. Hare does not know how to sow rice!‖

then, he did not explain why he had asked to go to the plantation with the girl.

mister Hare took the rice and turned down the root, and left it floating at the top when he went there at the plantation, they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice.

then mister Hare took the rice and turned down the root, and left it floating at the top;

when he went there at the plantation, they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice.

then mister Hare took the rice and turned down the root, and left it floating at the top.

then the outside visible part in sow position; he even sowed a big plot of land that way, with the (things...) roots upside down.

then that girl, when she noticed the way the hare was sowing rice, turning the roots up and the leaves down the soil, she laughed a lot.

the girl laughed (at them): “[excl. + laugh], Mr. Hare does not know how to sow rice!”

"héhé! wulrú! ...namárogolo keédh’ úceyá mbúga ba-á-téyá hêéê wulrú namárogolo ka-idhi oceyá mbúga SEQ.1-OM2-laugh INTER IDEO 1a.hare NEG.1-know 15.sow.PL 3.rice she laughed (at them): “[excl. + laugh], Mr. Hare does not know how to sow rice!”

"démgól ngolo ottukula mbúga, ogununa mbúlé ńtúkúniwá, ottyil’ ńdéhúlu kugaambèrurwa

when he went there at the plantation, they began to cultivate (in water), and sow the rice.
mute.18.160.5’
ehtáwú, mwánámwýan’ ódíle (mumummm...) mutéyéíféyé dhayi lééne (baáblí na mááye) ehtáwú: ókúle
omündáa obuđuwiľé tűngulúrà, , báábe na mááyé ‘éez’ívéliwá:
ehtáwú mwáná-mwýaná ólí [mu-téy-él-é = iyé dhayi lééne]REL ehtáwú
then 1.child.1.woman 1.DEM.II 18-laugh-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO PRO.DEM.I 7.INT then
ókúle o-mündáa obuđuwi-ilé tűngulúrà báábe na mááyé a-hí-zívéliwa
17.DEM.III 17-go.out-PFV.CJ 9a.trill.PL 1.a.father and 1.mother 2-PFV.DJ-like
then that girl, when she laughed that way, (the parents...) (then) trilling went out in the plantation, the
parents were pleased.

mute.19.174’
órómanyá labónén’ áttíle par’ oosongólró, mwánámwýaná ólí olórómanyá: ósúúz’ ólogá
órómanyá=ná labó=néne áttíle para oosongólró mwáná-mwýaná ólí
15.start= COM 5.day.PL= 5.INT 5.DEM.III to 17.future.PL 1.child.1.woman 1.DEM.III
o-lé-órómanyá ósúúzá ologá
1-CE-15.start 15-learn 15.speak.PL
from that day on, that girl began to learn how to speak

mute.20.181’
namárgolo olórómúttükúla (MWá), olórówáwá móyan’ ódíle baamůtěla
namárgolo o-lé-ó-mú-tükúla o-lé-ówáh-fw-a móyaná ólí ba-a-mú-těla
1a.rabbit 1-CE-15-OM1-take 1-CE-15-give-PASS.Fi 1.woman 1.DEM.III SEQ-1-OM1-marry
the rabbit took her, he was offered that woman and married her

mute.21.185.5’
belá : “pořke mwánag’ oóddu olórófýyé dhaav’ uúbáálwá’ , kaálóga. wéyó níng’ oómáwódhá ómólógíha
ómútyíha mwánágá’ , oneelórómutelá mwánága.
ba-ilá pořke mwánága óóddu o-lé-ófiyá dhaavi o-báál-fw-á
SEQ.1-say because 1.child.POSS.1SG 1.DEM.I 1-CE-15.arrive like.this.I 15-give.birth-PASS-FI
ka-á-lóga wéyó nínga o-tí-mú-wodhá 6-mú-log-fh-a
NEG.1-PST.IPVF-speak 2SG.PRO as 2SG-PFV.DJ-OM1-succeed 15-OM1-speak-CASU-FI
o-mú-téy-fh-a mwánága o-ña-ilá-ó-mu-telá mwánága
(the father) said: “since my daughter has not spoken since she was born, and you succeeded in making
her speak and laugh, you will marry my daughter.

mute.22.196’
namárgolo olórómúttükúla mwánámwýan’ ódílé’, olóródhówána vatakkúlwáhe. tutútú s’ ééflááání
namárgolo o-lé-ó-mú-tükúla mwáná-mwýaná ólí ó-lé-ódhówá = na
1a.hare 1-CE-15-OM1-take 1.child-1.woman 1.DEM.III 1-CE-15-go = COM
va-tükúlú = vahe tutútú si [dhi-ér-flégé = ani]REL
16-9a.home = 16.POSS.1 IDEO 10.COP 10-do-PFV.HAB.FI = 3PL.PRO
Mr.Hare took that girl and went home with her.
therefore, cleverness often benefits man in our society.

therefore, on that day, Mr. Hare, thanks to his cleverness, married that girl with no money.

whereas those rich people who had money, did not succeed in marrying that girl.
**Text 5: The fish thief (by Frederico)**

*nblír* 1.1’

*gálál: erifunéem’ uutágiyá: oñtágiyá ddi miyó Férédéríku, ōpunu nóMakuízi, omáttíy’ upuno. [better: okuno]*

9a.story 9-IPFV.CJ-want = 1SG.PRO 15.tell 1-IPFV.CJ-tell 1.COP 1SG.PRO freddérico

‘The story I want to tell, who is telling is Frederico here in Macuse, at night.’

*nblír* 2.14.5’

*gálál: eññógá: ya óddúle: oñóta náma vaddíddi.*

9a.story 9-IPFV.CJ-tell 9.CON 1.DEM.M.1 1-IPFV.CJ-hunt 9a.game much

‘The story tells about a great hunter.’ (lit. ‘tells of the one who hunts a lot of game’)

*nblír* 3.23’

*aqamal’ ootóta nám’ áagaadhowána vatákúlúye, mwásádhíye ojagámó námáy’ éjíle aqamal’ oopíya.*

a-gaa-mala o-tóta náma a-gaa-dhowá = ná va-tákúlú = ve

1-SIT-finish 15.hunt 9a.game 1-SIT-go = COM 16-9a.house = 16.POSS.3SG

1.wife = POSS.3SG NAR-eat-HAB-FI = 18.LOC 9a.game = DEF 9a.3.DEF 1-SIT-finish 15.cook

‘After hunting game and bringing it home, his wife used to eat that meat after cooking it.’

*nblír* 4.31.5’

*aamal’ ojúámō , ommagýédhá namálába.*

a-a-mala ójá = mó o-mu-magýédhá namálába

1-SIT-finish 15.eat = 18.LOC NAR-OM1-slander 1a.working-man

‘After eating, she accused the employee.’

*nblír* 5.36’

*(mwa) mwamúñ’ ósílídhuwa. agasílídhuwa: , okaanámwí ya: wiílá anóñé ba aani oñjésáamw’ iísáv’ iifjile.*

1.husband.POSS.3SG NAR-annoy-PASS-FI 1-SIT-annoy-PASS-FI 1-IPFV.DJ-have = 18.LOC

9.CON CMP 1-know-SBJ 2.COP who 1-IPFV.CJ-eat-DUR-FI = 18.LOC 9.relish 9a.3.DEF

‘The husband got angry. When he gets angry, he wants to know who keeps eating that relish.’

*nblír* 6.43’

*ji gáálál’ éeññfunéeh’ uutágiífu fyó ddabunó vënêva. eromilé dhááyi :*

9a.story 9-IPFV.CJ-want = 1PL.PRO 15.tell 1PL.PRO today 16.EDEI.M.1

‘This is the story we want to tell here today. It starts this way.’
A man grew up, married a woman, had his children, looked for an employee, all are in the same house.

He was a fisherman.

Wherever he fishes, the good things he brings, after he cooks them, his wife did not give them to the husband, they did not reach him.

He did not like this. Therefore he started investigating to know who keeps eating the tasty part.

He investigated to know who is that person who does this.

He thought of consulting an oracle. For his oracular trial, he took a thread, made it go till the opposite river bank.
Then he said: ‘all of us who live in this house, let’s go on this thread to the other bank of the river.’

‘The very one who ate the relish, it will catch him straight away.’

‘Then, the man accepted, the women with the children and the working-man came to an agreement, they accepted.’

‘The man made that magic. He went to the river, untied his thread and, as the boss, started to climb onto it.’

‘This day, the fish that he had caught was called ‘mbíri’ fish. That fish was very fat (i.e. healthy).’

‘Then, as he had not eaten, it is there that he decided to make that magic of his.’
mbílri.20.167'

mažhíya aromfiléeyé óvirá voósálim' apále. bagáviró: bagééba. weééba dhááyi - muddáákuleléé:
mažhíya [a-rom-fle = iyé óvirá va-osálu = ní apále]REL
6.magic 6-start-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 15.pass 16-14.thread = LOC 16.DEM.III
ba-gá-virá = vó ba-gá-iba o-á-iba dhááyi mu-ddi-áklul-el-eg-é
SEQ.1-SIT-pass = 16.LOC SEQ.1-SIT-sing 1-PST.IPFV.CJ-sing like.this.1 2PL-OM1SG-answer-APPL-HAB-SBJ
‘The magic which he started to pass on that thread... As he was going, he was singing. He was singing this way - answer me’

mbílri.21.176'

▷ “ófle mbílri’ ya fúmu, ófle mbílri’ ya fúmu? mbílri yaánúná: akala ddi míyéene ósá’
úub’ úupátúw’ opátúwélé mwiíko. mbílri yaánúná: mbílri yaánúná.” ▷ (x2)

[o-j-fle mbílri’ ya fúmu]REL mbílri e-a-hí-núná
1-eat-PFV.REL 9a.fish.sp 9.CON 1a.mister 9a.fish.sp 9-PST-PFV.DJ-be-fat
akala ddi míyó = ene ósálu óbú o-patúw-e o-patúw-él-e mu-íko
‘The one who ate mister’s ‘mbílri’ fish, the fat ‘mbílri’ fish, the fat ‘mbílri’ fish. If it is me, may this thread break, break into the river. The fat ‘mbílri’ fish, the fat ‘mbílri’ fish.’ (lit. ‘the ‘mbílri’ fish was fat’)
mbíri.25.220

oídóhówa’o múyaná: múyaná balogá: “nááda, (mi) ddikáló w’ oomáriha.”
o-hí-dhówá = vo múyaná múyaná ba-logá náá ddí-kál-é wa omáriha
1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC 1.woman 1.woman SEQ.1-say no 1SG-be-SBJ 1.CON 15.finish
‘The woman went there. She said: No, may I be the last one.’

mbíri.26.226.5

waskukuselá: ánúayé, mwááná w’ oomírom’ oídóhówa : [song]
o-a-kukus-el-á áná = ayé mwááná wa ó-mú-romá o-hí-dhówa
NAR-OM2-gather-APPL-Fi 2.child = POSS.3SG 1.child 1.CON 15-OM1-start 1-PFV.DJ-go
‘He invited the children, the first went.’

mbíri.27.256.5

míma oovénya oofíy’ ókokélá, owifyéla.
míma o-hi-vénya o-hi-fíya o-kobélá o-hí-fyélá
1.child 1-PFV.DJ-leave 1-PFV.DJ-arrive 19a.bank 1-PFV.DJ-go.back
‘The child left, reached the other bank and went back.’

mbíri.28.260

oídóhówa’o énhpéregádo. oókós’ áakkakéne, owííba : [song] ♪ chtúwú énhpéregádo oóvírá owííba.
o-hí-dhówá = vó énhpéregádo o-hí-kósá ya aka-ká = éne o-hí-fíba
1-PFV.DJ-go = 16.LOC 1a.employee 1-PFV.DJ-do 9.CON same-RED = INT 9-PFV.DJ-sing
chtúwú énhpéregádo o-hí-vírá o-hí-fyélá
then 1a.employee 1-PFV.DJ-pass 1-PFV.DJ-go.back
‘Then went the employee. He did the same and sang. There the employee passed through and went back.’

mbíri.29.294.5

eefíya vézhi ya ddóónawa, mulibá vatákúlú vawa. oðhowávo : [song] ♪
e-hí-fíya vézhi ya ddóónawa mulibá va-tákúlú = vawa o-dhowá = vo
‘Then came the turn of their mistress, the housekeeper. She went there.’

mbíri.30.326

ddabun’ óósál’ úukómésár’ oodéba. oofíyá vaárí: va yiikkó, ósálú oókómésår’ oodéba.
ddabunó ósálú o-hí-kómésári oodéba o-hí-fíyá vaárí va 9.river
then 14.thread 14-PFV.DJ-begin 15.weaken 1-PFV.DJ-arrive 16.middle 16.CON yiikkó
‘Then the thread began to weaken. She reached the middle of the river, the thread began to weaken.’

mbíri.31.331.5

oókómésår’ úukúwá: “mamunagá! sítý’ óolóóélémela, oddjjeú ddirúlé sítýa.” (oddjje = oddjjeedhe)
o-hí-kómésári ókúwá mamunaga sítýá e-lé-ô-ô-léléméla
1-PFV.DJ-begin 15.shout 1a.husband.POSS.1SG.PL 9a.bra 9-CE-15-OM1PL-be.heavy
o-ddí-jéedh-e ddí-rúl-é sítýa
2SG-OM1SG-wait-SBJ 1SG-undress-SBJ 9a.bra
‘She began to shout: my husband, my bra is heavy, wait for me so that I take it off.’

mbíri.32.337.5

owííba’o tavúlú orúla sítýa. oídóhówa va kakáéne. [song] ♪
o-hí-fíya tavúlú orúla sítýa o-hí-dhówá va kaká = vëne
1-PFV.DJ-go.back IDEO 15.undress 9a.bra 1-PFV.DJ-go 16.CON same = 16.INT
‘She went back and took off her bra. She then went to the same place (on the thread).’
mbírilí.33.367.5’
özál uːkóméšarí ñoodéba : “mamunaga! bíríńku! bíríńku’ ifí ḍhiddigüléle wó; , kaa’ dha wóóru?
obíríńku o-ːhi-kóméšari ñoodéba mamunaga bíríńku
temm.14 thread PFV.DJ-begin 15.weaken 1a.husband.POSS.1SG.PL 10.earring
bíríńku ɛsí [dhi-ddi-ɡúł-Ńle wéyo]REL kayíye dha wóóru
temm.10.earring 10.DEM.I 10-OM1SG-buy-APPL-PFV.REL 2SG.PRO NEG.COP 10.CON 14.gold
‘The thread began to weaken. My husband! The earrings! These earrings you bought me, aren’t they made of
gold?’

mbírilí.34.374.5’
tém que ddídnényéwo!’ mwámúni belága : “ófúná wááwo.”
tém que ddí-veny-fiŋ-e wọ mwámúni ba-logá ófúná wááwo
have.to 1SG-go.out-CAUS-SBJ = 16.LOC 1a.husband SEQ.1-say 15.want 15.POSS.2SG
‘I have to take them off! The husband said : as you wish.’

mbírilí.35.378.5’
oódñówó óókúcação bíríńku. óókóšá vakávéne, owííba, ósǎl’ ñuddéba.
o-ːhi-dhówá óókúcação wọ bíríńku o-ːhi-kóšá va ká = věne
1-PFV.DJ-go 15.take.off = 17.LOC 10a.earring 1-PFV.DJ-do 16.CON same = 16.INT
o-ːhi-ńba ósál o-ːhi-dhóba
1-PFV.DJ-sing 14.tread 1-PFV.DJ-weaken
‘She went and took off the earrings. She went back at the same place and sang. The thread weakened.’

mbírilí.36.384.5’
“agórá tém que ddíríle gúwo!” “ófúná wááwo! fyó nińfúná noón’ éebáribari.”
agórá tém que ddí-ːrul-e gúwo ófúná wááwo fyó ni-ːni-fúná
now have.to 1SG-undress-SBJ 9a.cloth 15.want 15.POSS.2SG 1PL.PRO 1PL-IPFV.CJ-want
ni-ːn=e ebáribari
1PL-see-SBJ 9.truth
‘Now, I have to take my clothes off.’ ‘As you wish! We want to see the truth.’

mbírilí.37.389.5’
rapáриga (kahfí’ ǒottukula okaká) ddabunó kayfí’ óokálá dhëdihó: ddabunó: ddabunó já dhëdihó.
rapáříga ddabuno kayhó okálá dhëdihó ddabuno ddabuno já dhëdihó
1a.girl then NEG.COP 15.be naked then then already naked
‘Then the mistress remained naked. Now she is already naked.’

mbírilí.38.393.8’
balogá : “iiíi, nádad’ ọonwaáláv’ aánáyíma.”
ba-logá híií náá = tô o-ːni-ːd-łáva áná-ːyíma
SEQ.1-say INTER no = then 2SG-IPFV.DJ-OM2-curse 2.child-2.child
‘He said : [excl.], then not this way, you are going to bring curse on the children.’

mbírilí.39.396.5’
já oódñówó owaábála já sáyọ́ọ́ta, oódñówá vakávéne. ♪ [song] ♪
já o-ːhi-dhówá o-ːhi-ːbála já sáyọ́ọ́ta o-ːhi-dhówa va same = 16.INT
already 1-PFV.DJ-go 1-PFV.DJ-dress already 9a.underskirt 1-PFV.DJ-go 16.CON kaká = věne
‘She went, put on the underskirt, and went back to the same place.’
mbíri.40.424’

*ddabun’ óósáli’ uúkómésáár’ uuddédá:*, yéén’ uúkómésááru wuûnddá ya déréétwééne vaddíddi.

*ddabunó ósálu o-hí-kómésáári oddébá iyééne o-hí-kómésáári wuûnddá then 14.thread 14-PFV.DJ-begin 15.weaken 3SG.PRO 14-PFV.DJ-begin 15.cry ya déréétu = éne vaddíddi 9.CON well = INT much

‘Then, the thread began to weaken, she began to cry for real.’

mbíri.41.427.5’

*múlóbwaná oówáráárháávi, iyé: jib’ uúktái’ éénóvilúbúwává, ddabunó: ósáli’ uúpátúwawene verdáádi.*


‘The man intensified his singing, the song is now being intensely sung, and then the thread broke for real.’

mbíri.42.435.5’

*(opé) ósáli’ uúpátúwá: , mwíyáná vaárí va yiíko; , oón móttélá ńmúánjéé “kibíií.”*


‘The thread broke, the woman was half way over the river, she fell into the water “splash!” ’

mbíri.43.441’

*ńmóttélíiyé ńmúánjéen osadduú’ ookala mbíri víñagúwa.*

*[mu-mótt-él-é = iye mu-máánjé = ní]rel o-sadduwa o-kala mbíri víñagúwa 18-fall-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 18-6.water = LOC NAR-change NAR-be 9a.fish.sp.PL too ‘When she fell into the water, she got transformed, she became a ‘mbíri’ fish too.’

mbíri.44.445’

*ddabunó: múlóbwaná okala sé muyaná: , sábwa y’ oónútelá múyáná w’ oorúúca.*

*ddabunó múlóbwaná o-kala sé muyaná sábwa ya ó-mú-telá then 1.man NAR-be without 1.woman.PL because 9.CON 15-OM1-marry múyáná wa oorúúca 1.woman 1.CON 15.steal

‘Then the man remained without any woman because of his marrying a woman who steals (off the stove).’

mbíri.45.450’

*ńyímá: okala sé ńmayítwá: oóni peredééré ńmíyítwá sábwa yoorúúca, waamágyedhuwagáíí, anamálába vatákúlu n’ ańyímáya vatákúlu.*


‘The children remained motherless, they lost their mother because of her stealing (off the stove), (stealing) that they had being blamed for, the working-men and the children of the house.’
‘End of the story: this is what did the husband of a thief woman.’
Text 6: The story of Maria (by Sérgio)

maria.1_2.7'
weéfé keéfé dhaawo. weéfé: ‘ddf fúmu Juwáwú.
1-say-PFV.REL NEG.1-say-PFV like.this.11.PL 1-say-PFV.REL 1.COP 1a.mister joão
‘Once upon a time (lit. ‘who did it did not do that way’), there was a gentleman called João.’

maria.2_9.5'
baatelá: baakalá vatákulu váaye na mwáádhíye.
ba-a-talá ba-a-kalá va-tákulu váaye na mwáádhí = ye
SEQ-1-marry SEQ-1-stay 16-9a.house 16.Poss.3SG with 1.wife = POSS.1
‘He got married and lived in his house with his wife.’

maria.3_14.5’
vélévó: áwééne baakaána gári y’ óobádálávó:, baakaána áyíma’ aaraarú ánáyaná.
vélévó áwééne ba-a-kaána gári ya óbáála = vó
16.EM.II 3PL.PRO SEQ-2-have 9a.luck 9.CON 15.give.birth = 16.LOC
ba-a-kaána áyíma a-raarú ánáyaná
SEQ-2-have 2.child 2-three 2.child.woman
‘There, they had the luck to become parents, they had three daughters.’

maria.4_24’
áyíma’ ábá: awúúúwó vañgónó vañgónó n’ aababá: vatákuluvavá: va fúmu Juwáwú’ údódo.
áyíma ábá a-hí-únuwa vañgónó vañgónó na abaaba
2.child 2.DEM.I 2-PFV.DJ-grow 16.little 16.little with 2.parents.PL
va-tákulu = vawa va fúmu juwáwú ódó
16-9a.house = 16.Poss.3PL 16.CON 1a.mister joão 1.DEM.II
‘These children grew up little by little in their parents’ house (at that mister João’s).’

maria.5_30.5’
omóónúñwél’ oóku nhmodha waškáanánávó’ ŋtówa. nhmodha waškáanánávó’ ŋtówá: ;
omóónúñwél oóku mu-modha o-a-hí-káana = vó ŋtówa
17.growing.fase 17.DEM.I 1-one 1-PST-PFV.DJ-have = 16.LOC 5.curse
‘As they grew, one of them got cursed. One of them got cursed.’

maria.6_37’
baakalá: w’ onyákúwaya, wábulélá vaddídá, musébwe; , pélé kadhaánimalá: …
ba-a-kalá wa onyákúwa = ya o-a-hí-bulélá vaddiddí
SEQ.1-be 1.CON 15.be.dirty = DEF 1-PST-PFV.DJ-be.sick much
musébwe pélé ka-dhi-á-mú-mala
3.measles 10a.scabies NEG-10-PST.PFV-OM1-stop
‘She was dirty (pale/weak) and always got sick: measles, scabies never stopped (with her).’
Maria.7_43.5

ehtáwu'...veléval' áápale moonéliyé wíí: ýyéene ónóbúléla vaddiddí: , kaavódh' oott(ii)ddá mabas' áápale vatákúlu: sabw' cela waakála muredđév'; ábále; , ábále éená: áánímunyapwaaríya.

Then, when she saw that she was always getting ill, that she was not able to clean the house because she was always sick, those ones, the other sisters, despised her.'

Maria.8_62'

kaážíveluwána sabw' élé: rábáalááw' oonyákúwa.

They did not like her because she was pale/weak.'

Maria.9_66'

maníngw' áaye adhaalllé túgúví, ánga náándwe, (anyá...) maníngw' áaye b' oonyákúwa.

Her body was full of pimples, like a frog, her body was pale/weak.'

Maria.10_73'

niímalélánlí: ḥỳíflyá áská na wúunúwá', awúunúw' cetéén' aábále.

Then came the growing phase: all these grew up.'

Maria.11_78.5'

ábá celi: askoddéllé oonúwile dereéttí muógúmní, aátélúwa.

Those two, who were beautiful, who had grown up well and in health, got married.'

Maria.12_83'

aádhówa ánmátákulu mwáwáwá, ámwaamuna dereéttí, sakáána jwááwá: [ = ñhááwa]

They lived in their houses, their husbands are well, and they have their properties.'
maria.13.87’

vataktúlavaw’ aánója derectú: "ánóómwá’, ánókosá dhootédhéné.

va-tákúlu = wawa á-ni-oja derectú á-ni-ómwa á-ni-ókosá
dhi-oté = dhéné
10-all = 10.INT

‘At home, they eat well, drink and do whatever they want.’

maria.14.90’

ábábá vihn’ ágaadhow’ óókule mhmatákúlu mwáánáwa nápó: , áážiwi’ éélá: ‘cibaréene mwááná’
oótúluwa, mwááná ág’ ookáana múrálà.’

ábábá vihna á-gaa-dhowá óókule mu-mhmatákúlu mwáánáwa nápó á-á-ni-ziwá
2.parent too 2-sit-go 17.DEM.III 18-6.house 1.child.POSS.2 18.DEM.II 2-PST-IPFV.DJ-know
wífá cibaréene mwáánága o-hí-tél-úw-a mwáánága o-hi-káána múrálá
CMP really 1.child.POSS.1SG 1-IPFV.DJ-marry-PASS-Fi 1.child.POSS.1SG 1-IPFV.DJ-have 3.home
‘the parents too, when they go to their daughter’s houses there, they recognise that: for real, my daughter is
married, my daughter has a home.’

maria.15.97’

óddú múkwáága w’oonyákúw’ aakál’ óobuléláv: na péle? olí vátákúlu va ábáabe. kaná y’óókósa,
oosedghéya.

óddú múkwé = ága wa onyákúwa [o-á-kála obulélá = ví na péle] REL
1.DEM.I 1.friend = POSS.1SG 1.CON 15.be.dirty 1-PST.IPFV-be 15.suffer.PL = RESTR with 10a.scabies
o-li vá-tákúlu va ábáabe ka-ná ya óókósa o-hí-sédghé-éy-a
1-be 16-9a.house 16.CON 2.parent NEG.1-have 9.CON 15.do 1-IPFV.DJ-cause.trouble-NTR-Fi
‘This ugly friend of mine, who kept suffering from scabies, remains in the parents’ house. She has nothing to
do, she experiences difficulties.’

maria.16.106’

yuuubúwele fyééne cífiní ‘ síkú nimodh’ oolóóvénya, múkwág’ ódd’ úna péle.

[e-ubuél-e fyéení] REL cífiní síkú ni-modha o-lé-óvénya
9-think-IPFV.REL 3SG.PRO 7.COP.what 5.day 5-one 1-CE-15.leave
múkúlu = ága óddú [o-na péle] REL
1.friend = POSS.1SG 1.DEM.I 1-have 10a.scabies
‘What is it she thought? One day she left, this friend of mine who has scabies.’

maria.17.113.5’

oolóvénya belá : “míyó ddinóvolówa mutákwañi dhawééne burebúre. ddidhówe ddéédde. vasgómédhíímí
ddígóma.

o-lé-óvénya belá míyó ddí-ni-óvolówa mu-tákwa = ni dhaawó = éne
1-CE-15.leave SEQ.1.say 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.enter 18-9a.forest = LOC EDEM.II = INT
burebúre ddí-dhów-e ddí-á-edd-e [va-ní-góm-éédh-á = imí] REL ddí-hí-góma
at.random 1SG-go-SBJ 1SG-IT-walk-SBJ 16-IPFV.CJ-stop-APPL-Fi = 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-stop
‘She left and said: I am going into the forest anyhow, at random. I will go and walk. Where I stop, I stop.’
maria.18.121'  
"ddávéde ddoón' akakal ñnceñ' o'okaana miikálo dhíiná dahoó 'oóttiyán' éesi. kí dhaayí nmáakkélé dhaavi ?

ddi-á-véed-e ddi-ón-é akala ni-naa-llá-ókaana miikáéló dhí-iná
1SG-IT-look.for-SBJ 1SG-see-SBJ if 1PL-FUT.DJ-AUX-15.have.PL 4.way.of.life 4-other

dha 'öttiyáná na ési kí dhaayí ni-náá-kál-é dhaavi
4.CON 15.be.different with 4.DEM.EMPH like.this.1 1PL-FUT.CJ-be-IRR how

'I will go and see if I can have another way of life, different from this one. How will I be then?'

maria.19.125.5'.

"ábálł' álgí: anóddínayapwaaryá kaánñìyínii, dđiggasdhôwó mháatukúlú mwaaw' aanóddíttamagñá:,

ábálłágá á-ni-ó-ddi-nyapwaaryá ka-ní-ddi-funá ddi-gaa-dhôwó mu-máatukúlú

mwaawa a-ni-ó-ddi-ttamag-lh-á
18.Poss.3PL 2-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1SG-run-CAUS-F1

'My sisters despise me, they do not want me. When I go to their home, they make me run all around.'

maria.20.130.5'.

"ábábaání viña (kańñìtíyíñáyá) kaánñìyínii: sabwa ddìinkálá mureddávii:,

ábábaání viña ka-ní-ddi-funá sabwa ddì-ní-kálá mu-reddáa = ví
2.my.parents too NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want because 1SG-IPFV.CJ-be 1-sick.PL = RESTR

'My parents too do not want me because I am always sick.'

maria.21.134.5'.

ki ddìkósé dhaavi ?” baáh' óólóóvéñýa. weeddaga dhaawééné burebúre waádhôwósfýé: kańñíwaawo.

ki ddì-kós-é dhaavi baáh' o-le-óvéñýa o-edd-ag-a dhaawó = éné
EMPH 1SG-do-SBJ how enough! 1-CE-15.stand.up NAR-walk-HAB-F1 like.this.11 = INT

burebúre [o-á-dhôwó = fyé]REL ka-ní-zíwa = wo
at.random 17-PST.IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO NEG.1-IPFV-know = 17.LOC

'What shall I do? Enough is enough, she stood up. She walked like this at random, she did not know where she was going.'

maria.22.141'  
fyéen' waalóófél : "ddíînðhówá ddéëddde baáhí burebúre."

fyééñé o-a-log-ilé ddi-ní-ddhôwá ddi-á-édd-e baáhí burebúre
3SG.PRO 1-IPFV.say.PFV.CJ 1SG-IPFV.CJ-go 1SG-IT-walk-SBJ only at.random

'She had said: I am going to walk, at random.'

maria.23.143.5'.

mwwénémwaled nǐpúle muweëddáání bagáádhówó, dìl' ééjíl' aádhôwósfýé: , odhfl' óomáádpíuuwel' oosógóró
waaye kúrúmaanje.

mwwénémwaled nǐpúle mu-weëddá = ni ba-gáá-ddhôwá dilá ééjíl' [e-á-dhôwó = fyé]REL
[ó-dh-ilé o-mú-pááduw-el-a oosógóró waaye]REL kúrúmaanje
1-come.PFV.REL 15-OM1.show.up-APPL-F1 17.front 17.POSS.3SG 1a.bee.sp.PL

'There while going on this walking path, that way she was following, a bee.sp came and showed up in front of her.' (lit. 'who came and ... was a bee.sp')
Maria.24.151'

kurumânj’ oódha wolololoo bagákálá ŋnga múttú w’ oónfву̀u✇éđha. nyééne ologá : “cáá ! kurumânj’ oódú háá ! (admiração)

kurúmánanje o-hí-dha wolololoo ba-gá-kála ŋnga múttú wa ó-mú-vuuz-édh-a
1a.bee.sp 1-PFV.DJ-come IDEO SEQ.1-SIT-be like 1_people 1.CON 15-OM1-ask-APPL-FI
fyééne o-logá cáá kurúmánanje óódu háá
3SG.PRO NAR-say INTER 1a.bee.sp 1.DEM.I INTER

‘The bee.sp came ‘bzzbzzbzzzz’, he looked like he was giving her a greeting. She said: this bee.sp, wow!’

Maria.25.163.5’

niída: ŋzu nifıl gà wíílá : “wéyô: oónfwárege kurumánjen’ oóddo”.

ni-hí-dha ŋzu [ni-ní-logá]REL wíílá
5-PFV.DJ-come 5.voice 5-IPFV.CJ-say CMP
wéyô o-mú-fwár-e-g-e kurúmánanje = éne óódo
2SG.PRO 2SG-OM1-follow-HAB-SBJ 1a.bee.sp = INT 1.DEM.II

‘A voice came, which says : do follow this very bee.sp.’

Maria.26.171.5’

ńzu ñtííl’ oofándáaní nyééne keëdínúwo.

ńzu ñtííle [o-ní-dhá = aní]REL nyééne ka-ídhi= wo
5.voice 5.DEM.III 17-IPFV.CJ-come = 3PL.PRO 3SG.PRO NEG.1-know = 17.LOC

‘She does not know where that voice came from.’

Maria.27.174.5’

vénéval’ dóróm’ oónfwarà kurumánje. kurumánj’ oosogóró nyééne munddúni, kurumánj’ oosogóró nyééne munddúni’ ánódhówa.

vénéval á-o-hí-rómá ó-mú-fwará kurumánanje
16.EDEM.III 1-PFV.DJ-start 15-OM1-follow 1a.bee.sp
kurúmánanje oosogóró nyééne munddúni á-ní-ódhówa
1a.bee.sp 17.front 3SG.PRO 18.back 2-PFV.DJ-15.go

‘There she started to follow the bee.sp : the bee.sp at the front, she at the back, the bee.sp at the front, she at the back, both going on.’

Maria.28.180’

dîl’ ééjile yaádhówaání saftyà vapambánóni.

dîlá ééjile [e-á-dhówa = á́ń]REL a-hí-fyá va-pambánó = ni
9a.way 9.DEM.III 9-PST.IPFW.CJ-go = 3PL.PRO 2-PFV.DJ-arrive 16-9a.crossroads = LOC

‘On this way, which they were going by, they arrived at a crossroads.’

Maria.29.183’

vapambánóni’ ááplé: ; aafívànya dîl áénhów’ óókú ya: dëréétu y’ oóngáñiméla y’ oókoddeda vaddíddi.

va-pambánó = ni áápélé a-hí-fwànya dîlá [e-ní-dhówa óókú]REL

ya dëréétu ya oóngáñiméla ya óókoddeda vaddíddi

‘At this crossroads, they found a path which goes here, a good, clean and very beautiful path.’
maria.30_190

*díla yíná: yaálí díla yaávír* aánénám* oottíyánottíyána, waákkála maánddáákú: gwée vaddidíi: , márífi ,
yaálí díla y’ oonyákúwa víná.

díla é-ína e-á-lí díla [e-á-víra áná-énáma a
óttíyán-óttíyána]REL o-á-kála maánddáákú gwée vaddidí mári
15.be.different-RED 17-PST.IPFV-be 10a.excrement much much 6.excrement
e-á-lí díla ya onyákúwa víná
9-PST.IPFV-be 9a.way.PL 9.CON 15.be.dirty too

‘The other path was a path used by many different animals, there were on it a lot of excrements, it was a dirty path.’

maria.31_199

kurúmánjé o-dhow-ilé dilá = éne eéjle ya onyákúwa
ñyééne cá mýíó [e-log-fwé]REL ddi-mú-fwár-é kurúmánjé
3SG.PRO INTER 1SG.PRO 9-tell-PASS-PFV.REL 1SG-OM1-follow-SBJ 1a.bee.sp

‘The bee.sp went into that dirty path. She : [excl.] Me, what I was told was to follow the bee.sp.’

maria.32.206.5

ágór’ óóktúw’ óók’ uuándówífye; , díla y’ oonyákúwa vaddidí. ddimíwé dhaávi ? ddimónífwárá."

ágóra ókú = wo óku [o-ní-dhówá = ñyé]REL díla ya onyákúwa
now 17.DEM.I = 17.LOC 17.DEM.I 17-IPFV.CJ-go = 3SG.PRO 9a.way.PL 9.CON 15.be.dirty
vaddidí ddi-kós-é dhaávi ddi-ní-ó-mú-fwárá
much 1SG-do-SBJ how 1SG-IPFV.DI-15-OM1-follow

‘Now there where he is going, the way is very dirty. What shall I do ? I will follow him.’

maria.33.212.5

óófwárá kurúmánjé oólé. odhow’ óódhów’ óódhow’ óódhowá: kurúmánjé oólé: ofwanyá: múri,
waabásále dhióbóódhá dh’ oóbrúngá, ngií máttíyélé.

o-mu-fwará kurúmánjé ñólé o-dhowá kurúmánjé ñólé o-fwanyá múri
NAR-OM1-follow 1a.bee.sp 1.DEM.III NAR-go 1a.bee.sp 1.DEM.III NAR-meet 3.tree
[o-a-badí-ile dhióbó = dhá dha óóbrúngá nínga máttíyéélé]REL
3-PST.give.birth-PFV.CJ 10.thing = 10.DEF 10.CON 15.make.round like 6.fruit.sp

‘She followed that bee.sp. She went, went, went… That bee.sp met a tree which bore (lit. ‘had borne’) round fruits, like the fruits.sp.’

maria.34.224.5

omweereela vaáttíyélél’ ñápále. ñyéén’ óówa, múán’ óólé waapa.

o-mweereela va-áttíyélél = ni ñápále ñyééné o-apa múúaná ñólé o-apa
NAR-land 16-5.fruit.sp = LOC 2.DEM.III 3SG.PRO NAR-pluck 1.woman 1.DEM.III NAR-pluck

‘He landed on those fruits. She plucked, that woman plucked.’
mwaapélfiyé, kurúmáanj’ oónósogóra óndhówávi, fyééné ónónífwarávi.

[maria.35_231’

mwaapélfiyé, kurúmáanj’ oónósogóra óndhówávi, fyééné ónónífwarávi.

[maria.35_231’

‘Now she plucked it, the bee.sp is going on, he going, she following him.’

[maria.35_233.7’

‘They arrived at an old man’s place, where that bee.sp was going to show her.’

[maria.35_234.9’

‘When they arrived, that woman asked to be admitted, together with her bee.sp they arrived.’

[maria.35_235.3’

‘An old man came out. He looked at her and said : ‘[excl.], are you not Maria?’

[maria.35_235.4’

‘Yes, I am Maria. How do you know I am Maria?’ ‘I saw (you) that you are Maria. What do you want?’
maría.40_268.5’

maría SEQ.1-say 1SG.PRO 1PL-CE-offEnd-NTR-FI as 1I-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-FI = 2RESP.PRO
maníngó ába áaga ńróomá = na ńyímá waágá ṣfáyáá ḍháyáá = éné
6.body 6.DEM.I 6.POSS.1SG 15.start = COM 14.childhood 14.POSS.1SG until like.this.1 = INT

[va-ńní-ddí-on-éél-á = ínyú ḍdabúnnó]REL maníngó áága a-ń ḍháyáí ýéé = éné
16.IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-see-APPL-FI = 2RESP.PRO today 6.body 6.POSS 6-be like.this.1 = INT

‘Maria said: I am in trouble. As you can see me, this body of mine, since my childhood up to the very way you see me today, my body is like this.’

maría.41_281’
vátákúá va ńmúwámáábaá’ ága, kaSIMuuddífuná: , ńmúwámáábaá’ ága kaSIMuuddífuná: sabw’ éélá míyó ddiinyákúwá ddiíSó buóobúléáliá.
vá-tákkúá va ńmúwámáábaáláága ka-ńní-ddí-funá sabwá wílfá míyó
16-9a.house 16.CON 2.parent.POSS.1SG NEG.2-IPFV-OM1SG-want because CMP 1SG.PRO
ddi-hí-yákúwá ddi-ní-kálá obulélé = vi
1SG-IPFV.DJ-be.dirty 1SG-IPFV.CJ-be 15.suffer.PL = RESTR

‘At my parents’ house, they do not want me because I am ugly and I keep falling sick.’

maría.42_288.5’
ápá ddiíSó védá vóógo v’oókáá ddiívúe góyí.”
ápá ddi-ní-védá vóógo va okáá ddi-vúm-e góyí

‘Then I am looking for a place to stay to rest from suffering.’

maría.43_293’
ńyééne mümúddímínwú’ ńóóle oóńyúwúzúá :
ńyééne mümúddímínwúá óóle o-hí-mú-vúúzá
3SG.PRO 1.0d.man 1.DEM.II 1-IPFV.DJ-OM1-ask

‘That old man asked her.’

maría.44_295.5’
“ók’ òohhile wéyó na kuurnalán’ oóddú, ńyééne waaSIMwérel’ ólóóbo ḍhaáyí y’oobúrúnga: vamúrní, owaSIMa?”
ókó [o-dh-íle wéyó na kuurnalán oóddú]REL ńyééne o-a-hí-mwérela
17.DEM.II 17-come-IPFV.REL 2SG.PRO with 1a.bee.sp 1.DEM.I 3SG.PRO 1-PST-IPFV.DJ-land
ó-łóóbo ḍhaáyí ya obúnlúngá va-múrí = ní o-hí-ápa
17-(9.)thing like.this.1 9.CON 15.make.round 16-3.tree = LOC 2SG-IPFV.DJ-pluck

‘There where you came from with this bee.sp, he (had) landed on a round fruit in a tree. Did you pluck it?’

maría.45_303.5’
ńyééne baSIMlogá ddi-hí-áápá ji éji ńyééne baSIMlogá
3SG.PRO SEQ.1-say 1SG-IPFV.DJ-pluck 9.COP 9.DEM.I 3SG.PRO SEQ.1-say
ńdíde wéyó o-hí-káána gáárá vaddíddí
yes 2SG.PRO 2SG-IPFV.DJ-have 9a.luck much

‘She said: I did, here it is. He said: Yes, you are very lucky.’
“Everythng you have today, all your suffering today is over. But in this way, you will go back with your bee sp.”

“On the way back that you will go by, the bee.sp will land on a stone.”

“When he lands on that stone, take what (the fruit) you plucked and now have in your hands, and beat it on the stone.”

“It is going to break. Once broken, what will come out from inside, snatch it.”

“Once snatched, whatever you want, tell him.”
Maria, 51_344’


Mu-naa-ilá-óobudwá súpeéyo súpeéyo éjó [e-nil-funá = iwé] REL
O-log-él-ég-e vélevo o-hí-fwá maríyá maríyá ddi-hí-fwá
2SG-speak-APPL-HAB-SBJ 16.EDEM.II 2SG-PFV.DJ-hear maríya maríya 1SG-PFV.DJ-hear

‘A mirror will go out of it. To this mirror, whatever you want, tell him. Did you hear, Maria? Maria: I did.’

Maria, 52_352’


A-ló-óvénya na kurúmánanje wáaye a-ló-wífyéla oméeyééléló a-hí-fwányá
ńlégu ñttó [ni-lóg-uw-é] REL kurúmánanje o-hí-mwéralá = vo
5.stone 5.DEM.II 5-tell-PASS-PFV.REL 1a.bee.sp 1-PFV.DJ-land = 16.LOC

‘They left with her bee.sp, and went back. On the way back, they met the stone they were told about. The bee.sp landed on it.’

Maria, 53_359’

Nwmeréléléveló kurúmánjé, Maríy’ otóttúkúla élóbw’ céljí’ aapiléeyéyé; o ováddán na vañlúgúni.

[mu-nwerél-el-é = vô kurúmánjé] REL maríya o-hí-tóttúkúla élóbo éjile
18-land-APPL-PFV.REL = 16.LOC 1a.bee.sp maríya 1-PFV.DJ-take 9THING 9.DEM.III
[e-a-ap-ñlé = iýé] REL o-hí-vádá = na va-nilúgú = ni
9-PST-pluck-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 1-PFV.DJ-hit = INSTR 16-5.stone = LOC

‘When the bee.sp landed on it, Maria took that thing she had plucked, and hit at the stone.’

Maria, 54_366’

Añwádelífýína vañlúgúni, eétwéya. Cibarééne muñhi-buddwó súpeéyo.

[ni-vád-el-é = iýé = na va-nilúgú = ni] REL e-hí-tw-é-y-a
5-hit-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO = INSTR 16-5.stone = LOC 9-PFV.DJ-break-NTR-Fi
Cibarééne mu-hi-buddwá súpeéyo
really.INT 18-PFV.DJ-go.out 9a.mirror

‘When she hit the stone, it broke. And indeed a mirror went out of it.’

Maria, 55_371’

Maríy’ otóttúkúla súpeéyo éjile, owáángána. Agaanáágána’ náángána kovaaye, agaanángán’ ómónó á kóvaaye.

Maríyá o-hí-tóttúkúla súpeéyo éjile o-hí-ángána a-gaa-ángána
Maria 1-PFV.DJ-take 9a.mirror 9.DEM.III 1-PFV.DJ-look 1-SIT-look
O-nil-ángána kove = aye a-gaa-ángáná o-nil-oná kóve = aye
1-JPFV.CJ-look 9a.face = POSS.3SG.PL 1-SIT-look 1-JPFV.CJ-see 9a.face.PL = POSS.3SG

‘Maria took that mirror and looked at it. When she looks, she sees her face, when she looks, she sees her face.’
ma.56_378’
ddi-kó-sé dhaavi e-log-uwé- súpééyo éji ddi-log-él-é = mo
1SG-dó-SBJ how 9-say-PASS-PFV.CJ 9a.mirror 9.DEM.I 1SG-say-APPL-SBJ = 18.LOC
[ddi-ní-fúná = imí]REL
10-IPFV.CJ-want = 1SG.PRO
‘What shall I do? They said (lit. ‘it was said’) I can ask this mirror whatever I want.’

ma.57_382.5’
baahito ddińdówó’ uuví ? mýo vatakúlu va ábaábání kahnifýélélávo. ddińdóhówa ddińvéde váágavéné v’ookála.”
baahí = to ddi-dhów-e uuví mýó va-tákúlu va ábaábání
enough = then 1SG-go-SBJ where 1SG.PRO 16-9a.house 16.CON 2.my.parents
ka-ní-ní-fyél-él-á = vo ddi-ní-dhówá ddi-á-vééd-e
NEG-1PL-IPFV-go.back-APPL-F1 = 18.LOC 1SG-IPFV.CJ-go 1SG-IT-look.for-SBJ
váágá = véné va okála
16.POSS.1SG = 16.INT 16.CON 15.live
‘But then, where shall I go? I am not going back to my parents’ house. I will look for a place of mine to stay.’

ma.58_389’
Marý’ óolóódhówááá: nínúká nimómé na bára. nifýedhiyye nimómé na bárá; vénéval’ óólogá :
mária o-ló-ódhówá nínúká nimómé na bára [mu-fy-edhé = íyye
mária 1-CE-15.go until 5.limit 5.CON 9a.sea 18-arrive-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO
nimómé na bárá]REL vénévalé ó-hí-logá
5.limit 5.CON 9a.sea 16.EDEM.III 1.PFV.DI-say
‘Maria went to the seaside. When she reached the seaside, there she said:’

ma.59_397’
“supeéyó supeéyo mýó ddíñfíñá nyumb’ éndernímúwa vadddíí, y’ okóddéla na dhoótédhéne.”
supeéyó supeéyo mýó ddi-ní-fúná nyumba é-nddímúwa vadddíí
ddi-ní-fúná = íyye
9a.mirror.PL 9a.mirror.PL 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 9a.house.PL 9-big
9a.house.PL 9-big much
ya okóddéla na dhi-oté = dhéne
da 9.CON 15.be.beautiful with 10=all = 10.INT
‘Mirror, mirror, I want a very big and beautiful house, with everything in it.’

ma.60_403.5’
elóópáddíwa nyúmba, nyúmba’ éndernímúwa vadddíí, y’óókóddéla: na dhoóbó dheétédhéne dhááfúnéeyé
4rába.
9a.happen 9a.house 9a.house 9-big much 9.CON 15.be.beautiful
na dhoóbó dhi-oté = dhéne [ddi-á-fúná = íyye
10.implement with 10=all = 10.INT 10-IPFV.CJ-want = 3SG.PRO 18.inside
‘The house appeared, a very big and beautiful house, with every implement she wanted in it.’
Maria changed, she was now a white person, she was white.

Maria: Yes, it’s true! I have begun to receive (have). Mirror, mirror, I want to be white. Maria changed, she was now a white person, she was white.

Maria, in her house, is a self-made person, today she is a boss. (people work for her)
Maria.66.450.5’
anámálaba a-ni-okálá fwa áttú a-ni-ódha őkösá mádá máróndda
gányó-gányo ba-gá-lábá ba-gá-dhówa
1. learn-RED SEQ.2-SIT-work SEQ.2-SIT-go
‘Working men are numerous! People come and do casual work: working, leaving, working, leaving.’

Maria.67.456.8’
áttw’ áábale kaáziwa wíílá ődđú ddi marfya őlé waanyakúwílé waánága péle, aámóona ŋngá múzugú muzugúví baáhi.
áttú áábale ka-á-zíwa wíílá ődđú ddi M. őlé [o-a-nyakúw-illé]REL
2. people 2. DEM. III NEG. 2. PST. IPFV. CJ- know CMP 1. DEM. I 1. COP M. 1. DEM. I 1-PST- be. dirty. PFV. REL
[o-á-nága péle]REL a-a-hí-mú-ona ŋngá múzugú
1. PST. IPFV. CJ- have. HAB 10. a. scabies 2. PST- PFV. DJ- OM1- see like 1. European
muzugú = ví baáhi
1. European. PL = RESTR only
‘Those people did not know that she was Maria, that one who was ugly, who had scabies. They had seen her as a white person, and only as a white person.’

Maria.68.464.5’
síkú nimodhá: eefiya yááka ya kaftili ngíng’ ééjí; dál’ éettídda móóttó, áttú ddabunó atíja burebúré: , dhíjíanjí’ áánólábélá mádá marondáá.
síkú ni-modhá e-hí-fiya yááka ya kaftili ngíng’ééjí
dálá e-hí-tídda móóttó áttú ddabunó a-ní-ja burebúré
9. a. hunger 9. PRS. PFV. DJ- catch 3. fire 2. people then 2. IPFV. CJ- eat at. random
[dhí-ní-já = aní]REL á-ní-óláb-él-a mádá marondáá
‘One day came a year of hunger as this one, hunger had spread like fire. People eat poorly, what they eat, they get it from casual work.’

Maria.69.475.5’
áábál’ aa Marfya’ áábale: aatelóóvéé: , aateléyilé sólígli vaddrééttú: , aádhá. aadhlé’ góólimela.
áábále a marfya áábale [a-a-tel-úw-é]REL [a-a-tel-éy-illé]REL
2. sister 2. CON maria 2. DEM. III 2. PST- marry- PASS. PFV. CJ 2. PST- marry- NTR- PFV. CJ
[a-á-lígí va-déréétú]REL a-hí-dha a-a-dh-él-é ólim-el-a
2. PST. IPFV. be. HAB 16. good 2. PFV. DJ- come 2. PST- come. APPL- PFV. CJ 15. cultivate. APPL- FI. PL
‘Maria’s sisters, those who were married and well married, who were in a comfortable place, came. They had come to work.’
Maria 70 483.5

Maria’s own words: “abá k’ aabaaláaga !?” waajeedhilé báalímáa: , (baava) baavahfwá ddimááwa ejile báalímá.

Maria 1-PFV.DJ-OUM2-see 2.DEM.I EMPH 2.sister = POSS.1SG.PL 1-OM2-wait-PFV.CI SEQ-2-work
ba-a-vah-fw-á ddimá = áwa ejile ba-a-limá
SEQ-2-give-PASS-Fi 9a.plot = POSS.3PL 9.DEM.III SEQ-2-cultivate

‘Maria saw them: Are these not my sisters!? She waited for them to work, they were given their piece of land and they cultivated it.’

Maria 71 493

fyéene múdhídh’ uubúl’ óttámblíra bááttámblírha máágładá:
fyéene múdhídhí obúle wa otámblíra ba-á-ttámbír-fh-a máágładá
3SG.PRO 3.time 3.DEM.III 3.CON 15.obtain SEQ-1-OM2-obtain-CAUS-Fi 6.dry.cassava

‘When the moment to get paid came, she had them receive dry cassava.’

Maria 72 497

abálé (baaspaddi) baasppwtélá máágładáawa. baaspawttélá bagáddowá fyééne (wa) waawíméca : “nyúwó karómání wímmélání !
abálé ba-a-pwttélá máágładá = awa ba-ga-pwttélá ba-gá-dhowá
2.DEM.III SEQ-2-carry.sp 6.dry.cassava = POSS.3PL SEQ.2-SIT-carry.sp SEQ.1-SIT-go
fyéee n-o-a-inéca nyúwó ka-rómání ni wímmél = ni
3SG.PRO NAR-OM2-rigidify 2PL.PRO IMP-start = PLA 15.start = PLA

‘Those carried the dry cassava on top of the head. While they were loading and going, she made them stop: You, stand up first!’

Maria 73 504.5

mfyó... mumámál’ óolábá ńnde múńódhówá múuttámblíra máágładdynu Ába kadhówánt, mfyó ddińfnñá:
saárúddú: mudyé: ná nńbál’ ńoddú, mamáyñnyú papáyñnyu.
mfyó mu-hi-málá olába ńdde mú-ní-ńdhwó ma-hi-ttámbíra
1SG.PRO 2PL-PFV.DJ-finish 15.work yes 2PL-PFV.DJ-15.go 2PL-PFV.DJ-obtain
máágładá = enyu ába ka-dhwó = ní ddu-ní-funú saárúddú mu-dh-é
6.dry.cassava = POSS.2PL 6.DEM.1 IMP-go = PLA 1SAF-PFV.CJ-want saturday 2PL-go-SBJ
mwyó na mózáali ńddu mamáyñnyú papáyñnyu
2SG.PRO and 1a.sister 1.DEM.1 1a.mother.Poss.2PL 1a.father.Poss.2PL

‘I... you have just stopped working yes, you are now going, you have already received this dry cassava of yours, you can go, (but) I want you to come on Saturday with this sister of yours, your mother and your father.’

Maria 74 517.5

mudyé 1 ókúno. muwífwa ?” ayy’: “niwífwa”. awaákkúla “niwífwa” bagóóva.
mud-ńń éóḏú = no mu-hí-ńwá ayíma ni-hí-ńwá
2PL-go-SBJ 17.DEM.1 = INT 2PL-PFV.DJ-hear 2.child 1PL-PFV.DJ-hear
a-a-hi-ńkúla ni-hí-ńwá ba-gá-ńwá
2-PST-PFV.DJ-answer 1PL-PFV.DJ.hear SEQ.2-SIT-be.afraid

‘Come! Right here. Did you hear? The girls : Yes, we did. They had answered “we understood”, but were feeling fear.’
“This white person who wants dad and mum, what is happening?”

“They did not know she was their sister, the one who had scabies.”

“They went. When they went, they arrived with that dry cassava, they were well received, they cooked (it) and they ate well.”

“They came with that report: There where we have been cultivating, working, our boss asked for us to go on Saturday, father, you mother, us, to go there.”

“She did not say why, she only called us. That Saturday came, and those ones did not refuse, they left and went there.”

“When they arrived, they sat: Humm, here you are, you came? Yes, we did.”

‘This is your father, this is your mother, but you too (the sisters), sit down (too). They sat.

‘She prepared them food, they ate good things, she gave drinks, she gave them everything.’

‘They: “This white person who treats us like this, who is she?”

‘Our friends come here, work and go. Things like this have never been done before, which luck on earth is it that we’re having today?’

‘After eating came the time to rest, they sat all together.’

‘She, Maria, asked them: Do you know who I am? They: no, we don’t. You don’t know me? We don’t know you.’
She said: mirror, mirror, I want to be the way I used to be in my parents’ house.”
Maria.92_632.5

Maria’s osadduwa okala na pélé dháayecéé nínga yašiligiýé vatákúlu v’aábábe.

Maria o-sadduwa o-kala na pélé dháayi nínga
Maria NAR-change NAR-stay with 10.scabies like.this.1 as
[e-á-li-gi = lye] REFL va-tákúlu va áábábe]
9-PST.IPFV-be.HAB = 3SG.PRO 16-9a.house 16-CON 2.parent

‘Maria changed, she remained with scabies the way she was in her parents’ house.’

Maria.93_635.6

áwééne: “ânddéká! ddi mwáníhu, ca! kí dháayí dháavi?” alóótíkína vélévalé.

áwééne ánddéká ddi mwáníhu ca kí dháayí dháavi
3PL.PRO yes 1.COP 1.child.POSS.1PL INTER EMPH like.this.1 how
a-lé-ótítkína vélévalé
2-CE-15.admire 16-EDEM.III

‘They: Yes, it is our daughter! xiii! But how it this possible? They admired there.’

Maria.94_645

Maria’ olówyéll’ olóógá dílá bili: supeeýo supeeýo, ddi-ńfúná ddikálé níngá múzúgu mwaaalállíimi.

olówyéll’ ožúgw’ fáye.
M. o-lé-wiýél-él-a olóógá dílá bili supeeýo ddi-nf-ńfúná ddi-kál-é
M. 1-CE-15.go.back-APPL-Fi 15.say 10a.time two 9a.mirror.PL 1SG-IPFV.CI-want 1SG-be-SBJ

níngá múzúgu [mu-a-ka-l-íl-é = imí] REFL o-lé-wiýél-él-a ózúgu wáaye

‘Maria went back to say again: Mirror, mirror, I want to be like the white person I was. She became white again’

Maria.95_652

áábále ddabunó otéén’ sajibúluwa. “kí nínáákósoé dhá avi?”

áábále ddabunó a-oté = éne a-hi-jibúluwa kí ni-náá-kós-é dháavi
2-DEM.III then 2-all = INT 2-IPFV.DJ-change EMPH 1PL-FUT.CJ-do-IRR how

‘All those around remained upset: What are we going to do?’

Maria.96_656.5

agoobuwéla dhímkússílllíííi Maríyá: Maríyá balogá: “nééé, apa kávalí mwááha.”

2-SIT-think 10-OM1-do-IPFV.REL = 3PL.PRO M. M. SEQ.1-say no 16-DEM.I NEG-16-be 3.reason.PL

‘They were thinking about what they did to Maria. Maria said: No, here there is no problem.’

Maria.97_661.5

s’ cetédhéne dhíkósílíííínyu, kayfy’ élóóbweene. vatákúluvaga pa ápá: (dhíinfíunínyú: kaddhéélíííaní)

mwaaaségédhéyá dhíinfíunííínyú kadhéélíííaní. mýó kaddíná mwááha.”
esó dhi-ótē = dhéne [dhi-kós-íl-é = ényu] REFL kayfyó élóóbó = ene
vatákúlu = vaga pa ápá mu-a-segedh-éy-á
16-9a.house = 16-POSS.1SG 16.COP 16-DEM.I 2PL-SIT-cause.trouble-NTR-FI
10-IPFV.CI-want = 2PL.PRO IMP=come-APPL-HAB-FI = PLA 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG-have 3.reason.PL

‘All you did, it is nothing really. My house is this one here: when you are in trouble, anything you want, come and collect. I have no problem.’
áábéle alólóvénýá, Máry’oolówáváhá dhílóbo gwe vaddiddí, alólóvénýa alólódhówa.
M. a-lé-ó-vénýá M. o-lé-ó-á-váhá dhílóbo gwe vaddiddí a-lé-ó-vénýa a-lé-ódhówa
‘Those ones stood up, Maria gave them many things, they left.’

Maríy  na ma mbéesí ыш agaamala wa b   , odhow’ ja dhi f nééy’ oott k la bwenddé
‘There came the thread, the needle and hook, those ones stood up, Maria gave them many things, they left.’

‘Maria stayed at home. When she stayed at home, Maria only had her confortable chairs. She said : Mirror, mirror, I want a thread to weave those things that decorate houses to make beautiful things used to decorate the house. To make things to embellish the house with.’

‘There came the thread, the needle and everything.’

‘In the morning, Maria, after bathing, went and ate whatever she wanted, then she took a mat or anything to sit on.’
‘She sat at home, and weaved what she wants with the thread, weaving, weaving, on the seaside.’

‘Mr. Dugong came on that very day. When he came, he came up to the seaside.’

‘When he arrived, barely had he looked outside when he sees a very beautiful and fat woman at home.’

‘It is a big animal. Mr. Dugong looked at her: Me, that woman, I cannot give her up! Me, that woman, I am going to marry her!’
Maria.110.741.8

“Mwaadhaagá, mfyó ddi-nótélá oók’ ūtákúlu.” “Óntélélá dháav oó kudhôwifí oók’ ōwânéine?” “Umm m ddi-nótélá ddi-kàánáwo mûyâna.”

Mwaadhaagi mfyó ddi-ni-ôtélá ōkú o-tákúlu
1.wife.POSS.1SG.PL 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.married 17.DEM.I 17-outside
ó-ni-ôtélá dháavi wéyo ku-dhôw-île ōkú ovâno é éné
2SG-IPFV.DJ-15.married how 2SG.PRO NEG.2SG-go-IPFV 17.DEM.I now = INT
Ummm ddi-ni-ôtélá ddi-hi-kâáñá = wo mûyâna
INTER 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.married 1SG-IPFV.DJ-have = 17.LOC 1.woman

“My wife, I am marrying up there.” “How are you possibly marrying? Have you not just left right now?” (= too soon to get married) “No, I am marrying, I have a woman there.”

Maria.111.749

Mwaadhiye bela: “Kayfîó mwâáha! mfyóto ddi-nî-fûná ddimûzîwé mûnánddâgîyá.”

Mwaadhiye ba-ilá kayfîó mwâáha mfyó = to ddi-nî-fûná ddi-mû-zîw-é
1.wife.POSS.1 SEQ.1-say NEG.COP 3.problem 1SG.PRO = then 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 1SG-OM1-know-SBJ
mûnânddi = âgâ = ya
1.co-wife = POSS.1SG = DEF

‘His wife said: No problem! Then I want to know my co-wife.’

Maria.112.753

fyééné bela: “Mangwânaná mangwânaná mangwânaná! Mfyó ñnôdhàna mûnânddó.

Fyééné ba-ilá mangwânamá mfyó ni-ni-ôdhâ = na mûnânddo
3SG.PRO SEQ.1-say tomorrow 1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.comes = COM 1.co-wife.POSS.2SG
‘He said: Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow! I will bring your co-wife.’

Maria.113.757.5

Nikûrábedhi’ oodhow’ ōgôónâ, ūmângwànanàm’ oottamâgúw’ ōdóda.

N. o-dhôwâ ōgôóna mú-mangwânanâ = nî = mwâ o-ttamâgâ o-dhâ
D. NAR-go 15.sleep 18-tomorrow = LOC = 18.DEF NAR-run NAR-come
‘Mr. Dugong went to bed. The next day, he went (to the seaside) running.’ (lit. he ran and went)

Maria.114.762

Fyéén’ ásadgha kaññiyedha vali Maríya wësëlómûturémél’ ágaamûtûrûmélâ baáhi ddi mwaadhiye.

Fyééné a-gaa-dha ka-ní-fîy- edhã va-li M. o-á-ila-ó-mû-turûmélá
3SG.PRO 1-SIT-come NEG.1-IPFV-arrive-APPL-FI 16-be M. 1.PST-IPFV-AUX-15-OM1-spy.on
a-ga-mû-tûrûmélã baáhi ddi mwaâdhî = ye
1-SIT-OM1-spy.on enough 1.COP 1.wife = POSS.1
‘When he reached the bank, he did not go where Maria was. He was watching her. While watching her, (he saw) it was his wife.’

Appendix 627
maria.115.765.5’
omuturumêlâ turifîi agamwââlgâna baâhi : “câ! Mîyô múyân’ òôîle kanninctionsîla.” otamâgâ wiîyêla.
o-mu-turumêlâ turifîi a-ga-mú-ångâna baâhi cá mîyô múyânâ ôlê
NAR-OM1-watch INTER 1-SIT-OM1-see only INTER 1SG.PRO 1.woman 1.DEM.III
ka-ni-nî-mu-ceelêla o-tamâgâ o-iyêla
NEG-1PL-IPFV-OM1-give.up NAR-run NAR-go.back
‘He watched her and saw her : Ohh! That woman, I am not going to lose her. He ran back.’

maria.116.770.5’
“mwaadhabag míyô ñôtêlêlâ ddi-kââna múyânâ mwîïna. ñôdhâna.”
mwaadhâga míyô nî-ni-ôtêlêlâ ddi-hi-kââna múyânâ mû-îna
1.wife.POSS.1SG.PL 1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.marry 1SG-PFV.DJ-have 1.woman 1-other
ni-ni-ôdhâ = na
1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go = COM
‘My wife! I am marrying! I have another woman. I will bring (her).’

maria.117.774’
vêlévô Nikûrâbedha woôôbuwela maare. dîlâ ttaaru bagâdhôwâ bagêgêyêla, bagâdhôwâ bagêgêyêla.
vêlévô N. o-å-ûbuwela maare dîlâ ttaaru ba-gâ-dhôwâ ba-gâ-iyêela
‘There, Mr.Dugong was thinking of an idea. He went back and forth three times.’

maria.118.778.3’
ôkûle múyanâ òîle màâmùûddimûwâ ba-gâ-elâ ka-dhâ = nà = to
17.DEM.III 1.woman 1.DEM.III 1a.first.wife SEQ.1-SIT-say IMP-go = COM = then
mukwê = ågà = ya òôôdo mwàâdhî = ya òôôdô ni-dh-ê ni-mû-ôn-e
1.friend = POSS.1SG = DEF 1.DEM.II 1.wife = DEF 1.DEM.II 1PL-come-SBJ 1PL-OM1-see-SBJ
N. ba-elâ ka-jêëdha
D. SEQ.1-say IMP-wait
‘Here, that woman, the first wife, said : Bring then that friend of mine, that wife, so that we see her.
Mr.Dugong said : Wait.’

maria.119.785.5’
Nikûrâbedh’ oodhow’ òôôvikomâ: sîkû na nôônay’ uudhow’ òôôvikomâ rîpûle mwaâri. odhâna màânjê na nêêbe nîn-ddimûwâ vaddîddi.
N. o-dhôwâ o-ûvikomâ sîkû na nà-ô-nayi o-dhowâ o-ûvikomâ
D. NAR-go NAR-REFL-position 5.day 5.CON PFX-14-four NAR-go NAR-REFL-position
rîpûle mwaâri o-dha = na màânjê na nêêbe nî-n-ddimûwâ vaddîddi
18.DEM.III 18.inside NAR-go = COM 6.water with 5.water 5-big much
‘Mr.Dugong went and placed himself (to come with a big wave), the fourth day, he went and placed himself there in the sea. He came through the water with a very big wave.’
When he arrived, he showed her the water through the water. He took Maria, and they slid with her. Maria was happy, like a very beautiful woman and white like this!

At this very moment, Maria’s husband is at work, he does not know what is happening at home. Mr. Dugong ran with her, he left.

When he arrived, he showed his wife that: This is the wife I talked about.

His wife looked at her and said: Oh yes! A very beautiful woman and white like this! They sat there.

Maria, when she looked: Where am I? She notices she is in another house.
**Maria.125.827**

dadunó vénévalé, baah ñolóógláatí na múnánddí vatakulú váawá; s yééne kaán máare mééna oókósá.

dadunó vénévalé baahí o-lé-ogláatí na múnándde va-takulú váawá


fyééne ka-á-ná máare má-fína a ákósá

3SG.PRO NEG.1-PST.IPVF-have 6.idea.PL 6-other 6.CON 15.do

‘Then she sat with her co-wife in their house. She had nothing else to do.’

**Maria.126.836**

mámúna Marlyá owúbúwa, noódha noowóórúw’ oókúl’ oomabásáni oódhá vatákúlúváyé, orníwá’ nyúmb’ eëtwéyá: mwáádhíye kaávó, dhoóbó kadhiwó:

mámúna M. o-hí-búwa na-ódha na-owórúwa ókúlé o-mabásá=ni


o-hí-dhá va-tákúlú = váye o-ní-fwányá nyúmba e-hí-twéya


mwáádhí = ye kaá = vó dhoóbó kadhi = vó

1.wife = POSS.3SG NEG.COP.1 = 16.LOC 10.furniture NEG.COP.10 = 16.LOC

‘Maria’s husband showed up. After he finished working, he went back home, and he met the house broken, his wife was not there, nor the furniture either.’

**Maria.127.843**

“haaa: 1 vatákúlúvá ápá waálfwó ba aani ?”

haaa va-tákúlú= va ápá [o-á-li= vo]REL ba aani

INTER 16-9a.house = 16.DEF 16.DEM.I 1-PST.IPVF-be = 16.LOC 2.COP who

‘Oooh! Who was in this house?’

**Maria.128.848**

ottamága, odhowá weédda rípó rípó belogúwá: “yií, mwáádhíw’ óottákúlúw’ oomuttákúllê ddi nukurrábédhá.

o-ttamága o-dhowá weédda rípó rípó ba-log-diw-á

NAR-run NAR-go 15.walk 18.DEM.II 18.DEM.II SEQ.1-say-PASS-Fi

yií mwáádhí = wó o-hí-ttúkúl-uw-a [o-mu-ntúkúl-ilé]REL ddi N.

INTER 1.wife = POSS.2SG 1-PFV.DJ-take-PASS-FI 1-OM1-take-PFV.REL 1.COP D.

‘He ran, walked around and was told: Hey, your wife was abducted, the one who took her is Mr.Dugong.’

**Maria.129.854**

Nikurrábédha mwaneenám’ ìóli ìmbàra, vati vá máánje. mwaneenámá múnddímúw’ óóváddá vaddíddi, wéyó kunfívodhá.”

nikurrábédha mwana-enámá [o-li mu-bária vati vá máánje]REL


mwana-enámá mú-nddímúwá wa óóváddá vaddíddí wéyó ku-ni-mú-vodhá

1.child-9.animal.PL 1-big 1.CON 15.be.strong much 2SG.PRO NEG.2SG-IPVF-OM1-defeat

‘The dugong is an animal which lives in the sea, in the deep waters. It is a very strong animal, you are not going to defeat him.’
Appendix 631

"fỳééné balogá : "heep: mỳó ddìnòñwedáh näikúràbedha, ddìnòñdhoółáwo mwádhága." “na mìkálelo
gàani?” belá : “mỳó ddìnòmúdhoółáwó.”

fỳééné ba-logá hee mỳó ddi-ní-ó-mù-wodhá N. ddi-ní-ó-mù-dhoółá = wo
3SG.PRO SEQ.1-say INTER 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-defeat D. 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch = 17.LOC
mwádhága na mìkálelo gaani ba-ilá mỳó ddi-ní-ó-mù-dhoółá = wo
1.wife.Poss.1SG with 4.way which SEQ.1-say 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15-OM1-fetch = 17.LOC
‘He said : I will defeat Mr.Dugong, and I will fetch my wife. How? He said : I will fetch her.’

oduhowá balogá :

mùlìòbwàna úlë o-ubuwel-è = ni o-dhow-ilé òkùle
1.man 1.DEM.III 1-think.APPL-IPFV.CJ = what 1-go-IPFV.CJ 17.DEM.III
[o-ni-sàsánuy-uw-a màpàpooró mabáárfku]OCC o-dhowá ba-logá
17-IPFV.CJ-build-PASS-Fi 6.boat 6.boat NAR-go SEQ.1-say
‘What did that man think about? He went there where boats are built. He went and said’

“mỳó ddìnífíìú muùsànànyedhe: papóóro w’ òòttámágà vaddiéddì .”
mỳó ddi-ní-fíìú màù-sànàny-èdh-e papóóro wa òòttámágà vaddiéddì
1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2PL.OM1SG-build-APPL-SBJ 1a.boat 1.CON 15.run much
‘I want you to build me a very fast boat.’

ábáile balogá : “ookáánà koöbíri dih’ oopícá ?” fỳééné belá : “aah ! ddi/opícá .”
ábáile ba-logá o-hi-káána koöbíri dha opícá fỳééné ba-ilá
2.DEM.III SEQ.2-say 2SG-IPFV.DJ-have 10.money 10.CON 15.pay 3SG.PRO SEQ.1-say
aah ddi-ní-opícá
INTER 1SG-IPFV.DJ-15.pay
‘They said : Do you have money to pay? He said : Ah, I will pay.’

osasanyuwa pàpóóro, w’ òòttámágà vaddiéddì: w’ oorhpíttà Níkúràbedha. bèlúw’ òódd’ uusasanuyw’
òóvahedhelúwà, ñìddë.
o-sàsàny-uw-a pàpóóro wa òòttámágà vaddiéddì wa o-mù-píttà N.
NAR-build-PASS-Fi 1a.boat 1.CON 15.run much 1.CON 15-OM1-surpass D.
ba-il-úw-a òódd o-sàsàny-uw-à ó-vah-èdh-el-úw-a ñìddë
SEQ.2-say-PASS-Fi 1.DEM.I NAR-build-PASS-Fi NAR-give-APPL-APPL-PASS-Fi yes
‘The boat was built, a very fast one, faster than Mr.Dugong. He was told : This is it. It was built and given to
him.’
He said: “I want someone who can make a boat go fast, someone who can use a boat.”

‘A man came and said: I can. He (the husband) said: I want someone who steals a lot, who is a thief. Another man came.’

‘He (the husband) said: I am looking for someone who can track well. He said: Where I go is where I go, straight to the point. One person came, then three.’

‘He said: I want someone very smart, a showman, who can do spectacular things.’
odha mútú. namáságw' oôlé balogá : “míyó ddìífìnúñá oddigúulele bóla.” ogulelúwa bóla.  
NAR-came 1.person 1a.smart 1.DEM.III SEQ.1-say 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2SG-OM1SG-buy-APPL-SBJ 
bóla o-gul-el-úw-a bóla
9a.ball 
NAR-buy-APPL-PASS-Fi 9a.ball

‘A man came. That smart person said : I want you to buy me a ball. He was bought a ball.’

 María. 140. 934. 8’

fyééné balogá : “míyó ddìikáána mabása, ddìífìnúñá muûdhóolle mwáádhaga , mwáádhag’ oolí ná
níkûrábedha mwáári.

fyééné ba-logá míyó ddi-hi-káána mabása ddi-ní-fûná muû-dhóól-él-e
3SG.PRO SEQ.1-say 1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.DJ-have 6.work 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2PL.1SG-fetch-APPL-SBJ

mwáádhaga mwáádhaga o-lí ná N. mwáári
1.wife.POSS.1SG 1.wife.POSS.1SG 1-be with D. 18.inside

‘He said : I have work : I want you to fetch my wife. My wife is with Mr.Dugong in the sea.’

 María. 141. 942’

míyó ddìífìnúñá muûdhóolle mwááadhág muûdhóéléna. mugaddìıkéséla mabáséen’ aábó, eìnfûnèenyu
kalógáni míyó ìnowûttàmbiríhani.”

míyó ddi-ní-fûná muû-dhóól-el-e mwáádhágá muû-dhêél-ë = na
1SG.PRO 1SG-IPFV.CJ-want 2PL.OM1SG-fetch-APPL-SBJ 1.wife.POSS.1SG 2PL.OM1SG-come-APPL-SBJ = COM
mu-ga-ddi-kós-él-a mabásá =ene ábó [e-ní-fûná = ínyu]kèl ka-logá = ni
2PL-SIT-OM1SG-do-APPL-Fi 6.work = INT 6.DEM.II 9-IPFV.CJ-want = 2PL.PRO IMP-say = PLA
míyó ni-ni-o-ú-itàmìbir-îh-a = ni
1SG.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15-OM2SG-receive-CAUS-Fi = PLA

‘I want you to fetch my wife and bring her back to me, when you achieve that task for me, tell whatever you
want, and I will grant you.’

 María. 142. 947. 5’

ábáale bélá : “haa! ejú wëene baàhí, fyó nínûhdówa.”
ábále ba-ilá haaa ejjí wëene baâhí fyó ni-ni-ódhówa
2.DEM.III SEQ.2-say INTER 9.DEM.I INT only 1PL.PRO 1PL-IPFV.DJ-15.go

‘Those said : If these are the conditions, we will go.’

 María. 143. 951. 5’

alôófìyá síkùña fítí’ aalôbágá ; alôbwana basyá nîpàpóòróñí nípûle, aábáale.
a-lé-ófìyá sìkû = na ñítûle a-lé-óbágá alôbwana ba-a-yá
1-CE-15.arrive 5.day = 5.DEF 5.DEM.III 2-CE-15.leave 2.man SEQ-2-go
mû-nípàpôòrò = ni nípûle aábáale
18-1a.boat = LOC 18.DEM.III they.went

‘They reached that day, they left, the men entered the boat and went.’
Mr. Dugong

Here is Mr. Dugong, here are his wife and children.
maria.149_1004’

baáhi, míflyedháán’ óókúle: ń́póóntááří: ááye mabásá’ áálógóma. óókúle orifún’ óólábáawó: ddi sagáńpirá na ṭńgbáva.


ń́óókúle [o-ní-fúńá oláá = wo]REL ddi sagáńpirá na ṭńgbáva 17.DEM.III 1-PFV.CJ-want 15.work = 17.LOC 1.COP 1a.artist and 1.thief

‘Once they arrived there, the tracker’s work was done. There the one who is going to work is (are) the artist and the thief.’

maria.150_1013’


ń́ddyń́ láń láń baárkú o-lí wéñéwale ń́óókúle o-ní-jéédh-el-a 1.DEM.I 1.pilot 1a.boat.PL 1-be 17.DEM.III 17.DEM.III 1-PFV.CJ-wait-APPL-Fi

ń́kwe = áye a-ga-ilá a-hí-málá mabásá ni-ńńɗów-é = ni ni-ńńttámág-é = ni 2.friend = POS.3SG 2-SIT-say 6-PFV.DJ-finish 6.work 1PL-go-SBJ = PLA 1PL-run-SBJ = PLA

a-ńńttámág-ńńb-eg-e a-buddóőw-e 2-run-CAUS-HAB-SBJ 2-go.out-SBJ

‘The pilot is here, he is waiting for his friends to say : The work is done, let’s go, let’s run!, so that they run fast and leave.’

maria.151_1021’

sagáńpirá oobuddóůwa, ottukula bolááye oron’ óójúgáári.

sagáńpirá o-buddóůwa o-ttukula bolá = áye o-romá óójúgáári 1a.artist NAR-go.out NAR-take 9a.ball = POS.3SG NAR-start 15.play

‘The artist went out, took his ball, started to play.’

maria.152_1027.5’

boő gęřjile wááñjugaári na máńóro: wááñjugaári na márəwó : wááñjugaári na máńóro: , wááñjugaári n’ íńńtúúdhí: [> áńńtúúdhí], wááñjugaáři ni máěńó: , wááñjugaáři na máńó: , wááñjugaáři na máńó: , wááñjugaáři...

boő gęřjile ó-á-ní-ñąjáári na máńóro ... na márəwó ... na máńúúdhí 9a.ball 9.DEM.III 1-PST-IPFV.DJ-play with 3.head with 6.buttocks with 5.shoulder ... ni máęńó ... na máńó ... na máńó

with 6.tooth with 9a.nose with 6.eye

‘He was playing with that ball with the head, was playing with the buttocks, was playing with the shoulder, was playing with the teeth, was playing with the nose, was playing with the eyes, was playing...’

maria.153_1024.5’

ééšile dhíńńkósǐfýe [ń́óókúle] dhíńńsúńgánghu dhíńńkósǐfýe’ áápáľ’ (aafuttúńkúwańga ... ) aafuttúńkúweliną’ áápá akosąńg’ ééjí akosąńg’ gęřjile ; ...


‘What he is doing there, the show he is doing there, bent on one side, doing this, doing this, ...’
maria.154.1039.5’

... oromil’ oomóóna ddi mwáádha nikúrásedhe. belá : “hiii! mamunagá nmóón’ éléle, nmóón’ éléle, nmóón’ éléle, nmóón’ éléle. shif!”

[0-róm-ile ő-mú-oná]_REL ddi mwáádha N. ba-ilá hiíi
1-start-IPFV.REL 15-OM1-see 1.COP 1.wife D. SEQ.1-say INTER

mamunaga mu-mú-ó-é élél [dhi-ní-kósá = iye]_REL shif
1.husband.POSS.1SG.PL 2.RESP-OM1-see-SBJ 1.DEM.III 10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO INTER

‘the one who first saw him is Mr.Dugong’s wife. She said : Hi!My husband, look at that one, look at that one, look at that one! Look at what that one is doing! Hi!’

maria.155.1049.4’

dabunó ábále a-hí-gíláá t góddo N. mwáádhí = ye M. ó-ddú [0-ní-véd-űw-á]_REL then 2.DEM.III 2-IPFV-DJ-sit IDEO D. 1.wife = POSS.1 M. 1.DEM.I 1-IPFV.CJ-look.for-PASS-FI

ánááye a-ní-mú-angána sagárñpira ókó [dhi-ní-kósá = iye]_REL 2.child.POSS.3SG 2-IPFV.CI-OM1-look 1.artist 17.DEM.II 10-IPFV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO

‘Then all sat down : Mr.Dugong, his wife, Maria the one being looked for, his (Mr.Dugong) children. They are looking at the artist there, at what he is doing.’

maria.156.1059.5’
sagárñpira’ ókúlé cefíísííyúña bóla, ááñvdá na ń’uudddúni na múßoló n’ eégúgúnyo na pottókó na dháálá: ...

sagárñpira ókúlé [e-ní-kósá = íyé = na bóla]_REL á-á-ní-vadá na éddúni 1.artist 17.DEM.III 9-IPFV.CI-do = 3SG.PRO = INSTR 9a.ball 1-IPFV.DJ-hit with 9.back

na múßoló na eégúgúnyó na pottókó na dháálá with 3.head with 9.elbow with 9a.heel with 10.nail

‘What that artist is doing with the ball - he was hitting with the back, with the head, with the elbow, with the heel, with the nails - ...’

maria.157.1065.4’

... ókúlé dhítökósly’ aafütítúkúwag’ aakoság’ ééji, ábál’ aakkáán’ oórmwáángáná : “cíf mmóonné: cíf mmóonné: cíf mmóonné: cíf mmóonné:!”


ábále a-hí-kááña ó-mú-aängáná cíí mu-mú-ón-e 2.DEM.III 2-IPFV.CI-have 15-OM1-look INTER 2.RESP-OM1-see-SBJ

‘... there what he is doing, turning, doing this, those have all their attention on him : Oooh, look at him! (× 4)’

maria.158.1072’

cetée’ asazüzümé’ ókúlé. nhááva belá “kaddjeedheni”.

a-eté = éne a-a-züzüm-él-e ókúlé nhááva ba-ilá ká-ddf-jeedh-e = ni 2-all = INT 2-PST-be.confused-APPL-IPFV.CJ 17.DEM.III 1.thief SEQ.1-say IMP-OM1 SG-wait-FI = PLA

‘All were busy over there. The thief said : Wait for me.’
Maria.159_1075*  
ṁbav’ ọkūl’ oonówifyávo dhectédhéne bagattùkùlela Ṽpùle Ṽpápóóro.  
1.thief 17.DEM.III 1-IPFV.DJ-15-steal = 16.LOC 10-all = 10.INT 1-SEQ-1-SIT-take-APPL-Fi

‘The thief there was stealing everything, taking it to the boat.’

Maria.160_1079.3*  

‘Taking, he took. He took all Mr.Dugong’s furniture, he took Mr.Dugong’s wife, he took Maria, he took all his children, and put them there (in the boat). Mr.Dugong is still (and only) looking right above.’

Maria.161_1092.7*  
ńmáelíffy’ ọkósá mabásáy eesle Ṽbavá’, odhow’ óómwaaddela múkwáyé sagáñpíra.

18-finish-APPL-PFV.REL = 3SG.PRO 15.do 6.work = POSS.3SG 1-DEM.III  
ńbává o-dhowá 6-mu-add-el-a múkwé = áye sagáñpíra

When the thief completed his task, he informed his friend the artist.’

Maria.162_1096.6*  

ba-ilá míyó ddí-hi-mlàá ọkósá mabásá = ya  
17.DEM.III 1.pilot 1-IPFV.DJ-finish 15.prepare.oneself

‘He said : I’ve just done the work. There, the pilot prepared himself, got ready.’

Maria.163_1101*  
ńnéemél’ óronemél’ ońl’ ọkùle odhùlu waákósíy ‘eesle dha sagáñpíraye: amottélá Ṽbaaártúkúni’, sàbál’ aalóróm’ oóttamága ñńówyéla.

15.disappear 15-disappear-PFV.REL 17.DEM.III 17.DEM.III 17.top 17-PST.IPV.CJ-do = 3SG.PRO

‘Once that one above disappeared (lit. the disappearing which that one disappeared) from that place above where he was doing his show, he fell into the boat. They went and started to run back.’
Mr. Dugong raised his neck. He saw Maria.168.1133.5 ‗Mr. Dugong keeps looking for him, but he does not see him.‘

‘Ca! Where is this one who was showing off? He is looking for him with his eyes, but does not see him.‘

‘At this point, the men are going back, fleeing, running.’

‘At that moment Mr. Dugong woke up, he came to look at the floor, to look at his house.’

‘His wife is not here, his children are not here, his furniture is not here. [excl.] What is it? While he is shouting, he does not see anyone.’

‘Mr. Dugong raised his neck. He saw the boat running, and said: [excl.] These are the ones who did this to me.’
maria.170_1144.5’

mındanî omtamagba. omûttagagina’ oomûttagagina’ oomûttagagina, kañkwñile.
mındanî .omù-ttamag-Fi a oomûttagagina ka-mu-fwñile
18. behind 15-OM1-run-Caus-Fi 15-OM1-run-Caus-Fi NEG.1-OM1-meet-PPV
‘Running after. Running, running, running…, he did not meet him.’

maria.171_1150’

ókúl’ ookhówúwe súmúána, ommeryélélé siku (kavi) kamariníl’
ókúle [oom-dów-úw-e súmúána]rel ommeryélélé siku ka-mariñile
17.DEM.3II 17-go-PPV.3REF 9a.week 14.way.back 5.day NEG.2-complete-PPV
‘While a week was needed to go there, they didn’t complete one day for the way back.’

maria.172_1155’

mwa siku nimodha alóófiyá, offiy’ ooff[y]’áññ’; alóóttukúlamo dhoótiññhén’ césí dhidhílárñña ñbaññkuñ’ na
áyímayá aßa na áyanáåya ñb’ atñññ’; adhowilíñña voolpélíñna na ñibára.
mwa siku ni-módhá a-łé-óffiyá offiyá [o-fly-ilé = áññ]rel
18.in 5.day 5-one 2-CE.15.arrive 15.arrive 15-arrive-PPV.REF = 3PL-PRO
a-łé-óttákilá mo dhi-oté = dhéñño éssí [dhi-dhi-ilé = áññ = ná
2-CE.15.take = 18.LOC 10-all = 10.INT 10.DEM.I 10-cope-PPV.REF = 3PL-PRO = COM
mu-báññku = ni]rel na áyíma = ya ába na áyaná = ya ába a-ññ = éñé
18-1a.boat = LOC with 2.child = DEF 2.DEM.I with 2.wife = DEF 2.DEM.I 2-all = INT
a-dhow-ilé = ná va-olálpélíñna na ñibára
2-go-PPV.CJ = COM 16-14.distance with 5.see
‘They arrived in one day. Hardly had they arrived (lit. ‘the arriving that they arrived’), they took everything
they brought in the boat with all these children and these women, and they went away at some distance from
the beach.’

maria.173_1166’

Nikúrábedha ofiy’ óoffiyilíñña ommfwanyilé baññkkúvi.
N. offyá [o-fly-ilé = [ye]rel o-mu-fwñy-ilé baññku = vi
D. 15.arrive 15-arrive-PPV.REF = 3SG.PRO 1-OM1-meet-PPV.CJ 1a.boat = REST
‘Mr.Dugong, hardly had he arrived (lit. ‘the arriving that he arrived’), met the boat, only.’

maria.174_1170’

olóómpónda baññk’ uññ ña múñsóro wooténe baññpónddá, baññpónddá, baññpónddá, ,
olé-ó-mú-pónda baññku óllé na múñsóro o-ññ = ene ba-mú-pónddá
1-CE.15-OM1-knead 1a.boat 1.DEM.3II with 3.head 3-all = INT SEQ.1-OM1-knead
‘He destroyed that boat with his whole head, he destroyed it, destroyed it, destroyed it.’

maria.175_1173.7’

mváadíññe n’oóñ ñaamwñifilíñña na ánññye’ eetéñ. áñále áñtáññwúñaña. Nikúrábedha olóówyéña puwá.
mváadhi = ye na ñlê [o-a-muy-ilé = ye]rel na ánññye
1.wife = POSS.3SG with 1.DEM.3II 1-PST.OM1-steal-PPV.CJ = 3SG.PRO with 2.child.POSS.3SG
a-ññ = ene áñále a-hi-ttáw-úw-a = na N. o-lé-0-iléla puwá
2-all = INT 2.DEM.3II 2-PPV.DI-escape-PASS-Fi = COM D. 1-CE.15-go.back vainly
‘His wife, the one he had stolen, and all his sons. They escaped with them. Mr.Dugong went back with
nothing.’
‘There Mary went back home, she remained with her husband. Mr. Dugong’s wife too got married with that man, Maria’s husband.’

‘I want a certificate that says that I am a thief, and in this whole place, there is no thief better than me.’

‘The artist said too : I want a card that says there is no artist better than me.’
The tracker said: Give me too a card that says there is no one who is better at tracking the way than I.'

Each one, for the work done, said: Give me a card that shows that I know more than the other people.'

There he gave them the certificates and stayed with his wife.

16.EDEN.III 3SG.PRO 1-CE-15-OM2-give 6.card 6.DEM.III 1-CE-stay with 1.wife = POSS.1

‘There he gave them the certificates and stayed with his wife.'
**Text 7: The cat and the dog (by Helena)**

**páaká.1**

**orfúnn’ ólólgá ddi mý’ éeleena. ddińfúná t́ágíyó omáálro Pááká na Mwánábwa.**

[0-ní-fúná ólólgá]REL ddi mýó Heleena

1-IPFV.CJ-want 15.speak 1.COP 1SG.PRO Heleena

‘Who wants to speak is me Helena. I want to tell about Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog’s friendship.’

**páaká.2.8’**

ddášágtágy’ ééji : Pááká na Mwánábw’ ookung’ oomáátrlro.

ddi-ní-tágíya éji pááká na mwánábwa o-kunga omáálro

1SG-IPFV.CJ-tell 9.DEM.I 1a.cat and 1.dog NAR-build 14.friendship

‘Here it is (lit. ‘I am telling this’): Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog built a friendship.’

**páaká.3.11.5’**

osasanya mátáánjé ́awa sòkóóraaw’ oopiya dhoójádhwaw [sòkóóraa → sokélía]

o-osasanya mátáájny = awa sokélía = awa o-piya dhoójá = dhowá

NAR-make 6.picnic = POSS.3PL 9a.contribution = POSS.3PL NAR-cook 10.food = 10.POSS.3PL

‘They made their picnic, their contribution, they cooked their own food.’

**páaká.4.16’**

omwal’ oopiya jáádíáár’ ééjílé; ofugela belá : “ńdóówe nááredhe.” Pááká na Mwánábwa othowá wááredhwa wa ákwáawa.

o-mala oopiya jáádíáárí ééjílé o-fugela ba-ilá ní-dhow-e ni-á-áredh-e

NAR-finish 15.cook 9a.dinner 9.DEM.II NAR-shut SEQ.2.say 1PL-go-SBJ 1PL-IT-have.fun-SBJ

paáká na mwánábwa o-dhowá wááredhwa wa ákwé = awa

1a.cat and 1.dog NAR-go 15.have.fun 17.CON 2.friend = POSS.3PL

‘They finished to prepare the dinner, shut (the house) and said: Let’s go and have fun. Mr.Cat and Mr.Dog went to play in some friends’ house.’

**páaká.5.23’**

éhtawu wénéwaléé; (mwánábwaá pa) pááká ottukwana shá’ ééjílé. [ottukwana: mix of ottukula & okaana?]

éhtawu wénéwalé pááká o-ottukula shávi ééjílé

entá 17.EDEM.III 1a.cat NAR-take 9a.key 9.DEM.III

‘Then, Mr.Cat remained with that key.’

**páaká.6.32.5’**

ddabunó pááká oromá : “hó!” waakula. “shá! hńg’ óddíy’ oonddókuwéélá ba aaní??”

ddabunó pááká oromá hó o-akula shá ningá óddú = ya

then 1a.cat NAR-start INTER NAR-answer INTER VOC 1.DEM.I = DEF

[o-ní-ddí-kuwélá]REL ba aaní

1-IPFV.CJ-OM1SG-call 2.COP who

‘Then Mr.Cat started: Ye! (sound for answering a call) he answered. But who is this one calling me?’
And then he said, ‘because he has a son, he asked me to come and give him a name.’

‗Hódhow a kýle, oomvuúza: “k’ wéyo waaddhowlewó: , hë?”

He went back to that house where they left that food.’

‘He went, uncovered that food, opened the house, took that food, and ate it.’

‘It is Mr.Swallow who called me, you see, it is Mr.Swallow who called me.‘ Umm?’ “He called me because he has a son, he asked me to come and give him a name.”

‘And then, the name, did you give him? He said : Yes I gave him the (his) name ‘I began’.”

that his friend (Dog) R NEG ka finally afínáálii ŋdúèg wá: “Hô!” Right at the time he was sitting, out of smartness, he was replying : “Hô!”, there alone, “What is it?”


‘He took that food to eat, ate it, and went back to his friend. His friend asked him :’

wéyo, kú waagéle [uuvi]? “épà(wi), ciwéev’ eepá” “ìíñg?” “ddaaddhowíl’ óórhvahá mwán[áy]je ńzíná viíñágwá” “ba aani ?” “ddihínléyamo.”

weyo kí o-a-g-èl-e epá ciwéevé epá ìíñg ddi-a-dhow-illè 2SG.PRO EMPH 2-IPFV.GO-APPL-PFV.CJ INTER 9a.síllaw INTER INTER 1SG-IPFV.GO-PFV.CJ o-mu-vahá mwánáyé ńzíná viíñá-gúwá ba aani ddi-hi-élélà = mo 15-OM1-give.PL 1.child.POSS.3SG 5.name too-again 2.COP who 1SG-IPFV.DJ-repeat = 18.LOC

‘(Dog) You, where did you go? (Cat) It is the swallow. (Dog) What is it? (Cat) I went and gave his child a name again. (Dog) Which one? (Cat) I repeated.

“afínááli’ “ìíñg”, sagilílàft, móókwe kàndísèkóbíírhí’ ilóobwééne, kànhóñélelamw’ ilóobw’ ééne, dihínlóga [eitółà] móókáwey so paakà.

afínááli mní a-hí-gilátí móókwe ka-ní-dísèkóbíírhí elobó = ééne finally yes 2-IPFV.DJ-sit 1.friend NEG.1-IPFV-find.out 9a.thing.PL = INT


‘(Dog) Really? (Cat) Yes. They sat. The friend does not find out anything, he does not understand anything that his friend Mr.Cat is saying.’
owfiyéélá: “kó!” “sháá! mas óddú míyó ddadhowá ddiya ddámúruwane; , mas óndíkúw…
shatiyaaréècéené [mix of ondíddikuweléècéené & ondídshatiyaaréècéené] dhayéène, ómbálá dháávt?

‘He came back (and said) : [excl.], but this one, when I go, I am going to insult him. But this one annoying me like this, how does it give birth?’

Did you give him? / I did / Who is it? / I licked, he finished.’
Here we are. The moment came to (want to) go home, to go and eat the food that they left inside.'

Then, coming, coming, the cat too coming, coming; he knows that he has almost arrived (lit. 'like there' = which can be seen).

The dog took the key, entered the house, opened as always.

The cat said (started): Take that key. / What? / Take the key, I am going to pee.'

Ok. The dog took the key, entered the house, opened as always. He went.

He ran towards the food, took the plate, he wanted to serve that food.'
éjí yaáëgá mûkwáág’ agéélí “gôó! ddíya ddaânhvahe ñzíná cîvéevéèe.”


“What my friend was telling, saying: “wo, I am going to give the swallow a name.’

ddabunó ddìgaamvuúz’ oññíl “ddìítråmámo”, ddìgaamvuúz’ oññíl “ddìíléyamó”, ddìgaamvuúz’ oññíl “ddìíyóńmbëlrámo”.


“Now, when I ask him, he says “I began”, when I ask him, he says “I repeated”, when I ask him, he says “I licked”.

ápá mûkwáágá waadheèl’ ója komííd’ éësilé: !”

ápá mûkwé = ága o-a-dh-ëèl-ë oja komíídó éësilé 16.DEM.I 1.friend = POSS.1SG 1-PST-come-APPL-IPFW.CJ 15.eat.PL 9a.food.PL 9.DEM.III this way my friend was coming to eat that food!”

eññùwù mûkwáay’ ònhóòddúúwa : “hnóhá mûkwáágáya ol’ úñv’ uugákoooddí oòdhá kunámál’ oòsîôngótîndài’hí?”


“Then his friend went out. But this friend of mine, where is he? Are you not coming, are you not done yet with your necessities?

kádháñmótó [ kádháwumótó]! ”hnóhá” mûk’ òónóssúsa mwàñàwbwa, fyèen’ òónóssúsa

ká-dhá = wò = nò = to ni-ní-ódhá mûkwé ò-ni-ònsúsa IMP-come-17.LOC = PROX = then 1PL-IPFW.DJ-15.come 1.friend 1-IPFW.DJ-15.go.forward mwànàwbwa fôyéène ò-ni-ònsúsa 1.dog 3SG.PRO 1-IPFW.DJ-15.move.away

Come then!” “I am coming.” While the friend is moving forward, the dog, he (the cat) is moving away.

“When kádháñmótó oðhè (éno… nddè) ñjààtài Ari.” òónóssúsa.

níñá ká-dhá = wò = nò = to o-dh-è ni-jààttài éë ni-ní-ònsúsa VOC IMP-come-17.LOC = PROX = then 2SG-come-SBJ 1PL-have.dinner-SBJ 1-IPFW.DJ-15.move.away

“Come here then! Let’s have dinner.” He is moving away.
At that moment, the dog got nervous. He ran (is running) after the cat.

They came to hate each other for the friendship they had built, (the cat) turned round, came to finish the food alone.

I, who told, I stopped here.