

The Semantics of Locative Clitics and Locative Applicatives in ciCewa

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the semantic effects of attaching the locative clitic and the locative applicative suffix on the ciCewa verb. Each of these two morphemes can independently appear on the verb (1b, 1c) or both morphemes can simultaneously occur on the verb (1d). In other cases neither morpheme appears on the verb (1a)¹.

- (1) a. Mtsikana w- a- dy -a nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST²-eat-FV 9.banana 16-porch
'The girl ate a banana on the porch'
- b. Mtsikana w- a- dy -el -a nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-APPL-FV 9.banana 16-porch
'The girl ate a banana on the porch'
- c. Mtsikana w- a- dy -a -po nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-FV-16loc 9.banana 16-porch
'The girl ate a banana on the porch'
- d. Mtsikana w- a- dy -el -a -po nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-APPL-FV-16loc 9.banana 16-porch
'The girl ate a banana on the porch'

The translation provided for the sentences in (1) masks the subtle differences between them, a point I will explicate below. Suffice to say at this stage that the locative applicative affix is a known entity in Bantu linguistics: it has been investigated at great lengths over the years and scholars have sought to account for its grammatical function changing properties (see Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Alsina and Mchombo 1993, Marantz 1993, Simango 1995, Bliss 2009, and references in those works). It should be noted though that not much attention has been paid to the semantic properties of this affix. The

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¹ The orthographic conventions followed in the presentation of data in this paper are those suggested in Banda et al (2001). The following abbreviations are used in this paper: SM = subject marker; OM = object marker; APPL = applicative; DEM = demonstrative; FV = final vowel; HAB = habitual; HDPST = hodiernal past; PST = (non-hodiernal) past; INF = infinitive; PROG = progressive; REL = relative; numbers refer to noun classes. Although ciCewa is a tone language tone is not marked in this work because the facts under discussion are completely independent of tone.

² The distinction between hodiernal and non-hodiernal past in ciCewa is noted in Simango (2003a).

locative clitic, on the other hand, remains an unknown entity: discussions of this morpheme are almost nonexistent despite the fact that it occurs regularly in ciCewa and related languages. This paper seeks to show that these morphemes do more than merely establishing the location in which a particular event occurred. It is argued that locative clitic encodes meanings that link the theme argument to the location whereas the applicative affix encodes meanings that link the event itself to the location.

2. Demonstrative pronouns in ciCewa

Locative clitics arise when a demonstrative pronoun of the relevant noun class is phonologically reduced and attaches to the word preceding it. Thus it is necessary here to provide a brief background of demonstrative cliticization in general terms before focusing on the locative forms. Demonstrative pronouns in ciCewa fall into three categories: proximal demonstratives (corresponding to ‘this/these’) and two types of distal demonstratives (both corresponding to ‘that/those’). The first variant of distal demonstratives (Distal 1), which denotes “away from the speaker”, is realized with an invariant [o] final vowel; the second variant (Distal 2), denoting “away from both speaker and addressee” (i.e. “yonder”), invariably ends with [-ja]. All demonstratives in ciCewa are bisyllabic: proximal demonstratives consist of a uniform VCV structure with an identical vowel on either side of the consonant, whereas distal demonstratives show variation in that some (specifically within the “yonder” category) have a CVCV pattern in addition to the VCV pattern. The full range of ciCewa demonstratives is shown in (2).

(2) Inventory of ciCewa demonstrative pronouns.

Noun Class	Example	Demonstrative Pronouns		
		Proximal	Distal 1	Distal 2
1	mwana ‘child’	mwana uyu	mwana uyo	mwana uja
2	anthu ‘people’	anthu awa	anthu awo	anthu aja
3	munda ‘garden’	munda uwu	munda uwo	munda uja
4	minda ‘gardens’	minda iyi	minda iyoyi	minda ija
5	tsiku ‘day’	tsiku ili	tsiku ilo	tsiku lija
6	masiku ‘days’	masiku awa	masiku awo	masiku aja
7	cinthu ‘thing’	cinthu ici	cinthu ico	cinthu cija
8	zinthu ‘things’	zinthu izi	zinthu izo	zinthu zija
9	nkhumba ‘pig’	nkhumba iyi	nkhumba iyoyi	nkhumba ija
10	nkhumba ‘pigs’	nkhumba izi	nkhumba izo	nkhumba zija
12	kanthu ‘tiny thing’	kanthu aka	kanthu ako	kanthu kaja
13	tinthu ‘tiny things’	tinthu iti	tinthu ito	tinthu tija
14	ulemu ‘politeness’	ulemu uwu	ulemu uwo	ulemu uja
15	kuvina ‘dancing’	kuvina uku	kuvina uko	kuvina kuja
16	pamalo ‘(at) place’	pamalo apa	pamalo apo	pamalo paja
17	kumalo ‘(to) place’	kumalo uku	kumalo uko	kumalo kuja
18	mumalo ‘(in) place’	mumalo umu	Mumalo umo	mumalo muja

3. Cliticization of Demonstratives

Both proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns can cliticize to the noun which they modify: this is achieved by deleting the initial syllable of the demonstrative, and attaching the remnant CV to the noun. These facts are illustrated in (3) – (6).

- (3) a. munthu **uyu** ‘this person’ munth**uyu**
 b. munthu **uyo** ‘that person’ munth**uyo**
 c. munthu **uja** ‘that person’ *munth**uja**

- (4) a. anthu **awa** ‘these people’ anthu**wa**
 b. anthu **awo** ‘those people’ anthu**wo**
 c. anthu **aja** ‘those people’ *anthu**ja**
- (5) a. cilombo **ici** ‘this beast’ cilomb**oci**
 b. cilombo **ico** ‘that beast’ cilomb**oco**
 c. cilombo **cija** ‘that beast’ *cilomb**oja**
- (6) a. zilombo **izi** ‘these beasts’ zilomb**ozi**
 b. zilombo **izo** ‘those beasts’ zilomb**ozo**
 c. zilombo **zija** ‘those beasts’ *zilomb**oja**

As is evident in the (c) examples above, distal demonstrative $_ja$ does not cliticize at all and thus will not feature in the rest of this paper³. Cliticization of the other demonstrative pronouns, however, is very productive in ciCewa; all noun classes participate in this process as illustrated in (7).

(7) Cliticization of demonstratives on nouns.

Noun Class	Proximal Demonstratives	Distal Demonstratives
	example	Example
1	mwanayu ‘this child’	mwanayo ‘that child’
2	anthuwa ‘these people’	anthuwo ‘those people’
3	mundawu ‘this garden’	mundawo ‘that garden’
4	mindayi ‘these gardens’	mindayo ‘those gardens’
5	tsikuli ‘this day’	tsikulo ‘that day’
6	masikuwa ‘these days’	masikuwo ‘those days’
7	cinthu <i>ci</i> ‘this thing’	cinthuco ‘that thing’
8	zinthuzi ‘these things’	zinthuzo ‘those things’
9	nkhumbayi ‘this pig’	nkhumbayo ‘that pig’
10	nkhumbazi ‘these pigs’	nkhumbazo ‘those pigs’
12	kanthuka ‘this tiny thing’	kanthuko ‘that tiny thing’
13	tinthuti ‘these tiny things’	tinthuto ‘those tiny things’
14	ulemuwu ‘this politeness’	ulemuwo ‘that politeness’
15	kuvinaku ‘this dancing’	kuvinako ‘that dancing’
16	pamalopa ‘at this place’	pamalopo ‘at that place’
17	kumaloku ‘to this place’	kumaloko ‘to that place’
18	m’malomu ‘in this place’	m’malomo ‘in that place’

Cliticization occurs in many languages of the world and accounts of this phenomenon abound in the literature (see for example Scalise 1984, Saddock 1991, Halpern 1998, Kiefer 1998, Sproat 1998, Haspelmath 2002, Julien 2002, and references in those works). Clitics are of interest to linguists because they have relevance to various components of grammar: from morphology, syntax to pragmatics (see Kiefer 1998). Morphologically clitics share some similarities with inflectional affixes and syntactically clitics share some similarities with free forms. The productivity of cliticization and the domain over which the process occurs varies from language to language and within a single language. In ciCewa, for example, cliticization of demonstratives is more productive in the nominal system but less so in the verbal domain. A possible reason for this, as a reviewer has suggested, is that demonstratives are essentially nominal elements and are, thus, more compatible with nouns than with verbs. Although this seems to be true for ciCewa evidence from ciNsenga, a related language points in

³ Note that when the initial syllable of the demonstrative pronoun is deleted during cliticization the noun class features seem to be retained by the remnant CV in the other demonstratives but not in the clitic $_ja$ which, being invariant, bears no class features. The failure of $_ja$ to cliticize is probably due to this particular characteristic. I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this fact.

the opposite direction⁴, which suggests that there could be other reasons for this difference in productivity. I leave this point open pending further research.

4. Cliticization of locative Demonstratives on ciCewa verbs

Locative clitics – demonstratives drawn from class 16, 17 and 18 – display different degrees of productivity when they attach to verbs. In principle, both proximal and distal clitics can attach to any verb to form a word as shown in (8).

(8)			<u>Distal</u>	<u>Proximal</u>
a.	khala	‘sit’	khal apo/ko/mo	khal apa/ku/mu
b.	thawa	‘run away’	thaw apo/ko/mo	thaw apa/ku/mu
c.	dya	‘eat’	dy apo/ko/mo	dy apa/ku/mu
d.	kwatila	‘marry’	kwatila po/ko/mo	kwatila pa/ku/mu
e.	phika	‘cook’	phika po/ko/mo	phika pa/ku/mu

However, whereas a distal clitic freely attaches to any verb irrespective of its position in a sentence, a proximal clitic attaches to the verb only when the verb in question occurs inside a relative clause: it cannot attach to a verb in the matrix clause as (9) – (12) illustrate.

(9) pa-mpando pa-mene w- a- khal-a -**pa** p- a- f -el - a mphemvu
 16-chair 16-REL 1.SM-HDPST-sit- FV-16.LOC 16-HDPST-die-APPL-FV 9.cockroach
 ‘A cockroach died on this chair which you have sat on’
 [Lit. ‘The chair on which you have sat, a cockroach died (on it)’]

(10) Mu-nyumba m’mene w- a- gon -a -**mu** mu-li ma-koswe a-mbili
 18-house 18.REL 1.SM -HDPST-sleep-FV-18.LOC 18-be 6- rat 6-many
 ‘There are many rats in the house in which you slept’
 [Lit. ‘The house in which you slept there are many rats’]

(11) ku-thengo ku-mene w- a- pit-a -**ku** ku-ma-bisal-a zi-gawenga
 17-forest 17-REL 1.SM -HDPST-go-FV-17.LOC 17-hab-hide-FV 8-thug
 ‘Thugs hide in the forest to which she has gone’
 [Lit. ‘The forest to which she has gone hide thugs’]

(12) *Mtsikana w- a- dy -a -**pa** nthoci pa-khonde
 1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-FV-16LOC 9.banana 16-porch
 ‘The girl ate a banana on the porch’

In (9) – (11), a proximal locative clitic attaches to a verb inside a relative clause and the sentences are fine. When this clitic attaches to the verb in a matrix clause (12) it results in ungrammaticality. Having outlined the formation of locative clitics let us turn our attention to the applicative affix which, as we have indicated earlier, has been the subject of much research on Bantu linguistics.

5. Locative applicatives in ciCewa

The applicative suffix is associated with a variety of semantic roles such as benefactive, instrumental, locative, etc., with the benefactive proving to be cross-linguistically the most prominent among all applicatives (Trithart, 1983). The applicative form seems to be the only way of expressing a benefactive role in many Bantu languages. The locative role, however, need not be expressed by the applicative affix because this role can be expressed by the noun classes. This means that the locative

⁴ Cliticization of demonstratives in ciNsenga is more restricted than it is in ciCewa: only the locative demonstrative pronouns -po, -ko, and -mo are permitted to cliticize and, significantly, these clitics only attach to verbs but never to nouns.

applicative affix is an optional element in those languages where it occurs. Consider the example in (13).

- (13) a. Mtsikana w- a- dy -a nthoci pa-khonde
 1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-FV 9.banana 16-porch
 ‘The girl ate a banana on the porch’
- b. Mtsikana w- a- dy -el -a nthoci pa-khonde
 1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-APPL-FV 9.banana 16-porch
 ‘The girl ate a banana on the porch’

These two sentences are paraphrases of each other, at least superficially; the key syntactic difference is that in (13a) the locative noun is an adjunct of the verb whereas in (13b) the locative is an argument of the verb (see Trithart 1983, Marantz 1984, 1993, Alsina and Mchombo 1993, Mabugu 2003, Simango 2003b, and related works for discussion). Upon closer examination, however, subtle differences between the two sentences emerge, and it is to these aspects of meaning that I now turn.

6. On the semantics of locative applicatives and locative clitics

6.1. Verbs of creation in *ciCewa*

We have hinted above that the attachment onto the verb of either the locative clitic or the applicative affix, and indeed the attachment of both morphemes, adds subtle meanings to the verb in question. Let us take a closer look at the relevant meanings encoded by these morphemes by first examining the sentences in (14).

- (14) a. Thoko a- na- lemb -a kalata pa-mpando
 1.SM-PST-write-FV 9.letter 16-chair
 ‘Thoko wrote a letter on the chair’
- b. Thoko a- na- lemb -a -po kalata pa-mpando
 1.SM-PST-write-FV-16LOC 9.letter 16-chair
 ‘Thoko wrote a letter on the chair’
- c. Thoko a- na- lemb -el -a kalata pa-mpando
 1.SM-PST-write-APPL-FV 9.letter 16-chair
 ‘Thoko wrote a letter on the chair’
- d. Thoko a- na- lemb -el -a -po kalata pa-mpando
 1.SM -PST-write-APPL-FV-16LOC 9.letter 16-chair
 ‘Thoko wrote a letter on the chair’

In (14a) the verb appears with neither the locative clitic nor the applicative affix attached; in (14b) only the locative clitic is attached to the verb; in (14c) only the applicative affix is attached; in (14d) both the applicative and the clitic appear on the verb. Superficially, the sentences in (14) are mere paraphrases of each other, as the translations indicate, implying that Thoko sat on a chair and wrote a letter; but this masks the differences that belie the meanings of these sentences. Sentence (14a) is unspecified in a number of ways: first it does not indicate whether the letter was written onto the chair itself or onto something else like, say, a piece of paper; second it does not indicate if there were any other effects arising from the event that occurred. Sentence (14b), on the other hand, does not only assert that the event of writing the letter occurred on the chair but, more importantly, that Thoko inscribed the letter onto the chair itself (graffiti fashion perhaps). In fact it is more than likely that Thoko did not sit on the chair in question when she carried out the act. Sentence (14c), on its part, implies that Thoko sat on the chair and wrote a letter (presumably on a piece of paper); in other words, the chair was used only as a location for performing the act in question.

Sentence (14d) is, in certain respects, similar to (14c) in that it also asserts that the chair was used

as a location for writing the letter; however unlike (14c) this sentence adds certain nuanced meanings associated with the consequences of the event on the location itself – consequences which are relevant to the discourse context in which the sentence occurs. These consequences, as we will see below, could be real or imaginary. For example the sentence may imply that the chair is littered with trash (e.g. scrap paper), or it has been desacralized, as a result of Shoko having used it in writing the letter and is therefore not suitable to be sat on or to be used for some other activity. The verb lemba ‘write’ can be classified as belonging to the class of verbs known as *verbs of creation* in the sense of Levin (1993). By *verbs of creation* we are referring to those verbs which entail the coming into existence of the theme argument. That is, the theme argument generally does not exist prior to the action described by the verb. Thus kalata ‘letter’ comes into being as a consequence of the action described by the verb lemba ‘write’. It seems that verbs of creation generally convey the range of meanings described here when the locative clitic and/or the locative applicative is attached. Other verbs of this type are shown in (15).

(15)	<u>Base</u>		<u>Verb+applic</u>	<u>Verb + clitic</u>	<u>Verb + applic + clitic</u>
a.	umba	‘mould’	umbila	umbapo	umbilapo
b.	phika	‘cook’	phikila	phikamo	phikilamo
c.	beleka	‘give birth’	belekela	belekamo	belekelamo
d.	jambula	‘draw’	jambulila	jambulapo	jambulilapo
e.	luka	‘weave’	lukila	lukapo	lukilapo
f.	soka	‘sew’	sokela	sokapo	sokelapo
g.	manga	‘build’	mangila	mangapo	mangilapo

For these verbs the combination [Verb +clitic] conveys the following meaning: the theme argument becomes (or is assumed to be) permanently located at the location in question; or at the very least, is assumed to still be located at the said location at the time of utterance (TU). What this shows is that when a locative clitic alone attaches to a verb stem of this class it signals the “goal” or destination for the theme argument. The combination [Verb+applicative], on the other hand, means that the location is only relevant as the site for performing the action described by the verb. What is significant here is that the object so created (i.e. the theme argument) need not be (and is generally assumed not to be) located at the said location at TU. It seems that the function of the applicative affix is to situate the event itself at the said location. Note that although the applicative affix may have some syntactic effects on the theme argument, it does not seem to have a direct semantic link with this argument. As noted above, the combination [Verb+applicative+clitic] not only means that the location was used for performing the action in question but it also means that the action itself has had some (perceived or real) lasting effects on the location itself. Thus (14d) would be uttered to alert someone to the fact that the chair in question is unsuitable for use at the moment because of the effects of a preceding event. The following extract from newspaper article about *juju* in soccer further illustrates the point being made here. In the article, the writer reports on how some Malawian soccer teams, because of their belief in *juju*, engage in strange behavior on match days. There are cases in which teams refuse to enter the pitch using the designated tunnels or paths for fear that their opponents may cast a spell on them; and other cases (16) in which teams resist entering the dressing room used by their opponents for fear that the opponents may have left an unlucky charm behind.

- (16) Ena mwa ma-timu-wa a- ku- ma- kan -a ku-pit-a ku-ka-cipinda kumene
 some of 6-team-DEM 6SM-PROG-HAB-refuse-FV INF-go-FV 17-12-room where
- a- ma- val -il -a -ko poopa kuti anzawo a- wa- cit -il -a
 6-HAB-dress.up-APPL-FV-17LOC fearing that 2.opponent 2SM-2OM-do-APPL-FV
- mankhwala kuti a- gonj -e.
 charm that 2SM-be.defeated-FV

‘Some of the teams refuse to enter the (little) room which their opponents have used (for dressing up) fearing that they (i.e. their opponents) may have left behind a charm (so as) to defeat them.’

(Source: *Tamvani* a ciCewa supplement in the *Weekend Nation*, August 6, 2011)

Note the verb amavalilako ‘they were dressing up in’ has the combination [verb+applicative+clitic]. The implied meaning here is that the act of dressing up, by their opponents, has left some undesired effects in the dressing room, presumably *juju*, which may cause this team to lose the match should they dare to use the same dressing room.

6.2. Other activity verbs

The attachment of a locative clitic and an applicative affix on other activity verbs (besides verbs of creation) yields slightly different meanings. Let us illustrate this point by returning to the sentence in (1) repeated here as (17).

- (17) a. Mtsikana w- a- dy -a nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-FV 9.banana 16-porch
‘The girl ate a banana on the porch’
- b. Mtsikana w- a- dy -a -po nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-FV-16LOC 9.banana 16-porch
‘The girl ate a banana on the porch’
- c. Mtsikana w- a- dy -el -a nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-APPL-FV 9.banana 16-porch
‘The girl ate a banana on the porch’
- d. Mtsikana w- a- dy -el -a -po nthoci pa-khonde
1.girl 1.SM -HDPST-eat-APPL-FV-16LOC 9.banana 16-porch
‘The girl ate a banana on the porch’

Just as in (14a), (17a) is unspecified with respect to a number of meanings: it does not indicate, for example, where the banana came from and what the consequences of the girl’s action are to the said location. In sentence (17b) the banana is interpreted as having originated from the porch in question – i.e. the location is the “source” of the banana. What the sentence implies is that (i) prior to the act being performed, the banana was located at the said porch on a permanent basis (and, by extension, the banana belonged to the porch) and that the said banana might have been one of a bunch; (ii) the girl ate “one” of the possible bananas that could have been eaten. The sentence does not specify where the actual eating occurred – though it can be construed that the event occurred at the said location. It is clear that what the locative clitic (po) does in this sentence is to specify the source of the theme argument (i.e. the banana) and indicate that only part of a potential set was affected by the action described by the verb.

Sentence (17c), on the other hand, specifies that the act of eating occurred on the porch in question – i.e. the location was used to perform the act in question. Interestingly, the sentence implies that the theme argument (i.e. the banana) did not originate from the porch: the girl must have brought the banana onto the porch and then ate it. Here again it seems that the primary function of the applicative affix is to specify the location where the event occurred. Sentence (17d) is similar to (14d) with respect to the meanings associated with it. Other verbs in this class are given in (18).

(18)	<u>Base</u>		<u>Verb + clitic</u>	<u>Verb + applic + clitic</u>
a.	menya	‘beat’	menyamo	menyelamo
b.	pha	‘kill’	phamo	phelamo
c.	kwatila	‘marry’	kwatilapo	kwatililapo
d.	tukwana	‘curse’	tukwanapo	tukwanilapo
e.	kwapula	‘whip’	kwapulapo	kwapulilapo
f.	sw-a	‘break’	swapo	swelapo
g.	mwa	‘drink’	mwamo	mwelamo

For other activity verbs the derivation [verb+clitic] is associated with the following (core) meanings:

- (i) The theme argument originates from the location in question – i.e. the locative is the “source”.
- (i) The theme argument constitutes a subclass of possible entities to which the action described by the verb would have been performed – i.e. other members exist (or probably exist) but have not been affected by the activity in question.
- (ii) The activity described by the verb need not have occurred at the said location – i.e. the action itself may have taken place elsewhere.

By contrast, derivations consisting of [verb+applicative+clitic] convey one principal meaning: the location is used as the site for performing the activity described by the verb – i.e. the theme argument does not originate from the location in question but was brought to the site specifically for the said activity to be performed. These meanings are more salient in the contrast between the pair of sentences in (19).

- (19) a. Pa-mudzi paja ndi- na- kwatil –a –po mkazi
 16-village 16.DEM SM-PST-marry-FV-16.LOC 1.woman
 ‘I married a woman from that village’ [Lit. ‘At that village I married a woman’]
- b. Pa-mudzi paja ndi- na- kwatil -il -a -po mkazi
 16-village 16.DEM SM-PST-marry-APPL-FV-16.LOC 1.woman
 ‘I married a woman in that village’ [Lit. ‘At that village I married a woman’]

Note here that (19a) makes no claim as to where the marriage ceremony (i.e. the event) took place apart from specifying where the woman came from; in other words, the ceremony may well have taken place somewhere else. (19b), on the other hand, makes a specific claim about where the event of getting married occurred, but makes no claim about where the woman in question came from.

Further support for the claim that [verb + clitic] implies that the theme argument originates from the said location whereas [verb + applicative + clitic] implies that the event merely occurred at the said location comes from the contrast in (20).

- (20) a. *Mnyamata w- a- met -a -po ndevu pa-khonde
 boy 1.SM-HDPST-shave-FV-16.LOC 9.beard 16-porch
 ‘The boy shaved beard on the porch’
- b. Mnyamata w- a- met -el -a -po ndevu pa-khonde
 boy 1.SM-HDPST-shave-APPL-FV-16.LOC 9.beard 16-porch
 ‘The boy shaved beard on the porch’

The ill-formedness of (20a) arises from the fact that it implies that the porch itself had grown a beard and that the boy shaved it off. The sentence is thus pragmatically odd. However, (20b) is well formed as it only states that the event took place on the porch. This sentence seems to imply that the porch is likely to be littered with (fragments of) the boy’s beard, because it was used as a venue for shaving the beard; and thus may be in need of cleaning before it can be used for something else.

7. Concluding remark

What has been shown in this paper is that the verb merely describes the action without anchoring the event spatially. It is clear that the locative applicative affix situates the event described by the verb in space whereas the locative clitic says something about how the theme argument relates to the location. As we have noted, the location can either be the theme’s source or (final) goal. When only the clitic is attached to the verb the determination of whether the location is a source or goal seems to depend on the semantics of the verb and not the clitic itself: verbs of creation yield the ‘goal’ meaning, other activity verbs yield the ‘source’ meaning. The combination [applic+clitic] is interesting in that it first identifies the location as a site at which the said event occurred and second, it asserts that the

effects of the said event are still present and thus have a bearing on a subsequent event due to occur at the same location.

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