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Non-Locative Functions of Locative Enclitics in Lunyole - Focus on Locative Enclitic ‘=ho’

MIYAZAKI Kumiko*

Introduction

Locative enclitics are common across Bantu languages, and their various forms and functions have been reported. Previous studies have shown that these forms and functions vary significantly from one language to another. Furthermore, extensive research has been conducted on the non-locative enclitics and their functions within the Bantu language family (Guérois, Preshon & Devos, Marten & Kula, Katushemererwe & Namyalo). Nevertheless, despite Lunyole (JE35)¹ being no exception, the locative enclitics in Lunyole exhibits non-locative functions, particularly in discourse, in addition to its locative function. Previous studies have focused more on the morphophonological, syntactic, and semantic properties of locative enclitics in Lunyole, and although they have mentioned the function of non-locative enclitics in Lunyole, they have not yet extensively discussed their non-locative functions of locative enclitics in Lunyole (Wicks, Namulenu).

In this paper, I will present some outstanding discourse functions of locative enclitic in Lunyole, particularly on the partitive use of the enclitic in discourse, which has not been extensively reported in the literature. More non-locative use of =ho have been observed in Lunyole compared to other locative enclitics, and more data on =ho are the focus of the discussion in this paper².

1. Overview on Lunyole

Lunyole is one of the Bantu languages in the Luhya subfamily, spoken in the Butareja prefecture, in Eastern Uganda. According to the results of the demographic census conducted in 2014, the population of Nyole people was 517,080. Based on this, SIL (2023) indicates that the number of Lunyole speakers is 530,000. Additionally, according to Ethnologue (Eberhard et al, 2020), the language is still in the developmental stage.

Lunyole has a noun class system with 17 noun classes and an additional 4 locative classes. Among these, Lunyole has 4 locative enclitics: =ng’o, =ho, =mo, and =yo, which correspond to noun classes 16, 17, 18, and 23, respectively. Similar to many other Bantu languages, class 16 refers to specific

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¹ In Maho (2009) Lunyole is subdivided under the classification number JE35.

² This paper is based on the data used in the presentation (Miyazaki, 2018), with new data and content added to reflect feedback elicited in the presentation. The data used in this talk are taken from the male native speaker of Lunyole in the Butareja district.

location, class 17 refers to non-specific location, while class 18 refers to interiority. Class 23, on the other hand, refers to indefinite place and is often associated with proper noun. The typical word order in Lunyole is quite strictly subject-verb-object (SVO), and Lunyole features two tones (High and Low). Enclitics in Lunyole occupy the final slot in the verb.

- (1) a. ng'a-li=ng'o epuusi ebili³
 SM16-be=LOC16 9.cat 9.two
 'There are two cats (somewhere specific).'
- b. n-náha-sangul-e=ho.
 SM1SG-FUT-wipe-FV=LOC17
 'I will clean there.'
- c. ómuhasi a-tá=mu ámabóoni muhíséló
 2.woman SM3SG-put-LOC18 6.sweet potato 18.basket
 'Woman put sweet potatoes in the basket.'
- d. a-ng'w-a=yo
 SM3SG-come from-FV=LOC23
 'She comes from there.'

2. Non-Locative Functions of Lunyole locative enclitics

Persohn & Devos (2017) lists non-locative functions in Bantu languages such as 'partitive', 'polite', 'emphatic', 'negative', 'instrumental', 'comparison' and 'as well, too'. Among the different uses of the locative marker =ho, 'partitive' is commonly attested in many other Bantu languages⁴. Among the Lunyole enclitics, =ng'o,=ho,=mo and =yo, most examples of non-locative function have been found for =ho, with fewer examples for the other enclitics. Compared to the locative enclitic =ho, limited data were found on the non-locative functions of the enclitics =ng'o and =mo. Additionally, data on the non-locative function of =yo has not been found yet. Given the limited available data, the aim of this section is to present some data on the non-locative functions of the locative enclitics =ng'o and =mo which has not been reported in previous studies. Additionally, no examples have been found for =yo so far.

³ The abbreviations used in the glosses are the following: 1-23 noun class numbers, 1/2/3SG/PL, 1st/2nd/3rd personsingular/plural, COMP 'complementizer', COP 'copula', FUT 'future', FV 'final vowel', INF 'infinitive', LOC 'locative', NEG 'negative marker', OM 'object marker', POS 'possessive', PRF 'perfective', PST 'past', SM 'subject marker',

⁴ Bemba (Nancy C. Kula, Hannah Gibson & Kyle Jerro, 2021), Ruruuli-Lunyole, Herero (Yoneda, 2021), Runyankore-Rukiga and Luganda (Katushemererwe & Namyalo, 2020), Luganda (Nanteza, 2018), Chuwabo (Guérois, 2017) and Luragooli (Bowler & Gluckman, 2015).

- b. ábaaná ba-sóm-ile=**hó** óluzúngú.
 2.child SM2-read-PRF=LOC17 11.English
 ‘Children studied English (**in addition to something**).’
- c. ga-gúl-ile=**hó** ámatémwa.
 SM3SG-buy-PRF=LOC17 6.plantain banana
 ‘S/he bought plantain banana (**in addition to something**).’

2.1.3. Function as Additive

The enclitic =ho serves to add the meaning of ‘slightness’, akin to ‘-ish’ in English. It suggests a degree of approximation or slightness. Example (5b) show =ho can broaden the scope of an adjective phrase, extending its influence over the predicate within the sentence. Example (6b) demonstrates that =ho can scope over a nominal object.

- (5) a. ényumba nándó.
 9.house 9.red
 ‘House is red.’
- b. ényumba nándó=**ho**.
 9.house 9.red=LOC17
 ‘House is reddish.’
- (6) a. ómuséélé muleng’í.
 1.man 1.tall
 ‘The man is tall.’
- b. ómuséélé muleng’í=**ho**.
 1.man 1.tall=LOC17
 ‘The man is “tallish (rather tall, a little tall).’

2.1.4. Function as Politeness

The use of =ho can yield the interpretation of politeness. It softens the meaning of imperatives and requests, thereby in turn brings politeness as demonstrated in (7b).

- (7) a. n-yéd-é ohu-ígúl-á ésandúuku.
 OM1SG-help-FV INF-open-FV 9.box
 ‘Help me to open the box.’
- b. n-yéd-é=**ho** ohu-ígúl-á ésandúuku.
 OM1SG-help-FV=LOC17 INF-open-FV 9.box
 ‘Please help me to open the box.’

Example (8) illustrates that the use of =ho widens the meaning of the verb to include more choices, there by conveying politeness. Additionally, it avoids explicitness and assertiveness, allowing for more freedom for interpretation. =ho makes the verb meanings milder and softer adding an implied meaning of ‘humbleness’ to the verb.

- (8) a. n-bá-hés-a.
 SM1SG-OM2PL-greet-FV
 ‘I greet you.’
- b. n-bá-hés-a=**ho**.
 SM1SG-OM2PL-greet=LOC17
 ‘**May I** greet you.’

2.1.5. Function as Uncertainty

Examples (9) and (10) illustrate examples of ‘uncertainty’. These examples may exhibit connections with the previous examples (7) and (8) in some ways. With the inclusion of =ho, these examples suggests that the expected result is uncertain and serve to deflect responsibility accordingly. In (9b), the implication of the sentence suggests that it is almost certain that the expected answer might not be given. Similarly, in (10b), uncertainty regarding the object is implied, indicating that obtaining the answer to why the bag is heavy is unlikely. As shown in 3.1.3, (10b) also demonstrates that =ho can scope over the adjective.

- (9) a. uús-a mama.
 ask-FV 1.mother
 ‘Ask mother.’
- b. uús-a=**ho** mama.
 ask-FV=LOC17 1.mother
 ‘You **could** ask mother.’

[Implied: it is uncertain if Mother has an answer, but you can try and ask anyway.]

- (10)a. ómugugu músító.
 3.bag 3.heavy
 ‘Bag is heavy.’
- b. ómugugu músító=**ho**.
 3.bag 3.heavy=LOC17
 ‘Bag is **somehow** heavy.’

[Implied: it is unclear why the bag is heavy, but it is heavy somehow.]

2.1.6. Function as Incompleteness

Example (11) illustrates the function of =ho as ‘incompleteness’. =ho is used to express that the action is not completed and ended only as an attempt or unsuccessfully. Example (11b) demonstrates that while it may seem possible for =ho to be interpreted in a locative usage, it is still not used as such, and the interpretation remains solely non-locative. When =ho is used in a non-locative sense, as demonstrated in this example, its interpretation may vary depending on the context. However, it is unlikely that both non-locative and locative uses can be interpreted accordingly.

- (11)a. Nelímá a-ng’ándíih-á ébarung’a.
1.Nelima SM3SG-write-FV 9.letter
‘Nelima wrote a letter.’
- b. Nelímá a-ng’ándíih-á=**hó** ébarung’a.
1.Nelima SM3SG-write-FV=LOC17 9.letter
‘Nelima **attempted to** write a letter.’

2.1.7. Function as Almost

Example (12) and (13) illustrates that =ho can express the meaning of ‘almost’. This function ‘almost’ suggest that it may have connections with ‘incomplete’, as discussed above. Both ‘incomplete’ and ‘almost’ share the concept of partialness or incompleteness, suggesting a state where something is not fully finished or achieved.

- (12)a. John a-ng’enyúh-á
John SM3SG-sleep-FV
‘John is sleeping.’
- b. John a-ng’enyúh-a=**ho**
John SM3SG-sleep-FV=LOC17
‘John is **half** sleeping.’/ ‘John sleeps **a little**’

In Luragooli, it is reported that verbs like ‘die’ and ‘kill’ are typically assumed to lack the process of the action and thus should be pragmatically infelicitous with the locative enclitic (Bowler & Gluckman, 2015:24). However, in Lunyole, =ho can be used with the verb ‘die’ when its function is ‘almost’ as shown in example (13b), whereas it cannot be used with the verb ‘kill’, as demonstrated in the example (14) of Luragooli.

- (13)a. a-fúú-yé.
SM3SG-die-PRF
‘He has died.’

- b. a-fúú-yé=**ho**.
 SM3SG-die-PRF=LOC17
 ‘He **almost** died.’
 *‘He died a little.’
- (14)a. Sira a-kuz-i. [Luragooli, (Bowler & Gluckman, 2015:24)]
 Sira SM1-die-FV
 ‘Sira died.’
- *b. Sira a-kuz-i ku. [Luragooli, (ibid, 2015:24)]
 Sira SM1-die-FV ku
 ‘Sira died a little.’
- (15) *John gá -it-ile=**ho** enyúní.
 John SG3SM-kill-PRF=LOC17 9.bird
 ‘John killed partially bird / some bird.’
- (16) *Imali y-iit-i ku ri-nyonyi. [Luragooli, (ibid, 2015:24)]
 1Imali 1-kill-fv ku 5-bird
 ‘Imali partially killed the bird.’

2.1.8. Function as Negation

It has been reported that in many Bantu languages, =ho has the function of ‘negation’. When =ho is used with a negative verb, the enclitics reinforce the negation and adds the interpretation of ‘not at all’ or ‘never’. In Lunyole, =ho is used with a negative prefix to express intensified negation as shown in example (17b). Additionally, adding an adverb that strengthens the negation, as in example (18b), further strengthens the meaning of never, which is primarily added by =ho.

- (17)a. abásinde sí-ba-nyiyi-a.
 2.man NEG-SM2-cook-FV
 ‘Men do **not** cook.’
- b. abásinde sí-ba-nyiyi-a=**hó**.
 2.man NEG-SM2-cook-FV=LOC17
 ‘Men **never** cook.’
- (18)a. sí-n-a-lóm-ilé
 NEG-SM1SG-PST-say-PRF=LOC17
 ‘I did not say.’
- b. sí-n-a-lóm-ilé=**ho** kádi.
 NEG-SM1SG-PST-say-PRF=LOC17 ever/at all
 ‘I **never** said **ever/at all**.’

2.1.9. Function as Comparative

Most Bantu languages, as most languages of sub-Saharan African, use ‘exceed comparatives’ (Stassen 2013) as their primary means of encoding comparison of inequality (Persohn & Devos 2017:25). In these, the standard of comparison is construed as the direct object of a verb translating as ‘to exceed’ or ‘to surpass’ (ibid :25). In Lunyole, =ho can be used on the exceed-verb to stress the comparison as it is show in Example (19).

- (19) Wamwá-angé gá-n-singa=**hó** obuleng’í
1.husband PRO1SG SM3SG-SM1OM-**surpass**=LOC17 6.length
‘My husband is taller **than** me.’

Example (20) shows that =ho can scope over the verb and add the meaning of comparison. Example (21), meanwhile, shows an example of a comparative sentence in which =ho scopes over to the adverb. In both examples, the meaning of the comparison is expressed only by the accompanying =ho.

- (20) a. dulum-a.
run-FV
‘Run.’
b. dulum-a=**ho**
run-FV=LOC17
‘Run **faster**.’
- (21)a. hol-á mangú
do-FV fast
‘Do (it) fast’
b. hol-á mangú=**ho**
do-FV fast=LOC17
‘Do (it) **faster**.’

2.1.10. Function as Concern

Example (22) shows that =ho expresses the ‘concern’⁵. The interpretation given for this example implies that the action is done with the possible result that’s already known, but with uncertainty. As (22a), shows the meaning of this example also includes underestimating or mocking the listener by asking the question but knowing that he or she will probably not be able to answer. Example (22b)

⁵ There is a possibility that the meaning of ‘uncertainty’ is included in addition to the meaning of ‘concern’.

shows that =ho is used with ébifwa ‘concerning’ and this sentence does not have the meaning of ‘uncertainty’.

- (22) a. n-lómél-é=**ho** hú-japání.
 SM1SG-ask-FV=LOC17 LOC17-Japan
 ‘I (Let me) ask you about Japan (although you probably do not know about it)’
- b. n-lómél-é=**ho** ébifwa hú-japání.
 SM1SG-ask-FV=LOC17 concerning LOC17-Japan
 ‘I (Let me) ask you about Japan’

2.2. Non-locative function of =ng’o,

2.2.1. Function as Urgency

Example (23) shows that by adding =ng’o, a sense of urgency or immediacy is expressed, suggesting that the individual possessed this knowledge right from the start or very early on. Additionally, in Luganda, examples demonstrate that this enclitic also conveys the notion of urgency when appended to a verb (Nanteza, 2018:40). Furthermore, the interpretation of this construction may also encompass a sense of certainty.

- (23) gá-hi-mányil-á=**ng’o** nti gá-li mujapáani.
 SM3SG-OM7-know-FV=LOC16 COMP SM3SG-COP 2.japan
 ‘He knew **from the beginning** that he is Japanese.’

2.2.2. Function as Certainty

While it was mentioned that =ho has the function of uncertainty (2.1.5), enclitic =ng’o, on the other hand, serves the function of certainty. The verb 'settle' implies a resolution in a matter of uncertainty, often involving coming to a decision. By adding the enclitic =ng’o, this verb refers to the act of reaching a conclusion. =ng’o plays a role in the process from uncertainty to certainty.

- (24) óhu-sal-á=**ng’o** > óhu-sal-á
 INF-settle-FV=LOC16 > INF-settle-FV
 ‘to decide’ > ‘to settle’

2.2.3. Function as Intention

The enclitic =ng’o adds the notion of intentionality or deliberate action. It facilitates a semantic shift in the verb's meaning, transforming it from a neutral description of action to one with intentional directionality. Example (25) demonstrates the addition of enclitics =ng’o to the verb -gobola 'to come

back,' resulting in the verb acquiring the meaning of 'turn back,' which implies intentionality in returning, suggesting a semantic shift facilitated by =ng'o. A similar process is evident in example (26), where enclitic =ng'o adds the meaning of intention, modifying the verb's meaning from a simple action of putting to a more intentional act of placing.

- (25)a. a-góbo-ilé
SM3SG-come back-PRF
'S/he has come back.'
- b. a-góbo-ilé=**ng'o**
SM3SG-turn back-PRF=LOC16
'S/he has turn back.'
- (26)a. n-áa-t-a
SM1SG-PST-put-FV
'I put.'
- b. n- áa-t-a=**ng'o**
SM1SG-PST-put-FV-LOC16
'I place.'

2.3. Non-locative function of =mo

The locative enclitic =mo can yield the opposite meaning of =ho, seeming to carry an intensifying function. -ho functions as partitive while -mo functions as throughout, complete, conveying such meanings. -mo mainly retains its concrete, physical locative semantics of 'in', 'into', and 'toward'

- (27) n-náha-som-e=**mo**
SM1SG-FUT-read-FV=LOC18
'I will read **through** the book.'
- (28) lwakí sí-u-n-gobol-á=**mo**
why NEG-SM2SG-OM1SG-reply-FV=LOC18
'Why are you not answering (come back) **to** me?'

2.4. Non-locative function of =yo

Data on the non-locative use of =yo are not found yet. What we found is probably a lexicalized word.

- (29) isuhá=**yo**
come back -LOC23
'Welcome back'

2.5. Functioning as a Transformation of Verb Meaning

Although there is a challenge in distinguishing whether a particular meaning is lexicalized, an expression of a productive pattern, or another possible function, in this section, examples will be provided of words where enclitics serve to transform word meaning.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| (31) óhu-gobos-a= ng'ó | > | óhú-góbós-á |
| INF-bring back-FV=LOC16 | > | INF-bring back- FV |
| 'to replace' | > | 'to bring back' |
| (32) óhu-b-á= ng'o | > | óhu-b-á |
| INF-exist/be-FV=LOC16 | > | INF-exsit-FV |
| 'to happen/ to arise' | > | 'to exist/ to be' |
| (33) óhu-ng'amb-á= ho | > | óhu-ng'amb-á |
| INF-seize-FV=LOC17 | > | INF-seize-FV |
| 'to touch' | > | 'to seize' |
| (34) óhu-bugúl-á= ho | > | óhu-bugúl-á |
| INF-remove-FV=LOC17 | > | INF-remove-FV |
| 'to draw/to subtract' | > | 'to remove' |
| (35) óhu-gabil-a= mó | > | ohú-gábíl-á |
| INF-offer-FV=LOC18 | > | INF-offer-FV |
| 'to divide into' | > | 'to offer' |

4. Conclusion

The discussed data illustrate various non-locative functions of enclitic =ho, and those are partitive, in addition to, additive, politeness, uncertainty, incompleteness, negation, almost, comparative and concern. The data also show that =ho scopes over the predicate but not over the subject. Based on the range of discourse functions of =ho discussed in this paper, we might conclude that adding the locative enclitic =ho has the effect of softening or weakening the utterance to avoid certainty and definiteness and to avert responsibility for the expected result. =ho also widens the meaning of the predicate to give more choices for interpretation, which in turn softens or weakens the meaning. In summary, the determination of whether -ho serves a locative or non-locative function appears to be contingent upon its morphosyntactic and semantic context. Concerning the non-locative functions delineated in this discussion, it can be posited that -ho generally operates to 'weaken' or 'soften' the proposition. Specific instances such as politeness, partitive usage, and uncertainty may be viewed as manifestations of this broader function, intricately shaped by semantic and pragmatic contexts.

Additionally, the non-locative function of the enclitic =ng'o in Lunyole encompasses conveying urgency, certainty, and intentionality. Adding =ng'o to verbs expresses a sense of urgency or

immediacy, implying early possession of knowledge and indicating certainty in reaching a conclusion, contrasting with the uncertainty denoted by =ho. Furthermore, =ng'o adds intentionality or deliberate action to verbs, facilitating semantic shifts and implying intentional directionality in actions.

The locative enclitic =mo has contrasting functions compared to =ho, often intensifying meaning. While =ho serves as partitive, indicating a portion of something, =mo conveys completeness or throughout. It primarily retains physical locative meanings like 'in', 'into', and 'toward'.

Throughout the discussion, incorporating new data from Lunyole offers valuable insights into locative enclitics, particularly enhancing our understanding of their non-locative functions.

In particular, the inclusion of updated data on enclitics =ng'o and =mo offers perspectives that were previously unreported. This expanded dataset contributes to a more comprehensive depiction of the semantic nuances and discourse interpretations associated with these enclitics. By examining the locative use alongside emerging non-locative functions, the presentation offers a comprehensive perspective on the diverse functions of the various roles played by locative enclitics.

Furthermore, in this paper, discussions regarding the function of locative enclitics as tense/aspect and as applicative constructions have not been addressed. For a comprehensive understanding of locative enclitics as a whole, as well as for topics that have not been fully covered, further study and additional data collection are needed to advance future discussions.

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