

- **14 juni 2018** om 15u in de Grote Vergaderzaal (3^{de} verdieping, Blandijn), presentatie georganiseerd door DiaLing in samenwerking met BantUGent:

Bantu applicative construction types involving Proto-Bantu *-id:

Form, functions and diachrony

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This talk presents the main results of my PhD dissertation defended at the University of Oregon in August 2017. It has four main objectives. First, it addresses various inevitable shortcomings in language/family-specific operational definitions of “applicative” when compared to what is actually found across different language families.

Second, it proposes a four-way distinction among Bantu (Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo) clause-level applicative constructions involving the reflexes of the Proto-Bantu applicative suffix *-id. In what are called Type A applicative constructions, the applicative suffix expands the argument structure of its root by introducing an obligatorily present applied phrase. This expansion might result, but need not, in increased syntactic valence of the derived verb stem. Type A includes cases where the applicative stem has become lexicalized but still has the ability to introduce an applied phrase. In Type B applicative constructions, the applicative morpheme expands the argument structure of its root by introducing an obligatorily present applied phrase (which usually has a Location-related semantic role) and additionally performs other semantic/pragmatic functions on the applied phrase or on the whole clause (e.g. the applied phrase becomes the narrow-focused constituent in the clause). As in Type A, syntactic valence might be increased, but need not be. In Type C applicative constructions, the applicative does not introduce an applied phrase. Instead, it provides semantic nuances to the lexical meaning of its root (e.g. the action described by the root is performed to completion, repetitively, in excess, etc.). Unlike Type A and Type B, Type C constructions are not fully productive and often undergo lexicalization. Lastly, in Pseudo-applicative constructions (following already established terminology in Bantu literature), the applicative morpheme found on a lexicalized stem does not introduce an applied phrase and does not perform semantic and/or pragmatic functions described for Type B and Type C. Because of the gradual nature of historical change, the boundary between these construction types, especially Type C and Pseudo-applicatives, is often fuzzy.

Because the last type, especially, has not been acknowledged in prior literature, the third objective of this talk is to present the results of a historically informed case study of 78 pseudo-applicative forms in Tswana (S31), a southern Bantu language spoken in Botswana and South Africa.

Finally, assuming that *-id was a valence-increasing device in Proto-Bantu, this study argues that both the synchronic functions of the Bantu applicative suffix *-id and the lexicalization paths emerging from the study of Tswana pseudo-applicative forms support an original Location/Goal argument adding-function of *-id in Proto-Bantu, rather than an original Beneficiary argument-adding function.