Impersonal feelings in Makhuwa

This study investigates the expression of bodily feelings and emotions in the Bantu language Makhuwa-Enahara (P31, northern Mozambique) based on original data. We will begin by presenting an overview of the various ways in which these can be expressed, showing the semantic and syntactic variation. Some show a more active experiencer, marked as a subject (1) and others a passive experiencer marked as an object (2) or the subject of a passive predicate.

(1) Kí-núù-víráw-a.
  1SG.SM-PFV.PERS-become.angry-FV
  ‘I’m angry.’

(2) Y-aa-nú-m-vóí’
  e-tálá   hatá   khú-c’   é-shíma.
  9SM-PST-PERS-10M-torment-FV 9-hunger even NARR-eat-FV 9-shima
  ‘He was hungry to such an extent that he ate shima.’

We then proceed to show the many syntactic constructions in which bodily feelings and emotions occur in Makhuwa: passives, agreeing inversions, pseudodefs, and an impersonal construction (3). The impersonal construction is particularly fascinating, because it does not allow tense, the subject marker o- could be of class 1,3,14,15,17, and the stimulus or locus of emotion is typically postverbal. The experiencer is always object marked in the impersonal constructions.

(3) O-kí-wére-á   e-roóho.
  ?-1SG.OM-hurt-FV 9-heart
  ‘I feel sad.’ lit. ‘My heart hurts.’

This leaves two possible analyses for this construction: a default agreement inversion (Marten & Van der Wal 2014), or a nominalization. In the first analysis, the postverbal eroóho ‘heart’ in (3) is the logical subject of ‘hurt’, but it does not determine subject marking on the verb. Instead, o- has developed into a default subject marker and can be used on the verb for non-referential agreement. An argument in favour is the fact that o- also occurs as the subject marker with weather verbs and impersonal passives – note that in (4), the subject marker is not determined by the preverbal locative. This analysis, however, cannot explain the lack of TAM inflection that is otherwise required in subject inversion

(4) M-pání   o-ná-mú’ll-ats-fy-a.
  1B-inside   ?-PRS-cry-PLUR-PASS-FV
  ‘Inside there is crying.’

In the second analysis, the o- is a noun class marker of class 14 or 15 (as proposed for nearby Ekoti by Schadeberg & Muchanheia 2000). Class 14 is used for deriving abstract nouns, while class 15 contains infinitives. Crucially, infinitives can feature object marking (6).

(5) a. o-pátháni   b. o-thúma
  14-friendship   15-buy
  ‘friendship’     ‘to buy’

(6) o-íi-m-oóná   ítttu
  15-10M-see 1.person
  ‘to see someone’

Nominalization explains the lack of TAM marking, but sparks the questions how a nominal can form a complete utterance, and why this construction is restricted to the domain of feelings. We propose that these two issues can be understood if we see the impersonal construction as an expressive or affective construction: these are used to express feelings, and are known to show exceptional grammar (e.g. Reinhart 2006, Corver 2016).
References