

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOME FEATURES  
OF TRANSITIVITY IN BANTU LANGUAGES WITH  
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KISWAHILI AND LUGWERE.

by

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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in Language.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION:

The transitivity systems of Swahili and Gwere are investigated and compared simultaneously within the framework of Fillmorean Case Grammar.

It is found that two types of relations have to be described in order to characterize most of the significant Predicator/NP/NP relations: the deep structure relations (which are largely formally unmarked) and the set of surface structure relations (most of which are formally marked.).

The study centres on these two sets of relations and the predicators which require or permit them. The distribution of the two sets of relations is accounted for partly in terms of the semantic/syntactic characteristics of the predicators involved and partly in terms of the rules which derive the various surface structure sentence types. Thus, the study not only deals with the basic properties of the different Predicator/NP relations, it also deals with the factors governing their distribution in deep and surface structure.

Instances of the recurring relations in surface structure sentences which would otherwise be unaccountably attributed to the semantic/syntactic inconsistency of the predicators concerned are shown to result from the operation of rules (like the -s-marking rule) which can collapse several deep structure sentences into one surface structure sentence, and rules (such as the subject and adjunct selection rules) which derive the Partitives, Motivational Instrumentals, and some Locatives, Sources and Goals from embedded predicates.

FOREWORD

I am very grateful to the University of York and the British Council for financial assistance throughout the three-year course during which I gained the knowledge and insight to write this dissertation.

I am also grateful to Professor Le Page of the Department of Language, The University of York, for support and comments on the initial outline of the thesis. I am greatly indebted to Miss Joan Russell for continuing encouragement and support, and for many valuable suggestions on Swahili. Thanks are also due to Dr. Joan Maw of London University, Department of Africa, School of Oriental and African Studies, for keeping me in touch with one of my chief informants, Sheikh Yahya Omar. I am also indebted to Dr. David Reibel for helpful criticism of parts of the initial version of the study.

I wish to thank all my informants: Sheikh Yahya Omar of Mombasa, Kenya; Abdu and Zainabu Khamisi of Bukoba, Tanzania; and Ruth Besha of Lushoto, Tanzania. I am particularly indebted to my good friend, Ruth Besha, for answering all my questions in detail and consulting other people on my behalf.

I also wish to thank my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Y. T. Mukama; and Mr. Chris Mugisa who advised and encouraged me to carry on with my studies up to this stage, despite the inconveniences of separation which were involved.

Finally, I am most directly and greatly indebted to Mr. Stephen Harlow on whose comments I continually benefited from

while revising the earlier version of the work. Under his guidance, this work was subjected to much needed revision; without his patient and skillful supervision, many of the solutions adopted in the study would have been either missed or obscured.

R. G. M.



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1.0.0. INTRODUCTION

There have been no syntactic comparisons of Bantu languages.<sup>1</sup> The etymological and morphological comparisons have shown that these languages are largely morphologically alike and also have a number of lexical items in common. These morphological and lexical features have motivated linguists (notably M. Guthrie 1948) to place Swahili and Gwere into different Bantu language subgroups. The following study will show that these two languages are more closely related than is evident in the morphological and lexical features, for they share many syntactic features. The most immediate concern of this work is the analysis and comparison of transitivity in the two languages on two levels : the deep and surface structure levels. But in relating the deep structure relations to the surface structure ones, the study will also deal with some of the rules which derive some surface structure sentence types.

1.0.1. TRANSITIVITY IN PREVIOUS STUDIES IN SWAHILI

In Swahili, the theme of transitivity has been studied or simply alluded to largely within surface structure item-and-arrangement syntactic theories, supplemented with the 'pattern/entailment'<sup>2</sup> (W. H. Whiteley 1968) and the 'Case Complexes'<sup>3</sup> (W. H. Whiteley 1972) descriptive statements. Previous treatments can then be divided into three main groups:

- (a) Transitivity as a notional/distributional relationship in given surface structure sentence types, for instance, (E. O. Ashton 1947; A. Loogman 1965; E. C. Polome 1967; C. Eastman 1967; and M. Guthrie 1962).
- (b) Transitivity as an essentially distributional relationship in surface structure sentence types:



- (i) based solely on the 'subject/object/adjunct' relations (W. H. Whiteley 1960, 1961, 1968 etc.)
- (ii) based on the relations in (i), supplemented by the 'pattern/entailment' statements (W. H. Whiteley 1968)
- (c) Transitivity as a semantic and surface relationship, centred on 'Case Complexes' and 'surface realizations of intra-sentential relationships' (Whiteley 1972 : 1-2).

(a) The notional/distributional approach is characterized by statements like the ones cited below:

E. O. Ashton (1947:299) notes that

"The nominal construction<sub>4</sub> occurs in three different contexts:

1. After Intransitive, Neuter, and Passive verbs, the noun adds some detail in respect to the action or state expressed by the verb, whether in time, place, manner, or reason, etc. (emphasis mine).

A <u>lifika usiku</u>	He arrived at night
Amekwenda <u>Mombasa</u>	He has gone to Mombasa
Mto umekauka <u>maji</u>	The river is dried up (water)."

In instances like this, Ashton is aware that there are other relations "the noun adds [.....] to the action or state expressed by the verb", apart from the surface distributional relations.

E. C. Polome (1967:159) says that

"the subject normally indicates the element which takes the most active part in the verbal process, unless the verb is a derivative in w , e.g., wanafunzi wasoma vitabu 'pupils read books', but vitabu vyasomwa na wanafunzi 'books are read by pupils'.

However, in definite cases, the object to which the verbal action specifically applies may alternately function as a subject, i.e. control the slot of the verbal complex. In such cases the most active element

in the verbal process controls the morphemic signal which occurs in the infix (object) slot, unless it has specific locative connotations, e.g., jeraha lilitoka damu 'the wound was bleeding' : damu ililitoka jeraha 'blood was coming from the wound'; [.....]"

This description shows that Polome is aware that NPs which become subjects are not always related to the verb in the same way. Though "the subject normally indicates the element which takes the most active part in the verbal process" there are instances when this 'active' 'element' is not the 'subject', as illustrated by him. Also implicit in his observations is the point that there are some Verb/NP relations that remain intact below the 'subject/object' ones. For instance, he notes that "in definite cases, the object to which the verbal action specifically applies may alternatively function as the subject." (emphasis mine).

Further, his description suggests that these covert relations govern the distribution of NPs in the 'subject/object' relations in some instances. He comments, for example, that when NPs with "specific locative connotations" are in subject function, the co-occurring "most active element in the verbal process" cannot 'control' "the morphemic signal which occurs in the infix (object) slot."

Writing on the distributional characteristics of the 'extensions', C. Eastman makes comments like the following:

"The prepositional operative extension was found to occur in three main syntactic environments.

Verbs using the extension have two objects (corresponding to the direct (1) and indirect (2) objects in English)[.....]"

(C. Eastman 1967:35)

Eastman is apparently aware that statements like this are inadequate to characterize the varied relationships between nouns and verbs;

she finds it necessary to supplement the above comment with the following:

"The operative prepositional extension occurring in this environment has a benefactive (emphasis mine) function and meaning corresponding to the English [ 'to do the action of the verb plus object (1) ] 'to', 'in place of' or 'on behalf of' [ object (2) ] " (Eastman 1967:36)

It is the intent of this study to formalize these relations that have been only briefly mentioned or merely alluded to by these grammarians.

(b)(i) W. H. Whiteley writes that

"'transitivity' ..... characterizes the various relationships which obtain between a verb and a noun or nouns to which the label 'object' is often accorded." And, "It is a property of items participating in an object-relationship that they may also participate in a subject-relationship." (W. H. Whiteley 1968:10)

This statement, and the following one, are typical of the subject/object/adjunct approach maintained by Whiteley in his 1968 study.

"-f- may be followed by a much larger series of SsN's<sub>7</sub> when these are incorporated in an adjunct-phrase introduced by kwa: a likufa kwa (ndui, ugonjwa usiojulikana, woga, jera ha zake, etc.) He died from (smallpox, an unknown disease, fear, his wounds, etc.)" (Whiteley 1968:21)

He avoids mention of relationships like the Benefactive, Instrumental, and Locative in connection with the different distributional environments he identifies for verbs suffixed with -i- (to be discussed in Chapter 2 of this study) by differentiating the environments according to the pattern/entailment(s) they

facilitate or block.

(ii) The fact that he is forced to supplement the parsing statements like verb + one or two objects with the pattern/entailment(s) statements shows that he realizes that the former statements are not adequate in "exposing differences of transitivity" (Whiteley 1968:12) among verbs. Through patterns/entailments, for example, he is able to differentiate verb - penda (like) from - fa (suit, suffice) which enter different sentence patterns, e.g.

1. S "Mtoto huyu anapenda ndizi

E This child likes bananas

1a S ndizi zinapendwa na mtoto huyu" (Whiteley 1968: 12-13)

2. S "Huyu atafaa kazi

E He'll do for the job

2a S kazi itamfaa huyu" (Whiteley 1968: 12-13)

The result is that he fails to maintain a study of the verb/noun relationships as his analysis is reduced to the verb/pattern relationships. For instance, he talks of -fa- and -pend- having "different transitivity patterns." Apart from the fact that a study of 'patterns' leads to the neglect of the verb/noun relationships which are the relationships central to a transitivity study, it also obscures them. While differences between cases like -fa- and -pend- can be brought out by the patterns, the significant differences between the following pairs of sentences and the transitivity characteristics of the verbs involved cannot be brought out that way, as all of them participate in the patterns given for -pend- in sentences 1 and 1a:

3. S Mtoto huyu a<sub>g</sub>/na/osha nguo vizuri.

child this he<sub>g</sub>pres wash clothes well

- E This child washes clothes well
- 3a S Sabuni hii i/na/osha nguo vizuri.  
soap this it pres wash clothes well
- E This soap washes clothes well.
4. S Ni/ta/wa/lipa mbuzi mmoja  
I fut them pay goat one
- E I shall pay them one goat.
- 4a S Ni/ta/wa/nyang'anya mbuzi mmoja.  
I fut them rob goat one
- E I shall rob them of one goat.

The significant transitivity relations obscured in instances like these by the pattern/entailment approach are commented on below.

Whiteley himself becomes aware of these relations and tries to incorporate them in his 1972 study.

- (c) Whiteley (1972) embodies the 'semantic properties' of the Swahili verb-and-noun relationships into 3 'Case Complexes', where a 'Case Complex' is distinguished from the individual Fillmorean Case Role<sub>9</sub> distinctions. Thus, where Fillmore would talk of discrete Case Roles A, O, I comprising Case Frames [A-O] [I-O], for example, Whiteley talks of a 'Directive Complex', in which "It is the total relationship that is being emphasized rather than the individual case relationship." (Whiteley 1972:1). For him, verbs to which Fillmore would assign<sup>s</sup> [A-O], [A-E], [I-O] etc. Case Frames belong to the 'Directive Complex' class. Those which have single Case Role Frames like the [O] and [E] Case Frames in Fillmore's analysis, are said to belong to the 'Stative Complex' group. Swahili verb - lala (sleep), for

instance, is said to belong to the 'Stative Complex':

5. S Mtoto a/me/la<sub>1</sub>la  
child it past sleep  
E The child is asleep.

And verbs which co-occur with Locatives are referred to as the 'Locative Complex' group. Thus, "All Swahili verbs so far encountered can have allocated to them one of these complex labels" (1972:5).

The three hypothesized 'Case Complexes' are then employed as bases for verb classification. But it turns out that many verbs transcend the three hypothesized bases so that it becomes necessary to supplement them, as classificatory parameters, with 'Pattern Complexes' like the 'Referential', 'Contrastive' and 'Resultative' sentence types. The 'pattern complexes' are also further assisted by the 'nominal choice' classificatory base: "restrictions on nominal choice <sup>is</sup> relevant for the classification of a number of verbs." (1972:10). And further still, though he starts off "by conflating" various Case Frames into 'Case Complexes' so as to 'emphasize' "the total relationship" rather than "the individual case relationship" (1972:4), he later finds it necessary to talk of individual roles like the Instrumental, Benefactive, and Locative and their contributions to 'verb classification'. His study then becomes a multi-based verb classification. And worse still, he fails to keep his multiple parameters sufficiently distinct. His study becomes very confusing when he talks of a 'Directional Complex' verb class and a 'Contrastive Complex' verb class where the former refers to a Case Frame, while the latter describes a surface structure sentence type. The confusion of these different relationships, semantic and surface structure ones, is outlined well in his commentary on the whole study: "an attempt has been made to reach a classification of

Swahili verbs in terms of their capacity for participation in different kinds of complexes, [....] Basically the classification is trichotomous, yielding Stative, Directive and Locative, case-complexes of verbs, but the boundaries between the classes are blurred because of what might be termed the multiplex character of verbal behaviour. The syntactic evidence for this is the participation by a given verb in different complexes, so that a number of verbs have to be labelled as e.g. Stative-Referential, Directive-Contrastive, Locative-Referential, Directive-Locative, etc. For example, an important group of Directive verbs may, equally, be Locative-oriented, while a substantial number of Locative verbs may be Directive-oriented, being associated, seemingly with progression through space [....] in contrast with non-Directive oriented locatives which to a significant extent are associated with dispersion over space [....]" (1972: 38-39).

As he himself puts it; "what started as a simple trichotomy rapidly develops into a complex mosaic as different parameters are recognized, and the problems raised become increasingly difficult to handle in general terms as each new idiosyncrasy is uncovered." (Whiteley 1972:7)

Three things may be said about Whiteley (1972) as a transitivity study:

The first point is that it in fact contributes very little to a study of transitivity. The 'conflated' 'Case Complexes', like the 'patterns' of 1968, lead to the neglect of the individual relationships between given verbs and the co-occurring NPs. As he realizes, in opting for the 'conflated' frames approach, he underestimates the varied nature of the syntactic characteristics of the verbs. Many verbs with different transitivity character-

istics are bound to be thrown together, as was illustrated in the 'pattern/entailment' section.

Secondly, the item-and-arrangement statements which he still maintains for the sentence structures also impair the description. It becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate  $NP_1$  and  $NP_2$  of one pattern from that of another.

Thirdly, he does not place his 'Case Complexes' at any level of description. He dismisses the attempt to do so with the comment that "it is not always easy to be sure at what level these case notions are held to apply." (1972:3)

This failure leads to a confused presentation. He tries to build the entire grammar into the lexicon or into one level of grammatical description at the expense of generalizations and clarity. He seeks to account for all the distributional differences of verbs and nouns solely in terms of the possibility of inserting them into different positions in surface structure sentence types, such that all the information about the distributional differences of given lexical items has to be given in their lexical entries and/or selectional entries (into the syntax). This approach leads to many complications, and blocks generalizations. This study will show (in Chapters 2 and 3) that in a two-level description, some of the distributional differences can be accounted for by rules which relate deep structure relations to surface structure ones, and rules which derive different surface structure sentence types from one base instead of being attributed to individual lexical items.



1.0.2. 'TRANSITIVITY' IN THIS STUDY

As already noted, syntactic theories that describe only the subject/object/adjunct relations between verbs and nouns do not characterize all the NP/verb and NP/NP  $\overleftarrow{\text{NP}} \overleftarrow{\text{V}} \overrightarrow{\text{NP}}$  relationships of various sentences. The relationships between the following NP's and verbs, for instance, are not sufficiently defined by subject<sub>12</sub> and object<sub>12</sub> distinctions alone.

6. S Kichwa ki/li/ni/uma  
head it past me pain  
E I had/got a headache.
7. S Ki/joka ki/li/ni/uma  
dim snake it past me bite  
E A small snake bit me.
8. S Brandi i/li/ni/levya  
brandy it past me make drunk  
E I got drunk on brandy.
9. S Asha a/li/ni/levya  
Asha he past me make drunk  
E Asha made me drunk

In 6 and 7, kichwa (head) and kijoka (small snake) are both subjects, but one involves the relation of a part to a whole (a relation also noted by Whiteley 1972), while the other gives the idea of agency, respectively. And in 8 and 9 brandi (brandy) and Asha are also both subjects, but the former bears the additional relationship of instrumentality to the verb while the latter bears that of agency. Thus, besides the surface structure relations like subject, object, adjunct<sub>13</sub> etc., there are other relations that are not expressed by those formal relations. The two groups are not mutually exclusive; they co-exist.

A study of 'transitivity' should analyse both groups of relationships. So far, only Case Grammar has tried to label both groups of relationships.

The distinctness of the deep structure relations (Case relations in Case Grammar terms), alongside the surface structure relations in both languages cannot be disputed. As already noted, grammarians like E. O. Ashton, C. E. Polome and C. Eastman have long been aware of these relations. Even morphological studies like those of M. Guthrie (1962) and C. Scotton (1967) have had to refer to relations like the Instrumental, Locative, Benefactive etc. in discussing the suffix exponents that often represent them in the verb structures. They are relationships that have long been acknowledged in Bantu languages but never been sufficiently formalized.

There are also other relationships that are important in Swahili and Gwere but have never been noted by the grammarians. These are the relationships described by C. Fillmore (1968) as the 'dependency relations' between Case Roles, and, consequently, between their exponents. These are the NP/NP relationships within given verb events. As discussed in Chapter 2, these relations govern the co-occurrence of the Case Roles in given Case Frames. They are also the relations which form the basis for the distinction of sentence pairs like 10 and 11, cases which have baffled the grammarians previously (for instance C. Scotton 1967: 112: 141).

10. S Mungu a/na/ombwa msaada  
God he pres be prayed help  
E Help is prayed for from God.
- 10a S Mungu a/na/ombeka msaada  
God he pres be prayed help  
E Help (can) be prayed for from God.

11 S Kamba i/me/katwa  
 rope it past be cut  
 E The rope has been cut.

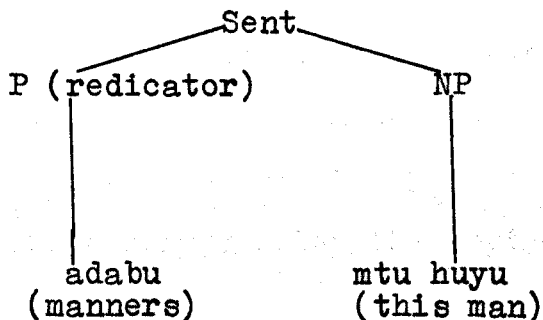
11a S Kamba i/me/katika  
 rope it past be cut  
 E It has been possible to cut the rope.

It is not only the verbs that can be predicators<sub>14</sub> to the transitivity relationships. In (12) adabu (manners) and mpisa (manners) are predicators, parallel to -la<sub>1</sub>la (sleep) and -cha (dawn) in (13). They have the same Case Roles, illustrated in figures 1 and 2:

12. S Mtu huyu h/a/na adabu  
 man this neg he with manners  
 E This man has no manners.

12a G Omwala onu a/li n'/empisa  
 girl this she be with manners  
 E This girl has manners.

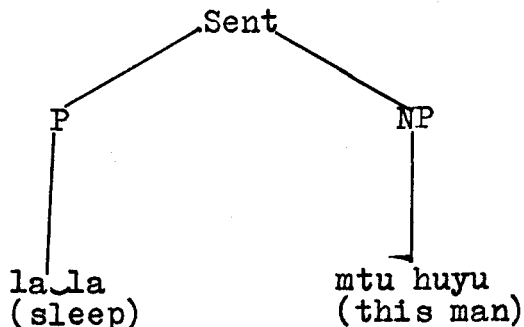
Figure 1.



13. S Mtu huyu a/na/la<sub>1</sub>la  
 man this he pres sleep  
 E This man is asleep

13a G Obwire bu/che/ire  
 night it dawn past  
 E It is dawn.

Figure 2.



The difference between predicators adabu (manners) and mpisa (manners) on one hand, and -la la (sleep) and -cha (dawn) on the other, lies in their surface structure predicative characteristics; adabu (manners) and mpisa (manners) do not incorporate the tense and other relation markers into their structures and have to co-occur with the attributive markers - na, and - li na, which serve to bear the relation markers. - la la (sleep) and -cha (dawn) as the dashes preceeding them indicate, incorporate the tense, aspect and other affixes.

These differences show that deep structure predicative characteristics do not necessarily match the surface ones. Though adabu (manners) and mpisa (manners) imply<sub>15</sub> deep structure relationships they do not necessarily display the surface structure predicative characteristics. But as shown in Chapters 2 and 3, an increasing number of predicators, especially in Swahili, which behave like adabu (manners) in not incorporating the affixes at one point, do so on undergoing some of the syntactic rules discussed in Chapter 2.

Other predicators come from the adjective category. In the sentences in 14, for example, -rembo (fashionable) and -sa (pretty) predicate NPs yeye ni msichana (she is a girl) and mukali (woman), respectively, hence, they have assumed the class prefixes of those NPs in agreement with them.

14. S Yeye ni msichana m/rembo  
she be girl she fashionable  
E She is a fashionable girl.

14a G Mukali mu/sa  
woman she pretty  
E She is a pretty woman.

Adjectives also incorporate only the class prefixes of the predicated NPs; they have the tense and other affixes, whenever they co-occur, born by copula constructions<sub>16</sub> as in 15, for example,

15 S tafsiri yake i/nge/kuwa nzuri zaidi  
translation his it cond be good more  
E His translation would have been much better.

15a G Omukali y/a/ba/ire musa  
woman she dist be past pretty  
past  
E The woman was pretty.

However, like the nominal predicators, adjectives may incorporate the surface relation and tense prefixes on undergoing some of the syntactic rules discussed below. (V. Chapter 2 and 3.0.2.3)

Thus, in Swahili, as is also true of Gwere, predicators come from three categories, verb, adjective and noun<sub>17</sub>, though it is not yet possible to tell how general the notion of predication is amongst the nominals. As H. Der-Houssikian (1970), has noted, all

verb roots<sub>18</sub> in Swahili may undergo the nominalization rules but not all nominals may function predicatively, especially by displaying both deep and surface structure predicative characteristics.<sup>19</sup>

In this study the term 'transitivity' will therefore be used in a broad sense, to cover all the significant, that is, delimitable relationships - deep and surface ones - between predicators (whether nouns, verbs or adjectives) and the co-occurring NPs. The study centres on the lexical items that normally imply deep structure grammatical meanings and the exponents of these meanings - the NP's, and, subsequently, the interrelationships between these NPs within the given events. The study will then formalize many more relationships that have previously been neglected or obscured.

### 1.0.3. THE APPROPRIATENESS OF THE MODEL TO THE STUDY

As various linguists have pointed out, a viable comparative study must be built upon a consistent description of the languages concerned, in as far as this is possible. And one way of achieving this consistency is by analyzing the languages within one framework, as noted by W. G. Moulton (1968:27), for example:

"Before we can contrast two languages, we need to establish a general framework (a 'model', to use the term now in vogue) within which both languages can be analyzed; only then can we effectively compare the two and note the contrasts between them."

The Case Grammar framework has been chosen for this study, for the reasons discussed below.

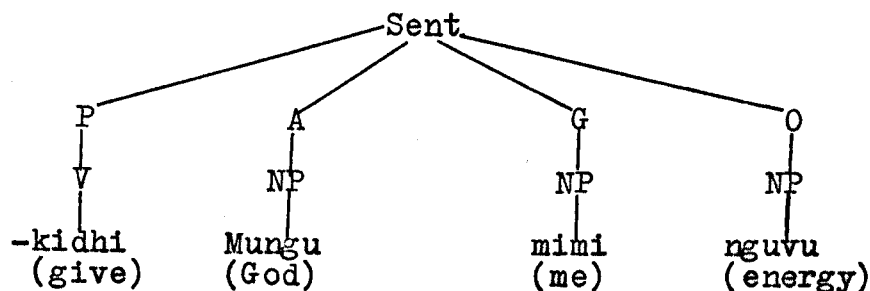
As already noted, it is the Case Grammar theory which provides for a fairly consistent way of labelling the deep structure relationships between predicators and nouns and of relating them to the

surface ones. It is a theory that does not neglect either level of description, deep or surface. It will, therefore, facilitate comparisons of the two languages on both levels.

For instance, phonologically different Swahili and Gwere predicators -kidhi (give) and -wa (give), respectively, can be shown to display identical syntactic characteristics in the selection of the Case relations at the deep structure level, and also in relating these Case relations to the surface relations of subject/object. Sentences 16 and 17 have deep structures 3 and 4.

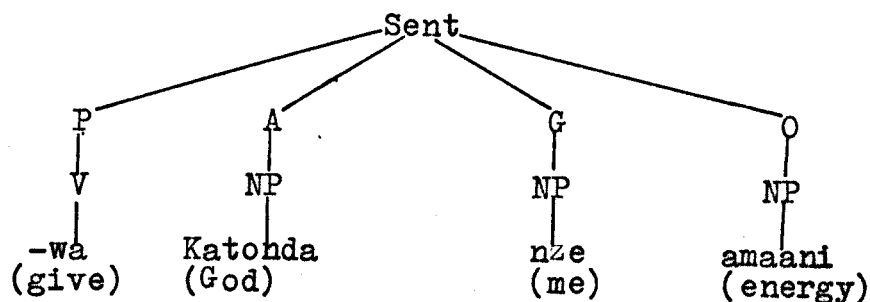
16. S Mungu a/me/ni/kidhi nguvu  
 God he past me give energy  
 E God has given me energy.

Figure 3.



17. G O Katonda a/ m / pa / ire amaani  
 God he me give past energy  
 E God has given me energy.

Figure 4.



In both languages, it is the Agentive Case Role exponent that is in the subject relation, and the Goal Role exponent in the object one. Similarly, the phonological/semantic/syntactic identity of predicators like Swahili -tukuta (be nervous) and Gwere -tukuta (be nervous) can also be confirmed on both levels. They both have an Objective Case Role [O] in deep structure, which is selected into subject relation as in 18 and 19:

18. S Mwizi a / li / kuwa a / ki / tukuta  
thief he past be he prog nervous  
asp

E The thief was nervous.

19. G Omwibi y / a / ba / ire a / tukuta  
thief he dist be past he nervous  
past

E The thief was nervous.

And fortuitous resemblances between predicators like Swahili -tawanya (disperse), and Gwere - tawanya (disturb, bother) can be brought out at the deep structure level, the former having Case Frame [A-O], and the latter Case Frame [A/I-E].

The framework also provides for consistent handling of the forms hitherto labelled 'extensions' to verbs. Previous treatments have tended to discuss the 'minimal radicals'<sup>20</sup> on their own, and then the extended verbs.<sup>21</sup> As Carol Scotton (1967: 7-8) points out, such a treatment gives the impression "that the derived or extended forms are considered, in effect, as unique occurrences, viewed only from the outside so that the instances of their production often appear sporadic and the relationship of shape and meaning unpatterned. Further, accepting such a description means that all the extended forms must be entered directly in the lexicon, again



as unique occurrences, with no clue as to their internal structure."

Thus, -itisha (have called) in 20 would be made to appear a different verb from -ita (call) in 21.

20. S A / li / itisha mkutano wa hadhara haraka  
he past have call meeting of public quickly  
E He had a public meeting called quickly.

21. S Baba a / me / ni / tuma ni / ku / ite  
Father he past me send I you call  
E My father has sent me to call you.

Similarly, -gawia (give to) and -gawa (give out, distribute) in 22 would be made to appear discrete verbs.

22. S Wa / li / wa / gawia majungu arobaini  
they past to them give pots forty  
E They gave them forty pots.

23. S A / li / mw / omba a / ya / gawe sehemu mbili.  
he past him ask he them give out portions two  
E He asked him to give them out in two portions.

In the following discussion it will be argued that there is no fundamental division between 'minimal' predicators and their 'extended' counterparts. The suffixes appear into the predicator structure to mark the rule(s) (such as those discussed in Chapter 2 part II and Chapter 3) which the predicator and its selected case roles undergo. The predicator suffixes will, accordingly, be regarded as semantically empty surface structure formal markers of the rules to be analysed (ibid).

CHAPTER 2

Part 1

SOME SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF CASE RELATIONS AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SURFACE STRUCTURE RELATIONS.

2.0.0. INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the semantic and syntactic properties of the case relations involves the examination of the predicators which permit or require them and the sentence types in which they occur. And as C. Fillmore (1968: 21) says,

"The arrays of cases defining the sentence types of a language have the effect of imposing a classification of the verbs in the language."

As one discusses the case roles and the types of case frames containing them, one identifies the groups of predicators which occur in these different case frames. Case Grammar theory has thus provided another basis for verb classification. The discussion which follows below will, accordingly, deal with the case roles as well as the predicates permitting or requiring them.

The main case roles identified in the Swahili and Gwere data which I have considered<sub>1</sub> are as follows:

the Agentive, Experiencer, Instrumental, Objective, Source, Goal, Locative, Comitative, Benefactive, Reason, Time, Manner, Result, and Partitive.<sub>2</sub>

Before starting the actual analysis of the individual case roles it is important to define the main case role classificatory parameters in Swahili and Gwere.

2.0.1. SOME CASE ROLE CLASSIFICATORY PARAMETERS IN  
SWAHILI AND GWERE.

2.0.1.1. OBLIGATORY VERSUS OPTIONAL CASE ROLES IN DEEP  
AND SURFACE STRUCTURE.

With a number of predicates certain case roles may be unmanifested in the surface structure if their referents are determinable from the linguistic or nonlinguistic context. It will be argued here that such case roles are obligatory on the deep structure level though optional in surface structure.

As an example, let us consider the Result (Rt) case roles in the following sentences:

1a.	S	Wa / li /imba	Rt <u>nyimbo nyingi</u>	[A - Rt]
		they past sing	songs many	

1b.	G	B / a /yembe/re	Rt <u>enyembo nyingi</u>	[A - Rt]
		they dist sing past past	songs many	

E They sang many songs.

2a.	S	Wa / li /cheza	Rt <u>michezo mingi</u>	[A - Rt]
		they past play	plays many	

2b.	G	B / a /zenye/re	Rt <u>emizenyo mingi</u>	[A - Rt]
		they dist play past past	plays many	

E They played many games.

3a.	S	Wa / li /cheka	Rt <u>kicheko kikubwa</u>	[A - Rt] ?
		they past laugh	laughter bit	

3b.	G	B / a / seke /re	Rt <u>enseko gyamani</u>	[A - Rt]
		they dist laugh past past	laughter of strength	

E They had a big laugh.

- 4a. S A / li / ota ndoto E - Rt  
           he past dream dream
- 4b. G Y / a / lote / re ekirooto E - Rt  
           he dist dream past dream  
           past  
 E He dreamt (a dream).

As 1 to 3 show, the Result roles are normally manifested when they are predicated to Adjectival predicates, that is, in instances of embedded predication. But even if they are unmanifested they are contextually determinable. The Result case roles do<sup>not</sup> occur in the following sentences. The predicators in 1 to 4 above are shown occurring with other optional case roles (i.e. those underlined) in 5 to 8:

- 5a. S Wa / na/ mw / imbia mtoto A - (B)  
           they pres for him sing child
- 5b. G Ba / yembera omwana A - (B)  
           they sing for child  
 E They are singing for the child.
- 6a. S Wa / na /cheza ili wa/pate afya njema A - (Rn)  
           they pres play so as they get health good
- 6b. G Ba/ zenya kaisi ba/fune obulamu obusa A - (Rn)  
           they play so as they get health good  
 E They play so as to keep in good health.
- 7a. S Njia/ni<sub>3</sub> wa/li / cheka sana A - (L) - (M)  
           way on<sub>3</sub> they past laugh very much
- 7b. G Omu/nzira<sub>3</sub> ba / seke / re inno A - (L) - (M)  
           on<sub>3</sub> way they laugh past very much  
           ed  
 E They laugh<sub>1</sub> very much on the way.

- 8a. S A / li / ota usiku ku/cha <sup>(T)</sup> [E] - (T)  
 he past dream night inf dawn
- 8b. G Y / a / lote /re obwire oku/kya <sup>(T)</sup> [E] - (T)  
 he dist dream past night inf dawn  
 past

[E] He dreamt throughout the night

The optional case roles shown in 5 to 8 are: the Benefactive, Reason, Locative, Manner, and Time. If we compare the sentences in 1 - 4 with those in 5 - 8, we shall find that in 1 - 4 (in which the Benefactive, Reason, Locative, Manner and Time roles do not occur) it is not possible to determine the referents of the case roles which do not occur. But in 5 - 8, the referents of the Result roles are determinable. We may then argue that the optional case roles shown in 5 - 8 are optional in the deep structure case frames of the predicates concerned. Their absence from the surface structure is always evidence that they are not selected even in the deep structure. But though the Result roles are not manifested in 5 - 8 they are present in the deep structure, and it is their presence at that level that enables for the determination of their referents when they do not occur in surface structure.

Let us also consider the Objective case roles that occur with the following predicates but are not manifested in the following sentences. By comparing these deleted Objectives with the underlined case roles, it will be seen that the NPs of the former roles are determinable in a way that the latter would not be if they were not manifested.

- 9a. S Wa / li /pika vizuri <sup>(M)</sup> tu / ka /la  
 they past cook well we nar eat  
 asp
- <sup>(C)</sup>  
pamoja. [A - (M)], [A - (C)]  
 together

9b. G B / a /sumbi/re <sup>(M)</sup> nakusa ni/tu /lira <sup>(C)</sup> amo  
 they dist cook past well nar we eat together  
 past asp [A - (M)] , [A - (C)]

E They cooked well and we ate together.

In 9 the deep structure case frames of the predicators S -pika (cook), -la (eat) and G -sumba (cook), -lya (eat) require the presence of the Objective case role. That is why one may determine that they are probably filled with NPs like S chakula (food) and G mmere (food). But the Manner and Comitative case roles in the sentences in 9 are optional at the deep structure level since one cannot ~~not~~ determine their exponents if they do not occur. The following sentences are parallel to those in 9 in so far as they have permitted the deletion of the Objective case roles from the surface structure (despite their being obligatory at the deep structure level) and have manifested, case roles (the underlined ones) which are selected only optionally at the deep structure level:

10a. S Ni / me / <sup>(B)</sup> ku /lipia [A - (B)]  
 I past for you pay

10b. G N / <sup>(B)</sup> ku /sasuli i/re [A - (B)]  
 I for you pay past  
 E I have <sup>id</sup> ~~payed~~ for you.

11a. S Si / taki ku / nywa <sup>(C)</sup> peke yangu <sup>(L)</sup> mikaha/ni [A - (C) - (L)]  
 neg like inf drink alone bars in

11b. G Ti /n / taka oku/nywa <sup>(C)</sup> zenkani <sup>(L)</sup> omu/kirabo  
 neg I like inf drink alone in bars [A - (C) - (L)]  
 E I don't like to drink alone in bars.

12a. S H / a / ku / nyonya <sup>(T)?</sup> tena [A - (T)]  
 neg he past suck again

12b. G Ti/ y / a / yonke / re <sup>(T)</sup>tate [A - (T)]  
 neg he dist suck past again  
 past

E He did not suck again.

It would seem that it is mostly the case roles which normally go into the object position in the surface structure that are sometimes optional in the surface structure (when they are present in the deep structure). As will be seen (in the object selection rules to be discussed below) case roles of this type include the Goals, Experiencers, Sources, and the Objectives which co-occur with the Agentives or the Partitives (Pt) in the deep structure case frames. The sentences in 13, for example, have deep structure figure 5.

13a. S <sup>(Pt)</sup>Shingo i / me / <sup>O</sup>Mu / vimba [O - (Pt)]  
 neck it past him swell

13b. G <sup>(Pt)</sup>Amamiro ga / <sup>O</sup>mu / bimbi / re [O - (Pt)]  
 neck they him swell past

E His neck is swollen

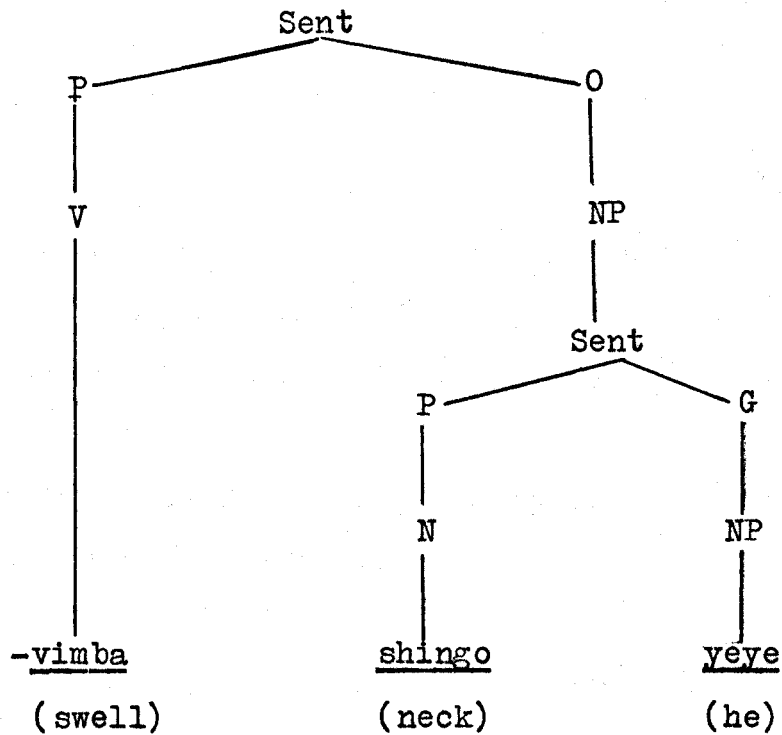
When the Partitive becomes surface structure subject (as it has, in 13) the Objective case role may remain unmanifested, as seen in the sentences in 14:

14a. S Shingo i / li / vimba [Pt]  
 neck it past swell

14b. G Amamiro g/ a / bimbi / re [Pt]  
 neck it dist swell past  
 past

E The neck swelled.

Figure 5<sub>4</sub>

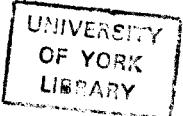


14 is only interpretable as referring to the <sup>neck</sup>~~eyes~~ of a specific person, determinable from the context. If there were no G role in the deep structure of 14, the NPs S shingo (neck) and G amamiro (neck) would be interpretable as being in the Objective instead of the Partitive case role.

In this study, therefore, 2 sets of optional roles are distinguished:

Roles which are optional at the deep structure level and those which are optional only in surface structure.

The term 'optional' will be restricted to the case roles which are optional at the deep structure level. It will be seen (in Chapter 2 part II) that it is those case roles which are optional at the deep structure level which often undergo the rules of suffix marking (-i- and -s- marking).



2.0.1.2. ATTACHMENT VERSUS NON-ATTACHMENT TO THE PREDICATE IN SURFACE STRUCTURE.

The notions 'attached' and 'non-attached' will be used in this study to describe the surface structure positioning of the



case roles with regard to the predicators. Case roles which are or can be formally represented by an affix in the predicate structure in a given surface structure sentence type will be said to be attached to that predicator, and those which cannot be represented in that way will be regarded as 'non-attached'.

As Edward L. Keenan (1972 : 446-582) argues

"we generate noun phrases outside the argument positions of predicates in underlying structures and posit some sort of incorporation transformation that moves them into the prime occurrences of the pronouns they bind in languages like English [□...□]"  
(Keenan 1972 : 448).

In Case Grammar terms, Keenan's argument can be interpreted as meaning that case roles which are selected in deep structure case frames are not automatically attached to the predicators in the surface structure. Special rules which derive the various surface structure sentence types, among which are the subject and object selection rules, attach them on to the predicator. In what follows, I will assume the correctness of Keenan's argument that all NPs get attached to the predicators together with their "pro-names" (ibid) which may or may not be manifested in the derived sentences.

In Swahili and Gwere, attachment to the predicator is formally manifested in three ways:

- a. Through the Noun Class/Predicate concords<sub>5</sub> other than the subject/object markers.
- b. Through the subject/object markers.
- c. Through the -i- and -s- rule markers (v. Chapter 2 part II), with or without the markers in (b).

The markers in (c) will be discussed at length in Chapter 2 part II. It is the markers in (a) and (b) that are discussed here.

It has been noted (in 1.0.3.) that there are three types of predicates in Swahili and Gwere. And in Chapter 1 (footnote 17) it was pointed out that the Nominal and Adjectival predicates differ syntactically from the verbs by not incorporating the tense affixes unless the rules of -i- or -s- marking or the rule of -k- marking (V. Chapter 3) have applied. It is to be noted further that the Nominal and Adjectival predicates do not incorporate the markers in (b) (the subject/object markers) as well unless one of these rules has applied.

The adjectives and, rarely, the nominals incorporate the Noun Class markers (other than the subject/object ones). Though the Noun Class markers which are free from the subject/object marking are not always formally distinguishable from the subject/object markers.

To illustrate the different ways of predication marking, let us consider the surface structure predicative characteristics of the adjective and nominal predicates.

The adjectival and nominal predicates used as examples are as follows:

adjectives

S	- <u>gonjwa</u> (ill)	G	- <u>lwaire</u> (ill)
S	- <u>ema</u> (good)	G	- <u>sa</u> (good)

nominals

S	<u>shughuli</u> (engagements)	G	<u>mirimo</u> (engagements)
S	<u>bidii</u> (effort)	G	<u>iganyi</u> (effort)

In the following sentences predication is formally marked by the noun class markers (NCM) that are attached to the predicating adjectives:

- 15a. S Bi Nyausisya ni <sup>(NCM)</sup> m /gonjwa [0]  
 madam Nyausisya is she ill
- E Nyausisya is ill

15b. G O Kote <sup>(NCM)</sup> mu/ lwaire [0]  
 Kote she ill

E Kote is ill

16a. S Mambo <sup>(NCM)</sup> m/ ema [0]

words they good

16b. G Bigambo <sup>(NCM)</sup> bi / sa

words they good

E Good words.

Whenever the subject markers (SM) co-occur (as in 17 and 18 below) they are borne by the tense bearing copulas, or the verbs (in instances of complex predication).

17a. S Nyausisya <sup>(SM)</sup> a / li / kuwa <sup>(NCM)</sup> m/gonjwa [0]  
 Nyausisya she past be she ill

17b. G O Kote <sup>(SM)</sup> y / a / li <sup>(NCM)</sup> mu /lwaire [0]  
 Kote she dist be she ill  
 past

E Nyausisya/Kote was ill.

18a. S Mambo <sup>(SM)</sup> ya / li / kuwa <sup>(NCM)</sup> m / ema [0]  
 words they past be they good

18b. G Ebigambo <sup>(SM)</sup> by / a / li <sup>(NCM)</sup> bi / sa [0]  
 words they dist be they good  
 past

E The words were good.

The following sentences show that with the nominal predicates neither the noun class nor the subject/object markers of the predicated NP(s) are incorporated. All these markers are borne by copulas or other attributive markers like S - na (with), -enye (be with), and G -li na (be with) as may be seen below:

19a. S Ni <sup>(SM)</sup> / na / zo shughuli nyingi [0]  
 I with them engagements many

19b. G <sup>(SM)</sup>  
N/ di n' / emirimo mingi [0]  
 I be with engagements many  
 E I am very busy.

20a. S <sup>(NCM)</sup>  
Mtu mw / enye bidii [0]  
 man he be with effort

20b. G <sup>(SM)</sup>  
Musaiza a / li n' / eiganyi [0]  
 man he be with effort  
 E The man is hard working.

It is evident that the nominal predicates rarely (if ever) have the predicated NP(s) attached onto them (except after the application of the rules noted above).

The verbs, on the other hand, must have at least the subject NP attached onto them. In the following sentences the verb predicates are shown incorporating the subject and object markers (O M):

21a. S <sup>(SM)</sup>  
Nyumba/ ni mu/ me /ingia mtu [A - G]  
 house in in past enter someone

21b. G <sup>(SM)</sup>  
Omu/nyumba mu/ ngir / e / mu omuntu [A - G]  
 in house in enter past in someone  
 E Someone has entered the house.

22a. S <sup>(SM)</sup> <sup>(OM)</sup>  
A / me / m / piga [A - O]  
 he past him hit

22b. G <sup>(SM)</sup> <sup>(OM)</sup>  
A / mu / kubi /re [A - O]  
 he him hit past  
 E He has hit him.

It is, however, to be noted that the markers mentioned in (a) and (b) (above) are not related to case role types (i.e. deep structure categories) (except in cases where the underlying case role is a Locative, or, often, a Goal or Source) but to such surface structure categories as subject/object, and Noun Class

categories.

In the following sentences, the form of the subject markers attached to the predicates vary according to the noun classes in subject relation and not according to the underlying case roles:

23a. S Papai <sup>(SM)</sup>  
li / me / iva [0]  
 pawpaw it past be ripe

23b. G Eipapali <sup>(SM)</sup>  
ly / enge /re [0]  
 pawpaw it be ripe past  
 E The pawpaw is ripe.

24a. S Kazi <sup>(SM)</sup>  
i /me /simama [0]  
 work it past stop

24b. G Omulimo <sup>(SM)</sup>  
gw /emereir/e [0]  
 work it stop past  
 E The work is at a standstill.

25a. S Kisu <sup>(SM)</sup>  
ki / me /anguka [0]  
 knife it past fall

25b. G Ekiso <sup>(SM)</sup>  
ki / gwi/re [0]  
 knife it fall past  
 E The knife has fallen.

In many instances, different underlying case roles are represented by the same marker, as, for example, the subject markers in the following sentences:

26a. S Mtoto <sup>(SM)</sup>  
a / me / shangaa [E]  
 child he past be puzzled

26b. G Omwana <sup>(SM)</sup>  
a / wuninkiri /ire [E]  
 child he be puzzled past  
 E The child is puzzled.

27a. S Mtoto <sup>(SM)</sup>a / na / ruka [A]  
 child he pres jump

27b. G Omwana <sup>(SM)</sup>a / tuuma [A]  
 child he jump

E The child is jumping.

28a. S Mtoto <sup>(SM)</sup>a / me / amka [O]  
 child he past wake up

28b. G Omwana <sup>(SM)</sup>a / lamuki / re [O]  
 child he wake past

E The child is awake.

2.0.2. CASE ROLES AND THEIR SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS.

2.0.2.1. THE AGENTIVE

The Agentive has been defined as the "Instigator of the event", "typically animate" (C. Fillmore 1968 : 24, 1969 : 116). And Jeffrey Gruber (1970 : 133) says that a typical Agentive role exponent has the property of "the intender of the action", and, one who "wills the action and intentionally affects it."

These defining criteria that are based on English data are also posited for Swahili and Gwere in this work, with empirical evidence to support this.

Given sentences 1 to 6, their combination with the other sentences given below reveals the syntactic differences among them:

1a. S A / li / imba [A]  
 he past sing

1b. G Y / a / yembe / re [A]  
 he dist sing past  
 past

- E He sang.
- 2a. S A / li / ota [E]  
he past dream
- 2b. G Y / a / lote / re [E]  
he dist dream past  
past
- E He dreamt.
- 3a. S A / li / ogopa [E]  
he past fear
- 3b. G Y / a / tii / re [E]  
he dist fear past  
past
- E He feared.
- 4a. S A / li / lia [A]  
he past cry
- 4b. G Y / a / kungi/re [A]  
he dist cry past  
past
- E He cried.
- 5a. S A / li / nenepa [O]  
he past grow fat
- 5b. G Y / a / geize / re [O]  
he dist grow fat past  
past
- E He grew fat.
- 6a. S A / li / kua [O]  
he past grow up?
- 6b. G Y / a / kuli /re [O]  
he dist grow up past  
past
- E He grew up.

The subjects of the predicators of intention, like Swahili -  
nuia (intend, resolve) prove incompatible with four of the  
sentence pairs 1 to 6.

7a.	S	A / li / nua	{	kuimba	'to sing'
		he past resolve	{	*kuota	'to dream'
	E	He resolved	{	*kuogopa	'to fear'
			{	kulia	'to cry'
			{	*kunenepa	'to become fat'
			{	*kukua	'to grow up'
7b.	G	Y / a / gendere/ire	{	okwemba	'to sing'
		he dist resolve past	{	*okulota	'to dream'
		past	{	*okutya	'to fear'
	E	He resolved	{	okukunga	'to cry'
			{	*okugeiza	'to grow fat'
			{	*okukula	'to grow up'

Apparently, one may 'resolve' to do all, or most of the actions which admit Agentives; this is not true of most of the non Agentive ones.

A similar criterion for identifying Agentives/non Agentives suggested for English by Jeffrey Gruber (1970 : 137) is also applicable to Swahili and Gwere. Agentive predicates may co-occur with purposive constructions while the non Agentive ones can hardly do so. This may be illustrated as follows:

8a. S Wa / na / imba ili wa / <sup>(Rn)</sup> pate pesa [A - (Rn)]  
 they pres sing in order they get money

8b. G B / emba kaisi ba/ <sup>(Rn)</sup> funa esente [A - (Rn)]  
 they sing in order they get money  
 E They sing in order to get money.

9a. S \*Wa / na / ota ili ndoto <sup>(Rn)</sup> zao zi/ tekelee [E - (Rn)]  
 they pres dream so that dreams their they be fulfilled

9b. G \*Ba / lota kaisi ebiroto <sup>(Rn)</sup> byawe bi/ tukirire [E - (Rn)]  
 they dream so that dreams their they be fulfilled  
 E They dream so that their dreams may be fulfilled



- 10a. S\*A / li /ogopa ili <sup>(Rn)</sup><sub>a</sub> /pate ruhusa ya ku / baki  
 he past fear so that he get permission of inf remain  
nyumba/ni  
 home at [E - (Rn)]
- 10b. G\*Y / a / tii / re / kaisi <sup>(Rn)</sup><sub>a</sub> /fune olukusa oku/sigala  
 he dist fear past so that he get permission inf remain  
 past  
eikka  
 home [E - (Rn)]  
 E He feared so that he may get permission to stay at home.
- 11a. S A / li /lia ili wa / mw /<sup>(Rn)</sup>onee huruma  
 he past cry so that they for him see sympathy
- 11b. G Y / a /kungi/ re kaisi ba / mu /<sup>(Rn)</sup>kwatire ekisa  
 he dist cry past so that they for him catch sympathy  
 past [A - (Rn)]  
 E He cried so that they may feel sympathy for him.
- 12a. S\*A / me / nenepa ili wa / m / <sup>(Rn)</sup>nunulie nguo mpya  
 he past grow fat so that they for him buy clothes new
- 12b. G\*A / geize / re kaisi ba / mu /<sup>(Rn)</sup>gulire engoye  
 he grow fat past so that they for him buy clothes  
empyaka [O - (Rn)]  
 new  
 E He has grown fat so that they may buy him new clothes.
- 13a. S\*A / me /kua ili <sup>(Rn)</sup>a /ende shule/ ni [O - (Rn)]  
 he past grow up so that he go school to
- 13b. G\*A / kuli / re kaisi <sup>(Rn)</sup>a /tandike oku/soma [O - (Rn)]  
 he grow up past so that he begin inf read  
 E He has grown up in order to go to school.

All the nongrammatical sentence pairs are again those in which the main predicator does not permit an Agentive. The

predicators S -ota (dream) G -lota (dream); S -ogopa (fear), G -tya (fear); S -nenepa (grow fat), G -geiza (grow fat); and S -kua (grow up), G -kula (grow up) are thus distinguished as non Agentive predicators. Of these 4 pairs, the first two pairs require the Experiencer role while the last two pairs require the Objectives, as shown above.

The features  $\boxed{+intention}$  and  $\boxed{+will}$  are then properties of predicates permitting the Agentive in Swahili and Gwere as well. They are both semantically and syntactically evident.

In this study, therefore, the case roles required by the predicates containing the feature  $\boxed{+volition}$  will be identified as Agentives. And the predicates permitting or requiring the Agentive role will imply volition or intention on the part of the Agent. Therefore, if the predicators which can occur in  $\boxed{A---}$  case frames permit Manner roles which explicitly prevent the  $\boxed{+volition}$  interpretation, it is formal evidence that they have selected a non Agentive case role (for instance, in cases of accidental instigations). The following sentences illustrate some of these accidental instigations. Though the predicators concerned permit Agentives, they have not selected them in these particular instances. In these sentences the case roles in subject position are Sources and not Agentives. The  $\boxed{+volition}$  interpretation is ruled out by the selected subclass of Manner role exponents.

- |      |   |     |                         |   |     |                           |                       |
|------|---|-----|-------------------------|---|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 14a. | S | (M) | <u>kwa uzembe</u> wangu | { | (S) | ni/ me / rarua kitabu     | $\boxed{S - O - (M)}$ |
|      |   |     | with carelessness my    | { |     | I past tear book          |                       |
|      | E |     | Through my carelessness | { |     | I have torn the book.     |                       |
|      |   |     |                         | { | (S) | ni /me /unguza nguo yangu |                       |
|      |   |     |                         | { |     | I past burn clothing my   |                       |
|      |   |     |                         | { |     | I have burnt my clothing  |                       |

14b. G Olw' /obulagajali wange <sup>(M)</sup>  
 with carelessness my  
 E Through my carelessness

(S)  
ni/ me /mw/angusha mtoto  
 I past him drop baby  
 ( I have dropped the baby

(S)  
n/nyiri/ re ekitabo [S - 0 - (M)]  
 I tear past book  
 I have torn the book

(S)  
n/jokye/rye olugoye lwange  
 I burn past clothing my  
 I have burnt my clothing.

(S)  
n/gwisiry/e omwana  
 I drop past baby  
 I have dropped the baby.

15a. S ni/ me /rarua kitabu <sup>(S)</sup>  
 I past tear book  
 E I have torn the book.

bila <sup>(M)</sup> ku/kusudia [S - 0 - (M)]  
 without inf intend  
 accidentally

S ni/ me /unguza nguo yangu <sup>(S)</sup>  
 I past burn clothing my  
 E I have burnt my clothing

bila <sup>(M)</sup> ya ku /fikiri  
 without of inf think  
 without thinking.

S ni/ me /mw /angusha mtoto <sup>(S)</sup>  
 I past him drop baby  
 E I have dropped the baby

15b. G n/nyiri/re ekitabo <sup>(S)</sup>  
 I tear past book  
 E I have torn the book

nga <sup>(M)</sup> ti /n/gendereire  
 while neg I intend  
 accidentally [S - 0 - (M)]

G n/jokye/rye olugoye Iwange <sup>(S)</sup>  
 I burn past clothing my  
 E I have burnt my clothing

awula oku/lowoza  
 without inf think  
 without thinking

- (S)  
 G n/gwisiry/ e omwana }  
 I drop past baby }  
 E I have dropped the baby }

[+volition] is, therefore, an optional property of the predicators which permit Agentives; it is only obligatory with those which require the Agentives (for instance, predicators S -nuia (resolve) and G -genderera (resolve)).

In surface structure, case frames which include Agentives normally have the Agentive role become the surface structure subject. The following sentences, for example, have Agentive subjects. The Agentive NPs are underlined, and the case frame out of which the subject has been selected is given:

- 16a. S <sup>A</sup>Tu/ta /ku /ja Dimbwa [A - G]  
 we fut inf come Dimbwa
- 16b. G <sup>A</sup>Tw/ a / I /iza e Dimbwa [A - G]  
 we fut dist come to Dimbwa  
 fut  
 E We shall come to Dimbwa.
- 17a. S <sup>A</sup>A / li / mw /uliza maswali mengi [A - E - O]  
 he past him ask questions many
- 17b. G <sup>A</sup>Y / a / mu /wiry/ e ebibuuzo bingi [A - E - O]  
 he dist him ask past questions many  
 past  
 E He asked him many questions.
- 18a. S <sup>A</sup>Wa / me /ni/saidia [A - B]  
 they past me help
- 18b. G <sup>A</sup>Ba / n/nyambi/re [A - B]  
 they me help past  
 E They have helped me.

19a. S <sup>A</sup> A / li /kata <sup>O</sup> kuku kwa kisu ki/ me /senea [A - I - O]  
 he past cut hen with knife it past blunt

19b. G <sup>A</sup> Y / a /sali/ re <sup>O</sup> onkoko n' /akambe akatyo [A - I - O]  
 he dist cut past hen with knife blunt  
 past

E He cut the hen with a blunt knife.

20a. S <sup>A</sup> Mke / we a / me /<sup>O</sup>ji /fungua mtoto wa kiume [A - O - Rt]  
 wife his she past Ref untie baby of male

20b. G <sup>A</sup> Omukyala / we y / <sup>O</sup>e /subundwi/ re omwana mwisuka [A - O - Rt]  
 wife his she ref untie past baby boy

E His wife has given birth to a baby boy.

21a. S <sup>A</sup> Baba a / na /chuchumaa mno [A - (M)]  
 father he pres squat very much

21b. G <sup>A</sup> O Baba a /chunchumala inno [A - (M)]  
 father he squat very much

E Father squats very much.

Rule 1 is then quite general in both Swahili and Gwere.

Rule 1

The Agentive becomes the surface structure subject.

Rule 1 is, however, subject to a number of qualifications:

a. In complex sentences derived by the rule of -s- marking some Agentives become surface structure objects or adjuncts (V. Chapter 2 part II)

b. In [A - O] case frames the O role sometimes becomes subject while the Agentive becomes both non-attached to the predicator and unmarked<sub>6</sub> altogether in the sentence (V. Appendix A for further comments on sentence types of this kind).

- c. In  $\boxed{A - (G)(L)}$  case frames Rule 1 is optional (V. 2.0.2.5)
- d. Rules -w- and -k- (V. Chapter 3), (the former rule is also pointed out by other grammarians in this respect (notably E. C. Polomé 1967 : 159, and E. O. Ashton 1947 : 224)) block Rule 1.

Some other predicators to which Rule 1 applies are as follows:

S - <u>kakamua</u> (apply effort upon)	G - <u>kakanula</u> (apply effort upon)
S - <u>kohoa</u> (cough : to attract attention)	G - <u>kowola</u> (cough : to attract attention)
S - <u>vaa</u> (dress)	G - <u>zwala</u> (dress)
S - <u>zika</u> (bury)	G - <u>lika</u> (bury)
S - <u>ahidi</u> (promise)	G - <u>subiza</u> (promise)
S - <u>rudi</u> (return)	G - <u>ira</u> (return)
S - <u>nawa</u> (wash)	G - <u>naba</u> (wash)
S - <u>anika</u> (set out to dry)	G - <u>anika</u> (set out to dry)
S - <u>anua</u> (take in or down)	G - <u>anula</u> (take in or down)
S - <u>twaa</u> (take)	G - <u>twala</u> (take)

Thus the Agentives co-occur with a wide range of the case roles identified in the two languages. And in every case frame, they are selected subject except for the exceptions noted above. It follows that without those exceptions, other roles co-occurring in  $\boxed{(A) ---}$  case frames can only be selected Subject if the Agentive is not permitted.

#### 2.0.2.2. THE EXPERIENCER ROLE

Semantically this case role is differentiated from the Objective case role by being typically animate. Inanimate exponents to this case role, like those of the Agentive, are restricted to human institutions, for instance, schools, villages, towns etc., as illustrated in the sentences in 1:

1a. S Mji wote u/ li /shtuka [E]  
 town whole it past be shocked  
 E The whole town was shocked.

1b. G Ekyalo kyonakyona ky/ a /wuninkiriire [E]  
 country whole whole it dist be shocked  
 past  
 E The whole country was shocked.

Experiencers are often distinguished from Objectives in terms of the Instrumental types they co-occur with. The Experiencers occur mainly with the causal Instrumentals while the Objectives often co-occur with the manipulatable Instrumentals (V. 2.0.2.4 for further discussion of the Instrumental subgroups). In the following sentences, it is shown that predicates S -amsha (wake) and G -lamukya (wake) which require an Objective case role reject the causal Instrumentals miuja (misfortune), and kabibi (misfortune) while the predicates S -duwaza (dumbfound) and G -wugulalya (dumbfound) permit them:

2a. S Miuja hii i / li /<sup>E</sup>ni/duwaza [(I) - E]  
 misfortune this it past me dumbfound

2b. G Akabibi kanu k / a / <sup>E</sup>m /pugu lairy/e [(I) - E]  
 misfortune this it dist me dumbfound past  
 past

E This misfortune dumbfounded me.

3a. S \* Miuja hii i / li /<sup>O</sup>ni/amsha [(I) - O]  
 misfortune this it past me wake up

3b. G \* Akabibi kanu k / a / <sup>O</sup>n/damukiry/e [(I) - O]  
 misfortune this it dist me wake up past  
 past

E This misfortune woke me up.

Sentence pair 3 can only be possible in the senses of S -amsha (make alert, sensitive), G -lamukya (make alert, sensitive), in which case, the case frame would be [(I) - E] instead of [(I) - O], as it is in 3.

Similarly, in 4 and 5 (below) the predicators S -piga (hit), G -kuba (hit) which require the Objective case role permit the manipulatable Instrumentals S -kiti (chair), G -ntebe (chair) while the predicators S -ponya (cure), G -wonya (cure) which require the Experiencer case role reject them.

4a. S <sup>(I)</sup> Kiti ki/ me / <sup>O</sup> ni piga [ (I) - O ]  
 chair it past me hit

4b. G <sup>(I)</sup> Entebe e/ <sup>O</sup> n/kubi/re [ (I) - O ]  
 chair it me hit past  
 E The chair has hit me.

5a. S\* <sup>(I)</sup> Kiti ki/ me / <sup>E</sup> ni/ponya [ (I) - E ]  
 Chair it past me cure

5b. G\* <sup>(I)</sup> Entebe e/ m/ponery/e [ (I) - E ]  
 Chair it me cure past  
 E The chair has cured me.

In surface structure the Experiencer role never becomes subject in [A - E] case frames, as already noted (in 2.0.2.1). What was not pointed out (ibid) is the fact that in both Swahili and Gwere, in the [A - E - (O)] case frames, the Experiencer is normally selected object (the Agentive being selected subject), as shown in the following sentences:

6a. S <sup>A</sup> Bwana jumbe a/ me / <sup>E</sup> ni/dhulumu vibaya [ A - E - (M) ]  
 Mr. chief he past me mistreat badly

6b. G <sup>A</sup> Omwami a/ <sup>E</sup> m/nigi / re inno. [ A - E - (M) ]  
 chief he me oppress past very much  
 E The chief has oppressed me very much.



7a. S <sup>A</sup> Mwenza/ ke a/ li / <sup>E</sup> m /hoji kiutaniutani  
 friend his he past him urge familiarly  
 ili wa /ende Kwambunu pamoja  
 so that they go Kwamburu together.

[A - E - (Rn)]

E His friend urged him fondly that they go to Kwambunu together.

7b. G <sup>A</sup> Omukagwa/ we y/ a / <sup>E</sup> m/senderesende/re okw/aba  
 friend his he dist him urge past inf go  
 past

[A - E - O]

E His friend urged him to go.

Some of the other predicators which have the Experiencers become surface structure object in [A - E - (O)] case frames are as follows:

S - <u>shukuru</u> (thank)	G - <u>ebalya</u> (thank)
S - <u>amua</u> (arbitrate)	G - <u>gaya</u> (arbitrate)
S - <u>sihi</u> (entreat)	G - <u>egairira</u> (entreat)
S - <u>laumu</u> (blame)	G - <u>nenya</u> (blame)
S - <u>alika</u> (invite)	G - <u>lalika</u> (invite)
S - <u>salimu</u> (greet)	G - <u>sugirya</u> (greet)
S - <u>tukana</u> (rebuke)	G - <u>zuma</u> (rebuke)
S - <u>shawishi</u> (persuade)	G - <u>sendasenda</u> (persuade)
S - <u>shauri</u> (consult)	G - <u>wulya</u> (consult)
S - <u>uliza</u> (ask)	G - <u>wulya</u> (ask)
S - <u>amuru</u> (order)	G - <u>lagira</u> (order)
S - <u>agiza</u> (instruct, direct)	G - <u>lagirira</u> (instruct, direct)
S - <u>kyokoza</u> (tease, bully)	G - <u>kyokoza</u> (tease, bully)
S - <u>sisimua</u> (startle)	G - <u>zinzimula</u> (startle)
S - <u>okoa</u> (save spiritually)	G - <u>lokola</u> (save spiritually)
S - <u>sumbua</u> (trouble)	G - <u>sumbuwa</u> (trouble, annoy)

In [I - E] case frames the Experiencer role may become subject or object, depending upon the predicator, as illustrated below:

8a. S <sup>E</sup> Ni/ li /staajabu <sup>I</sup> ku / mw/ona [I - E]  
 I past be surprised inf him see

8b. G <sup>E</sup> N/ a /wuninkirire <sup>I</sup> oku/ mu/wona [I - E]  
 I dist be surprised inf him see  
 past  
 E I was surprised to see him.

9a. S <sup>I</sup> Nyimbo zao zi / li /<sup>E</sup> ni/vuta [I - E]  
 songs their they past me fascinate

9b. G <sup>I</sup> Enyembo gyawe gy / a /<sup>E</sup> n/nyonye /rye [I - E]  
 songs their they dist me fascinate past  
 past  
 E Their songs have fascinated me.

The E role is also often selected subject in [E - O] case frames,  
 as shown in the following sentences:

10a. S <sup>E</sup> Wa / me /sikia habari [E - O]  
 they past hear news

10b. G <sup>E</sup> Ba /wuliir/ e amawulire [E - O]  
 they hear past news  
 E They have heard the news.

11a. S <sup>E</sup> Ni/ me / m / tambua [E - O]  
 I past him recognize

11b. G <sup>E</sup> M/ mu/manyikiriy/ e [E - O]  
 I him recognize past  
 E I have recognized him.

Some other predicators which allow the E role (in [E - O] case frames) to become subject are as follows:

S	<u>-sadiki</u> (believe)	G	<u>-ikirirya</u> (believe)
S	<u>-yakini</u> (be sure)	G	<u>-kakasa</u> (be sure)
S	<u>-fahamu</u> (understand)	G	<u>-tegeera</u> (understand)
S	<u>-fikiri</u> (consider)	G	<u>-fumintiriza</u> (consider)
S	<u>-ona</u> (see)	G	<u>-wona</u> (see)
S	<u>-sahau</u> (forget)	G	<u>-yeberera</u> (forget)
S	<u>-tegemea</u> (expect)	G	<u>-subira</u> (hope)
S	<u>-ogopa</u> (fear)	G	<u>-tya</u> (fear)
S	<u>-tarajia</u> (hope)	G	<u>-subira</u> (hope)
S	<u>-tumaini</u> (hope, trust)	G	<u>-esiga</u> (hope, trust)
S	<u>-zoea</u> (get used to)	G	<u>-nalirira</u> (get used to)
S	<u>-penda</u> (love, like)	G	<u>-taka</u> (love, like)
S	<u>-taka</u> (wish, want)	G	<u>-taka</u> (wish, want)
S	<u>-cha</u> (respect)	G	<u>-tya</u> (respect)
S	<u>-jua</u> (know)	G	<u>-manya</u> (know)
S	<u>-amini</u> (trust, believe)	G	<u>-esiga</u> (trust)
S	<u>-samehe</u> (forgive)	G	<u>-sasira</u> (forgive)
S	<u>-shuku</u> (suspect)	G	<u>-lowoza</u> (suspect)
S	<u>-heshimu</u> (respect)	G	<u>-isamu ekitiwa</u> (respect)
S	<u>-dhani</u> (think, suppose)	G	<u>-lowoza</u> (think, suppose)

However, the selection of the E role as surface structure subject in  $\boxed{E} - \boxed{O}$  case frames is dependent on the predicators in both Swahili and Gwere. With some other predicators of the  $\boxed{E} - \boxed{O}$  case frame class, the O role normally goes into subject function, while the E role goes into object function, or is unmanifested in surface structure (though present in the deep structure), as illustrated in the following sentences:

12a. S <sup>O</sup> I / li / <sup>E</sup> m / lazimu      a/ende mbali       $\boxed{E} - \boxed{O}$   
it past him    necessitate he go    far

12b. G Ky/ a / mu/walirizi / re okw/aba eyala [E - O]  
 it dist him necessitate past inf go far  
 past  
 E LIT: "It necessitated him to go far."  
 E It was necessary that he go far.

13a. S I / li /kuwa hakika [O]  
 it past be certain

13b. G Ky/ a /li ki/kakafu [O]  
 it dist be it certain  
 past  
 E It was certain.

14a. S Ni ishara dhahiri [O]  
 be sign clear  
 E It is a clear sign.

14b. G Ky/ e<sub>7</sub>/laga [O]  
 it Ref show  
 E It is evident.

Some other [E - O] case frame predicators which normally have the O role become subject are as follows:

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| S. <u>-nona</u> (be tasty)                      | G <u>-woma/-nola</u> (be tasty) |
| S <u>-bidi</u> (oblige)                         | G <u>-gwanira</u> (oblige)      |
| S <u>-udhi</u> (vex)                            | G <u>-luma</u> (vex)            |
| S <u>-elea</u> (be intelligible, be understood) |                                 |
| S <u>-pasa</u> (compel)                         |                                 |
| S <u>-aibu</u> (be shameful)                    |                                 |

The Gwere equivalents to Swahili -elea (be intelligible) -pasa (compel) and aibu (be shameful) are: -tegeera (understand), -sana (be compelled) and -swala (feel shame), respectively, all of which have the E role for subject.

The rule which selects the E<sup>8</sup> for subject in [E - O] case frames is then slightly moreproductive in Gwere than it is in Swahili.

With predicators which have a single role case frame [E] the E is very often selected subject in both Swahili and Gwere, as shown in the following sentences:

15a. S Watu wengi wa / li /sikitika [E]  
 people many they past feel sorry

15b. G Abantu bangi ba /nukuwair/e [E]  
 people many they feel sorry past  
 E Many people felt sorry.

16a. S Shangazi yake a / li /kasirika [E]  
 aunt his she past be angry

16b. G Oisenga/ ye y/ a /sungu wair/e [E]  
 aunt his she dist be angry past  
 past

E His aunt got angry.

Some other predicators of type 15-16 are listed as follows:

S	- <u>pona</u> (get well)	G	- <u>wona</u> (get well)
S	- <u>furahi</u> (be happy)	G	- <u>isanyu</u> (be happy)
S	- <u>shangaa</u> (be astonished)	G	- <u>ewunya</u> (be astonished)
S	- <u>hangaika</u> (be worried)	G	- <u>eralikirira</u> (be worried)
S	- <u>huzuni</u> (be sad)	G	- <u>nukuwala</u> (be sad)
S	- <u>choka</u> (be tired)	G	- <u>demba</u> (be tired)
S	- <u>hofu</u> (feel fear)	G	- <u>tya</u> (feel fear)
S	- <u>taabu</u> (have trouble)	G	- <u>tawana</u> (have trouble)
S	- <u>vumilia</u> (tolerate, endure)	G	- <u>guminkiriza</u> (tolerate, endure)
S	- <u>pumbaa</u> (be mentally dull)	G	- <u>guba</u> (be mentally dull)
S	- <u>fadhaa</u> (confusion)	G	- <u>wuwa</u> (be confused)

With nominal and adjectival predicators, however, the E NP may not become subject (cf the discussion in 2.0.1.2). In the following sentences, for instance, the Experiencer NPs are marked (as predicated NPs) by the noun class markers, and not the subject markers:

17a. S Baba yangu ni mtu <sup>(NCM)</sup> mw/enye huruma [E]  
 father my be person he with mercy

17b. G O baba musaiza <sup>(NCM)</sup> mu/sasizi [E]  
 father man he with mercy

E My father is a sympathetic man.

18a. S Baba yangu ni mtu <sup>(NCM)</sup> m/vumilivu [E]  
 father my be person he patient

18b. G O baba muntu <sup>(NCM)</sup> mu/guminkiriza [E]  
 father person he be patient

E My father is a patient man.

The Experiencer role may have complex NPs for exponents (V. footnote 4). In such cases, the embedded predicate may become subject while the embedded case frame remains embedded genitively onto its deep structure predicate, as shown in sentence 19:

19a. S <sup>E</sup> roho yake i/ na / <sup>O</sup> wa /ogopa wasichana [E - O]  
 heart his it pres them fear girls

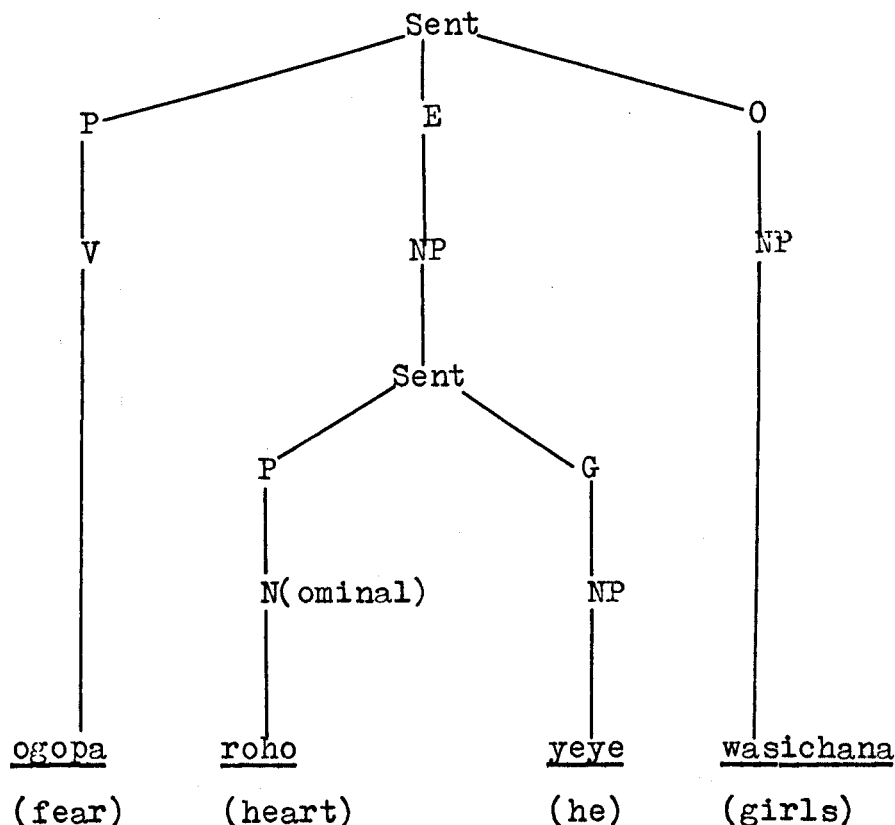
19b. G omwoyo gwe gu/tya abala [E - O]  
 heart his it fear girls

E LIT: "His heart fears girls."

E He fears girls.

19 has deep structure as in figure 6:

figure 6:



In other instances, the embedded predicate may be transformed into a Locative role while the embedded case role becomes subject as shown in sentence 20:

- 20a. S <sup>E</sup> A / li / furahi <sup>L</sup> moyo/ ni [ E - L ]  
 he past be happy heart in
- 20b. G Y / a / sanyuki / re omu/mwoyo <sup>L</sup> [ E - L ]  
 he dist be happy past in heart  
 past

E He was happy in his heart.

The Partitives and some Locatives, therefore, originate in complex propositions where they occur in case frames embedded in a case role of the higher proposition (as shown in figure 6) (V. Footnote 4). Some examples of Partitives which have become subject while the Experiencers go into object position are shown in 21 (V. footnote 4).

- 21a. S <sup>Pt</sup> Kichwa ki/ me / m / hama\_nika <sup>E</sup> [ E - Pt ]  
 head it past him be confused

21b. G           Pt           E  
 Omutwe gu/ mu/tawuki / re           [E - Pt]  
 head it him be confused past  
 E His head is confused.

Rule 2 shows the realization of the E role in surface structure.

Rule 2 (~~Refer to Footnote 9 Chapter 2~~)

- a. In [E - O], [E - I], and [E - (Pt)(L)] case frames the E role may become either surface structure subject or object.
- b. If no other case role occurs, the E role may become surface structure subject.
- c. If the A role has become surface structure subject, the E role becomes surface structure object.

In both languages the E role does not co-occur with the Source and Goal roles, but there are predicates which permit the Goal role, for example, to be co-referential<sup>10</sup> with the Experiencer. This is true of predicates like S -arifu (inform), G -tegeeza (inform), which may have either a Goal or Experiencer in addition to the Agentive and Objective [A - (G)(E) - O], as indicated in 22:

22a. S           A           (G)(E)           O  
 Tu/ ta/ ku/arifu habari           [A - (G)(E) - O]  
 we fut you inform news

22b. G           A           (G)(E)           O  
 Tw/ a /ku /tegeeza amawulire           [A - (G)(E) - O]  
 we fut you inform news

E We shall let you know the news.

In cases of the (G)(E) coreferentiality in case frames containing Agentives and Objectives, both case roles have similar syntactic characteristics. In Swahili, for example, both roles normally fill the object position while the O role occurs in the unmarked surface structure relation (Refer to Footnote 6 Chapter 2),



and in  $G$  were both roles may occur as objects together with the  $O$  roles (see 2.0.2.3). The difference between the  $(G)(E)$  in  $\boxed{A} - (G)(E) - \boxed{O}$  case frames are, therefore, largely semantic.

2.0.2.3. THE OBJECTIVE CASE ROLE

The Objective case role has been described by C. Fillmore (1968 : 25) as "the semantically most neutral case." Unlike the Agentive and Experiencer case roles, its exponents are not restricted to a particular value of the feature animate and predicator properties such as  $\boxed{+volition}$  do not govern its occurrence (as they do, for instance, the occurrence of the A role, as mentioned above in 2.0.2.1).

In surface structure the O role, like the Experiencer role, occurs in both subject and object functions.

In  $\boxed{A - O}$  case frames, the O is normally selected object as the A is selected subject<sub>12</sub> except in special cases where predicators do not permit object selection (for instance, Swahili -endelea (go on), and Gwere -eyongera (go on) which have the O role become an adjunct) or in all instances where the exponent of the Objective role is a sentence. These two exceptions to the selection of the Objective as surface structure object in  $\boxed{A - O}$  case frames are illustrated as follows:

- |     |   |                                   |                                       |                 |
|-----|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1a. | S | <sup>A</sup> Tu/ na /ende_lea     | <sup>O</sup> na masomo                | $\boxed{A - O}$ |
|     |   | we pres go                        | on with studies                       |                 |
| 1b. | G | <sup>A</sup> Tw/e yongera         | <sup>O</sup> n' /omusomo              | $\boxed{A - O}$ |
|     |   | we go on                          | with studies                          |                 |
|     | E | We are going on with the studies. |                                       |                 |
| 2a. | S | <sup>A</sup> A / li /endelea      | <sup>O</sup> ku /lia                  | $\boxed{A - O}$ |
|     |   | he past go on                     | inf cry                               |                 |
| 2b. | G | <sup>A</sup> Y /e yongeir/        | <sup>O</sup> e ku / <del>y</del> unga | $\boxed{A - O}$ |
|     |   | he go on                          | past inf cry                          |                 |
|     | E | He went on crying.                |                                       |                 |

In 1 the O role has become an adjunct and in 2 it is filled with a sentence. In both cases, it cannot become an object, since

it cannot be represented in the predicate structure by an object marker.<sup>13</sup>

However, many predicators do permit the selection of the O role as surface structure object in [A - O] case frames, as shown below.

3a. S <sup>A</sup> Wa / li / <sup>O</sup> m / zika mapema [A - O - (T)]  
 they past him bury early

3b. G <sup>A</sup> B / a / <sup>O</sup> mu / liki / re mangu [A - O - (T)]  
 they dist him bury past early  
 past

E They buried him early.

4a. S <sup>A</sup> Wa / li / <sup>O</sup> wa / leta wakunga wawili stadi [A - O]  
 they past them bring midwives two experienced

4b. G <sup>A</sup> B / a / <sup>O</sup> ba / lete / re aba / byalisya babili  
 they dist them bring past they help give birth two  
 past  
abakugu [A - O]  
 experienced

E They brought two experienced midwives.

Some other predicators which allow the O role to become object as the A role becomes subject are as listed below:

- |                               |                               |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| S <u>-tia</u> (put)           | G <u>-tereka</u> (put)        |
| S <u>-shika</u> (hold)        | G <u>-kwata</u> (hold)        |
| S <u>-zua</u> (discover)      | G <u>-zula</u> (discover)     |
| S <u>-funga</u> (shut)        | G <u>-funga</u> (lock)        |
| S <u>-soma</u> (read)         | G <u>-soma</u> (read)         |
| S <u>-la</u> (eat)            | G <u>-lya</u> (eat)           |
| S <u>-umba</u> (make)         | G <u>-bumba</u> (make)        |
| S <u>-mwaga</u> (pour away)   | G <u>-mwaga</u> (pour away)   |
| S <u>-guguna</u> (gnaw)       | G <u>-guguna</u> (gnaw)       |
| S <u>-zira</u> (refrain from) | G <u>-zira</u> (refrain from) |

- |   |                            |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| S | -loga (bewitch)            | G | -loga (bewitch)            |
| S | -toa (give out)            | G | -tola (give out)           |
| S | -winga (drive away, chase) | G | -binga (drive away, chase) |

In [E - O] case frames, as noted (in 2.0.2.2) the O role is often in object position while the E role goes in the subject position, or conversely. In [A - E - O] case frames, however, both the E and O may become objects but never subjects (V. Rule 1). But while in Gwere both the E and O roles may occur as objects (provided that the O role exponent is not a sentence) Swahili seems to limit object choice to the E role unless the E role is not manifested. In the following sentences, for example, it is shown that in both Swahili and Gwere the E role becomes object, but while Gwere may have the O become object as well, Swahili does not (6 and 8 are ungrammatical in Swahili):

5a. S <sup>A</sup> A / li / mw/uliza maswali [A - E - O]  
 he past him ask questions

5b. G <sup>A</sup> Y / a / <sup>E</sup> mu/wiry/ e ebibuuzo [A - E - O]  
 he dist him ask past questions  
 past

E He asked him questions.

6a. S\* <sup>A</sup> A / li / <sup>O</sup> ya / <sup>E</sup> mw /uliza [A - E - O]  
 he past them him ask

6b. G <sup>A</sup> Y / a / <sup>O</sup> bi / <sup>E</sup> mu/wiry/ e [A - E - O]  
 he dist them him ask past  
 past

E LIT: "He them asked him."

E He asked him (questions).

7a. S <sup>A</sup> A / li / <sup>E</sup> ni/ahidi <sup>O</sup> zawadi [A - E - O]  
 he past me promise present

7b. G Y / a / n / <sup>A</sup>subizi / re <sup>E</sup>ekirabo [A - E - O]  
 he dist me promise past present  
 past

E He promised me a present.

8a. S \*A / li / <sup>A</sup>i / <sup>O</sup>ni / <sup>E</sup>ahidi zawadi [A - E - O]  
 he dist it me promise present  
 past

8b. G Y / a / <sup>A</sup>ki / <sup>O</sup>n / <sup>E</sup>subizi / re ekirabo [A - E - O]  
 he dist it me promise past present  
 past

E LIT: "He it to me promised the present."

E He promised it to me.

In [I - O] case frames, the O role may become subject or object, depending upon the predicators. This may be illustrated as follows:

9a. S <sup>O</sup>Nguo i / na / <sup>I</sup>waka moto [I - O]  
 clothing it pres burn fire

9b. G <sup>O</sup>Olugoye lw / aka <sup>I</sup>omusyo [I - O]  
 clothing it burn fire

E LIT: "The clothing is burning (with fire)."

E The clothing is in flames.

10a. S <sup>O</sup>Watu wa / me / <sup>I</sup>lowa jasho [I - O]  
 people they past get wet sweat

10b. G <sup>O</sup>Abantu ba / <sup>I</sup>dode / re n' / <sup>O</sup>olwota [I - O]  
 people they get wet past with sweat

E The people have got wet with sweat.

11a. S <sup>I</sup>Mlango u / me / <sup>O</sup>ni / uma [I - O]  
 door it past me hurt

11b. G <sup>I</sup>Olwigi lu / <sup>O</sup>n / <sup>I</sup>numi / re  
 door it me hurt past

E The door has hurt me.

12a. S <sup>I</sup> Kisu /ki/ me /<sup>O</sup>ni/choma [I - O]  
 knife it past me pierce

12b. G <sup>I</sup> Akambe ka/ <sup>O</sup>n/sumuti/ re [I - O]  
 knife it me pierce past

E The knife has pierced me.

Like the Experience<sup>1</sup>role, the Objective role is often filled with a complex NP derived from an underlying sentence (see Footnote 4 Chapter 2) in which the embedded predicate (as an exponent of the Partitive or Locative role<sub>14</sub>) may become surface structure subject, adjunct or unmarked NP while the embedded case role becomes either object or subject. In 13 and 14, for example, the embedded case role has become object while the Partitive has become subject:

13a. S (Pt)(L) <sup>O</sup> Kichwa ki/ na /ni/uma [O - (Pt)(L)]  
 head it pres me pain

13b. G (Pt)(L) <sup>O</sup> Omutwe gu/ n/numa [O - (Pt)(L)]  
 head it me pain

E I have a headache.

14a. S (Pt)(L) roho i/ ka/wa i/ na / <sup>O</sup>m /dunda [O - (Pt)(L)]  
 heart it nar be it pres her palpitate  
 asp

14b. G (Pt)(L) Omwoyo gw/ a /ba/ire gu/<sup>O</sup>mu /dunda [O - (Pt)(L)]  
 heart it dist. be past it her palpitate  
 past

E Her heart was palpitating.

But in 15 and 16 the embedded case role has become subject while the Partitive has become an unmarked NP:

15a. S <sup>O</sup> Erenes a / li /tulia (Pt)(L) roho [O - (Pt)(L)]  
 Erenes she past be settled heart

15b. G <sup>O</sup> O Napyo y / a /iki /re <sup>(Pt)(L)</sup> omwoyo O - (Pt)(L)  
 Napyo she dist settle past heart  
 past

E Erenes/Napyo's heart settled.

16a. S <sup>O</sup> a / ka/wa a / na /dunda roho O - (Pt)(L)  
 she nar be she pres palpitate heart  
 asp

16b. G <sup>O</sup> Y / a /ba/ire a /dunda <sup>(Pt)(L)</sup> omwoyo O - (Pt)(L)  
 she dist be past she palpitate heart  
 past

E LIT: "She was palpitating at heart."

E Her heart was palpitating.

In O - G and O - S case frames the O role occurs either as subject or simply as an unmarked NP. The following sentences illustrate its distribution in surface structure sentence types derived from O - G case frames:

17a. S <sup>O</sup> furaha i / li / <sup>G</sup> m /jaa O - G  
 happiness it past him fill

17b. G <sup>O</sup> eisanyu ly / a / <sup>G</sup> mw /izwir/ e O - G  
 happiness it dist him fill past  
 past

E LIT: "Happiness filled him."

E He was filled with happiness.

18a. S <sup>G</sup> A / li /jaa <sup>O</sup> furaha O - G  
 he past be full happiness

18b. G <sup>G</sup> Y / a /izwir / e eisanyu O - G  
 he dist be full past happiness  
 past

E He was full of happiness.

But 19, where the O roles have become object (in O - G case frames) is ungrammatical:

19a. S \*<sup>G</sup>A / li / <sup>O</sup>i/jaa      <sup>O</sup>furaha      [O - G]  
 he past it be full happiness

19b. G \*<sup>G</sup>Y / a / <sup>O</sup>li/zwir / e      <sup>O</sup>eisanyu      [O - G]  
 he dist it be full past happiness  
 past

E LIT: "He was of it full happiness."

E He was full of happiness.

Some other predicators which manifest the syntactic characteristics of 17-19 are as follows:

S	- <u>faa</u> (suit)	G	- <u>tuka</u> (suit)
S	- <u>ingia</u> (enter)	G	- <u>ngira</u> (enter)
S	- <u>nuka</u> (wear a smell e.g. of perfume)	G	- <u>funya</u> (wear a smell e.g. of perfume)

The [O - S] case frame predicators display similar syntactic characteristics to the [O - G] ones in 17-19, especially in Swahili. While 20 and 21 are possible, 22 is not possible for Swahili. In 20, the Objective role has become subject:

20a. S      <sup>O</sup>machozi ya / li / <sup>S</sup>m /tiririka      [O - S]  
 tears they past him run

20b. G      <sup>O</sup>Amaliga ga / <sup>S</sup>mu/tiriki/ re      [O - S]  
 tears they him run past

E LIT: "Tears ran from him."

E He burst into tears.

In 21 the O role exponents have become unmarked NPs:

21a. S      <sup>S</sup>A / li /tiririka      <sup>O</sup>machozi      [O - S]  
 he past run tears

21b. G      <sup>S</sup>Y / a /tiriki/ re      <sup>O</sup>amaliga      [O - S]  
 he dist run past tears  
 past

E LIT: "He ran tears."

E He burst into tears.



In 22 the O roles have become object:

22a. S \* <sup>S</sup>A / li / <sup>O</sup>ya / tiririka <sup>O</sup>machozi [O - S]  
 he dist them run tears  
 past

22b. G <sup>S</sup>Y / a / <sup>O</sup>ga / tiriki/ re amaliga [O - S]  
 he dist them run past tears  
 past

E LIT: "He them ran tears."

E He burst into tears.

Similarly, Swahili 23a is not possible but Gwere 23b is possible. The O roles have become object:

23a. S <sup>S</sup>A / na / <sup>O</sup>ya / vuja mate [O - S]  
 he pres them drip saliva

23b. G <sup>S</sup>A / <sup>O</sup>lu/ sulula oluta [O - S]  
 he it drip saliva

E LIT: "He is it dripping saliva."

E He is dripping saliva.

Swahili does not permit the Objective role to become object in [A - S - O / A - G - O] case frames either. In these case frames (as already mentioned above, and also shown in 2.0.2.5 below) the Source and Goal roles are normally selected objects. But Gwere can still have both the S/G and O roles become objects. Swahili sentences 24a and 25a are ungrammatical, but Gwere sentences 24b and 25b are grammatical. In those sentences, the G and O, and the S and O have become objects:

24a. S \* <sup>A</sup>Ni/ ta/ <sup>O</sup>ki/ <sup>G</sup>m / pa kitabu [A - G - O]  
 I fut it him give book

24b. G <sup>A</sup>N/ a / <sup>O</sup>ki/ <sup>G</sup>mu/ wa ekitabo [A - G - O]  
 I fut it him give book

E LIT: "I shall give it to him the book."

E I shall give it to him.

25a. S\* <sup>A</sup> Ni/ <sup>O</sup> ta/zi/ <sup>S</sup> m /kopa fedha [A - S - O]  
 I fut it him borrow money

25b. G <sup>A</sup> N / A <sup>O</sup> /gi / <sup>S</sup> mw/ekopa/ku esente [A - S - O]

E LIT: "I shall borrow it from him the money."

E I shall borrow it from him.

In [A - B - O] case frames, however, both Swahili and Gwere may allow both the B and O roles to become objects, as illustrated in 26:

26a. S Anwani yake <sup>A</sup> u / <sup>O</sup> i/ <sup>B</sup> ni /patie [A - B - O]  
 address his you it for me get

26b. G <sup>A</sup> O /gi/ <sup>B</sup> n /sabire endagiriro ye [A - B - O]  
 You it for me ask address his

E Get/ask for his address for me.

Like the A and E case roles, the O role may be the only obligatory case role in the case frame of a number of predicators, some of which are given here. In these case frames the single case role may be selected subject, as illustrated in the following sentences:

27a. S Wa / li /kuwa hodari [O]  
 they past be skilful

27b. G B / a /ba/ire ba/kanu [O]  
 they dist be past they skilful  
 past

E They were skilful.

28a. S Habari zi / li /enea [O]  
 news it past spread

28b. G Amawulire ga/landi / re [O]  
 news it spread past

E The news spread.

29a. S A / me / lemaa [0]  
 he past be lame

29b. G A / lema / ire [0]  
 he be lame past

E He is lame.

More examples of the predicators of type 27-29 are as follows:

S	- <u>pungua</u> (decrease)	G	- <u>kendeera</u> (decrease)
S	- <u>nyesha</u> (rain)	G	- <u>tonya</u> (rain)
S	- <u>cha</u> (dawn)	G	- <u>kya</u> (dawn)
S	- <u>fariki</u> (die)	G	- <u>gota</u> (die)
S	- <u>starehe</u> (be at rest)	G	- <u>tyama</u> (be at rest)
S	- <u>fa</u> (die)	G	- <u>fa</u> (die)
S	- <u>tayari</u> (be ready)	G	- <u>etegefu</u> (be ready)
S	- <u>maana</u> (have meaning)	G	- <u>makulu</u> (have meaning)
S	- <u>iva</u> (get ripe)	G	- <u>yenga</u> (get ripe)
S	- <u>amka</u> (wake)	G	- <u>lamuka</u> (wake)
S	- <u>tapika</u> (vomit)	G	- <u>sesema</u> (vomit)
S	- <u>waka</u> (shine)	G	- <u>aka</u> (shine)
S	- <u>konda</u> (grow thin)	G	- <u>yonda</u> (grow thin)
S	- <u>chemka</u> (boil)	G	- <u>kyemuka</u> (boil)
S	- <u>oza</u> (rot)	G	- <u>vunda</u> (rot)
S	- <u>pumua</u> (rest)	G	- <u>wumula</u> (rest)
S	- <u>tetemeka</u> (shiver)	G	- <u>dagaizira</u> (shiver)
S	- <u>vimba</u> (get swollen)	G	- <u>bimba</u> (get swollen)
S	- <u>gugumia</u> (stutter)	G	- <u>guguma</u> (stutter)

It is mainly with the adjectives that the 0 role (in the [0] case frames) may not become subject, as illustrated below:

30a. S Mtoto huyu <sup>(NCM)</sup> m / bishi [0]  
 child this be obstinate

30b. G Omwana <sup>NCM</sup> onu mw/akani [0]  
 child this he obstinate  
 E This child is obstinate.

31a. S Machungwa <sup>NCM</sup> ma/bivu [0]  
 oranges they ripe

31b. G Michungwa <sup>NCM</sup> my/engi [0]  
 E Ripe oranges.

In 30-31, the Objective role has not become subject. The predicated NPs are attached to the predicators through the noun class markers (as indicated with 'NCM').

Often, sentences which have either 0 or I case roles as subjects seem structurally similar (as in 32 and 33) but since the 0 role may co-occur with the I role this fact can be used as a criterion to distinguish I from 0 roles (as in 34 where 0 may be added, and 35 where it cannot be):

32a. S Mvua <sup>I</sup> i/ li /piga [I]  
 rain it past beat

32b. G Oikendi <sup>y/ a /lokote/re</sup> [I]  
 rain it dist beat past  
 past

E LIT: "The rain beat."

33a. S Mvua <sup>I</sup> i/ li /nyesha [0]  
 rain it past rain

33b. G Oikendi <sup>y/ a /tonye/ re</sup> [0]  
 rain it dist rain past  
 past

E It rained.

34a. S <sup>I</sup> Mvua <sup>I</sup> i/ li / <sup>O</sup> i /piga mimea [I - 0]  
 rain it past them beat crops

34b. G <sup>I</sup> Oikendi <sup>y / a /ki/lokote/ re</sup> <sup>O</sup> ekyalo [I - 0]  
 rain it dist it beat past country  
 past

E The rain beat the crops/country.

35a. S \* <sup>0</sup>Mvua <sub>i</sub>/ li / <sup>0</sup>i /nyesha mimea [0 - 0]  
rain it past them rain crops

35b. G \* <sup>0</sup>Oikendi <sub>y</sub>/ a /<sup>0</sup>ki/tonye/ re ekyalo [0 - 0]  
rain it dist it rain past country  
past

E LIT: "The rain rained the crops/country."

To sum up the discussion of the Objective role, the following rules account for its distribution in surface structure.

Rule 3 (Refer to Footnote 9 (chapter 2))

- a. The 0 role may occur in subject position in the following case frames:  
[E - 0] , [0 - S] , [0 - G] , [0 - (Pt)(L)] ,  
[I - 0] , and [0] .
- b. The 0 role must occur in object position in the case frames [A - 0] [A - I - 0] [I - 0]  
where either A or I is surface structure subject.
- c. The 0 role may occur as surface structure object in the case frames [E - 0] , [A - B - 0] and [0 - (Pt)(L)]
- d. The 0 role may not occur in object position in the case frame [0 - G]
- e. (applicable only to Gwere)

The 0 role may become object in the following case frames:

[0 - S] , [A - E - 0] , [A - S - 0] and [A - G - 0].

2.0.2.4 THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE ROLE

Both Instrumentals and Agentives may function as surface structure subjects and in both cases the semantic relation of the NP concerned to the action is that of "causer" or "instigator", but Agentive subjects additionally imply the conscious participation of the Agent in the action expressed by the predicator (which has been indicated above (in 2.0.2.1) by the notation  $\boxed{+volition}$  ). In the sentences in 1 and 2, for example, both the Instrumentals and Agentives are shown in subject position with the same predicators:

1a. S Mali <sup>I</sup> ya mme /we i/ li / m /saidia <sup>B</sup>  $\boxed{I - B}$   
 wealth of husband hers it past her help

1b. G Obugaiga bwa iba / ye bw/ a <sup>B</sup> /mu /yambi/re  
 wealth of husband hers it dist her help past  
 past  $\boxed{I - B}$

E Her husband's wealth helped her.

2a. S Mme <sup>A</sup> / we a/ li / m /saidia <sup>B</sup>  $\boxed{A - B}$   
 husband hers he past her help

2b. G Oiba <sup>A</sup> /ye y / a <sup>B</sup> /mu /yambi/re  $\boxed{A - B}$   
 husband hers he dist her help past  
 past

E Her husband helped her.

But in 3 and 4 in which the predicators S -nuia (resolve) and G -genderera (resolve) (with which the feature  $\boxed{+volition}$  is obligatory) occur, the Instrumentals cannot become subjects. The sentences in 3 which have Instrumental subjects are ungrammatical, but those in 4 which have the Agentive subjects are grammatical:

3a. S \* <sup>I</sup> Mali ya mme / <sup>O</sup> we i/ li /nuia ku/ m /saidia  
 wealth of husband hers it past resolve inf her help  
 [I - O]

3b. G \* <sup>I</sup> Obugaiga bwa iba / <sup>O</sup> ye bw/ a /gendereir/e  
 wealth of husband hers it dist resolve past  
 past  
<sup>O</sup> oku/mu /yamba [I - O]  
 inf her help

E Her husband's ~~help~~<sup>wealth</sup> resolved to help her.

4a. S <sup>A</sup> Mme / <sup>O</sup> we a / li /nuia ku / m /saidia [A - O]  
 husband hers he past resolve inf her help

4b. G <sup>A</sup> Oiba / <sup>O</sup> ye y / a /gendereir/e oku/mu /yamba [A - O]  
 husband hers he dist resolve past inf her help  
 past

E Her husband resolved to help her.

Three case roles usually co-occur with the Instrumentals in Swahili and Gwere : Agentive, Objective and Experiencer. The presence of at least one of the three case roles in a case frame permits the occurrence of an Instrumental, as shown in the following sentences:

5a. S <sup>A</sup> A / <sup>I</sup> li /sagua sufuria kwa majani na mchanga  
 he past scrub saucepan with grass and sand  
 [A - I - O]

5b. G <sup>A</sup> y / <sup>I</sup> a /iriry / e esefulia n' /ebisubi n' /ensenye  
 he dist scrub past saucepan with grass and sand  
 past  
 [A - I - O]

E He scrubbed the saucepan with grass and sand.

6a. S <sup>I</sup> Jembe <sup>O</sup> li/ li /anza kazi  
 hoe it past start work  
 [I - O]

6b. G <sup>I</sup> Enkumbi e/tandiiki/ re <sup>O</sup> omulimo [I - O]  
 hoe it start past work

E The hoe started work.

7a. S <sup>I</sup> Maswali ~~ya~~ namna hiyo <sup>E</sup> ya / na / ni /sumbua [I - E]  
 questions kind that they pres me worry

7b. G <sup>I</sup> Ebibuuzo nga ebyo <sup>E</sup> bi / n /sumbuwa [I - E]  
 questions like those they me worry

E Questions of that sort worry me.

There are no deep structure case frames that contain only an Instrumental case role, in both Swahili and Gwere. And in the surface structure, an Instrumental role rarely occurs singly in a sentence. It only does so in instances where the co-occurring Objective or Experiencer NP is determinable from the context (that is, when the Objective or Experiencer NP is optional only in the surface structure) (cf the discussion in 2.0.1.1), as in 8, for example:

8a. S Mapenzi y/ a /ua [I]  
 love it pres kill

8b. G Oku/taka kw/ita  
 inf love it kill

E Love kills.

The Objective role may co-occur in 8 as shown in 9:

9a. S <sup>I</sup> Mapenzi y/ a / <sup>O</sup> wa /ua watu wengi [I - O]  
 love it pres them kill people many

9b. G <sup>I</sup> Oku/taka kw/ita <sup>O</sup> abantu bangi [I - O]  
 inf love it kill people many

E Love kills many people.

In Swahili and Gwere, the Instrumentals may be semantically subdivided into three categories:



1. Motivational Instrumentals.
2. Manipulatable Instrumentals.
3. Causal Instrumentals.

1. The Motivational Instrumentals

Among the Instrumentals identified in this study as motivational are those given in the following sentences:

- 10a. S     <sup>A</sup> Wa / li / i / chukua mali     <sup>O</sup> yake kwa     <sup>(I)</sup> dhuluma  
           they past it take     property his     through tyranny
- 10b. G     <sup>A</sup> B / a / nyagi / re     <sup>O</sup> ebintu bye mu     <sup>(I)</sup> /buluvu  
           they dist grab     past things his through greed  
           past
- [A - (I) - O]
- E     They seized his property { in tyranny  
   through greed.
- 11a. S     <sup>A</sup> Wenza     /ke wote wa / li / kimbia kwa woga     <sup>(I)</sup> [A - (I)]  
           companions his all     they past fly     in fear
- 11b. G     <sup>A</sup> Abaina / ye bonabona ba / iruki / re     <sup>(I)</sup> mu / buti     [A - (I)]  
           companions his all     they fly     past in fear
- E     All his companions fled in fear.
- 12a. S     <sup>A</sup> A / na / cheza     <sup>(I)</sup> kwa ulevi     [A - (I)]  
           he pres dance with drunkenness
- 12b. G     <sup>A</sup> A / bina     <sup>(I)</sup> mu / butemeere     [A - (I)]  
           he dance with drunkenness
- E     He is dancing in drunkenness.
- 13a. S     <sup>A</sup> Wa / li / m / piga     <sup>O</sup> kwa ukorofi     <sup>(I)</sup> [A - (I) - O]  
           they past him beat for brutality

13b. G B / a /mu /kubi / re lw'<sup>(I)</sup>/eitima [A - (I) - 0]  
 they dist him beat past for brutality  
 past

E They beat him for brutality.

14a. S <sup>E</sup> Ni/ li /pona kwa <sup>(I)</sup> uaminifu [E - (I)]  
 I past be cured through belief

14b. G N/ a /wone /re lw'<sup>(I)</sup> /okwesiga [E - (I)]  
 I dist be cured past through belief  
 past

E I got cured through belief.

Two things are peculiar to the Instrumentals shown in 10-14. First, they are all optional to the case frames (as indicated above). Secondly, their exponents are types of attributes to the referents of NPs filling co-occurring Agentive, Objective or Experiencer roles. And these attributive NPs are so dependent on the referent NPs that they cannot occur without them. In 10a, for example, the Agentive may not be deleted to leave the Instrumental to co-occur with the Objective:

15a. S\* <sup>(I)</sup> Udhalimu u/ li / i/chukua mali yake [(I) - 0]  
 tyranny it past it take property his

E Tyranny took his property.

And it is not the case that the predicator -chukua (take) does not allow an Instrumental to occur without the Agentive. As may be seen in 16, other Instrumentals (to be discussed below) may occur without the Agentive:

16a. S <sup>(I)</sup> Gari li/ li / i/chukua mali yake [(I) - 0]  
 Car it past it take property his

E The car took his property.

- 16b. S <sup>(I)</sup> Ku / jenga ku / li / i / chukua mali yake [(I) - 0]  
 inf build inf past it take property his  
 E Building took his property.

The ungrammaticality of 15a. is then due to the inability of the motivational Instrumental to occur without a referent role. 17 is also ungrammatical for the same reason:

- 17a. S \* <sup>I</sup> Ukorofi u / li / m / kata [I - 0]  
 brutality it past him cut

- 17b. G \* <sup>I</sup> Eitima ly / a / mu / sali / re [I - 0]  
 brutality it dist him cut past  
 past

E Brutality cut him.

Since the motivational Instrumentals (such as those in 10-14) always stand in attributive relationship to one other co-occurring role (Agentive, Experiencer or Objective) and may not occur in a sentence without the referent role concerned, we may argue that they originate in complex propositions in the deep structure where they occur in case frames embedded in a case role of the higher proposition. It would thus follow that the Agentive, Experiencer, or Objective role to which a motivational Instrumental is attributed is filled with a complex NP derived from an underlying sentence in which the embedded predicate becomes Instrumental while the embedded case role becomes Agentive, Experiencer or Objective in the case frame of the higher proposition. It is, therefore, suggested here that sentences 10, 13, and 14 have deep structures as in figures 7, 8, and 9, respectively.

Figure 7

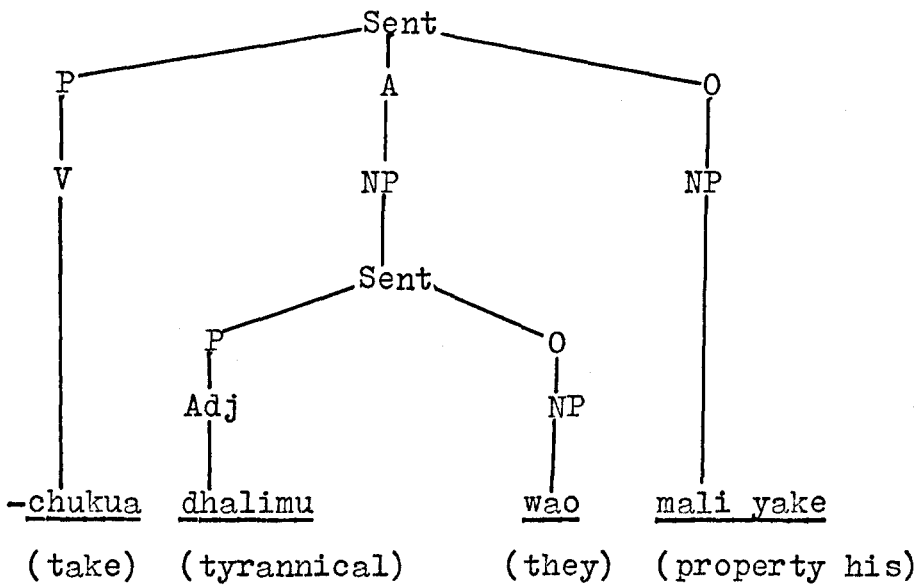


Figure 8

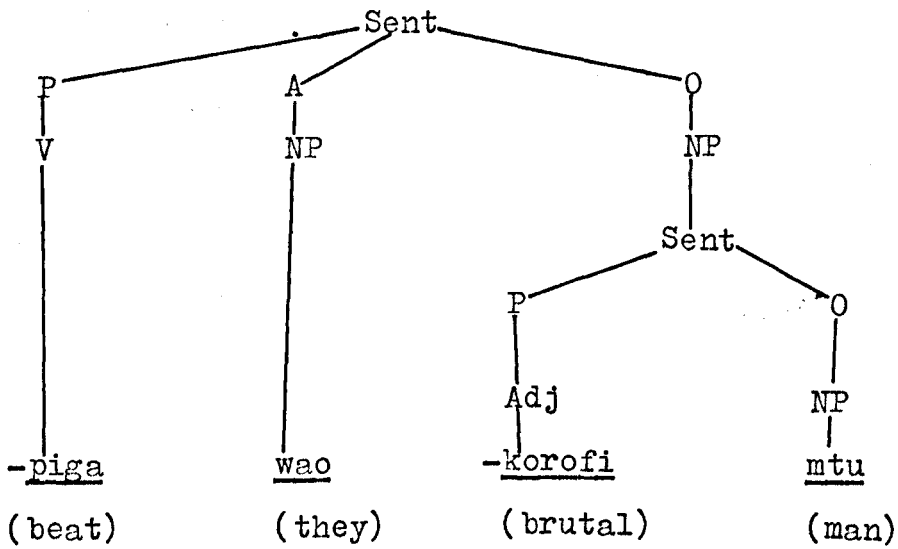
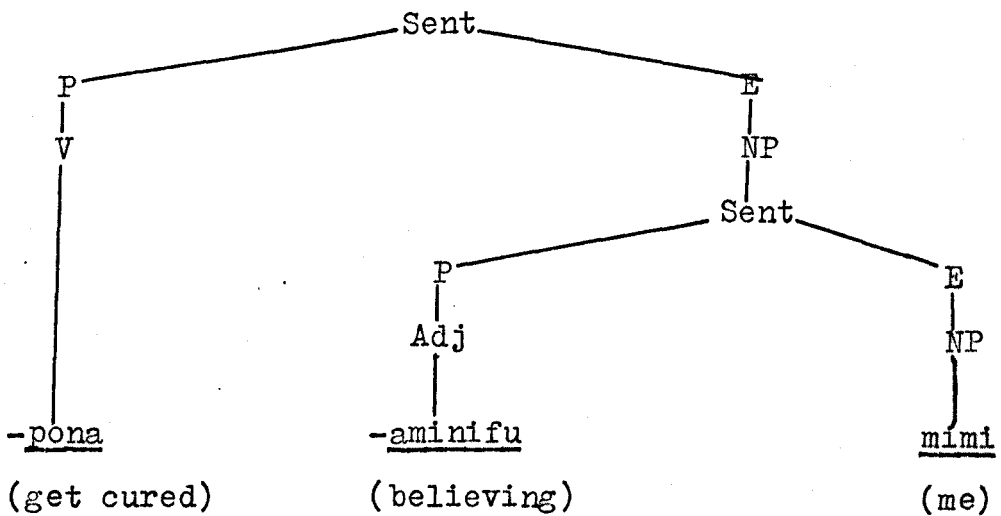


Figure 9



After the deletion of the embedded sentence nodes, NPs of the embedded case roles become the exponents of the case roles of the higher propositions (the Agentive in figure 7; the Objective in figure 8; and the Experiencer in figure 9) while the embedded predicates are nominalized into Instrumentals (as in 10, 13 and 14). Thus, the motivational Instrumentals are considered to be derived case roles (parallel to the Partitives and some Locatives (as pointed out in 2.0.2.2); they do not occur in deep structure as Instrumentals.

2. The Manipulatable Instrumentals

Examples of the manipulatable Instrumentals are shown in the following sentences:

- 18a. S Ni/ li /mw /arifu habari <sup>(I)</sup> kwa barua [A - (I) - E - O]  
 I past her inform news by letter
- 18b. G N / a / mu/tegeze /re <sup>(I)</sup> amawulire mu baluwa.  
 I dist her inform past news by letter  
 past  
 [A - (I) - E - O]
- E I told her the news by letter.
- 19a. S A / me /ni/kata <sup>I</sup> kwa jembe [A - I - O]  
 he past me cut with hoe
- 19b. G A / n/temme/ re <sup>I</sup> n' /enkumbi [A - I - O]  
 he me cut past with hoe
- E He has cut me with a hoe.
- 20a. S Ni/ me / m /choma <sup>I</sup> kwa kisu [A - I - O]  
 I past him pierce with knife
- 20b. G M/ mu/sumuti / re <sup>I</sup> n' /ekiso [A - I - O]  
 I him pierce past with knife

E I have pierced him with a knife.

Unlike the motivational Instrumentals, the manipulatable Instrumentals in 18-20 are not attributed to any of the co-occurring roles (though there may be strong dependency relations holding between the manipulatable Instrument and the Agentive). But though there may be role dependency relations between the Agentive and the manipulatable Instrumental, the latter role may occur without the former, unlike the motivational Instrumentals which cannot occur without the referent roles (as shown above). In the following sentences, the Instrumentals in 18-20 occur without the Agentives:

21a. S <sup>I</sup>  
barua i/ li / mw/arifu habari [I - 0]  
letter it past her inform news

21b. G <sup>I</sup>  
ebaluwa y/ a / mu/tegeze /re amawulire [I - E - 0]  
letter it dist her inform past news  
past

E The letter brought her the news.

22a. S <sup>I</sup>  
jembe li/ me /ni/kata [I - 0]  
hoe it past me cut

22b. G <sup>I</sup>  
enkumbi e/ n/temme/re [I - 0]  
hoe it me cut past

E The hoe has cut me.

23a. S <sup>I</sup>  
Kisu ki/ me /ni/choma [I - 0]  
knife it past me pierce

23b. G <sup>I</sup>  
Akambe ka/ n/sumuti /re [I - 0]  
knife it me pierce past

E The knife has pierced me.

It would seem that all the case frames which permit a manipulatable Instrumental may allow the Agentive to co-occur (as in 18-20). The Instrumentals in 18-23 are not in attributive relationship to any of the co-occurring case roles and they are only optional if the Agentive co-occurs. Using the sentences in 18 and 21 as examples, it is shown that the Instruments S barua (letter) and G baluwa (letter) may not occur in 18 (as in 24):

24a. S <sup>A</sup> Ni/ li / mw/arifu habari [A - E - O]  
I past her tell news

24b. G N/ a /mu /tegeze/ re amawulire [A - E - O]  
I dist her tell past news  
E I <sup>past</sup> told her the news.

But these Instrumentals may not be deleted if the Agentive does not occur. 21a/21b without the Instrumentals would be non-sentences as shown in 25:

25a. S \*<sub>m</sub> / li /arifu habari [E - O]  
her past tell news

25b. G \* mw / a /tegeze/re mawulire [E - O]  
her dist tell past news  
past

E LIT: "her told news."

The manipulatable Instrumentals may therefore be obligatory to a case frame (unlike the motivational ones).

We may then say that manipulatable Instrumentals occur in simplex propositions in which they can co-occur with the Agentive role. They occur in the deep structure as Instrumentals; they are not normally bound to the exponents of other case roles (as is the case with the motivational Instrumentals).

3. The Causal Instrumentals

Like the manipulatable Instrumentals, the Causal Instrumentals do not occur in attributive relationship to some other role. But unlike the former subgroup of Instrumentals, the latter is in complementary distribution with the Agentives. Agentives may not occur in the following sentences which contain the causal Instrumentals:

- 26a. S <sup>I</sup> Homa i/ li / m /shika [ I - 0 ]  
 fever it past him seize
- 26b. G <sup>I</sup> Omusujja gw/ a /mu /kwait/e [ I - 0 ]  
 fever it dist him seize past  
 past  
 E He caught fever.
- 27a. S <sup>I</sup> Jua li/ ta/ wa /piga [ I - 0 ]  
 sun it fut them beat  
 E LIT: "The sun will beat them."
- 27b. G <sup>I</sup> Eisana ly/ a / ba /mamula [ I - 0 ]  
 sun it fut them burn  
 E The sun will burn them.
- 28a. S <sup>I</sup> Mvua i/ me / i /haribu migomba [ I - 0 ]  
 rain it past them destroy plantains
- 28b. G <sup>I</sup> Oikendi a/wulumbwir/ e olusuku [ I - 0 ]  
 rain it destroy past plantain  
 E The rain has destroyed the plantains.

29 in which the Agentive co-occurs with the causal Instrumental is ungrammatical:



29a. S\* <sup>A</sup> / li / m / shika <sup>I</sup> kwa homa [A - I - O]  
 he past him seize with fever

29b. G\* <sup>A</sup> / a / mu/kwait / e <sup>I</sup> n' / omusujja [A - I - O]  
 he dist him seize past with fever  
 past

E LIT: "He seized him with fever."

Like the manipulatable Instrumentals in 21-23 (above) the causal Instrumentals in 26-29 may not be deleted. 27 (above) without the Instrumental is ungrammatical, as illustrated in 30:

30a. S\* wa / ta/piga [O]  
 them fut beat

30b. G\* ba / a / mamula [O]  
 them fut burn

E LIT: "them burn."

The causal Instrumentals then often occur obligatory to a case frame. We may then say that causal Instrumentals occur in simplex propositions in which they may not co-occur with the Agentives.

The Instrumentals are, therefore, semantically of several different categories which may be distinguished in terms of their deep structure distributional characteristics (as discussed in 1-3 above).

However, in surface structure, the Instrumentals have largely the same distributional characteristics.

A number of factors govern the distribution of the Instrumentals in surface structure. They are not normally selected object;<sup>15</sup> Instrumentals occur mainly as subject and adjunct, or as unmarked NPs. But while no definite property governs their occurrence as adjuncts or unmarked NPs, their selection as subjects depends on the potentiality of the given predicator to permit an Agentive; only if the predicator permits an A can the I role become surface structure subject, but an Instrumental cannot be

selected subject when the Agentive co-occurs.<sup>16</sup>

The predicators S -waka (be alight), G -aka (be alight); S -ungua (be burnt), G -ya (be burnt); S -lowa (get wet), G -doda (get wet); S -tota (get soaked), G -dondo bala (get soaked); S -staajabu (be surprised), G -yasama (be surprised); and S -tetemeka (shiver), G -dagaizira (shiver), for example, require Instrumentals in their obligatory case frames. But since these predicators do not permit the Agentive,<sup>17</sup> they do not have the Instrumentals in subject position. 31-32 where the Instrumentals occur as unmarked NPs or adjuncts are possible:

31a. S   Watu   wa / li /lowa    <sup>I</sup>jasho                    [ I - O ]  
           people they past get wet sweat

31b. G   Abantu ba /dode / re n' /<sup>I</sup>olwota                    [ I - O ]  
           people they get wet past with sweat  
       E   The people were wet with sweat.

32a. S   <sup>E</sup>Ni/ li /staajabu    <sup>I</sup>ku /ona nguvu zake                    [ I - E ]  
           I   past be surprised inf see energy hers

32b. G   <sup>E</sup>N/ a /yasami        /re oku/<sup>I</sup>wona amanige                    [ I - E ]  
           I dist be surprised past inf see energy hers  
           past  
       E   I was surprised to see her energy.

But 33-34 where the Instrumentals occur as subject are ungrammatical:

33a. S \* jasho i/ li / wa /lowa                                    [ I - O ]  
           sweat it past them be wet

33b. G \* Olwota lw/ a / ba /dode /re                            [ I - O ]  
           sweat it dist them be wet past  
           past  
       E   Sweat wetted them.

34a. S \*  $\overset{I}{\underline{I}}$  / li /  $\overset{E}{ni}$  / staajabu       $\overset{I}{ku}$  /  $\overset{I}{ona}$  nguvu zake      [  $\overline{I}$  -  $\overline{E}$  ]  
 It past me be surprised inf see energy hers

34b. G \*  $\overset{I}{\underline{Ky}}$  / a /  $\overset{E}{n}$  / jasami      /re       $\overset{I}{oku}$  /  $\overset{I}{wona}$  amani ge      [  $\overline{I}$  -  $\overline{E}$  ]  
 it dist me be surprised past inf see energy hers  
 past

E It surprised me to see her energy.

Similarly, 35 is possible, but 36 is not:

35a. S       $\overset{O}{Wa}$  / li / tetemeka  $\overset{I}{kwa}$  woga      [  $\overline{I}$  -  $\overline{O}$  ]  
 they past tremble with fear

35b. G       $\overset{O}{B}$  / a / dagaizir/e       $\overset{I}{n'}$  /  $\overset{I}{obuti}$       [  $\overline{I}$  -  $\overline{O}$  ]  
 they dist tremble past with fear  
 past

E They trembled with fear.

36a. S \*  $\overset{I}{\underline{Woga}}$   $\overset{I}{i}$  / li / wa / tetemeka      [  $\overline{I}$  -  $\overline{O}$  ]  
 fear it past them tremble

36b. S \*  $\overset{I}{\underline{Obuti}}$   $\overset{I}{bw}$  / a / ba / dagaizi/re      [  $\overline{I}$  -  $\overline{O}$  ]  
 fear it dist them tremble past  
 past

E LIT: "Fear trembled them!"

E They trembled with fear.

I roles in the deep structures underlying such sentences as 33, 34 and 36 may become subject (dependent on the predicator), but also depending on whether an Agentive can occur (as noted in footnote 17 chapter 2).

To provide further evidence supporting the claim that Instrumentals become subject only if the predicators concerned can permit Agentives, we shall consider some pairs of semantically related predicators which are differentiated by the presence of an Agentive role in the case frame of one predicator and its absence from that of the other. Such pairs include, for instance,

S -fa (die)/-ua (kill), G -fa (die)/-ita (kill) and S -ungua (be burnt)/-choma (burn), G -ya (be burnt)/-yokya (burn). It will be found that only the predicators

S -ua (kill) G -ita (kill)

and S -choma (burn) G -yokya (burn)

which have case frame [A - I - O] may have Instrumental subjects.

The predicators

S -fa (die) G -fa (die)

and S -ungua (be burnt) G -ya (be burnt)

which have case frame [I - O] do not allow the Instrumentals to become subject. In 37 and 38, predicators S -ua (kill) and G -ita (kill) are shown with the Agentive or Instrumental as subject:

37a. S <sup>A</sup> Simba a/ li / wa /ua [A - O]  
lion he past them kill

37b. G <sup>A</sup> Ompologoma y/ a / ba /iti /re [A - O]  
lion he dist them kill past  
past

E The lion killed them.

38a. S <sup>I</sup> Risasi li/ li /mw /ua [I - O]  
bullet it past him kill

38b. G <sup>I</sup> Eisasi ly/ a / mw/iti /re [I - O]  
bullet it dist him kill past  
past

E The bullet killed him.

But predicators S -fa (die), G -fa (die) only allow the Instrumentals to become adjunct or an unmarked NP, as in 39

39a. S O (I)  
A / li /ku /fa kwa homa [(I) - O]  
he past inf die of fever

39b. G O (I)  
Y / a /fi /re musujja [(I) - O]  
he dist die past fever  
past

E He died of fever.

The sentences in 40 in which the Instrumentals have become subject are ungrammatical.

40a. S \* <sup>(I)</sup> Homa <sub>i/</sub> li / <sup>0</sup> m / ku/fa [I] - [0]  
 fever it past him inf die

40b. G \* <sup>(I)</sup> Omusujja gw/ a / mu/fi /re [I] - [0]  
 fever it dist him die past  
 past

E LIT: "The fever died him."

Both Swahili and Gwere, therefore, have condition 4A:

Condition 4A

Only predicates which permit the A role in their case frame (that is, those which can occur in case frame [A]-----) allow Instrumentals to become surface structure subject.

But according to Rule 1 the Agentive becomes subject when it occurs in a given case frame. (See 2.0.2.1).

It is then only when the Agentive is not present that the Instrumental becomes subject as shown in the following sentences:

41a. S <sup>I</sup> Uchangamfu wao <sub>u/</sub> li / <sup>E</sup> ni/vuta [I] - [E]  
 liveliness their it past me attract

41b. G <sup>I</sup> Obusagaluki wawe <sub>bw/</sub> a / <sup>E</sup> n/kusi /re [I] - [E]  
 liveliness their it dist me attract past  
 past

E Their liveliness attracted me.

42a. S <sup>I</sup> Ile nguo nyeusi <sub>i/</sub> li / <sup>0</sup> m / funika [I] - [0]  
 that cloth black it past her cover

42b. G <sup>I</sup> Olugoye olwilugazu <sub>lu/</sub> <sup>0</sup> mu/sereke /re [I] - [0]  
 cloth black it her cover past

E The black cloth covered her

43a. S <sup>I</sup> Chakula ki/ me /<sup>O</sup>ni/choma [I - O]  
 food it past me burn

43b. G <sup>I</sup> Emmere e/ n/<sup>O</sup>jokye/rye [I - O]  
 food it me burn past

E The food has burnt me.

Some other predicators which permit either an A or an I or both (that is those which select case frame  $[(A)(I)-----]$ ) are the following:

- |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| S <u>-dhuru</u> (injure)    | G <u>-wota</u> (victimize) |
| S <u>-shika</u> (seize)     | G <u>-kwata</u> (seize)    |
| S <u>-tia</u> (put)         | G <u>-leta</u> (bring)     |
| S <u>-saidia</u> (help)     | G <u>-yamba</u> (help)     |
| S <u>-bashiri</u> (predict) | G <u>-lagula</u> (predict) |
| S <u>-choma</u> (pierce)    | G <u>-sumuta</u> (pierce)  |
| S <u>-funga</u> (tie)       | G <u>-siba</u> (tie)       |
| S <u>-piga</u> (beat)       | G <u>-kuba</u> (beat)      |
| S <u>-kata</u> (cut)        | G <u>-temma</u> (chop)     |

However, there are some predicators which occur in case frames containing an obligatory Agentive and an optional Instrumental (that is, case frame  $[A(I)-----]$ ). Since the Instrumental may become subject only when the Agentive is not present, it follows that those predicates do not allow the Instrumentals to become subject. (Except in instances noted in Footnote 16 Chapter 2). In all the following sentences, for example, the Instrumentals have become adjuncts:

44a. S <sup>A</sup> Wenza /ke wote wa / me /<sup>(I)</sup>kimbia kwa woga [A - (I)]  
 companions his all they past fly in fear

44b. G Abaina / ye bonabone ba /<sup>(I)</sup>iruki/re olw'/obuti [A - (I)]  
 companions his all they fly past in fear

E All his companions have fled for fear.

45a. S <sup>A</sup> Ni/ li /kaa hospitali/ni kwa ugonjwa wa mke wangu (I)  
 I past stay hospital in due illness of wife my  
 [A - (I) - L]

45b. G <sup>A</sup> N/ a /tyaim/e omw/idwaliro oku/bulwaire bw' (I)  
 I dist stay past in hospital on illness of  
 past  
omukyala wange [A - (I) - L]  
 wife my

E I stayed in hospital due to my wife's illness.

46a. S <sup>A</sup> Wa /na /endelea na safari yao kwa miguu (I)  
 they pres go on with journey their on foot  
 [A - (I) - O]

46b. G <sup>A</sup> B /eyongera n' /olugendo lwawe n'/ebigere I  
 they go on with journey their on foot  
 [A - (I) - O]

E They are continuing their journey on foot.

The following sentences in which the Instrumentals have become subjects (with the predicators shown in 44-46) are all ungrammatical.

47a. S \* Woga i/ me /kimbia [I]  
 fear it past run away

47b. G \* Okutya kw/iruki /re [I]  
 fear it run away past

E LIT: "Fear has run away."

48a. S \* Ugonjwa wa mke wangu u/ me /kaa hospitali/ni (I)  
 [(I) - L]

48b. G \* <sup>(I)</sup> Obulwaire bw' / omukyala wange w / a / <sup>A</sup> tyaim/ e omw/  
 illness of wife my it dist stay past in  
 past  
 idwaliro [(I) - L]  
 hospital

E LIT: "My wife's illness stayed in hospital."

49a. S \* <sup>(I)</sup> Miguu i / na / <sup>A</sup> endelea na safari [(I) - 0]  
 feet they pres go on with journey

49b. G \* <sup>(I)</sup> ebigere by / <sup>A</sup> eyongera n' olugendo [(I) - 0]  
 feet they go on with journey

E LIT: "The feet are continuing with the journey."

A few other predicators which behave like those in 47-49 are:

S -vaa (dress), G -zwala (dress)

S -ota (warm oneself in the sun or by a fire).

G -yota (warm oneself in the sun or by a fire)

These interrelations between the A and I roles and their surface structure realizations are not affected by the presence of optional S, G, L roles in the case frames concerned.

An apparent counter example to the generalization given above that Instrumentals may only become subject if there is no Agentive in the deep structure are sentences such as 50 and 51:

50a. S <sup>I</sup> Ugonjwa wa mke wangu u/ li / <sup>A</sup> ni/ kalisha hospitali/ ni  
 illness of wife my it past me make stay hospital in  
 [(I) - A - L]

50b. G <sup>I</sup> Obulwaire bw' / omukyala wange bw/ a / <sup>A</sup> n/ tyamisiry/ e  
 illness of wife my it dist me make stay past  
 past  
 omw/idwaliro [(I) - A - L]  
 in hospital

E My wife's illness made me stay in hospital.



51a. S Ukali u / li / m / pigisha mke /we kila siku  
 cruelty it past him make beat wife his every day  
[ I - A - O ]

51b. G Obuzira bu/ mu/kubisya omukuli buli lunaku  
 cruelty it him make beat wife every day  
[ I - A - O ]

E Cruelty makes him beat his wife every day.

(refer to footnote 16 chapter 2).

Rule 4 relates the Instrumental to its surface structure distribution:

Rule 4 (V. Footnote 9 Chapter 2)

- a. The I role may become surface structure subject if condition 4A is satisfied.
- b. Where condition 4A is not met the I role becomes an adjunct or an unmarked NP.

2.0.2.5 LOCATIVES, SOURCES AND GOALS

The defining criterion for a Locative role adopted here is the one given by Charles Fillmore (1968 : 25):

"The case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb."

And that adopted for the Goal role is the one given by Jeffrey Gruber (1970 : 51) who says that in the "Expression of Goal", "the intention is to express the ultimate destination of the motion." The Source, on the other hand expresses the ultimate origin of the motion.

Semantically, Locatives, Sources, and Goals are quite similar. As J. Gruber has noted for English, there is a

"similarity between the locative of Durational verbs and the expression of goal for the Motional verbs" (Gruber 1970 : 53),

and,

"every locative expression may become an expression of goal in the environment of a Motional verb" (ibid).

The same is, apparently, true of Swahili and Gwere. And Gruber's comments on the Goal apply to the Source as well.

The predicators which occur in case frames containing Locatives, Sources and Goals are then largely distinguished syntactically by the following two criteria:

1. Whether the predicator permits all 3 roles in its case frame, or only a subset of them.
2. Whether the case role in question is obligatory or optional.

The main distinction between predicators which occur in case frames containing Locatives, Sources and Goals is that one group permits the selection of any one or two of the 3 case roles (i.e. occurs in case frames  $\boxed{\text{---}((G)(S))(\underline{L})}$ ) whereas the other group requires the selection of either a Source or Goal, in which case the Locative may optionally co-occur (i.e. occurs in case frames  $\boxed{\text{---}^{(G)}(S)(\underline{L})}$ ).

The list of some of the predicators which occur in case frames of type  $\boxed{\text{---}((G)(S))(\underline{L})}$  is given at the end of this section. But the following are some of the surface structure sentence types in which the predicators of this type occur. Predicators S -acha (leave) and G -leka (leave), for instance, must select at least one of the three case roles, as illustrated below. In the sentences in 1, the Locative role has been selected:

1a. S Vitabu wa / li / vi / acha <sup>L</sup> shule /ni  $\boxed{\text{A} - \text{O} - \underline{\text{L}}}$   
 books they past them leave school at

1b. G B / a /leke /re ebitabo <sup>L</sup>okw/isomero [A - O - L]  
 they dist leave past books at school  
 past

E They left the books at school.

In the sentences in 2, the Source role occurs:

2a. S Ndoto ha / zi / ku / <sup>S</sup>wa /acha [O - S]  
 dreams neg they past them leave

2b. G Ebirooto ti / by / a / <sup>S</sup>ba /leke /re [O - S]  
 dreams neg they dist them leave past  
 past

E The dreams never left them.

In the sentences in 3, the Goal role has been selected:

3a. S Vitabu ni/ me / vi /acha kw /<sup>G</sup>ake [A - O - G]  
 books I past them leave with him

3b. G N/deke /re ebitabo na /<sup>G</sup>ye [A - O - G]  
 I leave past books with him

E I have left the books with him.

But other predicators which occur in case frame [A---((G)(S))-(L)] can only occur with either the Locative and Goal, or the Locative and Source. In 4 and 5, the predicators S -kaa (sit) and G -tyama (sit) are shown occurring with the Locative and Goal.

4a. S A / me / kaa <sup>L</sup>kitanda/ni [A - L]  
 he past sit bed on

4b. G A /tyaim/e <sup>L</sup>oku/kitanda [A - L]  
 he sit past on bed

E He is sitting on the bed.

5a. S Joto li/ li / <sup>G</sup>m /kalia [O - G]  
 heat it past into him sit

5b. G Eibugumu ly/ a / <sup>G</sup> mu/tyaim/ e /mu O - G  
 heat it dist him sit past into  
 past

E The heat sat into him.

The predicators S -kaa (sit) and G -tyama (sit) do not occur with the Source role. 6 where the roles in object position are interpreted as being in the Source role are ungrammatical:

6a. S \* Joto li/ li / <sup>(S)</sup> m /kaa O - (S)  
 heat it past from him sit

6b. G \* Eibugumu ly/ a / <sup>(S)</sup> mu /tyaim/ e /mu O - (S)  
 heat it dist him sit past from  
 past

E LIT: "The heat sat from him."

The predicators S - oa (marry), and G -kwa (marry), on the other hand, only permit either the Source or Locative role, as illustrated in 7 and 8, respectively:

7a. S A / li /oa <sup>(S)</sup> Songea A - (S)  
 he past marry (from) Songea

7b. G Y / a /kwo /ire <sup>(S)</sup> Songea A - (S)  
 he dist marry past (from) Songea  
 past

E He got his wife from Songea.

8a. S A / li /olea <sup>(L)</sup> Songea A - (L)  
 he past marry at Songea

8b. G Y / a /kwere /ire <sup>(L)</sup> Songea A - (L)  
 he dist marry at past Songea  
 past

E He married (while) in Songea.

or The wedding took place in Songea.

The sentences in 9 in which the NP Songea is interpreted as being in the Goal Role are ungrammatical:

9a. S \* A / li /oa <sup>(G)</sup> Songea [A - (G)]  
 he past marry (to) Songea

9b. G \* Y / a /kwo /ire <sup>(G)</sup> Songea [A - (G)]  
 he dist marry past (to) Songea  
 past

E LIT: "He married to Songea."

A number of predicators specifically require the selection of either the Source or Goal role (see list at end of this section). This group includes predicators like S -rudi (return) and G -ira (return). In the sentences in 10, these two predicators are shown occurring with the Source role:

10a. S A / me /rudi <sup>S</sup> shamba/ni [O - S]  
 he past return field from

10b. G A /iri /re <sup>S</sup> omu/nimiro [O - S]  
 he return past from field.

E He has returned from the field.

In 11, the same predicators have selected the Goal role (though it is not always the case that the same predicator occurs with either role):

11a. S A / me /rudi <sup>G</sup> nyumba/ni [A - G]  
 he past return home to

11b. G A /iri /re <sup>G</sup> eikka [A - G]  
 he return past home

E He has returned home.

In the sentences in 10 and 11, the Source or Goal roles may only be unmanifested if their referents are contextually determinable (see 2.0.1.1).

As stated above the Locative may co-occur with the obligatory Source or Goal role, as illustrated by the following examples. In

12 the Locative is co-occurring with the Source role:

12a. S A / li /fariki <sup>S</sup> dunia <sup>(L)</sup> huko porini [O - S - (L)]  
 he past die the world there wilds

12b. G Y / a /sebwir/e ekyalo nga a/<sup>(L)</sup>li omu/kibira  
 he dist die past the world while he be in forest  
 past

[O - S - (L)]

E He departed from the world while in the forest.

The sentences in 13 in which the same predicators occur with the Locative alone are ungrammatical:

13a. S\* A / li /fariki <sup>(L)</sup> huko porini [A - (L)]  
 he past die there wilds

13b. G\* Y / a /sebwir/e nga <sup>L</sup> a/li mu/kibira [A - (L)]  
 he dist die past while he be in forest  
 past

E LIT: "He departed (while) there in the (wilds forest.)"

In 14 the Goal co-occurs with the Locative:

14a. S A / me /rudi <sup>G</sup> nyumba/ni <sup>(L)</sup> Songea [A - G - (L)]  
 he past return home to Songea

14b. G A /iri /re /yo <sup>G</sup> ewu /we <sup>(L)</sup> e Mbale [A - G - (L)]  
 he return past to home his in Mbale

E He has returned to his home in Songea (Mbale).

The sentences in 15 can only be grammatical if NPs Songea and Mbale, respectively, are interpreted as filling the Goal role:

15a. S\* A / me /rudi <sup>(L)</sup> Songea [A - (L)]  
 he past return (in) Songea

15b. G\* A /iri /re /yo <sup>(L)</sup> e Mbale [A - (L)]  
 he return past to in Mbale

E "He has returned in {Songea."  
 {Mbale.

The three case roles are thus distinguished in terms of their selection in the deep structure case frames. They are further distinguished in terms of their distribution in surface structure.

In case frames  $\boxed{(A)(O) - \overset{(G)}{(S)} (L)}$  and  $\boxed{(I)(A)-G - O}$  the Goal role may become object, as may be seen in the following sentences:

16a. S  $\overset{A}{Ni/}$   $\overset{G}{li/}$   $\underline{m}$  /fuata  $\boxed{A - G}$   
 I past her follow

16b. G  $\overset{A}{N/}$   $\overset{G}{a/}$   $\underline{mu}$  /senje /rye  $\boxed{A - G}$   
 I dist her follow past  
 past

E I followed her.

17a. S  $\overset{O}{Hofu}$   $\overset{G}{i/}$   $\underline{wa}$  /ingia mioyo /ni  $\boxed{O - G}$   
 fear it past them enter hearts in

17b. G  $\overset{O}{Okutya}$   $\overset{G}{kw/}$   $\overset{G}{a/}$   $\underline{ba}$  /ngiir/e omu/myoyo  $\boxed{O - G}$   
 fear it dist them enter past in hearts  
 past

E Fear entered their hearts.

18a. S  $\overset{G}{Ni/}$   $\overset{G}{ta/}$   $\underline{m}$  /pa  $\overset{O}{vitu}$   $\overset{O}{vyake}$   $\boxed{A - G - O}$   
 I fut him give things his

18b. G  $\overset{G}{N/}$   $\overset{G}{a/}$   $\underline{mu}$  /wa  $\overset{O}{ebintu}$  bye  $\boxed{A - G - O}$   
 I dist him give things his  
 past

E I shall give him his things.

19a. S  $\overset{I}{Mambo}$   $\overset{I}{hayo}$   $\overset{I}{yote}$   $\overset{I}{ya}$  /  $\overset{G}{li/}$   $\underline{wa}$  /tia hofu kubwa  
 things those all they past them put fear great

19b. G  $\overset{I}{Ebintu}$   $\overset{I}{ebyo}$   $\overset{I}{byonabyona}$   $\overset{I}{by}$  /  $\overset{G}{a/}$   $\underline{ba}$  /lete ir/e  
 things those all they dist them bring past  
 past

19b. cont'd ..

okutya kunene

[ I - G - O ]

fear great

E All those things put them in great fear.

The Goal role may become an adjunct as illustrated below:  
18

20a. S Ile barua wa / li / i/peleka baraza/ni [ A - O - G ]

that letter they past it take centre to

20b. G <sup>A</sup>B / a /twair/e ebaluwa oku/mbuga [ A - O - G ]

they dist take past letter to centre  
past

E They took that letter to the administrative centre.

21a. S Ni/ta /ku /ja kw/ako [ A - G ]

I fut inf come to you

21b. G N/ a /iza egy / o /li [ A - G ]

I fut come where you be

E I shall come to you.

With a number of predicators the Goal role becomes an adjunct or an unmarked NP whenever it occurs. This includes predicators

like S - <u>husu</u> (concern)	G - <u>kwata</u> (concern)
S - <u>zungunza</u> (be about)	G - <u>fa</u> (be about)
S - <u>geuka</u> (turn into)	G - <u>suuka</u> (turn into)
S - <u>fanya</u> (make into)	G - <u>fuula</u> (make into)

as shown in the following sentences:

22a. S Mambo haya ya / na /husu watu wangi [ O - G ]  
matters these they pres concern people many

22b. G Ebintu binu bi /kwata oku/bantu bangi [ O - G ]  
matters these they concern on people many

E These matters concern many people.



- 23a. S Hadithi hii i / na /zungumza juu <sup>G</sup> ya msichana mwaminifu  
 story this it pres talk about of girl honest  
 [O - G]
- 23b. G Olugero lunu lu/fa ku/ <sup>G</sup> mwala omwesigwa [O - G]  
 story this it be about girl honest  
 E This story is about an honest girl.
- 24a. S Nyumba yetu i / me /geuka <sup>G</sup> jalala [O - G]  
 house our it past turn rubbish heap
- 24b. G Enyumba yaisu e /suki /re <sup>G</sup> kibomboizi [O - G]  
 house our it become past rubbish heap  
 E Our house has turned into a rubbish heap.
- 25a. S Mbuzi wangu a <sup>A</sup> / me <sup>O</sup> /m /fanya <sup>G</sup> mali yake [A - O - G]  
 goat my he past it make possession his
- 25b. G Ombuli wange a <sup>A O</sup> /mu/fir /e <sup>G</sup> wugaiga we [A - O - G]  
 goat my he it make past possession his  
 E He has made my goat his own.
- The Goal role may become subject as shown in 26-27:
- 26a. S <sup>G</sup> Tu/ li /jaa masikitiko [O - G]  
 we past be full sorrow
- 26b. G <sup>G</sup> Tw/ a /izwir /e enaku [O - G]  
 we dist be full past sorrow  
 past  
 E We were full of sorrow.
- 27a. S <sup>G</sup> Ku / me /fika kw/etu mgeni [A - G]  
 There past arrive to ours visitor
- 27b. G <sup>G</sup> E /waisu e /izi /re /yo omugeni [A - G]  
 there ours there come past to visitor  
 E We have received a visitor.

A number of predicators have the Goal role restricted to the subject position. These include predicators

S -hitaji (lack)

G -damba (lack)

S -stahili (deserve)

G -gwana (deserve)

as illustrated in the following ~~predicator~~ sentences:

28a.(i) S <sup>G</sup> Duka hili li/ na /hitaji wanunuzi [ O - G ]  
shop this it pres lack customers

E This shop lacks customers.

(ii) S <sup>G</sup> Wanunuzi wa / na /hitaji duka [ O - G ]  
customers they pres lack shop

E The customers lack a shop.

28b.(i) G <sup>G</sup> Eiduka linu li/damba abaguli [ O - G ]  
shop this it lack customers

E This shop lacks customers.

(ii) G <sup>G</sup> Abaguli ba /damba eiduka [ O - G ]  
customers they lack shop

E The customers lack a shop.

29a(ii) and 29b(ii) where the Goal role has become object of the predicators S -stahili (deserve) and G -gwana (deserve) are ungrammatical, but 29a(i) and 29b(i) where it has become subject are grammatical

29a.(i) S <sup>G</sup> Mateso h / a/stahili radhi yangu [ O - G ]  
Mateso neg he deserve pardon my

E Mateso does not deserve my pardon.

(ii) S\* <sup>G</sup> radhi yangu ha / i/ m /stahili Mateso [ O - G ]  
pardon my neg it him deserve Mateso

E "My pardon does not deserve Mateso."

29b.(i) G <sup>G</sup> Oyo t / a/gwana ekisa kyange [ O - G ]  
he that neg he deserve mercy my

E He does not deserve my mercy.

- (ii) G \* ekisa kyange ti /ki/<sup>G</sup>mu /swana [O - G]  
 mercy my neg it him deserve  
 E "My mercy does not deserve him."

Like the Goal role, the Source role may become surface structure object, as may be seen in the following sentences:

- 30a. S Mtoto a / me / <sup>(S)</sup>m /kimbia <sup>(S)</sup>mbwa mkali [A - (S)]  
 child he past him fly dog fierce

- 30b. G Omwana a / <sup>(S)</sup>mw/iruki/re <sup>(S)</sup>ombwa omuzira [A - (S)]  
 child he him fly past dog fierce  
 E The child has fled from the fierce dog.

- 31a. S Machozi ya / li / <sup>S</sup>m /tiririka [O - S]  
 tears they past him run

- 31b. G Amaliga ga / <sup>S</sup>mu/tiriki/re [O - S]  
 tears they him run past  
 E LIT: "Tears run from him."  
 E He burst into tears.

- 32a. S Wote wa / li / <sup>(S)</sup>m /ficha <sup>O</sup>habari mbaya hizi [A - (S) - O]  
 All they past him hide news bad these

- 32b. G Bonabona ba / <sup>(S)</sup>mu/bisi/re amawulire amabibi [A - (S) - O]  
 All they him hide past news bad  
 E They all hid the bad news from him.

The Source role may become an adjunct, as illustrated in 33:

- 33a. S Onyo lingine li/ me /toka <sup>S</sup>kwa mw /enye/kiti  
 suggestion other it past come from he own chair

- 33b. G Ekirowozo ekindi ki/zwir/e <sup>S</sup>eri mukulu w'/entebe [O - S]  
 suggestion other it come past from chief of chair  
 E Another suggestion has come from the chairman.

The Source role may also become subject, as shown below:

34a. S     <sup>S</sup>  
           A / me /tiririka machozi                     [O - S]  
           he past run             tears

34b. G     <sup>S</sup>  
           A / ga /tiriki/ re amaliga                     [O - S]  
           he them run         past tears

E He has burst into tears.

The Locative role is distinguished from both the Goal and Source roles by not becoming surface structure object. The sentences in 35 in which the Locative role has been made object are ungrammatical:

35a. S\* Watu wengi wa / me / <sup>L</sup>pa /kaa hapa             [A - L]  
           people many they past here settle here

35b. G\* Abantu bangi ba / wa /tyaim / e <sup>L</sup>anu             [A - L]  
           people many they here settle past here

E Many people have settled here.

The Locatives normally become surface structure adjuncts or unmarked NPs, as may be seen in 36-37:

36a. S Gari li/ me /simama <sup>L</sup>njia/ni                     [O - L]  
           car it past stop way on

36b. G Ekiruka ky/emereir/ e <sup>L</sup>omu/nzira                     [O - L]  
           car it stop past on way

E The car has stopped on the way.

37a. S Wao wa /na /lala <sup>L</sup>chini                     [O - L]  
           those they pres sleep ground

37b. G Abo ba /gona <sup>L</sup>ansi                     [O - L]  
           those they sleep ground

E They sleep on the floor.

Locatives may become subjects, as shown in 38-39:

38a. S <sup>L</sup> Mjini pa / me / ku/ fa watoto wengi [O - L]  
town there past inf die children many

38b. G <sup>L</sup> Omu/kibuga mu / fi/ re /mu abana bangi [O - L]  
in town in die past in children many  
E LIT: "In town there has died many children."  
E Many children have died in town.

39a. S <sup>L</sup> Njia hii i / na /pita watu wengi [A - L]  
road this it pres pass people many

39b. G <sup>L</sup> Enzira enu e /bita/mu abantu bangi [A - L]  
road this it pass in people many  
E LIT: "This road passes many people."  
E Many people pass along this road.

However, although all the three case roles may become subject (as illustrated above) there are some restrictions which distinguish them in that function.

In accordance with rule 1 (2.0.2.1), the Source role may not become subject if it co-occurs with an Agentive.

The Locatives also only become subject in case frames  $[(A)(O) - ((S)(G))(L)]$ , they may not do so in  $[(A)(O) - (S)(L)]$  case frames. 40 in which the Locative role has been made subject from underlying case frame  $[O - G(L)]$  is ungrammatical.

40a. S\* <sup>L</sup> Njia/ni pa / li /mw /ingia hofu [O - G - (L)]  
way on there past him enter fear

40b. G\* <sup>L</sup> Omu/nzira mw / a / ba /ngiir/ e okutya [O - G(L)]  
on way there dist them enter past fear  
past

E On the way, fear entered their hearts.

Similarly, 40 in which the Locative role has been made subject from underlying case frame  $\boxed{A - G(L)}$  is ungrammatical.

41a. S \*  $\overset{(L)}{\text{Songea}} \text{ pa/ me /rudi myumba/ni bibi}$   $\boxed{A - G(L)}$

Songea at past return home to grandmother

41b. G \*  $\overset{(L)}{\text{E Songea}} \text{ wa/ iri / re /yo eikka ozeiza}$   $\boxed{A - G(L)}$

Songea at return past at home grandmother

E LIT: "At Songea has returned home grandmother."

E Grandmother has returned home in Songea.

The Locatives may then become subject only when a Source or Goal does not occur. Consequently, the Locatives may not become subject with predicates which require an obligatory Goal or Source, whereas the Goal may become subject in those contexts.

As shown above, both the Source and Goal may become objects. It will be shown (in Chapter 2 part 2) that the predicators which allow both roles to become objects have the Goal role marked by a suffix in the predicate.

The rules relating the three case roles to the surface structure relations are as follows:

Rule 5 (V. footnote 9 Chapter 2)

S, G, L and subject position

- a. The Source role may become subject in case frame  $\boxed{O - \overset{(G)}{(S)} (L)}$ .
- b. The Goal role may become subject in case frame  $\boxed{(A)(O) - \overset{(G)}{(S)} (L)}$ .
- c. The Locative role may become subject in case frame  $\boxed{(A)(O) - ((S)(G))(L)}$

S, G, L and object position

- d. The Source and Goal roles may become object in case frames  $\boxed{(A)(O) - \overset{(G)}{(S)} (L)}$ ,  $\boxed{(I)(A) - (G)(S) - O}$  and  $\boxed{(A)(O) - ((S)(G))(L)}$ .

Some of the predicators which occur in case frames

$\boxed{(A)(O) - \left\{ \begin{matrix} (G) \\ (S) \end{matrix} \right\} (L)}$ ,  $\boxed{(I)(A) - \left\{ \begin{matrix} (G) \\ (S) \end{matrix} \right\} - O - (L)}$  and

$\boxed{(A)(O) - ((G)(S))(L)}$

Swahili

$\boxed{(A)(O) - \left\{ \begin{matrix} (G) \\ (S) \end{matrix} \right\} (L)}$

$\boxed{(I)(A) - \left\{ \begin{matrix} (G) \\ (S) \end{matrix} \right\} - O - (L)}$

$\boxed{(A)(O) - ((G)(S))(L)}$

- |   |                                    |                          |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| - <u>rudi</u> (return)                  | - <u>peleka</u> (deliver, send)    | - <u>oa</u> (marry)      |
| - <u>enda</u> (go)                      | - <u>tupa</u> (throw)              | - <u>baki</u> (remain)   |
| - <u>toka</u> (get out)                 | - <u>weka</u> (put)                | - <u>ishi</u> (live)     |
| - <u>ota</u> (spring up)                | - <u>chukua</u> (take)             | - <u>kaa</u> (sit, live) |
| - <u>ingia</u> (enter)                  | - <u>twaa</u> (take)               | - <u>pita</u> (pass)     |
| - <u>fika</u> (arrive)                  | - <u>ficha</u> (hide)              | - <u>acha</u> (leave)    |
| - <u>jaa</u> (be full)                  | - <u>tia</u> (put)                 | - <u>kimbia</u> (run)    |
| - <u>ja</u> (come)                      | - <u>leta</u> (bring)              | - <u>tembea</u> (walk)   |
| - <u>tua</u> (set, of sun)              | - <u>kopa</u> (borrow)             | - <u>simama</u> (stand)  |
| - <u>tiririka</u> (run from)            | - <u>aima</u> (borrow, lend)       |                          |
| - <u>stahili</u> (deserve)              | - <u>omba</u> (ask for)            |                          |
| - <u>vua</u> (take off i.e. of clothes) | - <u>iba</u> (steal)               |                          |
|   | - <u>nyang'anya</u> (grab from)    |                          |
| - <u>faa</u> (suit)                     | - <u>toa</u> (remove, take out)    |                          |
| - <u>fariki</u> (die)                   | - <u>hadhari</u> (guard against)   |                          |
|   | - <u>pata</u> (get)                |                          |
|   | - <u>nyakua</u> (snatch from)      |                          |
|   | - <u>kongoa</u> (extract)          |                          |
|   | - <u>kunyua</u> (bite a piece off) |                          |
|   | - <u>kamua</u> (squeeze out)       |                          |
|   | - <u>kama</u> (milk)               |                          |
|   | - <u>pa</u> (give)                 |                          |
|   | - <u>kabidhi</u> (give)            |                          |
|   | - <u>arifu</u> (inform)            |                          |
|   | - <u>kidhi</u> (grant)             |                          |
|   | - <u>lipa</u> (pay)                |                          |

[(A)](O) - (G)(L)

[(I)](A) - (G)(S) - O - (L)

[(A)](O) - ((G)(S))(L)

-nyima (with hold from)

-ruhusu (give permission)

-jibu (reply)

-gawa (give out)

Gwere

-aba (go)

-twala (take)

-gona (sleep)

-ira (return)

-muma (throw)

-sigala (remain)

-wuluka (get out)

-tola (remove, take out)

-tyama (sit, live)

-mmera (germinate)

-tereka (put)

-bita (pass)

-ngira (enter)

-ekopa (borrow)

-kwa (marry)

-tuuka (arrive)

-saba (ask for)

-leka (leave)

-iza (come)

-iba (steal)

-iruka (run)

-izula (be full)

-nyaga (grab from)

-tambula (walk)

-gwa (fall, set -  
of sun)

-linda (guard against)

-yemerera (stand)

-funa (get)

-tirika (run)

-bisa (hide)

-gwana (deserve)

-nyakula (snatch from)

-tuka (suit)

-kongola (extract)

-sebula (die)

-kunyula (bite a piece  
off)

-kamula (squeeze out)

-kema (milk)

-kamya (make demands)

-kopa (lend)

-wa (give)

-tegeza (inform)

-sasula (pay)

-ima (withhold from)

-gaba (give out)





- 3a. S <sup>O</sup> Taa i / na /waka <sup>(M)</sup> vizuri [O - (M)]  
lamp it pres burn well
- 3b. G <sup>O</sup> Etala e /yaka <sup>(M)</sup> nakusa [O - (M)]  
lamp it burn well  
E The lamp burns well.
- 4a. S\* <sup>O</sup> Maji ya/ me /chemka <sup>(M)</sup> vizuri [O - (M)]  
water it past boil well
- 4b. G\* <sup>O</sup> Amaizi ge/sere/re <sup>(M)</sup> nakusa [O - (M)]  
water it boil past well  
E "The water has boiled well."
- 5a. S <sup>O</sup> Mtoto a / me /ungua <sup>(M)</sup> vibaya [O - (M)]  
child he past be burnt badly
- 5b. G <sup>O</sup> Omwana a /babuki /re <sup>(M)</sup> kubibi [O - (M)]  
child he be burnt past badly  
E The child is badly burnt.
- 6a. S\* <sup>O</sup> Mtoto a / me /konda <sup>(M)</sup> vibaya [O - (M)]  
child he past grow thin badly
- 6b. G\* <sup>O</sup> Omwana a /yonde /re <sup>(M)</sup> kubibi [O - (M)]  
child he grow thin past badly  
The child has grown thin badly
- 7a. S <sup>A</sup> A / li /kubali <sup>(M)</sup> mara [A - (M)]  
he past agree immediately
- 7b. G <sup>A</sup> Y / a /ikiriiry/e <sup>(M)</sup> lumolumo [A - (M)]  
he dist agree past immediately  
past  
E He agreed immediately.

8a. S\* <sup>A</sup> A / li /kubali <sup>(M)</sup> kwa haraka [A - (M)]  
 he past agree with haste

8b. G\* <sup>A</sup> Y / a /ikiriiry/e <sup>(M)</sup> ka fuufu [A - (M)]  
 he dist agree past with haste  
 past

E He agreed hastily.

The distinctions between the grammatical and ungrammatical sentences containing the same Manner role sub-classes in 1 to 8 are quite subtle. The predicator properties determining them are not very clear, though some of them may be described (in Jeffrey Gruber's terms (1970 : 38) as the "temporal characteristics of verbs." These "temporal characteristics" may be what determines, for example, the possibility of the sentences in 7, as opposed to those in 8; the Manner role exponents S mara (immediately) and G lumolumo (immediately) may modify predicators which have the instantaneous temporal property, the exponents S kwa haraka (hastily) and G kafuufu (hastily) tend to be restricted to the predicators which have temporal characteristics [+durational] and/or [+motional], for example. (V. Gruber : ibid).

As noted in 2.0.2.1 predicators which require Agentives have the basic property [+volition]. These predicators also permit a particular Manner role sub-class, having exponents like S makusudi (intentionally) G mukugenderera (intentionally), S kwa uvumilivu (through perseverance), G olw'okweguminkiriza (through perseverance); S kwa upole (gently), G mpolampola (gently); S haraka haraka (quickly), G mangumangu (quickly) etc.

Similarly, another set of exponents of a different Manner role sub-class may reflect the lack of the [+volition] property on the part of the predicator concerned. In 9, for instance, the predicators S -kanyaga (tread on), G -ema (tread on) are [-volition] (cf the discussion in 2.0.2.1):

- 9a. S Ni/ me / m /kanyaga bila ku<sup>(M)</sup> /kusudia S - G - (M)  
 I past him tread on without inf intention
- 9b. G M/ mw/eme /re /ku nga ti /n/<sup>(M)</sup>gendereire/e'  
 I him tread past on while neg I intention past  
S - G - (M)
- E I trod on him accidentally.

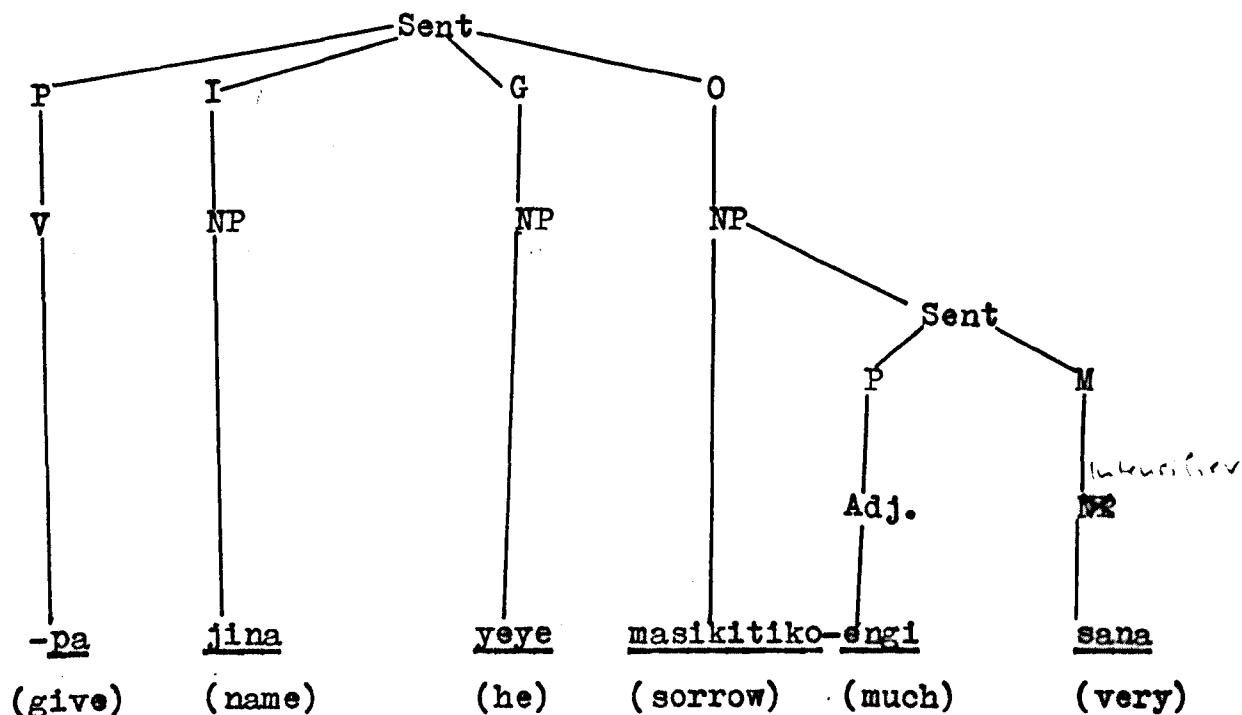
The predicator properties determining the choice of the different Manner role sub-classes are then quite varied.

The predicator that selects the particular Manner role exponent may be an embedded one. In 10, for example, S sana (very) and G inno (very) are related to the embedded predicators mengi (much) and nyingi (much), respectively:

- 10a. S <sup>I</sup> Jina hili li/ li / <sup>G</sup> m /pa <sup>O</sup> masikitiko <sup>(M)</sup> mengi sana  
 name this it past him give sorrow much very  
I - G - O(Sent)
- 10b. G <sup>I</sup> Eliina linu ly/ a / <sup>G</sup> mu/ wa /ire <sup>O</sup> enaku <sup>(M)</sup> nyingi inno  
 name this it dist him give past sorrow much very  
 past  
I - G - O(Sent)
- E This name caused him very much sorrow.

10 has deep structure as in figure 10:

figure 10



Some Manner role exponents are related to co-occurring roles either through embedded predication relationships or through role dependency relationships. The Swahili Manner role exponent binafsi (individually, personally), for instance, seems to be selected by either the Goal or Experiencer roles irrespective of the predicator involved. In 11, the Manner role is selected by the Goal:

11. S <sup>(M)</sup> Binafsi <sup>G</sup> si / na <sup>O</sup> neno la ku / pinga G - O - (M)  
 personally neg with word of inf oppose  
 E Personally I have no objection.

In 12 the same exponent is selected by the Experiencer:

12. S <sup>M</sup> Binafsi <sup>E</sup> n/ a /fikiri a / ta/kubali E - O - (M)  
 personally I pres think he fut agree  
 E Personally I think he will agree.

This sub-class of Manner roles is rejected by other predicators (for instance those which require Agentives), as shown by the deviancy of sentence 15; 13 and 14 are all possible:

13. S Mimi ni/ ta/ kw/enda [A]  
 I I fut inf go  
 E I shall go

14. S Kw /angu ni/ ta/ kw/enda [A]  
 for me I fut inf go  
 E For me, I shall go.

15. S\* <sup>(M)</sup> Binafsi ni/ ta/ kw/enda [A - (M)]  
 personally I fut inf go  
 E Personally I shall go.

This binafsi (personally) is not syntactically of the same class as mwenyewe (myself); the latter cannot replace the binafsi in sentence 12. Sentence 16 in which mwenyewe (myself) occurs instead of binafsi (personally) is a non-sentence:

16. S\* <sup>(M)</sup> Mwenyewe n/ <sup>E</sup> a /fikiri a / <sup>O</sup> ta/kubali [A - (M)]  
 myself I pres think he fut agree  
 E Myself I think he will agree.

But mwenyewe (myself) may be permitted in 13, as shown in 17:

17. S <sup>A</sup> Mimi ni/ ta/ kw/enda <sup>(M)</sup> mwenyewe [A - (M)]  
 I I fut inf go myself  
 E I shall go myself.

Thus, binafsi (personally) and mwenyewe (myself) seem to be exponents of complementary embedded Manner role sub-classes; one being restricted to Experiencers and Goals while the other may be embedded on any other role. (binafsi (personally) does not occur in Gwere).

The sentences in 18 are not instances of embedding, rather, they are instances of a role dependency interrelationship:

18a. S N /enda <sup>(M)</sup>kwa amani [A - (M)]  
pres go in peace

18b. G O /yabe n'<sup>(M)</sup>eidembe [A - (M)]  
you go in peace

E Go in peace.

We shall argue then that on some occasions the Manner role is generated as a constituent of other roles (the Goal, Agentive, Experiencer etc.). In such cases, its exponents are restricted to self reference phrases like S binafsi (personally) and mwenyewe (myself), and G onanyere((my)self).

Elsewhere, it will be argued that the Manner roles are always generated after the generation of one or more other roles, in a given case frame. In other words, they are instances of secondary selection in the case frames in which they are permitted. And as the illustrations in 1 to 10 show, the predicator properties governing their selection may be the same ones which govern the selection of the obligatory case roles (the [+volition] property, for instance), or other diverse lexical characteristics of the predicators, some of which may be specified in terms of the parameters suggested by Jeffrey Gruber (ibid).

Manner roles, therefore, define predicator properties which often go beyond those defined by the selection of the obligatory case roles. But though their sub-classes are of diverse types it cannot be convincingly argued (as Walter A Cook 1972 : 45-46 does) that they are "indifferent to a particular verb." They are diverse because they are governed by diverse predicator properties.

In surface structure, Manner roles never become subject nor object. Normally, they occur in the adjunct relation or in an unmarked relation (V. Footnote 6 Chapter 2), as illustrated below.

- 19a. S Ni/ ta/ ku/eleza <sup>(M)</sup> kwa kifupi [A - E - (M)]  
 I fut you explain to in short
- 19b. G N/ a / ku/nyonyola <sup>(M)</sup> mu bimpi [A - E - (M)]  
 I fut you explain to in short  
 E I shall explain (it) to you briefly.
- 20a. S Ni/ li /lia <sup>(M)</sup> kama mtoto mdogo [A - (M)]  
 I past cry like child small
- 20b. G N/ a /kungi/re oti mwana mutomuto [A - (M)]  
 I dist cry past like child small  
 past  
 E I cried like a small child.
- 21a. S Ni/ li /kasirika <sup>(M)</sup> mno [E - (M)]  
 I past be annoyed very
- 21b. G N/ a /sunguwair /e <sup>(M)</sup> inno [E - (M)]  
 I dist be annoyed past very  
 past  
 E I was very annoyed.
- 22a. S N /enda <sup>(M)</sup> kwa amani [A - (M)]  
 pres go in peace
- 22b. G O /yabe <sup>(M)</sup> n'/eidembe [A - (M)]  
 you go in peace  
 E Go in peace.

Rule 6 relates the Manner role to the surface relations.

### Rule 6

The Manner role may become surface structure adjunct.



2.0.3.2 THE REASON ROLE

Reason roles are also generally optional in both Swahili and Gwere.

Though the Reason role subclasses are not as diverse in type as those of the Manner role, the two roles share some semantic properties. As in the case of the Manner role, the selection of some subclasses of the Reason role is dependent on the prior selection of some other role (see 2.0.2.1 for the illustrating examples of the Reason role subclass which is restricted to the case frames containing Agentives).

But usually, the Reason role is related to the whole set of relations that permits its occurrence, whether it has a predicator central to it or not, as illustrated in 23 and 24:

23a. S Ha /tu/ko hapa <sup>(Rn)</sup>kwa bure O - L - (Rn)  
 neg we beat here for nothing

23b. G Ti /tu/li anu <sup>(Rn)</sup>bwerere O - L - (Rn)  
 neg we be here for nothing  
 E We are not here for nothing.

24a. S Ha /tu/ ku /ja hapa <sup>(Rn)</sup>kwa bure A - L (Rn)  
 neg we past.come here for nothing

24b. G Ti /tw/ a /izi /re anu <sup>(Rn)</sup>bwerere A - L - (Rn)  
 neg we dist come past here for nothing  
 past  
 E We did not come here for nothing.

In Surface structure, Reason roles normally occur in the adjunct or the unmarked NP positions<sub>19</sub> as shown in the following sentences

25a. S Ni/ li /cheka <sup>(Rn)</sup>kwa furaha A - (Rn)  
 I past laugh with pleasure

- 25b. G N/ a /seke /re n' /e(Rn)sanyu [A - (Rn)]  
 I dist laugh past with pleasure  
 past  
 E I laughed out of pleasure.
- 26a. S A / li /ji /shughulisha kwa a(Rn)jili yangu [A - 0 - (Rn)]  
 She past Ref busy for sake my
- 26b. G Y / e /tewanyi/rye ku l(Rn)wange [A - 0 - (Rn)]  
 She Ref busy past for sake my  
 E She busied herself for my sake.
- 27a. S H / a/ ku / ja maana a / li /kuwa m(Rn)gonjwa [A - (Rn)]  
 neg he past come because he past be ill
- 27b. G Ti / y/ a /izi /re olw'okuba y / a /li mul(Rn)waire  
 neg he dist come past because he dist be ill  
 past past  
 [A - (Rn)]

The rule that relates the Reason role to the surface structure is as follows:

Rule 7

The Reason role may become surface structure adjunct.

2.0.3.3 THE TIME ROLE

Very few predicators, in the data considered, have been found to require this role in their obligatory case frames: S -chukua (spend, last), G -twala (spend, last); and S -wadia (be fully time for). The sentences in 29 in which the Time role does not occur are ungrammatical:

- 28a. S Safari i / li /tu/chukua siku mbili [O - E - T]  
 T  
 journey it past us take days two

28b. G Olugendo lw/ a /tu/twaliir/e <sup>T</sup> enaku ibiri [O - E - T]  
 journey it dist us take past days two  
 past

E The journey took us two days.

29a. S \*Safari i / li /tu/chukua [O - E]  
 journey it past us take

29b. G \*Olugendo lw/ a /tu/twaliir/e  
 journey it dist us take past  
 past

E "The journey took us."

Except for these few predicators, there is no other evidence that the Time role defines any predicator property. We can hardly attribute the selection of the optional Time roles to the predicators; their occurrence is chiefly motivated by non-linguistic factors which restrict a given set of case relations, whether related to a predicator or not, to a particular time, as illustrated below:

30a. S Mwigo a / li /imba <sup>(T)</sup> kwa muda mrefu [A - (T)]  
 dove it past sing for period long

30b. G Ompuwu y / a /yembe/re eibanga inene [A - (T)]  
 dove it past sing past period long

E The dove sang for a long time.

31a. S Tu/ ta/kuwa hapa <sup>(T)</sup> kwa muda mrefu [O - L - (T)]  
 we fut be here for period long

31b. G Tw/ a /ba anu <sup>(T)</sup> eibanga inene [O - L - (T)]  
 we fut be here period long

E We shall be here for a long time.

In surface structure, the Swahili predicator -wadia (be fully time for) selects the T role as subject, as shown in 32:

32. S Saa <sup>T</sup> ya ku /teta i / li /wadia [ T ]  
 hour of inf offer it past come  
 E The hour for the offering came.

Normally, the Time role occurs as an adjunct or an unmarked NP, as may be seen in the following sentences:

- 33a. S <sup>(T)</sup> Jioni tu/ta /maliza kazi [ A - O - (T) ]  
 evening we fut finish job

- 33b. G <sup>(T)</sup> Eigulo tw/ a /mala omulimo [ A - O - (T) ]  
 evening we fut finish job  
 E In the evening we shall finish the job.

- 34a. S Wa / li /cheza <sup>(T)</sup> usiku ku /cha [ A - (T) ]  
 they past dance night inf day

- 34b. G B / a /bini /re <sup>(T)</sup> obwire oku/kya [ A - (T) ]  
 they dist dance past night inf day  
 past  
 E They danced throughout the night

- 35a. S <sup>(T)</sup> Kwa leo tu/ta /onana [ E - O - (T) ]  
 at to-day we fut see each other

- 35b. G <sup>(T)</sup> Olwati tw/ a /wonangana [ E - O - (T) ]  
 to-day we fut see each other  
 E We shall see each other to-day.

The Time role is then related to the surface structure as follows:

Rule 8

- a. (very restricted and only evident in Swahili).  
 The Time role may become surface structure subject.
- b. The Time role may become surface structure adjunct.

2.0.3.4 THE COMITATIVE ROLE

A small number of predicators require this case role in their obligatory case frames.

For instance:	S	- <u>shiriki</u> (co-operate)	G	- <u>gaita</u> (co-operate)
	S	- <u>fuata</u> (accompany)	G	- <u>senja</u> (accompany)
	S	- <u>sindikiza</u> (escort)	G	- <u>yereka</u> (escort)
	S	- <u>winda</u> (pursue)	G	- <u>binga</u> (pursue)
	S	- <u>fukuza</u> (chase)	G	- <u>lukutya</u> (chase)
	S	- <u>tangulia</u> (precede)	G	- <u>soka</u> (precede)

These predicators have the feature [+accompaniment] obligatory. The sentences in 36 are possible; but those in 37 where the Comitative role does not occur are ungrammatical:

36a. S <sup>C</sup> Tu/ li / <sup>O</sup> m /fukuza mnyama [C - O]  
 we past him chase animal

36b. G Tw/ a /bingi/re okisolo [C - O]  
 we dist chase past animal  
 past

E We chased the animal.

37a. S \* Mnyama a / li /fukuza [O]  
 animal he past chase

37b. G \* Okisolo y / a /bingi /re [O]  
 animal he dist chase past  
 past

E "The animal chased."

In surface structure Comitative roles may become subject if they are obligatory to a case frame, as illustrated in the following sentences:

38a. S <sup>C</sup> Ni/ li / m /sindikiza mji /ni [C - O - L]  
 I past him escort town to

38b. G <sup>C</sup> N/ a /mw /ereke /re omu/kiwuga [C - O - L]  
 I dist him escort past to town  
 past

E I accompanied him to town.

39a. S <sup>C</sup>  
Tu/ me / m /winda mwizi [C - O]  
 we past him chase thief

39b. G <sup>C</sup>  
Tu/lukutiry/e omwibi [C - O]  
 we chase past thief

E We have chased the thief.

And predicators S -tangulia (precede) and G -soka (precede) allow the Comitative role to become object; as illustrated in 40:

40a. S Ni/ li / <sup>C</sup>  
wa /tangulia ndani [A - C - L]  
 I past them precede inside

40b. G M/ <sup>C</sup>  
ba /soke /re omunda [A - C - L]  
 I them precede past inside

E I preceded them inside.

But in case frames where the Comitative role is optional, it is restricted to the adjunct function, as shown in the following sentences:

41a. S A / li / kw/enda na <sup>(C)</sup>  
 /ye [A - (C)]  
 he past inf go with him

41b. G Y / a /bi/re na <sup>(C)</sup>  
 /ye  
 he dist go past with him  
 past

E He went with him.

42a. S M / me /cheka na <sup>(C)</sup>  
 /ye [A - (C)]  
 You past laugh with her

42b. G M /seke /re na <sup>(C)</sup>  
 /ye [A - (C)]  
 You laugh past with her

E You have laughed with her.

43a. S Lima a / ta/ishi na /<sup>(C)</sup>si [O - (C)]  
 Lima she fut live with us

43b. G O Lima y / a /tyama na /<sup>(C)</sup>iswe [O - (C)]  
 Lima she fut live with us  
 E Lima will live with us.

Rule 9 relates the Comitatives to the surface structure:

Rule 9 (V. Footnote 9 Chapter 2)

- a. The C role occurs in subject position in [C - O] obligatory case frames.
- b. The C role occurs in object position in [A - C] obligatory case frames.
- c. The C role occurs in adjunct position when it is optional.

2.0.3.5 THE BENEFACTIVE ROLE

Many predicators optionally permit the occurrence of the Benefactive role. The only predicators which require it in their obligatory case frames are S -saidia (help) and G -yamba (help). With these two predicators, the B role may only be optional in surface structure (V.2.0.1.1). In the sentences in 44, for example, the B role is unmanifested, but its referents are determinable, and the role may occur, as illustrated in 45:

44a. S <sup>A</sup>Wa / li / <sup>O</sup>saidia ku /chota maji [A - O]  
 they past help inf fetch water

44b. G <sup>A</sup>B / a / <sup>O</sup>yambi/re okw/aba amaizi [A - O]  
 they dist help past inf fetch water  
 past

E They helped to fetch water.

45a. S <sup>A</sup> Wa / li / <sup>B</sup>tu/ <sup>O</sup>saidia ku /chota maji [A - B - O]  
 they past us help inf fetch water

45b. G <sup>A</sup> B / a / <sup>B</sup>tu/yambi/re <sup>O</sup>okw/aba amaizi [A - B - O]  
 they dist us help past inf fetch water  
 past

E They helped us to fetch water.

The Benefactive role often occurs in case frames containing Agentives, as shown in 45 (above) and in 46 and 47 (below):

46a. S <sup>A</sup> Mke /we a /ta / <sup>(B)</sup>m / <sup>O</sup>limia lini? [A - (B) - (T)]  
 wife his she fut for him dig when

46b. G <sup>A</sup> Omukali/we y / a / li / <sup>(B)</sup>mu / <sup>O</sup>limira di? [A - (B) - (T)]  
 wife his she fut dist for him dig when  
 fut

E When will his wife dig for him?

47a. S <sup>A</sup> A / me / <sup>(B)</sup>wa / <sup>O</sup>pikia mahindi [A - (B) - O]  
 she past for them cook maize

47b. G <sup>A</sup> A / <sup>(B)</sup>ba / <sup>O</sup>sumbiir/e oduma [A - (B) - O]  
 she for them cook past maize

E She has cooked maize for them.

The B role has also been found to occur in some case frames containing Experiencers, as in 48:

48a. S <sup>E</sup> U / <sup>(B)</sup>ni / <sup>O</sup>kumbukie maziwa [E - (B) - O]  
 You for me remember milk

48b. G <sup>E</sup> O / <sup>(B)</sup>n / <sup>O</sup>jewukirirya amata [E - (B) - O]  
 you for me remember milk

E (Please) remember to get the milk for me.

The B role also occurs in case frames in which the only other role is the Objective, as may be seen in the following sentences:



49a. S O A / li / <sup>B</sup>tu / fia [O - (B)]  
 he past for us die

49b. G O Y / a / <sup>B</sup>tu / fere/ire [O - (B)]  
 he dist for us die past  
 past

E He died for us.

50a. S O Mtoto wake a / me / <sup>(B)</sup>m /kulia <sup>(M)</sup>vizuri [O - (B) - (M)]  
 child hers he past for her grow up well

50b. G O Omwana we a / <sup>(B)</sup>mu /kuliir /e <sup>(M)</sup>nakusa [O - (B) - (M)]  
 child hers he for her grow up past well

E Her child has grown up well.

The B role may not be the only case role in a case frame; it is always dependent on the prior selection of some other role, as shown above. In 49, as an example, the O role may not be deleted, 51 where it has been deleted is ungrammatical:

51a. S\* <sup>(B)</sup>tu / li / fia [(B)]  
 for us past die

51b. G\* <sup>(B)</sup>tw / a / fere/ire [(B)]  
 for us dist die past  
 past

E "For us died."

In surface structure, the B role normally becomes object, as may be seen in 45-50. Rule 10 relates the B role to the surface structure:

Rule 10 (v. Footnote 9 Chapter 2)

The Benefactive role becomes surface structure object.

2.0.4 THE SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF EMBEDDED PROPOSITIONS  
IN SWAHILI AND GWERE

It has been noted (in 2.0.2.1, 2.0.2.2, 2.0.2.3, and 2.0.2.4) that case roles may be filled with complex NPs derived from embedded sentences. It has also been noted (in 2.0.2.2 and 2.0.2.4) that some surface structure case roles occur in the deep structure as embedded predicates. We shall now discuss some of these instances of complex predication.

The predicators which are often embedded onto the exponents of case roles of higher propositions are those which select case frames [G], [E] and [O].

2.0.4.1 The Syntactic characteristics of the (Predicator + Goal) type of embedded predication.

Most of the predicators of this type are often in a partitive relationship to their selected case roles.

a. (Predicator + Goal) as an exponent of the Experiencer role.

When a predicator plus a Goal role form complex exponents to the Experiencer role, the case role of the embedded case frame may remain embedded genitively onto its deep structure predicate, in which case, the whole complex NP will be realized as being in the Experiencer role (which becomes subject) as shown in 1:

1a. S <sup>E</sup> roho yake i / li / fuwrahi [E]  
heart his it past be happy

1b. G <sup>E</sup> omwoyo gwe gw/ a /sanyuki /re [E]  
heart his it dist be happy past  
past

E His heart was happy.

Alternatively, the predicate may be realized as a discrete exponent of another case role while the embedded case role remains in the Experiencer role. In 2, the embedded predicate is realized

as an exponent of the Locative role:

2a. S A / li / fu-rahi <sup>(L)</sup> moyo / ni [E - (L)]  
 he past be happy heart in

2b. G Y / a / sanyuki / re omu/mwoyo [E - (L)]  
 he dist be happy past in heart  
 past

E He was happy in his heart.

In 3, the embedded predicate is realized as an exponent of the Partitive role:

3a. S A / li / ni / fariji <sup>E</sup> roho <sup>(Pt)</sup> [A - E(Pt)]  
 she past me comfort heart

3b. G Y / a / n / jikiriy / e <sup>E</sup> omwoyo <sup>(Pt)</sup> [A - E(Pt)]  
 she dist me comfort past heart  
 past

E She comforted my heart.

The posited underlying structure for 1 and 2 is figure 11, and that for 3 is figure 12:

Figure 11:

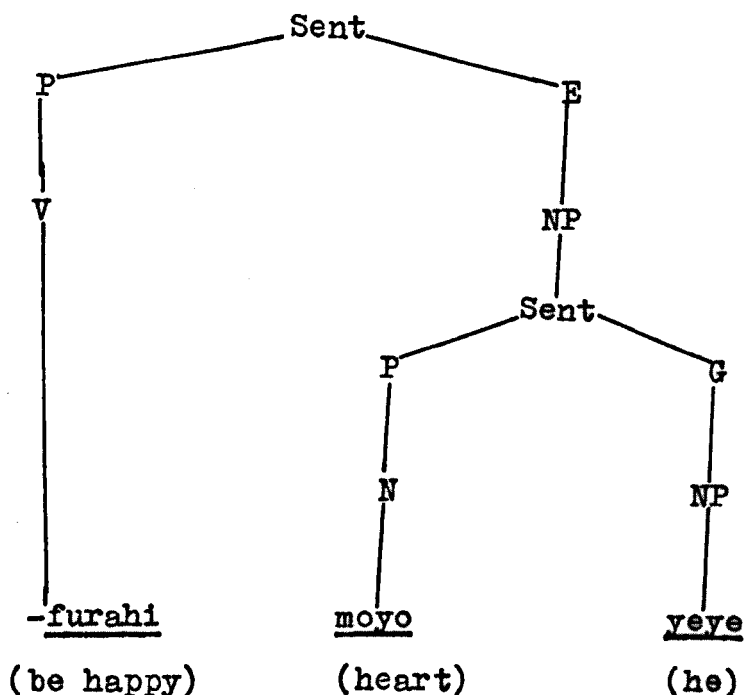
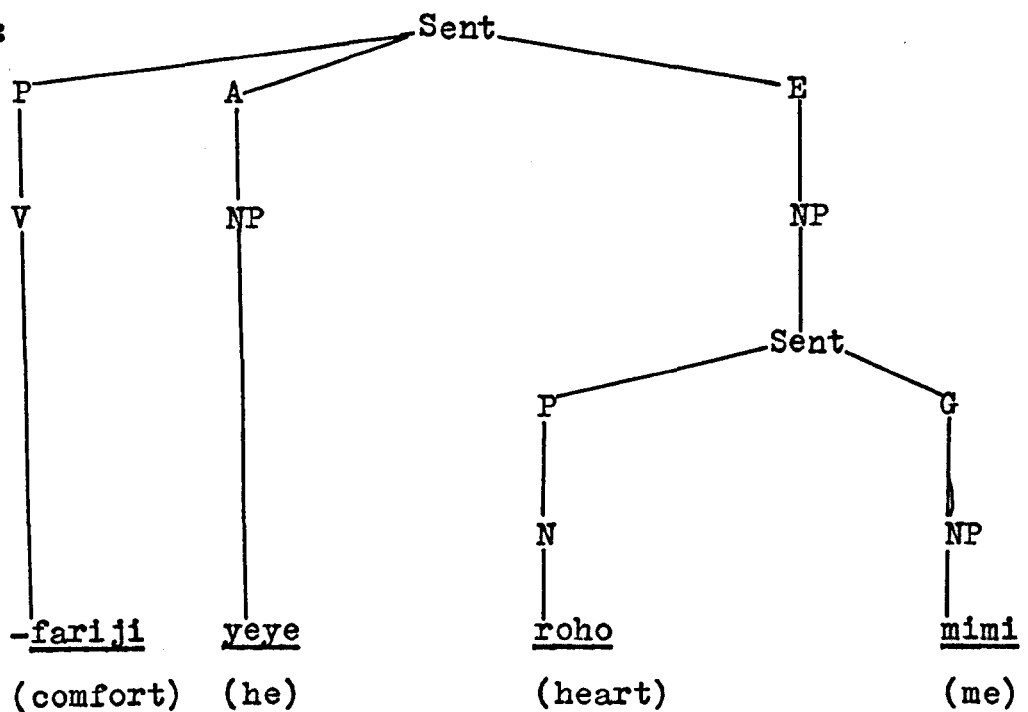


Figure 12:



b. (Predicator + Goal) as an exponent of the Objective role.

As in the case of the Experiencer role, the whole complex NP may be realized as being in the Objective role in surface structure if the case role of the embedded case frame remains embedded genitively onto its deep structure predicate as in 4:

4a. S <sup>0</sup> roho yake i / li / dunda [0]  
 heart his it past palpitate

4b. G <sup>0</sup> omwoyo gwe gw/ a / pumpi / re [0]  
 heart his it dist palpitate past  
 past

E His heart palpitated.

But often, the embedded case role becomes the exponent of the Objective role while the predicate is transformed into either a Partitive or Locative role. In 5, the Goal role (S mgonjwa (patient), G Omulwaire (patient)) is in the Objective role, and the predicate (S kichwa (head), G omutwe (head)) is in the Partitive role:

5a. S <sup>0</sup> Mgonjwa a / me / inama kichwa (Pt) [0 - (Pt)]  
 patient he past bend head

- 5b. G <sup>O</sup> Omulwaire a /kotami/re <sup>(Pt)</sup> omutwe [O - (Pt)]  
 patient he bend past head  
 E The patient's head is lowered.

Similarly, in 6, the embedded case role is in the Objective role, and the predicate has been transformed into a Partitive role:

- 6a. S <sup>O</sup> Erenes <sup>(Pt)</sup> roho i / li / <sup>O</sup> m /tulia [O - (Pt)]  
 Erenes heart it past her be settled

- 6b. G <sup>O</sup> Naula <sup>(Pt)</sup> omwoyo <sup>O</sup> gu/ mw/iki /re [O - (Pt)]  
 Naula heart it her be settled past  
 E Erenes/Naula's heart was settled.

In 7 and 8 the embedded Goal roles have filled the Objective roles and the predicates have been transformed into Locatives:

- 7a. S A / li / <sup>O</sup> ji/funga kitambaa <sup>(L)</sup> kichwa/ni [A - I - O - (L)]  
 she past Ref tie headdress head on

- 7b. Y Y / <sup>O</sup> e /sibi/re ekitambala <sup>L</sup> oku/mutwe [A - I - O - (L)]  
 She Ref tie past headdress on head  
 E She tied a headdress (around her) head.

- 8a. S A / me / <sup>O</sup> m /piga <sup>(L)</sup> kifua/ni [A - O - (L)]  
 he past him hit chest at

- 8b. G A / mu/kubi/re omu/kifuba [A - O - (L)]  
 he him hit past at chest  
 E He has hit him at the chest.

c. (Predicator + Goal) as an exponent of the Agentive case role

An embedded Goal role exponent may be transformed into the Agentive role exponent while the embedded predicate goes into the Locative role, as in 9:

9a. S A / li /cheka <sup>(L)</sup>moyo /ni [A - (L)]  
 he past laugh heart in

9b. G Y / a /seke /re <sup>(L)</sup>omu/mwoyo [A - (L)]  
 he dist laugh past in heart  
 past

E He laughed in his heart.

The embedded predicate which is in a partitive relation to its selected case role cannot fill the Agentive role. 10 in which the whole complex NP has filled the Agentive role (the embedded case role being embedded genitively) is ungrammatical:

10a. S <sup>A</sup>Moyo wake u / li /cheka [A]  
 heart his it past laugh

10b. G <sup>A</sup>Omwoyo gwe gw/ a /seke /re [A]  
 heart his it dist laugh past  
 past

E "His heart laughed."

However, the embedded predicates which are not in a partitive relation to their case roles may become Agentive role exponents, as may be seen in 11 and 12:

11a. S <sup>A</sup>Mwenz /ake a / me / kw/enda [A]  
 companion his he past inf go

11b. G Omwina /\_ye a /bi/re [A]  
 companion his he go past

E His friend has gone.

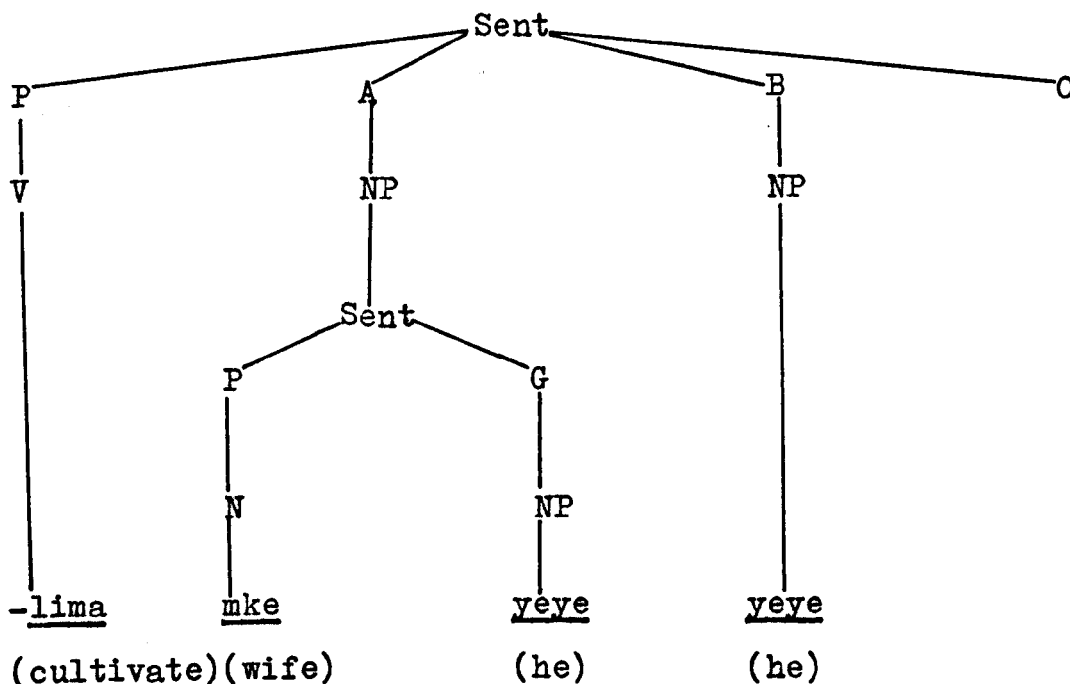
12a. S <sup>A</sup>Mke / we a / ta/ m /limia [A - (B)]  
 wife his she fut for him cultivate

12b. G <sup>A</sup>Omukali/ we y / a / mu /limira [A - (B)]  
 wife his she fut for him cultivate

E His wife will cultivate for him.

Sentence 12, for a example, has deep structure figure 13:

Figure 13



d. (Predicator + Goal) as an exponent of the Goal role

The whole complex NP may fill the Goal role in surface structure (the embedded Goal remaining embedded genitively onto its deep structure predicator) as shown in 13:

13a. S <sup>G</sup> Moyo wake u / li /ingia ghamu [G - O]  
 heart his it past enter grief

13b. G <sup>G</sup> Omwoyo gwe gw/ a /ngiir/e enaku [G - O]  
 heart his it dist enter past grief  
 past

E Grief entered his heart.

Both the embedded predicate and the Goal may be in Goal roles in surface structure, as may be seen in 14:

14a. S ghamu i / li / <sup>G</sup>mw/ingia <sup>(G)</sup>moyo /ni [O - G - (G)]  
 grief it past him enter heart in

14b. G enaku y / a / <sup>G</sup>mu/ngiir/e <sup>(G)</sup>omu/mwoyo [O - G - (G)]  
 grief it dist him enter past in heart  
 past

E Grief entered his heart.

In 14, the optional Goal is a surface structure one, derived from the embedded predicate.

e. (Predicator + Goal) as an exponent of the Source case role.

The complex NP may fill the Source role in surface structure, as in 15:

15a. S <sup>S</sup> Masikio/ni mwake mu/ na /toka damu [O - S]  
 ears from his in pres get out blood

15b. G <sup>S</sup> Amatwi ge ga /zwa /mu omusaye [O - S]  
 ears his they get out from blood

E His ears are dripping blood.

Both the embedded predicate and the Goal may be transformed into Source role exponents, as in 16:

16a. S damu zi/ li / <sup>S</sup> m /toka <sup>(S)</sup> masikio/ni [O - S - (S)]  
 blood it past him get out ears from

16b. G Omusaye gw/ a / <sup>S</sup> mu/zwi /re <sup>(S)</sup> omu /matwi [O - S - (S)]  
 blood it dist him come out past from ears  
 past

E Blood came out of his ears.

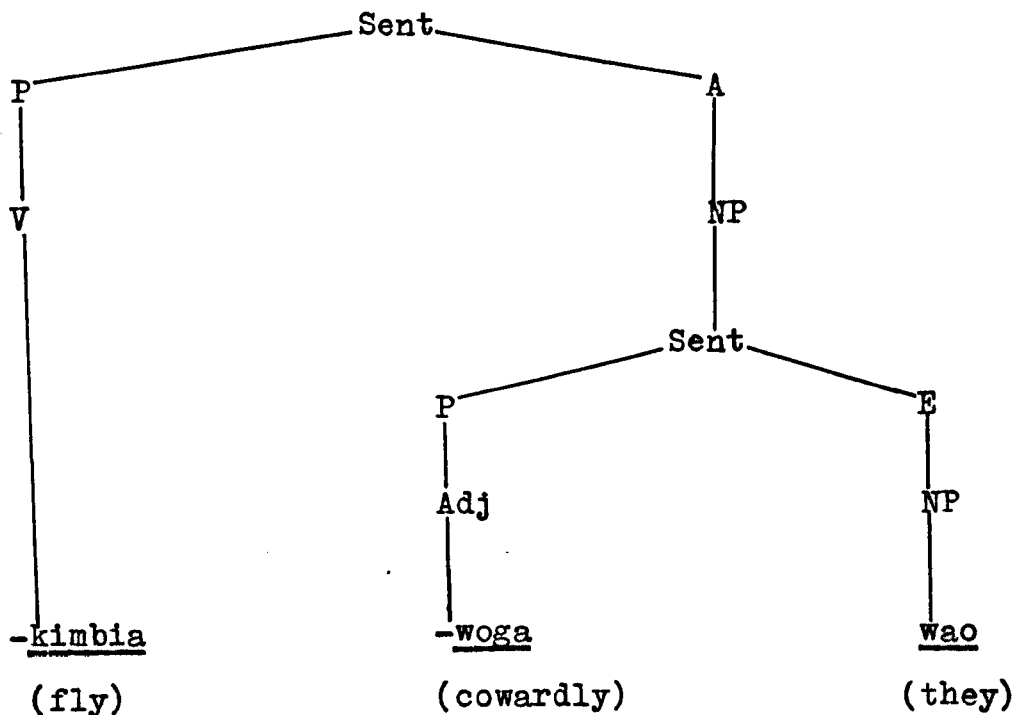
2.0.4.2 The syntactic characteristics of the (Predicator + Experiencer) type of predication.

a. (Predicator + Experiencer) as an exponent of the Agentive case role.

As discussed in (2.0.2.4), the embedded predicate may be transformed into a motivational Instrumental while the embedded case role becomes the Agentive role exponent. Sentence 17 has deep structure figure 14.



Figure 14:



17a. S  $\overset{A}{\underline{Wa}}$  / li / kimbia  $\overset{(I)}{\underline{kwa woga}}$   $\boxed{A - (I)}$   
 they past fly with cowardice

17b. G  $\overset{A}{\underline{B}}$  / a / iruki/re  $\overset{(I)}{\underline{mu/buti}}$   $\boxed{A - (I)}$   
 they dist fly past in cowardice  
 past

E They fled in cowardice.

b. (Predicator † Experiencer) as an exponent of the Objective case role.

As in the case of the Agentive (in (a)), the embedded Experiencer role exponent may be transformed into the Objective as the embedded predicate is transformed into a motivational Instrumental, as in 18:

18a. S  $\overset{O}{\underline{Wa}}$  / li / tetemeka  $\overset{(I)}{\underline{kwa woga}}$   $\boxed{O - (I)}$   
 they past shake in cowardice

18b. G  $\overset{O}{\underline{B}}$  / a / dagaiziir/e  $\overset{(I)}{\underline{mu/buti}}$   $\boxed{O - (I)}$   
 they dist shake past in cowardice  
 past

E They shook in cowardice.

2.0.4.3 The Syntactic characteristics of the (Predicator+ Objective) type of embedded predication.

a. (Predicator + Objective) as an exponent of the Agentive case role.

The embedded Objective role is transformed into the Agentive as the embedded predicate is transformed into the motivational Instrumental as illustrated in 19:

19a.	S	A	/	li	/	mw/ua	(I)	kwa ukorofi	[	A	-	(I)	]
				he		past		him				kill	
								in				savagery	

19b.	G	A	/	a	/	mw/iti	/re	(I)	mu/wukambwe	[	A	-	(I)	]
				he		dist.		him				kill		
						past		in				cruelty		
				past										

E He killed him in cruelty.

b. (Predicator + Objective) as an exponent of the Experiencer role.

The Objective role goes into the Experiencer role as the embedded predicate goes into the Manner role, its exponent being restricted to Binafsi (personally) (V. 2.0.3.1), as in 20:

20a.	S	(M)	Binafsi	(E)	si /oni	kizuiio	cha	ku /	wa /	oza	[	E	-	0	-	(M)	]
			personally	neg	see	obstruction	of	inf	them	marry							

E Personally, I see nothing against marrying them.

c. (Predicator + Objective) as an exponent of other case roles.

The embedded predicate is often transformed into the Manner role while the embedded Objective role fills the case role which dominates the embedded sentence. The predicate is normally S (mw)enyewe (himself), G (o)nanyere (himself): In 21, the case role which dominates the embedded sentence is the Agentive:

21a.	S	A	Ni/	ta/	vi /	nunua	(M)	mwenyewe	[	A	-	0	-	(M)	]
			I	fut	them	buy		myself							

- 21b. G <sup>A</sup> N / a / bi / gula <sup>(M)</sup> onanyere A - 0 - (M)  
 I fut them buy myself  
 E I shall buy them myself.

In 22, the 0 role dominates the embedded sentence:

- 22a. S <sup>O</sup> A / ta / simama <sup>(M)</sup> mwenyewe 0 - (M)  
 he fut stand on his own

- 22b. G <sup>O</sup> Y / a / yemerera onanyere 0 - (M)  
 he fut stand on his own  
 E He will stand on his own.

As shown in 2.0.4.1 (d) and (e) if the exponents of the Goal or Source roles are a (Predicator + Goal) we may have surface structure sentences with more than one Goal or Source role (when the embedded predicator becomes a Goal or Source). Similar surface structure sentences occur when a (Predicator + Objective) fill the Goal or Source role. A good example is shown in 23 in which two Goals and a Locative occur:

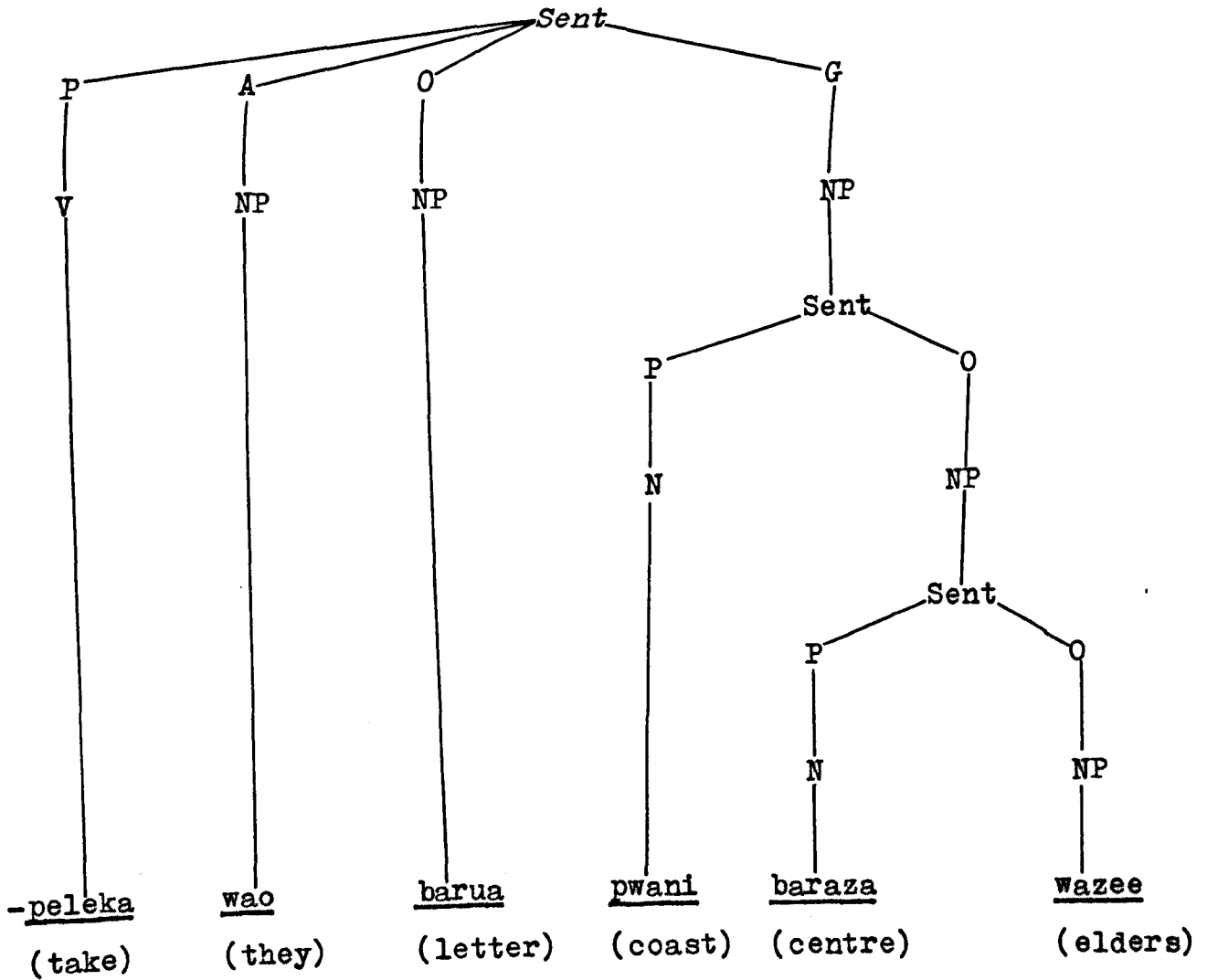
- 23a. S ile barua wa / li / i/peleka <sup>(G)</sup> baraza/ni <sup>G</sup> kwa wazee  
 that letter they past it take centre to to elders  
<sup>(L)</sup>  
kule pwani A - 0 - G - (G) - (L)  
 there at coast.

- 23b. G B / a / twair/e ebaluwa <sup>(G)</sup> oku/mbuga <sup>G</sup> eri abakulu  
 they dist take past letter to centre to elders  
 past  
<sup>(L)</sup>  
oku/nyanza A - 0 - G - (G) - (L)  
 to coast

- E They took the letter to the administrative centre to the elders at the coast.

The posited underlying structure for 23 is as in figure 15:

Figure 15



The optional Goal and Locative in 23 are thus derived from embedded predicates (figure 15 being an instance of double embedding).

The recurrence of a case role in a given surface structure sentence is thus evidence that the sentence is derived from a complex underlying structure, containing one or more embedded simple sentences. It is, therefore, not the case that sentences like 23 are counterexamples to C. Fillmore's argument that "each case relationship occurs only once in a simple sentence." (C. Fillmore 1968 : 21)

Instances of embedded predication are thus quite many in Swahili and Gwere. Their presence in the deep structure provides for the derivation of surface structure case roles like the

Partitives, Locatives, motivational Instrumentals, Sources, and Goals - case roles which have embedded predicators for exponents.

CHAPTER 2

Part II

PREDICATORS/CASE ROLES AND THE RULES FOR SUFFIX MARKING.

2.0.5 Introduction

Many grammarians and linguists (A. C. Madan 1903; E. O. Ashton 1944; A. Loogman 1965; C. M. Scotton 1967; C. M. Eastman 1967; M. Guthrie 1962; and W. H. Whiteley 1968; 1970, 1972, for example) have studied the predicator suffixes in Swahili. In most of these studies the suffixes have been described morphologically. And because, as we have argued in Chapter I, these suffixes appear as a result of the application of particular syntactic rules, at least those studied in this work, they have puzzled those who have attempted to analyse them solely morphologically. E. O. Ashton (1947), for example states:

"it is often impossible to express the meaning conveyed by the root and suffix in a single word which suits all contexts. This is admirably expressed by Madan in the Introduction to his Swahili Dictionary. He says:

20

'The Swahili verb root is capable of - - - - - a rich and varied development in the form of additional verb stems - each with its complement of conjugations, moods, tenses, etc. Shades of meaning are so numerous and their differences so delicate that appropriate renderings in English suited to each particular case have to be left very largely to the student's appreciation of each form separately - - - - - The following considerations may enable him to infer for himself the meaning of verb forms not stated under the verb itself. [- - - - -] '"

(E. O. Ashton 1947 : 216).

W. H. Whiteley (1968) also notes the problems that arise in a morphological analysis of the predicate suffixes. He says:

"Indeed, the problems of identifying and describing a particular extension are often extremely difficult; if the criterion is morphological then the range of associated meanings is often impossibly wide; if the criterion is semantic then one is liable to have a proliferation of apparently similar morphological units." (p.57)

And C. M. Scotton (1967) who aims at "determining the structure of that device which governs the production of extended forms and the relationships in which they are involved (of shape to meaning and to each other in their grid arrangements)" (p. 8) attempts to do so using three different parameters of verb classification (namely the 'stative/non-stative' distinction of verbs (defined : ibid : p. 50-51); the 'extended form' as an additive/subtractive meaning (explained : ibid : p. 52 and 53-54); the 'grid pattern' (employed : ibid : p. 76)) and finds that although the three parameters play a role in Swahili, none of them is adequate, on its own, to account for the functions of all the predicator suffixes. (cf her comments : ibid p. 52, 55, 66, 76, and 85 ) She therefore concludes that a syntactically based analysis would probably characterize these predicator suffixes better. Her own words are :

"it appears that nouns are restricted in their ability to co-occur with verb stems by certain subcategorization features in the respective nouns and verbs. In Swahili, such restrictions affect not only the co-occurrence of nouns and verb stems but also the potentiality of various verb stems to produce certain extended forms. [ - - - - ] That is, theoretically the basic restriction on subject - V - object patterns would deny the occurrence of certain extended forms for certain roots" (ibid: p. 71) and,

"Obviously these observations do little more than suggest the need for further study of the extended verb system in terms of subject-verb-object features of subcategorization. Yet they indicate that such study will yield significant generalizations about the structure of the system" (ibid : p. 76)

However, those linguists who have analysed these predicator suffixes on the basis of transitivity (Whiteley 1968, and 1970, for example) have not gone far into showing what these suffixes are, what they do and how they do it in the syntax of Swahili (cf my argument in Chapter I, 1.0.1(a) - (c) and 1.0.3; also, v. further comments on previous treatments as each predicator suffix is discussed below). As pointed out (in Chapter I) these studies are mainly limited by the descriptive frameworks adopted.

Lyndon Harries (1970 : 15-18) has made some interesting observations on the role of the predicator suffixes in Swahili. He suggests that "The classification of radical extensions should be according to shape and syntactic function," (p. 18) and argues that the suffixes mark "obligatory relationship" (p. 15) between predicates and 'Object or Adjunct'. Among the examples he gives to illustrate 'the concept of obligatory relationship' are sentences like 1 and 2 below:

1. S "alíkata           kwa   kijembe  
      he cut with a pen - knife

2. S alíkátia           kwa   kijembe

      he used a pen-knife for cutting" (p.16)

He says that in sentence 1 "kwa kijembe" 'with a pen-knife' "is deletable" but that in 2 it is not. He therefore concludes that -i- marks obligatory relationship between the predicator -kata (cut) and kwa kijembe (with a pen-knife). While it is apparent that the relationship between -kata (cut) and kwa kijembe in 1 is different from the relationship between the same items in 2, it is not clear why -i-, as contrasted with kwa, (in 2 and 1 above) is said to mark



obligatory relationship. It seems, to me, that Harries does not note that both the -i- and kwa, as markers of different surface structure relationships between the predicators and NPs cannot occur without their antecedents. Sentence 3 is ungrammatical, parallel to sentence 4:

3. S\* alikatia  
he past cut with

E "He cut with"

4. S\* alikata kwa  
he past cut with

E "He cut with"

In sentence 1 (above) the whole adjunct kwa kijembe (with a pen-knife) is deletable, but so is the whole of -i- kwa kijembe (with a pen-knife) in sentence 2.

It would thus seem that Harries' concept of obligatory relationship concerns the relationship between the different surface structure relation markers and their antecedent NPs rather than the relationship between the predicates and the co-occurring NPs.

As pointed out (in 1.0.3), in this study, these suffixes are identified as exponents of the syntactic rules discussed below. The rules that have been distinguished as syntactically relevant are those for the -i-, -s-, -n-, -k- and -w- marking. The first<sup>24</sup> two rules are differentiated from the last three on the basis of the surface structure sentence types they derive; the former derive sentences with objects, in most instances, but the latter derive mainly objectless sentences. The rules for the -i- and -s- marking will be discussed in this chapter, but those for the -n-, -k-, and -w- marking will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

2.0.5.1 THE RULE OF -i- MARKING 25

The rule for -i- marking has been labelled the "prepositional" by some grammarians (namely E. O. Ashton 1947 : 217) who have translations into English in mind, as A. Loogman (1965) has noted:

"The directive verb has often been called the 'prepositional' form because English translation normally requires use of an English preposition." (ibid. 1965 : 126)

Loogman himself describes predicators marked with -i- as "the directive verb(s)" (ibid) mainly because he has in mind the part of the rule involving the Goal roles, as is made evident in the following comment:

"When a Swahili speaker uses an active directive form he seems to superimpose on the meaning of the primitive verb a locative orientation basically involving a movement towards or its opposite a movement away from. [- - -] However, the 'directive' force of this verb-form is not limited to physical motion to or from; the implication of the directive form may be an analogical one. Thus some directive forms indicate that an action is for the pleasure or benefit of someone, or conversely, in other cases, that it is to someone's detriment. Use of a directive form may imply that an action is preceding, as it were, from a means or Instrument used in performing it." (ibid. p. 126)

Loogman is aware that the rule involves Goals and Sources, as is apparent in his reference to "a movement towards or its opposite a movement away from." He also notes that the rule deals with the Benefactive and Instrumental roles as well. What he does not do (as all other grammarians who have made reference to these roles have failed to do) is to suggest when these roles undergo this rule. Further, this rule involves more roles than those noted by Loogman (or W. H. Whiteley 1972 : 25; M. Guthrie

1962 : 208-209; and C. M. Eastman 1967: 35-38) as illustrated below.

2.0.5.1a The Rule of -i- marking and the Goal case roles.

The formal marker of this rule is functionally similar to the subject and object markers (refer to 2.0.1.2) in that it indicates that the case role concerned is attached to the predicator. As noted (in 2.0.1.2), in certain case frames, there are often one or two case roles that can become subject or object, in which case they can be attached onto the predicator through their pronominal copies. On the other hand, there are case roles which rarely get attached to the predicator without the application of the rule of -i- marking.

(i) The rule for -i- marking and the Goal and Source roles in  
 $\boxed{A - \overset{\{G\}}{S}(L)}$  case frames.

As noted (in 2.0.1.5) with predicators like S -iba (steal), G -iba (steal); S -ficha (hide), G -bisa (hide); S -nyakua (snatch from), G -nyakula (snatch from); and S -kimbia (run), G -iruka (run) which require the occurrence of either a Goal or Source role, the Goal role can not be incorporated in the predicator unless the -i- marking rule has applied. The S role, on the other hand, may be incorporated into the predicator either by the application of the -i- rule or by Rule 5d (2.0.2.5).

Consequently, the (i) sentences below are unambiguously interpreted as containing S roles, whereas the (ii) sentences, which have i- marked predicators, are ambiguous, having as sources either Goal or Source roles.

5a.(i) (S) Juma a / me / <sup>(S)</sup>ni/ ficha kitabu chake  $\boxed{A - S - O}$   
 Juma he past me hide book his

E Juma has hidden his book from me.

(ii) S Juma a / me / <sup>(S)(G)</sup>ni/fichia kitabu chake [A - (S)(G) - O]  
 Juma he past me keep book his

E Juma has kept his book {with} me.  
 {from}

5b.(i) G O Juma a / <sup>S</sup>m/bisi/re ekitabo kye [A - S - O]  
 Juma he me hide past book his

E Juma has hidden his book from me.

(ii) G O Juma a / <sup>(S)(G)</sup>m/bisi/re ekitabo kye [A - (S)(G) - O]  
 Juma he me keep past book his

E Juma has kept his book {with} me.  
 {from}

6a.(i) S Wahuni wa / me / <sup>S</sup>m/nyakua pesa [A - S - O]  
 gangsters they past him snatch money

E The gangsters have snatched the money from him.

(ii) S Wahuni wa / me / <sup>(S)(G)</sup>m/nyakulia pesa [A - (S)(G) - O]  
 gangsters they past him snatch {for } money  
 {from}

E The gangsters have snatched the money {for } him.  
 {from}

6b.(i) G Abanyanga ba / <sup>S</sup>mu/nyakwir/e /ku esente [A - S - O]  
 gangsters they him snatch past from money

E The gangsters have snatched the money from him.

(ii) G Abanyanga ba / <sup>(S)(G)</sup>mu/nyakuliir /e esente  
 gangsters they him snatch {for } past money  
 {from}

E The gangsters have snatched the money {for } him.  
 {from}

The Goal role which is attached onto the predicator by the rule of -i- marking becomes object in most instances, as shown in the following sentences:

- 7a. S Wa / li / i /fikia <sup>G</sup> nyumba ya askari [A - G]  
they past at it arrive house of guards
- 7b.(i)G B / a / <sup>G</sup> /gi/ tuki /re /ku<sub>26</sub> <sup>G</sup> enyumba ya baisulukale  
they dist it arrive past at house of guards  
past
- E They arrived at the guards' house.
- (ii)G B / a / <sup>G</sup> /gi /tukii /re <sup>G</sup> enyumba ya baisulukale  
they dist at it arrive past house of guards  
past
- E They arrived to attack the guards' house.
- 8a. S Mtoto a / na / <sup>G</sup> /ku /jia [A - G]  
child he pres to you come
- 8b(i) G Omwana a / <sup>G</sup> /kw /iza /ku [A - G]  
child he you come to
- E The child is coming to you.
- (ii)G Omwana a / <sup>G</sup> /kw /izira [A - G]  
child he at you come
- E The child is coming to combat you.  
(V. Footnote 27 Chapter 2)
- 9a. S Ni/ ta/ <sup>G</sup> /ku /rudia [A - G]  
I fut to you return
- 9b.(i)G N/ a / <sup>G</sup> /kw /ira /ku [A - G]  
I fut you return to
- E I shall return to you.
- (ii)G N/ a / <sup>G</sup> /kw /irira [A - G]  
I fut to you return
- E I shall return to deal with you. (i.e. a threat) (ibid.)
- 10a. S A / me / <sup>G</sup> /u /geukia <sup>G</sup> upande ule [A - G]  
he past to it turn side that

- 10b. G A / <sup>G</sup>lu /galukii/re <sup>G</sup>oluyi ludi [A - G]  
 he to it turn past side that  
 E He has turned to the other side.

In the following sentences, however, the G role has not become object despite its being attached onto the predicator by the i- rule.

- 11a. S Tu/ ta/ mw/ul<sup>(G)</sup>ia mbali mnyama huyu [A - O - (G)]  
 we fut him kill far animal this
- 11b. G Tw/ a /mw /it<sup>(G)</sup>ira yala okisolo onu [A - O - (G)]  
 we fut him kill far animal this  
 E We shall kill this animal far away.

- 12a. S Wa / li /taka shida zao zi /ishilie <sup>(G)</sup>mbali  
 they past want problems their they end far  
 [O - (G)]
- 12b. G B / a /taki/re enaku gyawe gi /w<sup>(G)</sup>ere yala  
 they dist want past problems their they end far  
 [O - (G)]  
 E They wanted their problems to end far away.

(ii) The rule of -i- marking and the optional Goal in case frames which include Experiencers [E - - - -]

It was pointed out in section 2.0.2.3 that in case frames which include Agentives the E and G roles cannot be both permitted as discrete case roles (though they may be coreferential). But case frames which do not include Agentives may select both the E and G as discrete case roles, where the E is obligatory and the G is optional. This may be illustrated as follows. Predicators S huruma (sympathy), G kisa (sympathy), for example, have obligatory case frame [E] (which becomes subject or an NP that is unmarked by the formal surface structure sentence relation markers, according to Rule 2b) as the sentences in 13 show:

13a. S <sup>E</sup> Baba yangu ni mtu mwenye huruma [E]  
 father my (is) person with sympathy

13b. G O baba musaiza a /li n' /ekisa [E]  
 father he man he be with sympathy

E My father is a man with sympathy.

In 14 the optional Goals have been selected.

14a. S Wote wa / li / <sup>(G)</sup> m /hurumia [E - (G)]  
 all they past with him sympathize

14b. G Bonabona b/a/<sup>(G)</sup>mu/sasi/ire [E - (G)]  
 E They all sympathized with him.

The application of the i- rule is not obligatory in such case frames, however. As illustrated in 15, the G role may become a surface structure adjunct:

15a. S Wote wa / me /kuwa na huruma <sup>(G)</sup> kwake [E - (G)]  
 all they past be with sympathy with him

15b. G Bonabona ba /li n' ekisa egy <sup>(G)</sup> /a/li [E - (G)]  
 all they be with sympathy where he be  
 E They all sympathize with him.

It is then evident that the rule of -i- marking applies independent of the role selection rules. What it does is to attach the Goal role to the predicator in the surface structure, after which, the Goal role may become object. Further, the rule may induce a predicator to change its surface structure predication characteristics and phonological form. Predicators like huruma (sympathy), and kisa (sympathy) which may not bear the tense or subject/object affixes in some instances of predication (as illustrated in the sentences in 13 and 15) change their predication characteristics if the rule of -i- marking applies (just as they do if the rules of -s-, or -k- marking apply as will be shown

below). In 14 (above), for example, predicators huruma (sympathy) and kisa (sympathy) have incorporated the tense and subject NP pronominal markers. And as shown in 14b, the G predicator has lost the noun class prefix ki- and the root -sa has been reduplicated on the application of the i- rule.

[E - - - - - ] case frames which permit Objectives may also permit Goals. In the sentences in 16, S -fikiri (consider), and G -fumintiriza (consider) have selected Objectives:

16a. S Chakufwa a / li / <sup>O</sup>ya /fikiri <sup>O</sup>mambo haya [E - O]  
 Chakufwa he past them consider proposals these

16b. G O Kyakufa y / a / <sup>O</sup>bi /fumintirizi/re <sup>O</sup>ebigambo ebyo  
 Kyakufwa he dist them consider past proposals these  
 past [E - O]

E Chakufwa considered these proposals.

But S -fikiri (think) and G -lowoza (think) in the sentences in 17 have selected Goals:

17a. S H / a /ja /fikiria <sup>G</sup>ku /omba msaada [E - (G)]  
 neg she unfulfil think about inf ask help  
 asp

E She has not yet thought of asking for help.

17b. G T / a /lowoza/ku <sup>(G)</sup>okw/aba [E - (G)]  
 neg she think about inf go

E She does not think of leaving.

But with predicators S -ona (feel) and G -kwata (feel) the O and G roles may co-occur in addition to the E role as shown in 18:

18a. S Wa / li /<sup>(G)</sup>mw /<sup>O</sup>onea huruma [E - (G) - O]  
 they past for him feel sympathy



18b. G B / a / <sup>(G)</sup>mu /kwatiir/e <sup>O</sup> ekisa E - (G) - O  
 they dist for him feel past sympathy  
 past

E They felt sympathy for him.

In 17 and 18 the O and G roles are formally distinguished through the application of the i- (and/or ku for Gwere) rule to the latter and not to the former.

Notice that the rule of -i- marking applies only to the Goals which cannot be incorporated into the predicator by some other rule. The Goal roles permitted by the predicators S -andika (write), G -wandiika (write), and S -piga (beat), G -kuba (beat), for example, cannot be attached onto the predicator unless the i- rule has applied. Sentences 19-20 where the Goal roles selected by these predicators are incorporated into the predicator by the object selection rule are ungrammatical:

19a. S \* Ni/ me / <sup>(G)</sup>wa /andika barua A - (G) - O  
 I past to them write letter

19b. G \* M/ <sup>(G)</sup>ba /wandiki/re ebaluwa A - (G) - O  
 I to them write past letter  
 E I have written them a letter.

20a. S \* Ni/ ta/ <sup>(G)</sup>ku /piga simu A - (G) - O  
 I fut to you beat telephone

20b. G \* N/ a / <sup>(G)</sup>ku /kuba eisimu A - (G) - O  
 I fut to you beat telephone  
 E I shall ring you up.

With predicators like S -pa (give) and G -wa (give), on the other hand, the Goal roles are normally attached onto the predicators by the object selection rule, as shown in 21:

21a. S Wa / li /  $\overset{G}{\underline{m}}$  /pa nguo [A - G - O]  
 they past him give clothes

21b. G B / a /  $\overset{G}{\underline{mu}}$  /wa /ire engoye [A - G - O]  
 they dist him give past clothes  
 past

E They gave him clothes.

The -i- marking rule is not applicable to the Goals of this sort. The sentences in 22 where the i- rule has applied to the Goals which have become objects in 21 are ungrammatical:

22a.\* S Wa / li /  $\overset{G}{\underline{m}}$  /pea nguo [A - G - O]  
 they past to him give clothes

22b.\* G B / a /  $\overset{G}{\underline{mu}}$  /were/ire engoye [A - G - O]  
 they dist to him give past clothes  
 past

E They gave him clothes.

In conclusion, the rule for the i- marking of Goals is as follows:

Rule 11

With the  $\overset{G}{\underline{A - (S)(L)}}$  ,  $\underline{A - (S)(G) - O}$  ,  $\underline{E - (G)(O)}$  and  $\underline{E - (G) - O}$  case frames as bases, the rule for -i- marking of  $\underline{ten}$  attaches the G role onto the predicator, after which, it may become surface structure object. (Note that the i- rule applies consistently only to the G role in these case frames; it rarely applies to the S role, and never applies to the O role. But the S and O roles can, of course, become surface structure object by Rules 5d and 3b and c (Chapter 2 part 1).

As argued (above) the rule of -i- marking rarely applies to the S case role in  $\overset{G}{\underline{A - (S)(L)}}$  and  $\underline{A - (S)(G) - O}$  case frames.

Even in case frames in which the Goal does not occur, the Source rarely undergoes the i- rule. Some examples are predicates S -isha (be finished), G -wa (be finished); and S -fa (die), G -fa (die), as illustrated below:

23a. S nguvu zote zi/ li /mw<sup>S</sup> /ishia [0-S]  
 energy all it past from him be finished

23b. G amani gonagona ga/ mu<sup>S</sup>/wo /ire /mu (v. footnote 26 Chapter 2)  
 energy all it him be finished past from [0 - S]

E He lost all the energy.

24a. S Mtoto a / me /wa<sup>(S)</sup> /fia [0 - (S)]  
 child he past from them die

24b. G Omwana a / ba<sup>(S)</sup> /fi /re /ku [0 - (S)]  
 child he them die past from

E They have lost the child.

Rule 12 seems to be very restricted, compared to the complementary Rule 5d (v 2.0.2.5).

### Rule 12

With the [0 - S] case frames as bases, the i- rule may apply to incorporate the S role into the predicator.

#### 2.0.5.1b The Rule of -i- marking and the Benefactive case role.

The Benefactive role becomes surface structure object (v. 2.0.3.5 Rule 10), but it only does so after the rule of -i- marking has applied to attach it onto the predicator. This claim is supported by the fact that there is no instance where an optional Benefactive role has become object without the application of the rule. In all of the following sentences, for instance, the Benefactive roles have become objects after the application of the rule. The predicates that have permitted the role are as

follows:

- |   |                           |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| S | - <u>lima</u> (cultivate) | G | - <u>lima</u> (cultivate) |
| S | - <u>andaa</u> (prepare)  | G | - <u>tegeka</u> (prepare) |
| S | - <u>weka</u> (put)       | G | - <u>tereke</u> (put)     |
| S | - <u>omba</u> (ask, pray) | G | - <u>saba</u> (ask, pray) |

- 25a. S A / ta/m<sup>(B)</sup> /limia lini? [A - (B) - (T)]  
 he fut for him cultivate when
- 25b. G Y / a /mu<sup>(B)</sup> /limira di? [A - (B) - (T)]  
 he fut for him cultivate when  
 E When will he cultivate for him?
- 26a. S Wenza /ke wa / li /mw<sup>(B)</sup> /andalia chamsha /kinywa  
 companions his they past for him prepare it wake up mouth  
 [A - (B) - O]
- 26b. G Abaina /ye ba /mu<sup>(B)</sup> /tegekeir/e ekyamakezi  
 companions his they for him prepare past it of morning  
 E His companions prepared breakfast for him.
- 27a. S Mke /we a / li /mw<sup>(B)</sup> /ekea kuku mle mwenye  
 wife his she past for him put chicken therein in  
 mkoba [A - (B) - O - G]  
 bag
- 27b. G Omukali/we y /a /mu<sup>(B)</sup> /terekeir/e onkoko  
 wife his she dist for him put past chicken  
 omu/kikapu [A - (B) - O - G]  
 in bag  
 E His wife put the chicken in the bag for him.

28a. S N/ a /<sup>(B)</sup>ku /ombea safari njema [A - (B) - O]  
 I pres for you pray journey good

28b. G N/<sup>(B)</sup>ku /sabira olugendo olusa [A - (B) - O]  
 I for you pray journey good

E I wish you a safe journey.

optional

The rule of -i- marking, therefore, applies obligatorily to  $\wedge$  Benefactive roles whenever they are permitted in the case frames.

Since the rule marks the Goals as well as the Benefactives in case frames of type [A - - - O], there could be cases of ambiguity in sentences where both the Goal and Benefactive are permitted (as in 27, for example). In Swahili this ambiguity is avoided by establishing the condition that whenever the Goal and Benefactive are both permitted, the latter is the only one that becomes attached onto the predicator. Gwere, however, may allow both roles to be attached onto the predicator and become surface structure objects, on condition that the Benefactive is the only one to which the rule of -i- marking applies, the Goal role being marked by either mu (in) or ku (at, on) (v. footnote 26 Chapter 2) Further, in instances where both the B and G roles have become objects in Gwere, it is the B role NP object prefix which immediately precedes the predicator as shown in 29.

29. G N/<sup>G (B)</sup>ki/mu /terekeir/e /mu onkoko [A - (B) - O - G]  
 I it for him put past in chicken

E "I have put the chicken for him in it."

Both languages then have rule 13:

### Rule 13

The i- rule and the Benefactive role: optional

The Rule for -i- marking applies to the Benefactive case role whenever it is permitted in a case frame.

2.0.5.1c The Rule of -i- marking and the Instrumental case roles

The Instrumental role is often attached onto the predicator through the rule of -i- marking. And, on being attached to the predicator, it occasionally becomes object, as shown in 30:

30a. S Ufunguo huu tu/ ta/u /fungulia mlango wa nyuma.  
 key this we fut with it open door of back  
[A - (I) - O]

30b. G Ekisumulizo kinu tw/ a /ki /igulira omulyango gw'  
 key this we fut with it open door of  
 enyuma.  
 back

E We shall open the back door with this key.

In most instances, the Instrumentals are attached to the predicator without becoming objects as illustrated in the following sentences:

31a. S Bangili hizi tu/ ta/ m /pambia bi arusi [A - I - O]  
 bangles these we fut her dress up bride

31b. G Omugole tw/ a /mu /dingisira bangili ginu. [A - I - O]  
 Bride we fut her dress up bangles these

E We shall dress up the bride with these bangles.

32a. S Mi/ me / m /pigia utundu [A - (I) - O]  
 I past him beat for mischief

32b. G M/ mu/kubiir /e iralu. [A - (I) - O]  
 I him beat for mischief

E I have beaten him for mischief.

33a. S Wa / li /ponea ku /fyonza maji kwenye miti midogo  
 they past be saved inf suck water from trees small  
midogo. [E - (I)]  
 small

33b. G B / a / woneir / e <sup>(I)</sup> ku / nyunyunta maizi g' / obu / saale.  
 they dist be saved past inf suck water of dim.trees  
[E - (I)]

E They were saved by sucking water from shrubs.

Both Swahili and Gwere, therefore have rule 14.

Rule 14

The Instrumental and the -i- rule:

The Rule for -i- marking may apply to attach an Instrumental onto the predicator, after which it may become object.

2.0.5.1d The i- marking rule and the Locative case role.

As shown in 2.0.2.5, the Locative role may be incorporated into the predicator by becoming subject. The only other rule which may attach it onto the predicator is the i- rule, as illustrated below.

It was argued (ibid) that when the Locative role is permitted in case frames which require an obligatory Source or Goal it cannot be incorporated into the predicator as may be seen in 34-37:

34a. S Ni/ ta/ku /tembelea <sup>(L)</sup> huko Wungereza [A - G - (L)]  
 I fut to you walk there England

34b. G N/ a / li /ku /kyalira e <sup>(L)</sup> Wungereza [A - G - (L)]  
 I fut dist to you visit in England  
 fut  
 E I shall visit you in England.

35a. S Machozi ya / li / m /tiririka <sup>(L)</sup> njia/ni [O - S - (L)]  
 tears they past her run way on

35b. G Amaliga g / a /mu /kulumuki/re <sup>(L)</sup> omu/nzira  
 tears they dist her run past on way  
 past  
[O - S - (L)]  
 E She burst into tears on the way.

36a. S Ni/ li / m /pa fedha <sup>(L)</sup> maduka/ni [A - G - O - (L)]  
 I past her give money shops at

36b. G N/ a /mu / wa /ire esente <sup>(L)</sup> omu/maduuka [A - G - O - (L)]  
 I dist her give past money at shops  
 past

E I gave her the money (while we were) at the shops.

37a. S Ni/ li / m /kopa fedha <sup>(L)</sup> mji/ni [A - S - O - (L)]  
 I past her borrow money town in

37b. G N/ a /mw /eko<sup>(L)</sup>pe /re /ku esente omu/kiwuga  
 I dist her borrow past from money in town  
 past [A - S - O - (L)]

E I borrowed money from her (when we were) in town.

In 34, the rule for -i- marking has already applied to the Goal role and consequently cannot apply to attach the Locative role to the predicator. The rule for -i- marking does not operate on its own output.

28

But in 35-37, the i- rule may apply to incorporate the Locatives into the predicators, as shown in 38-40:

38a. S Machozi ya / li / m /tiririkia <sup>(L)</sup> njia/ni [O - S - (L)]  
 tears they past her run way on

38b. G Amaliga g / a / mu/<sup>(L)</sup>lumikiir/e omu/nzira  
 tears they dist her run past on way  
 past [O - S - (L)]

E She burst into tears on the way.

39a. S Ni/ li / m /pea fedha <sup>(L)</sup> maduka/ni [A - G - O - (L)]  
 I past her give money shops at



39b. G N/ a / mu/were/ire esente omu/maduuka<sup>(L)</sup> [A - G - O - (L)]  
 I dist her give past money at shops,  
 past

E I gave her the money at the shops.

40a. S Ni/ li / m /kopea fedha mji/ni<sup>(L)</sup> [A - S - O - (L)]  
 I past her borrow money town in

40b. G N/ a / mw/ekopeir/e /ku esente mu/kiwuga<sup>(L)</sup>  
 I dist her borrow past from money in town  
 past [A - S - O - (L)]

E I borrowed money from her in town.

The i- rule applies to Locatives even in case frames which do not require obligatory Sources or Goals. Locatives are optional constituents of case frames like [A - O], [A - E], [A], and [O], and are normally not attached to the predicator (if they do not become subject), as shown in 41-43:

41a. S Watu wa / na /cheka ndani<sup>(L)</sup> [A - (L)]  
 people they pres laugh inside

41b. G Abantu ba /seka omunda<sup>(L)</sup> [A - (L)]  
 people they laugh inside  
 E People are laughing inside.

42a. S Watu wa / na /tua nguo mtoni<sup>(L)</sup> [A - O - (L)]  
 people they pres wash clothes river at

42b. G Abantu b /oza engoye okumwiga<sup>(L)</sup> [A - O - (L)]  
 people they wash clothes at river  
 E People are washing clothes at the river.

43a. S Watu wa / na /zungumza chumbani<sup>(L)</sup> [A - O - (L)]  
 people they pres talk room in

- 43b. G Abantu ba /tumula <sup>(L)</sup> omu kisenge [A - 0 - (L)]  
 people they talk in room  
 E People are talking in the room.

However, the i- marking rule may apply on sentences 41-43 to incorporate the Locatives into the predicator as illustrated below:

- 44a. S Watu wa / na /chekea <sup>(L)</sup> ndani [A - (L)]  
 people they pres laugh inside
- 44b. G Abantu ba /sekera <sup>(L)</sup> omunda [A - (L)]  
 people they laugh inside  
 E People are laughing inside.
- 45a. S Watu wa / na /fulia nguo <sup>(L)</sup> mtoni [A - 0 - (L)]  
 people they pres wash clothes river at
- 45b. G Abantu b /ozera engoye <sup>(L)</sup> okumwiga [A - 0 - (L)]  
 people they wash clothes at river  
 E People are washing clothes at the river.
- 46a. S Watu wa / na /zungumzia <sup>(L)</sup> chumbani [A - 0 - (L)]  
 people they pres talk room in
- 46b. G Abantu ba /tumulira <sup>(L)</sup> omukisenge [A - 0 - (L)]  
 people they talk in room  
 E People are talking in the room.

In some cases the i- rule applies obligatorily to the permitted Locative. In the following sentences, those in (ii) on which the i- rule has not applied are ungrammatical:

- 47a.(i)S Fulani a / me /kandea <sup>(L)</sup> shuleni [0 - (L)]  
 Somebody he past grow thin school at

- (ii)S\* Fulani a / me /konda <sup>(L)</sup> shuleni [O - (L)]  
 somebody he past grow thin school at
- 47b.(i)G A /yondeir /e <sup>(L)</sup> omwisomero [O - (L)]  
 he grow thin past at school
- (ii)G\* A /yonde /re <sup>(L)</sup> omwisomero [O - (L)]  
 he grow thin past at school
- E He has grown thin at school.
- 48a.(i)S Kichwa ki/ na /ni/umia <sup>(L)</sup> machoni [O - Pt - (L)]  
 head it pres me pain eyes at
- (ii)S\* Kichwa ki/ na /ni/uma <sup>(L)</sup> machoni [O - Pt - (L)]  
 head it pres me pain eyes at
- 48b.(i)G Omutwe gu/ n/numira <sup>(L)</sup> mumaiso [O - Pt - (L)]  
 head it me pain in eyes
- (ii)G\* Omutwe gu/ n/numa mumaiso [O - Pt - (L)]  
 head it me pain in eyes
- E My head smarts at the forehead.
- An optional Locative which has undergone the rule of -i-  
 marking may not be pre-posed. The Locatives in 35-37 (above) may  
 be preposed but those in 38-40 may not. 49-51 are possible but  
 not 52-54:
- 49a. S <sup>(L)</sup> Njiani machozi ya / li / m /tiririka [O - S - (L)]  
 way on tears they past her run
- 49b. G <sup>(L)</sup> Omuzira amaliga g / a / mu/kulumuki/re [O - S - (L)]  
 on way tears they dist her run past  
 past
- E On the way she burst into tears.

50a. S <sup>(L)</sup> Madukani ni/ li / m / pa fedha [A - G - O - (L)]  
shops at I past her give money

50b. G <sup>(L)</sup> Omumaduuka n/ a /mu / wa /ire esente [A - G - O - (L)]  
at shops I dist her give past money  
past

E At the shops I gave her the money.

51a. S <sup>(L)</sup> Mjini ni/ li / m /kopa fedha [A - S - O - (L)]  
town in I past her borrow money

51b. G <sup>(L)</sup> Omukiwuga n/ a / mw/ekope /re /ku esente  
in town I dist her borrow past from money  
past

[A - S - O - (L)]

E In town I borrowed money from her.

52a. S \* <sup>(L)</sup> Njiani machozi ya / li / m /tiririkia [O - S - (L)]  
way on tears they past her run

52b. G \* Omunzira amaliga g / a / mu/kulumukiiir/e [O - S - (L)]  
on way tears they dist her run past  
past

E On the way she burst into tears.

53a. S \* <sup>(L)</sup> Madukani ni/ li / m /pea fedha [A - G - O - (L)]  
shops at I past her give money

53b. G \* <sup>(L)</sup> Omumaduuka n/ a /mu /were/ire esente [A - G - O - (L)]  
at shops I dist her give past money  
past

E At the shops I gave her the money.

54a. S \* <sup>(L)</sup> Mji /ni ni/ li / m /kopea fedha [A - S - O - (L)]  
town in I past her borrow money

- 54b. G \* Omukiwuga n/ a / mw/ekopeir/e esente [A - S - O - (L)]  
in town I dist her borrow past money  
past  
E In town I borrowed money from her.

In conclusion the rule for the i- marking of Locatives is as follows:

Rule 15

The Rule for the i- marking may apply to attach an optional Locative on to the predicator if the subject selection rule has not done so.

2.0.5.1e The Rule for the i- marking and the Reason role

As shown in 2.0.3.2 Reason role NPs are rarely attached to the predicator in the surface structure and may only be so attached after the rule of -i- marking has applied.

The rule of the i- marking may apply simultaneously with the 'why' - question rule on case frames containing the Reason role, as in the following sentences, for example:

- 55a. S A / na / m /pendea <sup>(Rn)</sup> nini? [E - O - (Rn)]  
he pres him like why
- 55b. G A / mu/takira <sup>(Rn)</sup> niki? [E - O - (Rn)]  
he him like why  
E Why does he like him?
- 56a. S W / a / m /dhulumia <sup>(Rn)</sup> nini? [A - E - (Rn)]  
you pres him mistreat why
- 56b. G O / mu/bonabonerya <sup>(Rn)</sup> niki? [A - E - (Rn)]  
you him mistreat why  
E Why do you mistreat him?
- 57a. S Waingereza wa / li /tu/tawalia <sup>(Rn)</sup> nini? [A - E - (Rn)]  
Englishmen they past us rule why

57b. G Abangereza b / a /tu/figiir/e <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
niki? [A - E - (Rn)]  
 Englishmen they dist us rule past why  
 past

E Why did the Englishmen rule us?

58a. S Na /we w / a /kondea <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
nini? [O - (Rn)]  
 conj you you pres grow thin why

58b. G Iwe o /yondera <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
niki? [O - (Rn)]  
 you you grow thin why

E And you, why are you growing thin?

59a. S Wafanyi kazi hu /gomea <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
nini? [A - (Rn)]  
 workmen work hab strike why  
 asp

59b. G Abakozi b /ediimira <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
niki? [A - (Rn)]  
 workmen they strike why

E Why do the workmen go on strike?

The 'why' - question rule may, of course, apply without the i- marking rule, as in 60:

60a. S <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
Kwa nini a / na / m /penda? [E - O - (Rn)]  
 why he pres him like

60b. G <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
Lwaki a / mu/taka? [E - O - (Rn)]  
 why he him like

E Why does he like him?

The Relativization rule, on the other hand, may not apply to a Reason role without the prior application of the i- marking rule to the same role. 61 is possible but not 62:

61a. S <sup>(Rn)</sup> <sup>(Rn)</sup> <sup>(Rn)</sup>  
Sababu ni/ li /yo /jia kw/ako ni hii [A - G - (Rn)]  
 reason I past Rel. come to you is this

- 61b. G <sup>(Rn)</sup> Ensonga <sup>(Rn)</sup> egi /n/jiziir/e egi /o /li <sup>(Rn)</sup> yenu [A - G - (Rn)]  
 reason Rel. I come past where you be is this  
 E This is the reason why I have come to you.

62 where the Relativization rule has applied without the prior application of the i- rule is ungrammatical:

- 62a. S\* <sup>(Rn)</sup> Sababu ni/ li / <sup>(Rn)</sup> yo / <sup>(Rn)</sup> kuja kw/ako <sup>(Rn)</sup> ni hii [A - G - (Rn)]  
 reason I past Rel. come to you is this

- 62b. G\* <sup>(Rn)</sup> Ensonga <sup>(Rn)</sup> egi /n/jizi/re egi / o /li <sup>(Rn)</sup> yenu [A - G - (Rn)]  
 reason Rel I come past where you be is this  
 E This is the reason why I have come to you.

It is, however, not the case that the 'why' -question rule or the Relativization rule apply to the Reason roles whenever they undergo the i- marking rule. 63 to which the i- rule has applied has not undergone the 'why'- question or Relativization rule:

- 63a. S <sup>(Rn)</sup> Sababu ni/ me / <sup>(Rn)</sup> i / <sup>(Rn)</sup> jia kw/ako <sup>(Rn)</sup> ni hii [A - G - (Rn)]  
 reason I past for it come to you is this

- 63b. G <sup>(Rn)</sup> Ensonga n/jiziir /e <sup>(Rn)</sup> yenu egi / o /li [A - G - (Rn)]  
 reason I come for past is this where you be  
 E The reason why I have come to you is this.

As may be seen in 63a, the Rn role may become object on being attached to the predicator. Another example is shown in 64, with predicators S -fa (strive), and G -fa (strive):

- 64a. S N/ a <sup>(Rn)</sup> /wa / <sup>(Rn)</sup> fia <sup>(Rn)</sup> ndugu zangu [A - (Rn)]  
 I pres for them strive brothers my

- 64b. G M/<sup>(Rn)</sup> ba / <sup>(Rn)</sup> fera <sup>(Rn)</sup> abaganda bange [A - (Rn)]  
 I for them strive brothers my  
 E I am striving for the sake of my brothers.

The rule for the i- marking of the Reason roles is as follows:

Rule 16

The Rule for the i- marking may apply to attach a Reason role onto the predicator, after which it may,

- i become object
- ii undergo the 'why'- question rule
- iii undergo the Relativization rule.

2.0.5.1f The Rule for the i- marking and the Time role

The Time roles are also rarely incorporated into the predicator. Even in case frames where they are required (v. 2.0.3.3) if the subject selection rule does not attach them onto the predicator, only the rule for the i- marking may do so. The predicators S -chukua (occupy) and G -twala (occupy), for example, have case frame [E - O - T]. In 65 the Time role is not attached to the predicator in the surface structure:

65a. S Safari i / li / tu / chukua <sup>T</sup> siku saba [E - O - T]  
 journey it past us take days seven

65b. G Olugendo lw/ a / tu / twair / e <sup>T</sup> enaku musanvu [E - O - T]  
 journey it dist us take past days seven  
 past

E The journey took us seven days.

But in 66, the Time role has been attached onto the predicator:

66a. S Safari i / li / tu / chukulia <sup>T</sup> siku saba [E - O - T]  
 journey it past us take days seven

66b. G Olugendo lw/ a / tu / twaliir / e <sup>T</sup> enaku musanvu [E - O - T]  
 journey it dist us take past days seven

E The journey took us seven days.



The relativization rule applying on the Time roles also requires that they be attached to the predicator, as they are in the following sentences:

67a. S I / li /nyesha <sup>(T)</sup>siku a / li / <sup>(T)</sup>yo /ja [A - (T)]  
 it past rain day he past Rel. come

67b. G G / a /tonye/re <sup>(T)</sup>olunaku o <sup>(T)</sup>/lu/ y/ a /iziir/e /ku  
 it dist rain past day Rel it he dist come past on  
 past past  
 [A - (T)]

E It rained the day he came.

68a. S A / li /fariki <sup>(T)</sup>siku a / li / <sup>(T)</sup>yo /zalia [A - O - (T)]  
 she past die day she past Rel. give birth

68b. G Y / a /fi /re <sup>(T)</sup>olunaku o <sup>(T)</sup>/lu/ y / a /byaliir/  
 she dist die past day Rel. it she dist give birth  
 past past  
 e /ku  
 past on [A - O - (T)]

E She died the day she gave birth.

In 67 and 68, the predicators S -ja (come), G - iza (come) and S -zaa (give birth), G -byala (give birth), plus the permitted Time roles have undergone the i- rule before the relativization rule. This claim is supported by the fact that the i- rule may apply to a Time role without the relativization rule (as shown in 66) whereas the Relativization rule may not apply to a Time role without the i- rule (unless it has undergone the subject selection rule). 67 (to take one example) would be ungrammatical without the application of the i- rule, as shown in 69:

69a. S\* I / li /nyesha <sup>(T)</sup>siku a / li / <sup>(T)</sup>yo /<sup>ku</sup>ja [A - (T)]  
 it past rain day he past Rel come

69b. G\* G / a /tonye/re olunaku o lu/y / a /izi /re  
 it dist rain past day Rel it he dist come past  
 past past

[A - (T)]

E It rained the day he came.

The rule for the i- marking of the Time roles is as

follows:

Rule 17

The Rule of -i- marking may apply to attach a Time Role onto the predicator, after which it may undergo the relativization rule.

2.0.5.1g The Rule of -i- marking and the Manner role

The Manner role is rarely attached to the predicator in the surface structure. However, quite often, the reiterative aspect is implied in the predicators that have undergone the rule of -i- marking (which is normally marked with a reduplicated suffix in such cases). Instances of this kind may be considered a subcategory of the Manner role. We may then argue that the rule for the i- marking applies to a "built-in" (W. A. Cook 1971 : 14) Manner role. In the following sentences, for example, the predicators

- |   |                         |   |                        |
|---|-------------------------|---|------------------------|
| S | - <u>piga</u> (beat)    | G | - <u>kuba</u> (beat)   |
| S | - <u>shinda</u> (press) | G | - <u>sinya</u> (press) |
| S | - <u>uliza</u> (ask)    | G | - <u>wulya</u> (ask)   |
| S | - <u>shika</u> (hold)   | G | - <u>kwata</u> (hold)  |
| S | - <u>penda</u> (like)   | G | - <u>taka</u> (like)   |

have permitted a 'built-in' Manner role of the [+extent] sub-class:

70a. S Ni/ li /pigilia<sup>(MExt)</sup> vijiti chini ya mlango [A - 0 - (M)]  
 I past beat repeatedly sticks down of door

70b. G N/ a /kubiriir<sup>( MExt)</sup> /e obusale ahansi w'/omulyango  
 I dist beat repeatedly past sticks down of door  
 past [A - O - (M)]

E I hammered the sticks below the door.

71a. S Wa / li /shindilia<sup>( MExt)</sup> imara [A - (M)]  
 they past press over and over firmly

71b. G B / a /sinyiriir<sup>( MExt)</sup> /e byamaani [A - (M)]  
 they dist press over and over past firmly  
 past

E They pressed over firmly.

72a. S Tu/ li /u lizia<sup>( MExt)</sup> kiongozi wetu [A - (M)]  
 we past ask continually guide our

72b. G Tw/ a /wuliriiry<sup>( MExt)</sup> /e omukulembere waisu [A - (M)]  
 we dist ask continually past guide our  
 past

E We kept on asking our guide.

73a. S Shikilia<sup>( MExt)</sup> amri za Mungu [A - (M)]  
 Hold on to commands of God

E Observe God's commandments.

73b. G Ba / ba /kwa tiriir<sup>( MExt)</sup> /e [A - (M)]  
 they them hold on to past

E They were holding on to them.

74a. S Wanawake wa / na /pendelea<sup>( MExt)</sup> vitu vizuri [E - O - (M)]  
 women they pres like things nice

74b. G Abakali ba /takiriirya<sup>( MExt)</sup> ebintu ebisa [E - O - (M)]  
 women they like things nice

E Women are fond of nice things.

Rule 18 shows the application of the i- rule to the Manner roles.

Rule 18

The Rule of -i- marking may apply to a permitted 'built-in' Manner role.

In conclusion, the rule of -i- marking has been shown to have one major function:

It incorporates into the predicator case roles that would otherwise remain unattached to it after the application of the subject and object rules. In so doing, the i- rule brings many more case roles in a position where they can undergo other rules; the object, relativization, interrogative and other rules that apply mainly to roles which are incorporated into the predicator. As Edward L. Keenan puts it "they make inaccessible NP accessible" (1972).<sup>30</sup> Most of the case roles that are inaccessible to the object selection rules discussed in 2.0.2.5 and 2.0.3 are now accessible, after the i- rule.

2.0.5.2 THE RULE OF -S- MARKING 31

In previous studies, sentences with predicators suffixed with -s- have been described within surface structure syntactic theories.

As pointed out (cf the discussion in Chapter 1) it has been made to appear as though the predicators suffixed with -s- are different lexical items from the root predicators.

Similarly, the s- sentences have been taken as a separate and unrelated sentence type, involving terms like "director" and "actor" (Carol Scotton (1967b)). Scotton argues that a 'director' subject "directs someone else to do the acting" whereas the 'actor' subject "is the individual who actually carries out the action inherent in the meaning of the extended verb" (ibid: p. 251). Thus, according to her treatment, the sentences in 1 would have 'actor' subjects:

1a. S Ni/ me /mw /amsha 'actor'  
I past him wake up

1b. G M/ mu/lamukirye 'actor'  
I him wake up past  
E I have woken him up.

The sentences in 2 would have 'director' subjects:

2a. S Ni/ li / m/ pikisha chakula 'director'  
I past her make cook food

2b. G N/ a / mu/sumbisirye emmere. 'director'  
I dist her make cook past food  
past  
E I made her cook food.

And the sentences in 3 which contain "simple transitive verbs" (ibid: p. 260) have unqualified subjects:

3a. S Ni/ li /pika chakula Subject  
I past cook food

3b. G N/ a /sumbi/re emmere Subject  
 I dist cook past food  
 past

E I cooked food.

Further, perhaps because of the label 'causative' all sentences involving -s- have been assumed to be semantically causatives. But this is not true. The sentences in 4-5 have two interpretations:

4a. S A / na / mw/endesha mtoto -enda (walk)  
 he pres him have } walk child  
 accompany)

4b. G A /tambulya omwana -tambula (walk)  
 he have } walk child  
 accompany)

E(i) He is making the child walk. (may be X has commanded the child to walk).

(ii) He is walking along with the child

5a. S Ni/ li / m /pitisha kwa rafiki yake. -pita (pass)  
 I past him have } pass via friend his  
 accompany)

5b. G N/ a / mu/bitisirye(ku) owa/mukagwa/we -bita (pass)  
 I dist him have } pass via friend his  
 past accompany)

E(i) I had him call on his friend.

(ii) I escorted him to his friend.

The sentences in 6-9 also have two interpretations:

6a. S A / li / m /somesha thesis yake. -soma (read)  
 he past him make } read thesis his  
 help)

6b. G Y / a / mu/someserye (ku) e thesis ye -soma (read)  
 he dist him make } read past thesis his  
 past help)

E(i) He made him read his thesis.

(ii) He helped him read his thesis.

7a. S A / li / m /chotesha maji -chota (fetch)  
 he past him have) fetch water  
 help)

7b. G Y / a / mw/a bisirye (ku) amaizi -aba (fetch)  
 he dist him have) fetch past water  
 past help)

E(i) He made him fetch water.

(ii) He helped him fetch water.

8a. S A / li / m /pikisha chakula -pika (cook)  
 he past him have) cook food  
 help)

8b. G Y / a /mu /sumbisirye (ku) emmere -sumba (cook)  
 he dist him have) cook past food  
 help)

E(i) He made him cook food.

(ii) He helped him cook food.

9a. S A / li / m /fulisha nguo -fua (wash)  
 he past him make) wash clothes  
 help)

9b. G Y / a / mw/ozeserye(ku) engoye. -oza (wash)  
 he dist him make) wash past clothes  
 past help)

E(i) He made him wash clothes.

(ii) He helped him wash clothes.

Thus, if we argue (as W. H. Whiteley (1968) does) that s- sentences imply

"a 'direct' causation of A to B, e.g. maneno yake yalinig-  
 chekesha 'His words made me laugh' [- - - - -] ; and an  
 'indirect' causation in which A causes B to do C (or some variant  
 of this triple relationship), e.g. shida ya mchele ilinipendesha  
 muhogo., 'The shortage of rice forced me to like cassava', whereby  
 the extended verb is followed by a second object, [- - -] ," (ibid  
 p. 89) we account for the 'causative' interpretations of 4-9 but  
 ignore the other interpretations (shown in 4-5 and 6-9 above)

In this study, s- sentences are shown to be related to the simple case frames already discussed (in Chapter 2 Part 1). It is quite untenable to postulate case roles like 'Director' and 'Causer' which are distinct from the Agentives and Instrumentals (discussed in 2.0.2.1 and 2.0.2.4, respectively). Carol Scotton (1967b: 260) has concluded that many "causative shapes" "behave syntactically and semantically as simple non-extended transitive verbs." We can argue in the same way to show that the case roles which are permitted by the "causative shapes" and all the other s- predicators are not "syntactically and semantically" different from those permitted by the "simple non-extended transitive verbs" (such as those dealt with in Part 1 of this Chapter).

As an example, let us consider the relationships between the subject NPs and the predicators in the following sentences. The sentences in (i) have not undergone the s- rule, but those in (ii) have:

10a.(i) S Dawa i / li / mw/ua  
 medicine it past him kill

E The medicine killed him.

(ii) S Dawa i / li / m /laza -lala (sleep)  
 medicine it past him make sleep

E The medicine made him sleep.

10b.(i) G Obulezi bw/ a / mw/iti /re  
 medicine it dist him kill past  
 past

E The medicine killed him.

(ii) G Obulezi bw/ a / mu/goneserye -gona (sleep)  
 medicine it dist him make sleep  
 past

E The medicine made him sleep.

In 10, the semantic relation of the subject NPs in (i) to the actions concerned may be interpreted as 'Instigator', 'Causer' etc. The same semantic relation is evident between the subject



NPs in (ii) and the actions involved. There is, therefore, no reason why the subject NPs in (i) should be said to be in the Instrumental role while those in (ii) are said to be exponents of some other case role.

The subject NPs in the following sentences also bear the same semantic relation to the predicators which have permitted them:

11a.(i) S A / me / m /piga  
he past him hit

E He has hit him.

(ii) S A / me / mw/umiza  
he past him hurt

E He has hurt him.

11b.(i) G A / mu/kubi/re  
he him hit past

E He has hit him.

(ii)G A / mu/nogerye  
he him hurt past

E He has hurt him.

The underlined NPs in 11 bear the properties [+volition, +Instigator etc] in relation to the predicators. There is, then, no justification for attributing them to different underlying case roles; according to the argument maintained in this study, they are all Agentives (v. 2.0.2.1).

Assuming that the underlying case frames of the s- sentences are related to the case frames already discussed we shall now consider whether the meanings ('causation', 'accompaniment', 'help') noted above originate from deep structure predicates.

One could argue that the postulation of higher predicators like S -fanya (make), G -gira (make); S -sindikiza (accompany), G -yereka (accompany); and S -saidia (help), G -yamba (help) in

the deep structures of 4-9 (above) would help one account for the ambiguity of those sentences. If we maintain this argument we would be claiming that "paraphrases" of sentences with -s- formed with predicators such as these are synonymous with the -s- sentences. This may be true of sentences like 12-15. The sentences in 12 are synonymous with those in 13:

12a. S Ni/ li / m /chotessha maji.  
I past him make fetch water

12b. G N/ a / mw/abisirye amaizi  
I dist him make fetch water  
past

E I made him fetch water.

13a. S Ni/ li / m /fanya a /chote maji  
I past him make he fetch water

13b. G N/ a / giri/re na / y/aba amaizi  
I dist make past conj he fetch water  
past

E I made him fetch water.

The sentences in 14 are synonymous with those in 15:

14a. S Ni/ li / m /chotessha maji  
I past him help fetch water

14b. G N/ a / mw/abisirye /ku amaizi  
I dist him help fetch water  
past

E I helped him fetch water.

15a. S Ni/ li / m /saidia ku /chota maji  
I past him help inf fetch water

15b. G N/ a / mu/yambi/re okw/aba amaizi  
I dist him help past inf fetch water  
past

E I helped him to fetch water.

However, it is not always possible to obtain synonymous sentence pairs like those in 12/13 and 14/15. Thus, even if the sentences in 17 were grammatical, they would not be synonymous with those in 16:

16a. S A / na / mw/endesha mtoto  
he pres him accompany walk child

16b. G A /tambulya omwana  
he accompany walk child

E He is walking along with the child.

17a. S\* A / na / m /sindikiza kw /enda mtoto  
he pres him accompany inf walk child

17b. G\* A / mw/ereka oku/tambula omwana  
he him accompany inf walk child

E "He is accompanying the child to walk."

The sentences in 18 are not synonymous with those in 19:

18a. S Ni/ li / mw/amsha mapema -amka (wake)  
I past him wake up early

18b. G N/ a / mu/lamukirye bwirebwire -lamuka (wake)  
I dist him wake up past early  
past

E I woke him up early.

19a. S Ni/ li / m /fanya amke mapema  
I past him make wake up early

19b. G N/ a /giri/re n / a/lamuka bwirebwire  
I dist make past conj he wake up early  
past

E I made him wake up early.

The sentences in 18 can only be synonymous with those in 19 if compulsion is implied in 18 as well.

Similarly, 20a is not synonymous with 21a, and 21b as a possible paraphrase of 20b is not possible:

20a. S Najum a / li /ji /funika nguo jeusi a / ka/bakisha  
Najum she past Ref. cover cloth black she nar leave over  
asp

macho tu.

-baki (remain)

eyes only

20.b. G O Najuma y / e /sereke/re n / a /sigalya /ku  
 Najuma she Ref cover past conj she leave over only  
 maiso. -sigala (remain)  
 eyes

E Najum covered <sup>him</sup> herself with a black cloth leaving  
 only the eyes.

21a. S Najum a / li /ji /funika nguo jeusi a / ka/ ya /fanya  
 Najum she past Ref cover cloth black she nar them make  
 asp asp  
 macho tu ya /bakie.  
 eyes only they remain over.

E Najum covered <sup>him</sup> herself with a black cloth and made only  
 the eyes remain over.

21b. G\* O Najuma y / e /sereke/re n / a /gira maiso gonka  
 Najuma she Ref cover past cond she make eyes only  
 oku/sigala.  
 inf remain.

E Najuma covered <sup>him</sup> herself and made only the eyes remain  
 over.

The sense of effort that is established in 21 makes it semantically  
 different from 20. 22 is also semantically different from 23:

22a. S A / li /rudisha uso nje. -rudi (return)  
 she past make return face outside

22b. G Y / a /irirye amaiso enza. -ira (return)  
 she dist make return eyes outside  
 past

E She looked outside again.

23a. S\* A / li / u/fanya uso u /rudie nje.  
 she past it make face it return outside

23b. G\* Y / a /giri/re amaiso ni / ga /ira enza.  
 she dist make past eyes nar they return outside  
 past asp

E She made the eyes return outside.

The effort that is evident in 23 differentiates it from 22 where no such effort is implied. 25 cannot be a paraphrase of 24:

24. S Wa / li / m /zawadisha kuku.  
they past him present hen

E They presented him with a hen.

25. S Wa / li / m /fanya (a /pokee) zawadi ya kuku.  
they past him make he receive present of hen

E "They made him (receive) the present of a hen."

With predicators like S karibu (be at, be near), G -sembera (come near); and S tayari (ready), G -gira (make) the sentences with the predicators which could be said to have been deleted by the rule for -s- marking are not grammatical, as illustrated below.

26a. S Baba /ngu a / li / m /karibisha sebule /ni.  
father my he past him welcome reception room in

26b. G O baba y / a / mu/sembeirye omw/idiiro.  
father he dist him welcome in reception room  
past

E My father invited him into the reception room.

The sentences in 27 that could be considered as paraphrases of 26 are ungrammatical:

27a. S\* Baba /ngu a / li / m /fanya karibu sebule /ni.  
father my he past him make be at reception room in

E "My father made him be in the reception room."

27b. G\* O baba y / a / giri/re n / a/sembera omw/idiiro.  
father he dist make past conj he be near in reception room  
past

E "My father made him be near the reception room."

28a. S Dada a / li /tayarisha chakula.  
sister she past get ready food

E My sister prepared some food.

28b. G Ni/we o /girisirye binu.  
be you you make happen past this

E It is you who caused this.

29a. S\* Dada a / li /ki/fanya tayari chakula.

sister she past it make ready food

E My sister made the food ready.

29b. G\* Ni/we o /giri/re binu oku/gira.

be you you make past this inf make

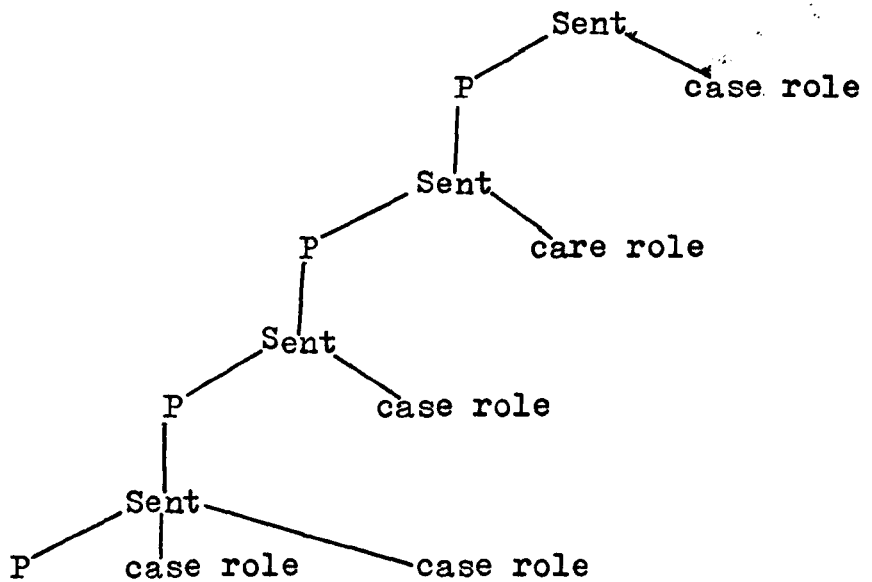
E "It is you who made this be made."

Since the predicators which could be postulated as being in the deep structure of all sentences on which the rule of -s- marking has operated (predicators like S -fanya (make), G -gira (make)) are not recoverable in all the contexts where the rule can apply the argument that the rule always deletes one or more higher predicates cannot hold. As illustrated above, many of the sentences containing such predicators are semantically different from the -s- sentences, and others are anomalous.

It would seem that the deep structure predicators underlying the meanings 'causation', 'accompaniment', 'help' etc. in -s- sentences are not comparable to any of the Swahili and Gwere predicators with which we are familiar. Also, if such predicators exist in the deep structure of -s- sentences, there seems to be a rule which deletes them obligatorily from the surface structure, such that any possible paraphrases of the s- sentences containing these predicators are either anomalous or semantically different from the s- sentences which they are supposed to be paraphrases of. Thus, we can only postulate deletable higher predicators in the deep structures of s- sentences in Swahili and Gwere. And if this is the case, then there is no point of positing predicators which are to be deleted obligatorily in most instances. As R. S. Jackendoff (1972 : 25-28) argues for English, it is not really necessary to posit "hypothetical pro-verbs" "which never appear in the surface, and which always must be deleted by a particular transformation (which in turn is used only to delete pro-verbs)."

It is, therefore, proposed in this study that the rule for the s- marking operates on only one predicator in the deep structure, in both languages. It is, however, evident that the rule very often operates on complex underlying structures involving two or more sentences (as will be shown below). But whatever the number of underlying sentences might be, only one of the sentences contains a predicate, all the other sentences contain only a case role and a dominated sentence, as illustrated in figure 16:

Figure 16:



The lowest sentence is always the one that contains the predicator that bears the rule marker in the surface structure. It is also the sentence that may have more than one case role.

The meanings like 'causation', 'accompaniment', 'help' etc. are considered to be surface structure meanings in this study. No attempt is, however, made to formalize them here; they are beyond the scope of this treatment.

2.0.5.2a The Rule for the s- marking and the predicators which normally occur in Agentless case frames.

In 2.0.2.1 and 2.0.2.4 predicators which require an obligatory Agentive or Instrumental or both in their case frames were discussed. In this section, it will be shown that predicators which do not

require an Agentive may permit it after the application of the s- rule.

It was shown in 2.0.2.3<sup>that</sup> there are predicators which require only the Objective case role, all the other case roles being selected optionally. The predicators S - amka (wake up), G - lamuka (wake up), for example have obligatory case frame [0], where the one role becomes the subject (according to Rule 3a) as shown in 30:

30a. S Ni/ li /amka. [0]

I past wake up

30b. G N/ a /lamuki /re. [0]

I dist wake up past  
past

E I woke up.

When the Agentive is permitted, it becomes surface structure subject (according to Rule 1), while the Objective role becomes surface structure object (according to Rule 3b), as shown in 31:

31a. S <sup>(A)</sup> Ni/ li / <sup>O</sup> mw/amsha. [(A) - 0]

I past him wake up

31b. G <sup>(A)</sup> N/ a / <sup>O</sup> mu/lamukirye. [(A) - 0]

I dist him wake up past  
past

E I woke him up.

As shown in 31 the Agentive is permitted after the application of the s- rule. 32 where the Agentive is permitted without the application of the s- marking rule is ungrammatical:

32a. S\* <sup>(A)</sup> Ni/ li / <sup>O</sup> mw /amka. [(A) - 0]

I past him wake up

32b. G\* <sup>(A)</sup> N/ a / <sup>O</sup> mu/lamuki /re. [(A) - 0]

I dist him wake up past  
past



E I woke him up.

Some other predicators (in addition to those discussed in 2.0.2.3) which behave like S -amka (wake up) and G -lamuka (wake up) in the selection of the Agentives are as follows:

S sababu (have a reason)

S zawadi (present)

S maana (have meaning)

S karibu (be at, be near)

S tayari (be ready)

G -etegefu (be ready)

S -waka (burn)

G -yaka (burn)

According to the condition stated in 2.0.2.4 (condition 4A which requires that only the predicators which can permit an Agentive in the deep structure may have Instrumentals for subjects) these predicators to which the rule of -s- marking has applied may have Instrumental subjects, as illustrated in 33:

33a. S <sup>(I)</sup> Makelele ya watoto ya / li / <sup>O</sup>ni / amsha. [(I) - O]  
 screams of children they past me wake up

33b. G <sup>(I)</sup> Oku/lekana kwa abaana ku/ n/damukirye. [(I) - O]  
 it shout of children it me wake up

E The children's screams woke me up.

A number of predicators select either an Agentive or an Objective, that is, they have case frame (A)(O) - - - in the deep structure. And in the surface structure the two case roles are normally alternants in the subject function, as may be illustrated with predicators S -enda (go), G -yaba (go) below:

34a. S <sup>A</sup> Ni/ li /kw /enda mji /ni [A - G]  
 I past inf go town to

34b. G <sup>A</sup> N/ a /abi/re omu/kiwuga [A - G]  
 I dist go past to town  
 past

E I went to town.

35a. S <sup>O</sup> Gari li/ na /kw /enda mji /ni [O - G]  
 car it past inf go town to

35b. G <sup>O</sup> Ekiruka ky/aba mu/kiwuga [O - G]  
 car it go to town

E The car is going to town.

In the course of the rule of -s- marking, however, the two case roles may both occur in surface structure, in which case the Agentive becomes subject and the Objective becomes object (according to Rules 1 and 3b, respectively) as shown in 36:

36a. S <sup>(A)</sup> Baba a / na /endesha <sup>(O)</sup> gari [(A) - (O)]  
 father he pres make go car

E Father is driving a car

36b. G <sup>(A)</sup> Abantu b /abisya <sup>(O)</sup> omulimo mu/maiso [(A) - (O) - G]  
 people they make go work in front

E The people are advancing the work.

The rule of -s- marking then permits the two roles (the Agentive and Objective) which would otherwise be in complementary distribution to co-occur. Some other predicators which display the same case role selection characteristics as S -enda (go), and G -yaba (go) are as follows:

S - <u>baki</u> (remain)	G - <u>sigala</u> (remain)
S - <u>rudi</u> (return)	G - <u>ira</u> (return)
S - <u>tangulia</u> (precede)	G - <u>soka</u> (precede)
S - <u>fika</u> (arrive)	G - <u>tuka</u> (arrive)
S - <u>pita</u> (pass)	G - <u>bita</u> (pass)

It is mainly the predicators which occur in case frame  $[(A)(O) - \overset{(G)}{(S)}(L)]$  which belong to this group.

The rule for *-s-* marking applies to the predicators which select case frames [E - (O)] or [E - I] as well. Predicators of this case frame class may also permit Agentives if the rule for the *s-* marking applies. This may be illustrated using the predicators S *-furahi* (be happy) and G *isanyu* (have happiness). In 37, both predicators have case frame [E]:

37a. S Ndugu wote wa / li / furahi [E]  
 relatives all they past be happy

37b. G Aboluganda bonabona ba /ba/ire isanyu [E]  
 relatives all they be past happiness

E All the relatives were happy.

In 38, the same predicators have selected an Agentive:

38a. S <sup>(A)</sup>Mzee a / li / <sup>E</sup>tu/furahisha sote [(A) - E]  
 father he past us amuse

38b. G <sup>(A)</sup>O Mukulu y / a / <sup>E</sup>tu/sanyusi/re swenaswena [(A) - E]  
 father he dist us amuse past all  
 past

E Father amused us all.

Predicators of this case frame class also do not permit Agentives without the application of the *s-* rule. 39 where the Agentives are permitted without the application of the rule is ungrammatical.

39a. S \* <sup>(A)</sup>Mzee a / li / <sup>E</sup>tu/furahi [(A) - E]  
 father he past us be happy

39b. G \* <sup>(A)</sup>O Mukulu y / a / <sup>E</sup>tu/ba/ire isanyu [(A) - E]  
 father he dist us be past happiness

E "Father was us happy."

According to condition 4A (v 2.0.2.4) these predicators may have an Instrumental subject after the application of the *s-* rule, as may be seen in 40:

- 40a. S <sup>(I)</sup> Mchezo      wake u / li / <sup>E</sup> /tu/furahisha      [(I) - E]  
 performance his it past us amuse
- 40b. G Ebigezo      bye by/ a /tu/sanyusi/re      [(I) - E]  
 performance his it dist us amuse past  
 past

E His performance amused us.

Some other predicators which display the same syntactic characteristics as S -furahi (be happy) G -isanyu (have happiness) after the rule of -s- marking has applied include those said to occur in case frames [E - (O) - (I)] in 2.0.2.2 and 2.0.2.4.

In altering the subject and object selection rules 2a-b; 3a-c; and 5d (discussed in 2.0.2.2; 2.0.2.3; and 2.0.2.5, in that order) the rule of -s- marking induces some other changes in the surface structure distribution of some case roles (especially in Swahili).

Rule 3e states that in [A - E - O], [A - S - O] and [A - G - O] case frames the O role may not become surface structure object, in Swahili. There is no distinction between A roles which originate in simple case frames and those, discussed in this section, which originate in higher sentences. Thus, even in sentences which have undergone the -s- rule and whose A role originates in a higher sentence (that is, sentences with underlying case frames [(A) - E - O], [(A) - S - O] and [(A) - G - O]) the O role cannot become object, in Swahili. In Gwere, where the O role in the above case frames can become object (again it is the case that the origin of the A role is immaterial), the O role in sentences containing a 'higher' A role may also become object.

In other instances, the operation of the -s- rule may induce the E role in [E - O] case frames to become an adjunct while the O role becomes object as shown in 41 and 42:

41. S Mzee Mashoga a / li / m / julisha mama Kidazi  
 elder Mashoga he past her introduce mother Kidazi  
 kimila <sup>E</sup> kwa bwana Amu [(A) - E - O]  
 according to custom to Mr. Amu

E According to the custom, Mashoga introduced mother  
 Kidazi to Mr. Amu.

42. G <sup>(A)</sup> <sup>O</sup> A / m / boneserye <sup>E</sup> n' / abaibi [(A) - E - O]  
 he me make seen past by thieves

E He has showed me to the thieves.

But cases of the E roles becoming adjuncts after the  
 application of the rule of -s- marking to the (E - O) case frames  
 seem to be very restricted. Apart from the examples given in 41-  
 42, no other such occurrences are known to this writer, so far.

2.0.5.2b The Rule of -s- marking often operates on complex  
 underlying structures

Throughout the analysis of the predicators and their selected  
 case frames in Chapter 2 Part 1, no instance was found of case  
 roles recurring in a given case frame, <sup>(except in 2.0.4)</sup> either in deep structure  
 or in surface structure. And in 2.0.2.4, it was argued that  
 Instrumentals do not become subjects in surface structure sentences  
 which contain Agentives.

It will be shown below that the rule of -s- marking may  
 derive surface structures which contain more than one Agentive,  
 and may have Instrumental subjects and Agentive objects. The  
 sentences in 43, for example, have two Agentives:

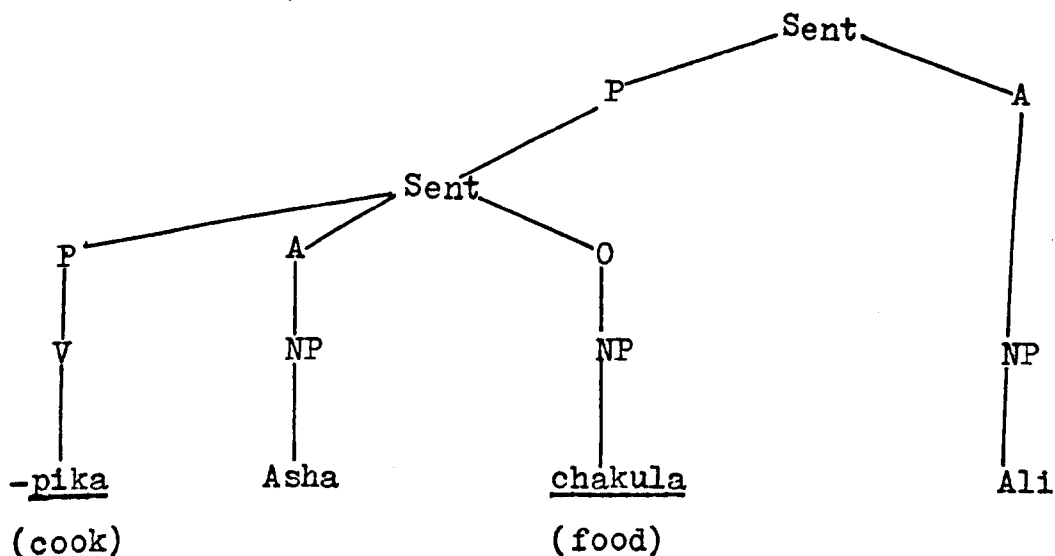
43a. S <sup>(A)</sup> <sup>A</sup> Ali a / li / m / pikisha Asha chakula [(A) - A - O]  
 Ali he past him make cook Asha food

43b. G O <sup>(A)</sup>Ali y / a /sumbisi<sub>r</sub>rye o <sup>A</sup>Asha emmere (A) - A - O  
 Ali he dist make cook past Asha food  
 past

E Ali made Asha cook food.

It is argued here that the Agentive which has become object in 43 is the one that is required in the obligatory case frame selected by the predicators S -pika (cook) and G -sumba (cook). The Agentive that has become subject in 43 is derived from a higher sentence in the underlying phrase marker of 43. The posited deep structure for 43 is figure 17:

Figure 17:



Similarly, the sentences in 44 are derived from a complex deep structure. The predicators S -oa (marry) G -kwa (marry) have obligatory case frame A - O but the derived sentences in 44 have an additional Agentive which is not drawn into the case frames of the predicators through predictor/case role dependency relations.

44a. S <sup>(A)</sup>Baba a / li / mw/ozesha <sup>A</sup>Ali <sup>O</sup>mke (A) - A - O  
 father he past him help marry Ali wife

44b. G <sup>(A)</sup>Oite /ye y / a /kwoireserye /ku o <sup>A</sup>Ali omukali  
 father his he dist help marry past Ali wife

(A) - A - O

E Ali's father helped him get a wife.

(i.e. he helped him to pay the bride price)

The sentences in 44 have the same underlying phrase marker as those in 43.

Condition 4A (v. 2.0.2.4) applies to these complex sentences as well. The dominating sentence in the deep structure may have an I instead of an A, as may be seen in 45:

45a. S <sup>(I)</sup>  
Dhuluma     i / li / <sup>A</sup>m / pakatisha     <sup>O</sup>boga  
 selfishness it past him make hold in lap pumpkin  
[(I) - A - O]

45b. G <sup>(I)</sup>  
Omululu     gu / <sup>A</sup>mu / leleserye     ekiriwa  
 selfishness it him make hold in lap past pumpkin  
[(I) - A - O]

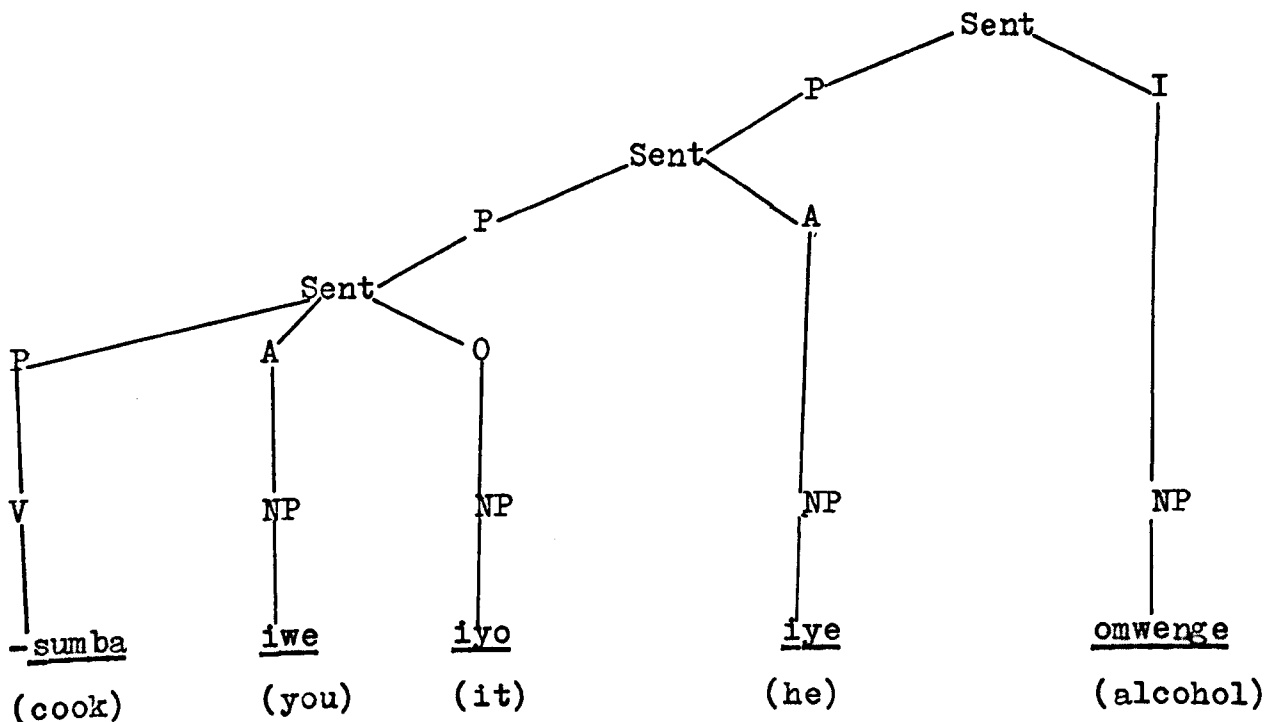
E Selfishness made him hold the pumpkin in the lap.

There is evidence that in Gwere the rule for the s- marking may apply to more than two sentences in the deep structure, but there seems to be no such evidence in Swahili. Gwere sentence 46 has underlying phrase marker 18:

46. G <sup>(I)</sup>     <sup>(A)</sup>     <sup>O</sup>     <sup>A</sup>  
 Omwenge gw/ a / mu/gi/ ku/sumbisya     [(I) - (A) - A - O]  
 alcohol it fut him it you make cook

E The alcohol will make him make you cook it.

Figure 18:



Swahili sentence 47 is not possible (according to the informants consulted).

47. S \* Pombe <sup>(I)</sup> i / ta/ <sup>(A)</sup> m / <sup>O</sup> ki/ku / <sup>A</sup> pikisna      [(I) - (A) - A - O]
- alcohol it fut him it you make cook
- E The alcohol will make him make you cook it.

Similarly, there is evidence in Gwere that the rule for the *s*-marking may also operate on its own output when it applies to obligatory case frames [O], [(A)(O) - (S)(L)]<sup>(G)</sup>, [E], [E - O], [E - I] etc. As discussed above (in 2.0.5.2a) these case frames may select an optional Agentive through the rule of *-s*-marking. In Gwere, the rule allows for the occurrence of another Agentive in addition to the one permitted by the predicator. Predicator *-lamuka* (wake), for example, has obligatory case frame [O]. In 48, it has selected an Agentive after the application of the *-s*-rule (as discussed in 2.0.5. 2a):

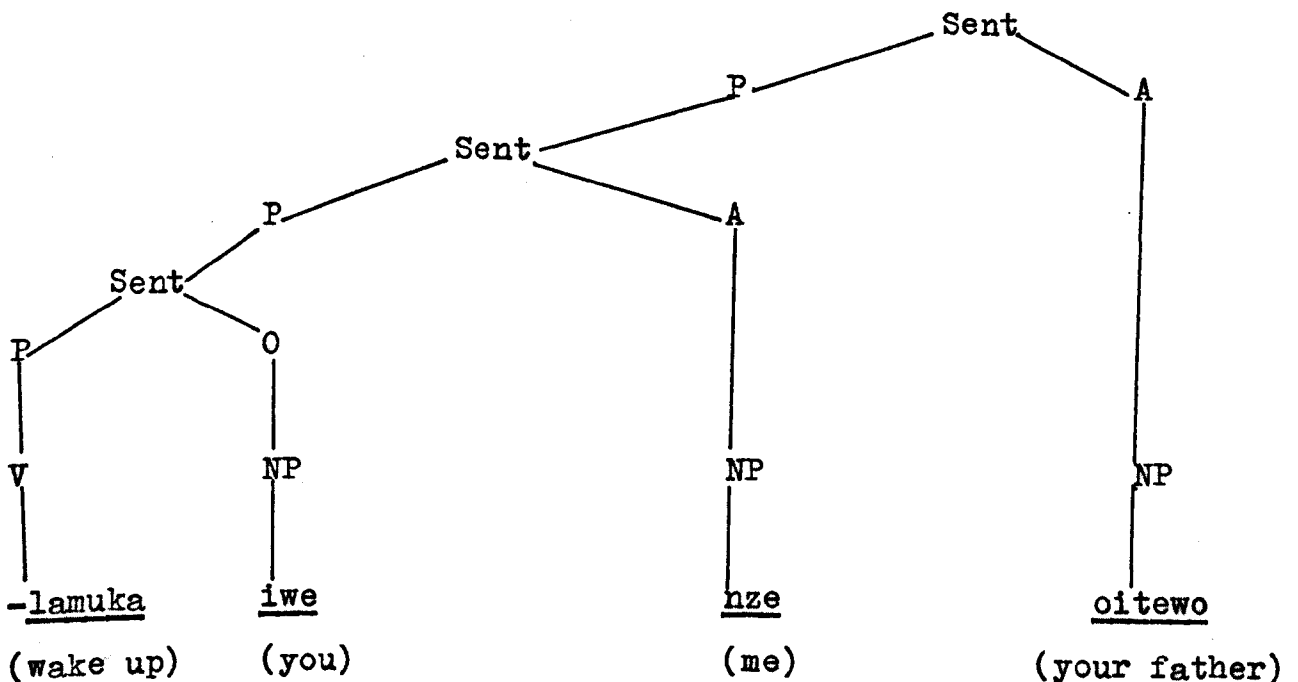


48. G <sup>(A)</sup> N/ ku/lamukirye. [(A) - O]  
 I you make wake past  
 E I have woken you up.

In 49, the rule has applied again, adding another Agentive.  
 Sentence 49 has phrase marker 19:

49. G <sup>(A)</sup> Oite /wo <sup>O</sup> ni ye a / <sup>(A)</sup> ku/ n/damukisirye [(A) - (A) - O]  
 father your be he he you me make wake past  
 E It is your father who has made me wake you up.

Figure 19:



Swahili sentence 50 (an equivalent to Gwere 49), on the other hand,  
 is ungrammatical:

50. S\* <sup>(A)</sup> A / li / <sup>O</sup> m / <sup>(A)</sup> ni/ amsha [(A) - (A) - O]  
 he past him me make wake up  
 E He made me wake him up.

Since sentence 49 is possible in Gwere, 51 is predictable (accord-  
 ing to condition 4A (2.0.2.4)):

51. G <sup>(I)</sup> Obusungu <sup>(A)</sup> bu/ <sup>O</sup> mu/ n/damukisirye [(I) - (A) - O]  
 anger it him me make wake up past  
 E Anger made him wake me up.

Similarly, since 50 is not possible in Swahili the ungrammaticality of 52 is predictable:

52. S\*  $\overset{(I)}{\text{Hasira}} \underset{1}{i} / \underset{li}{li} / \overset{(A)}{m} / \overset{O}{ni}/\text{amsha}$   $\boxed{(I) - (A) - O}$   
 anger it past him me make wake  
 E Anger made him wake me up.

In the derivation of complex sentences (43-52, for example) the rule of -s- marking increases the number of exceptions to Rule 1 (2.0.2.1). As already noted above (and illustrated in 43-52), Agentives may become objects in surface structure sentences derived from two or more deep structure sentences.

On some occasions, the Agentives may become adjuncts as a result of the application of the same rule, as shown in 53:

- 53a. S  $\overset{(A)}{A} / \overset{E}{me} / \underset{ji}{ji} / \underset{tukanisha}{tukanisha} \quad \overset{A}{kwa} \underset{wenzi}{wenzi} / \underset{e}{e}$   $\boxed{(A) - A - E}$   
 she past Ref make abused to friends hers  
 E She has (deliberately) incurred abuse from her friends.

- 53b. G  $\overset{(I)}{\text{Omwana}} a / \underset{kunga}{kunga} y / a / \overset{E}{n}/\underset{zumisya}{zumisya} \quad \overset{A}{n'}/\underset{omaye}{omaye}$   
 child he cry he fut me make rebuked by mother  
 $\boxed{(I) - A - E}$

E The child who is crying will make the mother rebuke me.

However, while Agentives which become surface structure adjuncts as a result of the rule of -s- marking are many in Gwere, they seem to be quite restricted in Swahili (v. Chapter 5 for further illustrations).

### 2.0.5.3 Commentary on the rules of -i- and -s- marking.

As noted in 2.0.5.1, the rule for the i- marking tends to restrict the contexts where case roles become surface structure adjuncts or unmarked NPs by incorporating case roles (Goals, Locatives, Benefactives, Reason, Time etc.) into the predicator. The -i- rule then restricts the adjunct selection rules (cf Chapter

2 Part 1) as it supplements the object selection rules (ibid).

The rule of -s- marking, on the other hand, directly restricts the subject selection rules (ibid), and indirectly, contributes to the increase of the number of case roles that become adjuncts or unmarked in the sentence (i.e. when they are neither objects nor adjuncts). This is particularly true of Swahili which rarely permits the selection of more than one object (cf discussion of this point at the end of 2.0.5.2a).

CHAPTER 3

PREDICATORS/CASE ROLES AND THE RULES FOR  
SUFFIX MARKING WHICH PREVENT OBJECT SELECTION.

3.0.0. Three Rules (the Rules of -n-, -k- and -w- marking) are discussed in this chapter. These rules derive objectless surface structure sentence types.

1

3.0.1. THE RULE OF -N- MARKING

Many grammarians have described the surface structure sentence types derived by the rule of -n- marking. C. M. Scotton (1967) says that such sentences may have "a subject which is also its own indirect object" or "a subject which is also its own direct object" (p. 130). The absence of surface structure objects in sentences which have undergone the rule of -n- marking has also been pointed out. C. M. Scotton (1967) comments that there is no instance where the rule has operated in which 'the object' is 'signalled formally by an object prefix' (p. 130). W. H. Whiteley (1968) makes a similar comment :

"In no case has an object-prefix been recorded" (p. 92)

And C. M. Eastman (1967b) also notes that with "verbs using the extension (i.e. the -n-) [ - - - - - ] an object is prohibited." (p. 38)

None of these grammarians, however, has stated how and when the rule derives such types of sentence as contrasted with the other types of sentence (for instance, the sentences discussed in Chapter 2 of this work). For example, Scotton does not note that there is an exception to the generalization that in -n- sentences the subject is always its own direct or indirect object. In the following -n- sentences, the subject is not its own object:

- 1a. S Tu/ ta/unganisha kazi [-n- + -s- rule]  
we fut combine jobs  
E We shall combine the jobs.
- 1b. G A /nangisyangain /e ensaka [-n- + -s- rule]  
he make knock each other past pots  
E He has made the pots knock against each other.
- 2a. S Bunge hili li/ me /shirikiana na Serikali  
parlt. this it past co-operate with government
- 2b. G Olukiiko lunu lu/kwatagain /e n' e Gavumenti  
parlt. this it co-operate past with government  
E This Parliament has co-operated with the Government.

Scotton's observation may then be restated to say that in a given case frame, if the rule of -n- marking has applied, making one case role in a case frame the subject and if some other case role in the same case frame could have become subject by some other rule (cf Chapter 2 Part 1) then the two case roles may be combined in subject position. The sentences in 1 and 2 also show that the rule of n- marking does not apply to an NP simply because it has become surface structure subject.

This brings us to the other point - that of the absence of objects in -n- sentences. It is not adequate to note, simply, that the -n- sentences have no objects. Since there are many other non -n- sentences without objects in Swahili and Gwere (as shown in Chapter 2 Part 1 of this work) it would seem that the -n- suffix appears arbitrarily in the objectless sentences where it occurs. We need to point out that the rule of -n- marking applies only to predicators occurring in case frames containing both a potential subject and a potential object role (i.e. the different case roles shown in the subject and object selection rules listed in Chapter 2), and what is significant and particular about the rule of -n- marking is that it blocks the object selection

rules of a predicator in case frames which would otherwise permit them. An object would be expected in the sentences in 3 but would not be expected in the sentences in 4 where no object selection is possible from underlying case frame [A]:

3a. S Watu wote wa / ta/ungana [A - 0]  
 people all they fut unite

E All the people will unite (with one another).

3b. G Ensaka gi /nangangain /e [I - 0]  
 pots they knock each other past

E The pots have knocked against each other.

4a. S WA / me /chuchumaa [A]  
 they past squat

4b. G WA /chunchumair/e [A]  
 they squat past

E They have squatted.

With the predicators S -unga (join), G -nanga (knock) shown in 3 above, objects occur if the rule of -n- marking does not apply. S -unga (join) which requires case frame [A - 0] has the 0 role become object (by rule 3b (2.0.2.3)); and S -nanga (knock) which requires case frame [(A)(I) - 0] has the 0 role become object (by the same rule) as may be seen in 5:

5a. S Wa /ta / <sup>0</sup>vi /unga [A - 0]  
 they fut them join

E They will join them

5b. G B / a / <sup>0</sup>gi /nanga [A - 0]  
 they fut them knock

E They will knock them.

The -n- rule does not apply to predicators S -chuchumaa (squat) and G -chunchumala (squat) when they occur in the required case frame [A] in which only subject selection is possible. 6 where the rule has applied to these predicators is ungrammatical:

6a. S\* Wa / me /chuchumana [A]

they past squat one another

6b. S \*Ba /chunchumalangain/e [A]

they squat one another past

E "They have squatted one another."

It is then evident that the rule of -n- marking not only requires the presence of two case roles, it also requires that the two case roles be potential subject/object choices (as stated in the subject/object rules in Chapter 2). Case frames like [A - L], [O - M], [E - Pt] etc. in which the L, M, and Pt cannot become objects do not undergo the rule of -n- marking<sup>3</sup>. It is also evident that the two case roles to which the rule applies may be combined into one position in surface structure: the subject position (as stated above and illustrated in the sentences in 3) or the unmarked NP position (as shown in 1 above).

We shall now discuss the nature of the actual interrelationship of the case roles and NPs operated on by the n- rule at the deep structure level.

The case role requirements of the rule of -n- marking are similar to those of the reflexive rule. In 3 (repeated below as 7 for convenience) and 8 it may be seen that the two rules apply to the same type of case roles:

7a. S Watu wote wa / ta/ungana [A - O]

people all they fut unite

E All the people will unite (with one another).

7b. G Ensaka gi /nangain/e [I - O]

pots they knock past

E The pots have knocked (each other).

8a. S Watu wote wa / ta/ji /unga [A - O]

people all they fut Ref. unite

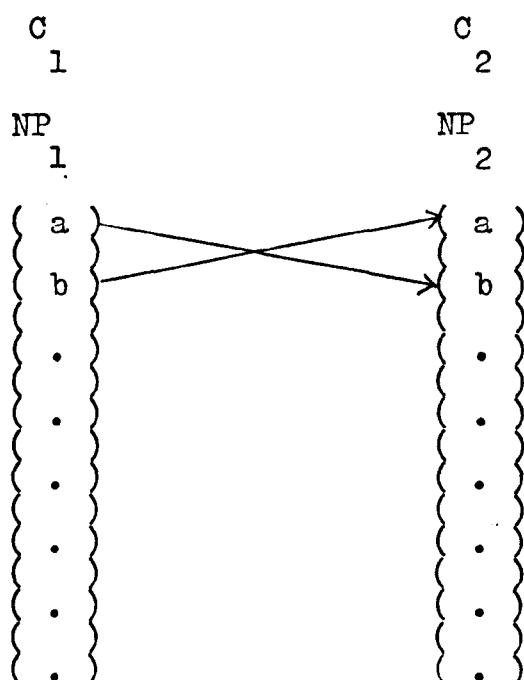
E All the people will unite (themselves).

- 8b. G    Ensaka gy / e / nangi /re  
       pots    they Ref. knock    past  
       E    The pots have knocked (themselves).

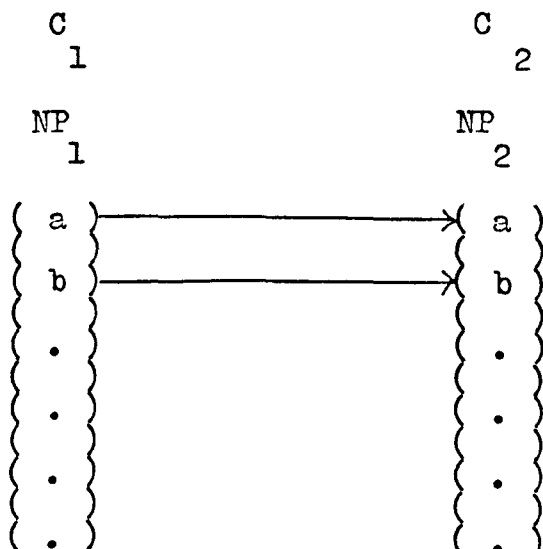
[I - O]

The similarity between -n- sentences and reflexive sentences is that the NP exponents of the 2 case roles involved in each sentence should have as their domain the same set of individuals. The difference between them is the nature of the relationship between the individuals in the two sets expressed by the predicator. We may diagram these two relations as follows:

1. The relationship underlying the -n- sentences



2. The relationship underlying the reflexive sentences





Where C refers to the underlying case role and the set of individuals referred to by NP<sub>1</sub> is the same as the set of individuals referred to by NP<sub>2</sub>.

The rule of -n- marking may have the two sets combined in surface structure (as shown above) but the reflexive rule requires that the two case roles involved be manifested discretely.

As already pointed out, the case roles interrelated by the rule of -n- marking may not become surface structure object. It has also been pointed out that the -n- rule often makes a potential object role in a given case frame subject, and that if the same case frame contains a potential subject role (according to the rules stated in Chapter 2 Part 1) then the two case roles may be combined in subject position. Some more examples showing their combination into subject position are as follows:

9a. S  $\begin{matrix} A + E \\ \text{Watu} \end{matrix}$  wa / na / dhulumiana [A - E]  
 people they pres oppress one another

9b. G  $\begin{matrix} A + E \\ \text{Abantu} \end{matrix}$  ba / migangana [A - E]  
 people they oppress one another  
 E People oppress one another.

10a. S  $\begin{matrix} A + O \\ \text{Wa} \end{matrix}$  / me / uana [A - O]  
 they past kill each other

10b. G  $\begin{matrix} A + O \\ \text{Ba} \end{matrix}$  / itangain / e [A - O]  
 they kill each other past  
 E They have killed each other.

The following sentences in which objects occur after the application of the rule of -n- marking are ungrammatical :

11a. S \*  $\begin{matrix} A \\ \text{Watu} \end{matrix}$  wa / na /  $\begin{matrix} E \\ \text{wa} \end{matrix}$  / dhulumiana [A - E]  
 people they pres them oppress one another

11b. G \* <sup>A</sup> Abantu ba / <sup>E</sup> ba / migangana [ A - E ]  
 people they them oppress one another  
 E People oppress one another.

12a. S \* <sup>A</sup> Wa / me / <sup>O</sup> mw/uana [ A - O ]  
 they past him kill each other

12b. G \* <sup>A</sup> Ba / <sup>O</sup> mw/itangain / e [ A - O ]  
 they him kill each other  
 E They have killed each other.

In some instances, the rule of -n- marking permutes the potential object case role to the adjunct position instead of making it subject, as may be seen in the following sentences:

13a. S <sup>E</sup> Ni/ ta/onana na /ye [ E - O ]  
 I fut see each other with him

13b. G <sup>E</sup> N/ a /wonangana na /ye [ E - O ]  
 I fut see each other with her  
 E We shall see each other.

14a. S <sup>A</sup> Mwalimu Nyerere a / na /<sup>O</sup> kutana na <sup>O</sup> Sheikh Karume  
 leader Nyerere he pres meet with leader Karume  
 ki/wanja /ni cha ndege [ A - O - L ]  
 it ground at of bird

14b. G <sup>A</sup> Omukulu o Nyerere a / <sup>O</sup> sangana n' / <sup>O</sup> omukulu o Karume  
 leader Nyerere he meet with leader Karume  
 omu/kisawe ky/endege [ A - O - L ]  
 in ground of aeroplane  
 E The leaders Nyerere and Karume meet (each other) at the airport.

15a. S <sup>A</sup> Ni/ li /fuatana <sup>G</sup> na dada soko /ni [A - G - L]  
 I past follow with sister market to

15b. G N/ a /senjangain /e <sup>n'</sup> /omuganda wange omu sokoni  
 I dist follow past with sister my to market  
 past [A - G - L]

E My sister and I followed each other to the market.

On other occasions, the role that is prevented from becoming object by the rule of -n- marking may occur in subject as well as adjunct position as illustrated in the following sentences:

16a. S <sup>E + O</sup> Tu/ ta/onana <sup>O</sup> na /ye [E - O]  
 we fut see each other with him

16b. G <sup>E + O</sup> Tw/ a /wonangana <sup>O</sup> na /ye [E - O]  
 we fut see each other with him

E We shall see each other.

17a. S <sup>A + O</sup> Tu/ me /kutana <sup>O</sup> na /ye [A - O]  
 we past meet each other with him

17b. G <sup>A + O</sup> Tu/ sangain /e <sup>O</sup> na /ye [A - O]  
 we meet each other past with him

E We have met each other.

18a. S <sup>A + G</sup> Tu/ li /fuatana <sup>G</sup> na dada [A - G]  
 we past follow each other with sister

18b. G <sup>A + G</sup> Tw/ a /senjangain /e <sup>G</sup> <sup>n'</sup> /omuganda wange  
 we dist follow each other past with sister my  
 past [A - G]

E My sister and I followed each other.

In conclusion, we may say that with all predicators which permit the application of the rule of -n- marking, the object

selection rules (rules 2a and c; 3b, c and e; 5d; 9b; 10; and 11) stated in Chapter 2 can be suspended. Further, the fact that the rule often leads to the combination of two discrete case roles in the subject position is a notable modification of subject selection rules 1; 2a, b; 3a; 4a; 5a, b; 9a etc. stated (ibid).

### 3.0.2 THE RULE OF -K- MARKING

In former treatments the <sup>4</sup>-k- predicators have been identified as implying two meanings : 'potentiality' and 'state'.

Grammarians who have attributed the 'stative' meaning to such predicators (for instance A. Loogman 1967 : 131) have this to say about that meaning :

"most verbs form special stative derivatives by assuming -ka. The resultant form indicates a condition or state of being. [ - - - - ] ; the stative verb focuses attention on a resultant condition, abstracting from any cause which may have produced that condition."

A number of grammarians distinguish both the 'potentiality' and 'state' meanings. However, some of these grammarians have not distinguished clearly the 'potentiality' and 'state' which are typical to the rule of -k- marking, and the 'potentiality' and 'state' which are the result of tense and aspect modifications.

Edgar C. Polomé (1967), for example, describes the two meanings as follows:

"This suffix (i.e. -k-) forms the stative verbal theme, which denotes:

- (a) a state as such (and not the process by which this state was reached, [ - - ] , e.g., sahaulik [ a 'be forgotten'

in magonvi yā zamani yame sahaulika 'the quarrels of the past are forgotten';

- (b) a potentiality, conceived as the possibility for the subject to undergo a definite process, e.g., lik a 'be eatable' in maembe yake hayaliki 'his mangoes are not fit for consumption.'" (p. 87)

Points (a) and (b) as criteria for distinguishing the predicators which permit the rule of -k- marking are quite inadequate. E. C. Polomé does not observe that sahaulika 'be forgotten' which he uses to exemplify the 'stative' meaning of the -k- suffix could in fact also be used to exemplify the 'potential' meaning, if the -me- (past) tense is changed to the present as shown in the following sentences:

S magonvi ya zamani h / a / ya / sahauliki  
quarrels of long ago neg pres they be forgotten

E The quarrels of the past are unforgettable.

Also,

S Kwa kawaida vitu vibaya vi / na / sahaulika  
Usually things bad they pres be forgotten

E Usually bad things are forgettable.

and that lika 'be eatable' which he uses to exemplify the 'potential' meaning may also be used to exemplify the 'stative' meaning if the tense is changed to the -me- (past) as follows:

S Maembe ya / ke ya / me / lika  
mangoes they his they past be eaten

E His mangoes were (or have been) eaten up.

It is apparent that the implications identified by E. C. Polomé in (a) and (b) and attributed to the presence of the -k- suffix do not originate from the rule of -k- marking (at least the examples he gives do not show it); rather, they are the result of tense and aspect variations.

W. H. Whiteley (1968) notes these tense/aspect variations very well:

"On semantic, and, at least in one case, syntactic criteria three sub-divisions need to be made: a 'potential', a 'state' and an 'active'." (p. 80)

And on the first two criteria, he says:

"the two aspects may be complementary with respect to tense, the 'potentiality' being associated with 'no time' and 'from now onwards' and 'stativity' being associated with 'up till now'." (p. 80).

The latter part of the observation is very interesting. But what Whiteley also fails to note is that tense distinction is not a feature that is specific to the sentence type resulting from the application of the rule of -k- marking. Tense and aspect modifications identify even sentence types which have not undergone rules like the rule of -k- marking.

As an example, we can see that the following sentence pairs are distinguished according to aspect and tense (among other things):

- 1 S Watu wa / li /kutana [past tense]  
people they past meet one another  
E The people met.
- 1a. S Milima ha / i /kutani lakini watu hu/  
mountains neg they meet one another but people hab.  
asp.  
kutama  
meet one another [habitual aspect]  
E Mountains cannot meet but people can meet.
2. S Tu/ li /zoea ku /tembea [past tense]  
we past be used inf walk  
E We got used to walking.

- 2a. S Tw/ a /zoea ku /tembea [present tense]  
we pres be used inf walk  
E We are used to walking.
3. S Jungu li/ li /kaa jiko /ni [past tense]  
pot it past sit fireplace on  
E The pot was cooked
- 3a. S Jungu hu /kaa jiko /ni, lakini kioo h / a /ki  
pot hab sit fireplace on but glass neg pres it  
asp  
wezi [habitual aspect]  
can  
E A pot may be cooked but a glass cannot.
4. S Siku zi / li /pita upesi [past tense]  
day they past pass quickly  
E Days passed quickly.
- 4a. S Siku zi / na /pita upesi [present tense]  
day they pres pass quickly  
E Days pass quickly.
5. S Ku /pigwa kwa fimbo ku/ li /umiza miili yetu  
inf be beaten with stick it past give pain bodies our  
[past tense]
- 5a. G Ku /pigwa kwa fimbo ku/ na /umiza kila mtu  
inf be beaten with stick it pres give pain every body  
[Present tense]  
E Being beaten hurts everyone.

In either pair, the tenses may be exchanged, but in either sentence, the present tense or habitual aspect tends to establish a sense of generic commentary which has been labelled 'potentiality' in relation to one group of predicators permitting the rule of -k- marking while the past tense establishes a sense of completion which has been labelled 'state' with respect to the other group of predicators permitting the same rule. But as shown in 1-5 this

types of 'potentiality' and 'state' is not restricted to the -k- forms. We need to describe the characteristics of the rule of -k- marking which are free from the tense modifications that apply to all types of sentences in a language. Some of these characteristics have been noted in E. O. Ashton (1947).

Ashton (1947 : 227-228) considers instances of 'potentiality' and 'state' which are apparent in -k- sentences and quite distinct from the 'potentiality' and 'state' that is expressed by tense and aspect (as discussed above). She says (Ashton 1947 : 228) that predicators which have undergone the rule of -k- marking "express potentiality, i.e. whether or not the subject is capable of receiving a given action." And, under 'state' she says (Ashton 1947 : 227) that in such instances where the -k- predicators denote a 'state' there is no "reference to agency." And her examples include the following sentence:

"vunja Kikombe kimevunjika 'The cup is broken'" (p. 227) (break)

In this study it is considered that what Ashton (ibid) treats as 'potentiality' and 'state' are in fact types of NP/P/NP relationships made apparent by the rule of -k- marking. In the discussion which follows it will be shown that the subgrouping of the predicators which permit the application of the rule of -k- marking is largely due to the distinction of these types of relationships.

Before discussing the actual application of the rule, it is important to point out the type of predicators it applies to. Its application to the nominal and adjectival predicators will be discussed in 3.0.2.3; sections 3.0.2.1 and 3.0.2.2 will be devoted to its application to verb predicators.

The rule of -k- marking applies to the verb predicators only when they can occur in case frames containing at least two case roles. As an example, let us consider the verb predicators S -fa (die), G -fa (die) and S -pona (get cured), G -wona (get cured) which require case frames [O] and [E], respectively.



Sentences 6 and 7 in which these predicators have undergone the rule of -k- marking with only one case role in the underlying case frames are ungrammatical.

- 6a. S \* A / me /fika [O]  
       he past die
- 6b. G \* A /fiki/re [O]  
       he die past  
       E He has died.
- 7a. S \* A / me /poneka [E]  
       he past get cured
- 7b. G \* A /woneke /re [E]  
       he get cured past  
       E He is cured.

More examples may be seen in 8 and 9 in which the predicators S -amka (wake up), G -lamuka (wake up) and S -pumbaa (be mentally dull), G -guba (be mentally dull) occur. Like the predicators shown in 6 and 7 these predicators also require case frames [O] and [E], respectively. From the evidence provided in 6 and 7 we can predict that 8 and 9 in which the rule of -k- marking has applied when the predicators have selected only one case role are ungrammatical:

- 8a. S \* Mtoto a / me /ankiki<sup>a</sup> [O]  
       child he past be woken up
- 8b. G \* Omwana a /lamukiki /re [O]  
       child he be woken up past  
       E "The child has been able to wake up."
- 9a. S \* Akili yake i / me /pumbaliki<sup>a</sup> [E]  
       brain his it past become dull
- 9b. G \* Obuwongo bwe bu/gubiki /re [E]  
       brain his it become dull past  
       E His brain has become dull.

It will be seen that if the rule of -s- marking applies permitting the predicators shown in 6-9 to select Agentives (see 2.0.5.2) they may then undergo the rule of -k- marking. Only the predicators S -fa (die) and G -fa (die) which reject the rule of -s- marking may not undergo the rule of -k- marking. In the following sentences it may be seen that the others have permitted the latter rule after undergoing the rule of -s- marking.

S -pona (get cured)                      G -wona (get cured):

10a. S    Kifua kikuu ha /ki/ponyeki                      [ E ]  
           consumption neg it be cured

10b. G    Ekifuba        ti /ki/wonyeka                      [ E ]  
           consumption neg it be cured

E    Consumption is incurable.

S -amka (wake up)                      G -lamuka (wake up):

11a. S    Mtoto huyu h / a/amshiki                      [ O ]  
           child this neg he be woken up

11b. G    Omwana onu t / a/lamukikikya                      [ O ]  
           child this neg he be woken up

E    It is impossible to wake up this child.

S -pumbaa (be mentally dull), G -guba (be mentally dull):

12a. S    Mtoto huyu h / a/pumbaziki                      [ E ]  
           child this neg he be stupified

12b. G    Omwana onu t / a/gubikikya                      [ E ]  
           child this neg he be stupified

E    This child cannot be stupified.

If the rule of -k- marking did not require predicators to have the capacity to occur in a case frame containing at least two case roles before it applies, it would not be necessary for predicators like S -pona (get cured), G -wona (get cured); S -amka (wake up), G -lamuka (wake up); and S -pumbaa (be mentally dull), G -guba (be mentally dull) to undergo the rule of -s- marking before permitting its application.

But though all the verb predicators to which the rule applies share the capacity to occur in case frames containing at least two case roles they differ in terms of the number of case roles which actually occur before the rule applies. It will be shown below that with one group of the predicators permitting the rule, the two case roles are present in the deep structure when the rule applies, whereas with the other group the rule applies when one of the case roles does not occur.

3.0.2.1 The rule of -k- marking applies when two case roles are present in the deep structure

As discussed in 2.0.5.2, the rule of -s- marking makes it possible for a given predicator to select an Agentive in addition to some other case role(s). It, therefore, follows that all the predicators bearing the suffix -s- have underlying case frames of type  $\boxed{(A) - - - -}$ .

Some of these predicators are as follows:

- |   |                  |              |   |                    |              |
|---|------------------|--------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| S | <u>-kumbusha</u> | (remind)     | G | <u>-ewukirisya</u> | (remind)     |
| S | <u>-chekesha</u> | (make laugh) | G | <u>-sekesya</u>    | (make laugh) |

The case frames of all these predicators include Agentives which become surface structure subject (Rule 1 2.0.2.1) as in 13 and 14:

- 13a. S  $\begin{matrix} (A) \\ N_i/ \end{matrix}$  li /  $\begin{matrix} E \\ m/ \end{matrix}$  kumbusha mambo haya  $\boxed{(A) - E - O}$   
 I past him remind matters these
- 13b. G  $\begin{matrix} (A) \\ N/ \end{matrix}$  a / mw/ewukirisiry/e ebigambo ebyo  $\boxed{(A) - E - O}$   
 I dist him remind past matters these  
 past
- E I reminded him of these matters.
- 14a. S  $\begin{matrix} (A) \\ N_i/ \end{matrix}$  li /  $\begin{matrix} A \\ m/ \end{matrix}$  chekesha  $\boxed{(A) - A}$   
 I past him make laugh

14b. G <sup>(A)</sup>  
N/ a / mu/sekesery/ e [ (A) - A ]  
I dist him make laugh past  
past

E I made him laugh.

When the rule of -k- marking applies, however, it makes it possible for some other role in these case frames to become subject instead of the (A)'s as shown in 15 and 16

15a. S H / <sup>E</sup>a/kumbushiki [ E ]  
neg he be reminded

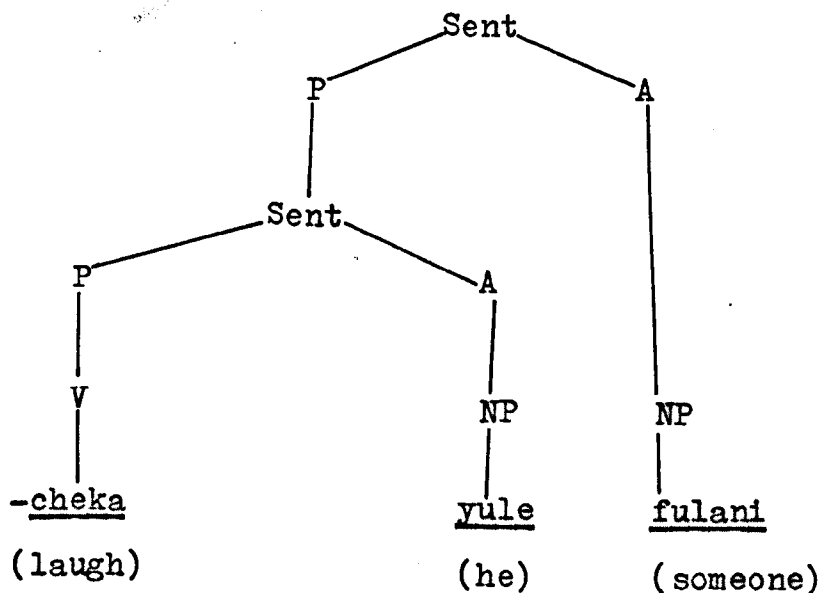
15b. G T / <sup>E</sup>a/yewukirisyika [ E ]  
neg he be reminded  
E He cannot be reminded.

16a. S <sup>A</sup>Yule h / a/chekesheki [ A ]  
he neg he be made to laugh

16b. G Odi t / a/sekesyeka [ A ]  
he neg he be made to laugh  
E He cannot be made to laugh.

Since the predicators in 15 and 16 still bear the -s suffixes, it is evident that the (A)'s are still present in the deep structures of 15 and 16. 16a, for example, has deep structure as in figure 20.

Figure 20

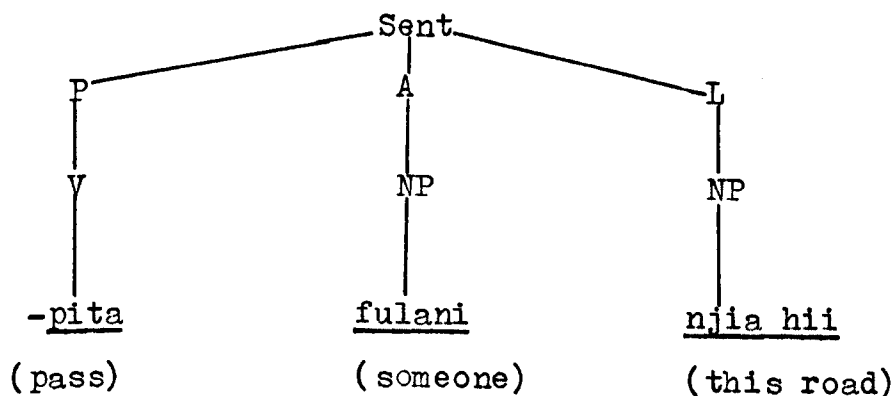


Normally, the A of the dominating sentence becomes subject. But as shown in 16, the rule of -k- marking may make the A of the lower sentence subject, in which case, the A of the upper sentence may not occur in surface structure (as in 16). But though the (A)'s do not occur in 15 and 16, the rule of -k- marking makes it apparent that the E and A roles which are manifested are in role dependency relationship with these unmanifested (A)'s. In the sentences in 15, for example, without negation, the rule makes it apparent that there is no obstruction between the interrelationship of the E and the unmanifested (A) in the action.

We therefore argue that whenever the rule of -k- marking makes this kind of role dependency relationship apparent, the underlying case frame contains at least two case/roles. Accordingly, we suggest that the sentences in 17 in which predicators S -pita (pass), G -bita (pass) occur have the deep structure of figure 21.

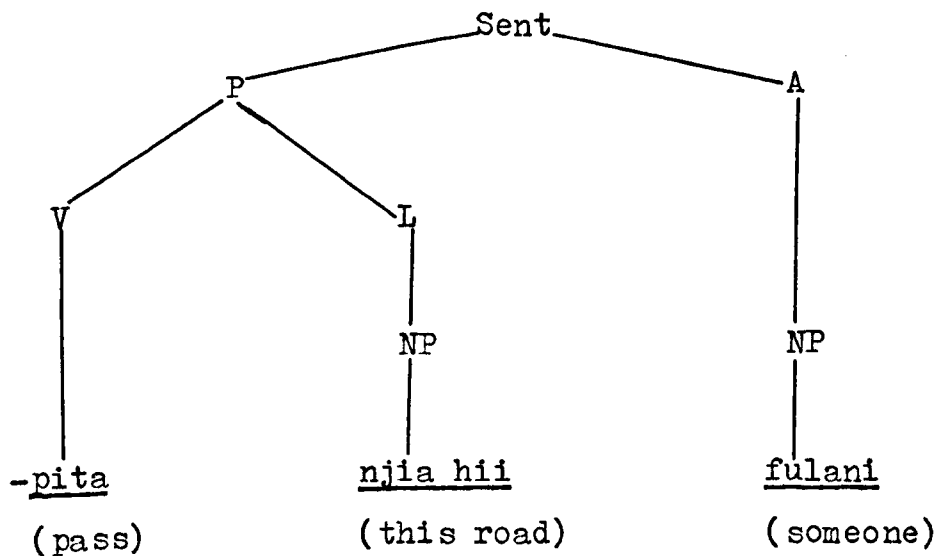
- 17a. S <sup>L</sup> Njia hii y / a /pitika [L]  
road this it pres be passed through
- 17b. G <sup>L</sup> Enzira enu e /bitika /mu [L]  
road this it be passed through
- E This road can be passed through.

Figure 21



The L role is attached to the predicator so that we get figure 22:

Figure 22



By making the L NP subject, instead of the A, the rule of -k-marking blocks Rule 1(2.0.2.1). Since an Agentive which is not in subject position is deletable, Agentives in case frames to which the rule of -k- marking applies to make some other case roles subject are nearly always deleted. What is always maintained and made apparent by the rule is the role dependency relation between them and the manifested case roles.

The case role deleted on the application of the rule of -k-marking may be an Experiencer, occurring in case frame  $\boxed{E - O}$ . It has been noted that the predicators S -ona (see) and G -wona (see), as examples (in 2.0.2.2) occur in the case frame  $\boxed{E - O}$  in which the E normally becomes subject (according to Rule 2 a: abid).

When the rule of -k- marking applies, however, the O role becomes subject instead, as may be seen in 18:

- 18a. S Kanisa i / na / onekana  $\boxed{O}$   
 church it pres be seen
- 18b. G Kanisa e / woneka  $\boxed{O}$   
 church it be seen
- E The church can be seen.

As with the Agentives, the Experiencer which is blocked from subject selection by the rule of -k- marking is deletable, though it remains in role dependency with the manifested role, as is made evident in 18 above.

Further evidence to support the argument that role dependency relations are made apparent only when the two case roles concerned are both present in the deep structure is provided in surface structure sentences in which both the role applied to by the rule of -k- marking and the one that is blocked from subject selection occur after the application of the rule. Apparently, in Swahili all the Agentives which do not become subject on the application of this rule are deleted. But in Gwere they may occur as unmarked NPs as shown below:

19. G <sup>O</sup> Ekyo ki/kobeka <sup>A</sup> mutemeere [A - O]  
 that it be said drunkard  
 E That can be said (only) by a drunkard.
20. G <sup>L</sup> Eyo y / a / ly /abika <sup>A</sup> bagumu [A - L]  
 there at fut dist be gone to brave  
 fut  
 E (Only) brave ones will be able to go there.
21. G <sup>O</sup> Ago amabina ti /ga/binika <sup>A</sup> o / we/nzala [A - O]  
 that dance neg it be danced he own hunger  
 E That dance cannot be danced by one who is hungry.

However, one example has been found in Swahili in which an Experiencer which has not become subject because the rule of -k- marking has placed the O role in the subject position occurs as an adjunct, as may be seen in 22:

22. S <sup>O</sup> Faيدا <sup>E</sup> zi / me /onekana kwa wananchi [E - O]  
 advantage they past be seen to people  
 E The advantages are noticeable to the people.

More examples of sentences in which the role dependency between two roles becomes apparent through the rule of -k- marking are as follows. The underlying case frames are shown and the predicators are underlined.

- 23a. S <sup>O</sup> Jambo li/ si/ lo /eleweka ni matokeo ya Mwangano [E - O]  
 point it neg which be clear is goal of Union.  
 E The point which isn't clear is the goal of the Union
- 23b. G <sup>O</sup> Ensonga enu t / e/tegerekeka [E - O]  
 point this neg it be clear  
 E This point is not clear.
- 24a. S <sup>O</sup> Umoja u / ta/patikana [A - O]  
 Unity it fut be achieved  
 E Unity will be achieved.
- 24b. G <sup>O</sup> Ebintu ti / bi /funika [A - O]  
 things neg they be obtainable  
 E The things are not obtainable
- 25a. S H <sup>G</sup> / a /fuatiki [A - G]  
 neg she be followed
- 25b. G T <sup>G</sup> / a /senjeka [A - G]  
 neg she be followed  
 E It is impossible to follow her.

3.0.2.2 The rule of -k- marking applies when one case role is present in the deep structure.

It has been shown in 3.0.2.1 that the -k- rule makes apparent the dependency of the case role it applies to on another case role. In this section, it is argued that with another group of



predicators the rule makes evident the independence of the case role it applies to. As an example, we shall consider the following predicators all of which occur in case frame [A - O]:

S	- <u>umVa</u> (leaven)	G	- <u>zumbulula</u> (make expand)
S	- <u>rarua</u> (tear)	G	- <u>nyira</u> (tear)
S	- <u>pasua</u> (break)	G	- <u>mosola</u> (break)
S	- <u>geua</u> (change)	G	- <u>kyusa</u> (change)

Normally, the A becomes subject as the O becomes object (according to rules 1 (2.0.2.1) and 3b(2.0.2.3)) as in 26:

26a. S <sup>A</sup>  
A / me / i/rarua nguo yangu [A - O]  
he past it tear clothing my

26b. G <sup>A</sup>  
A /nyiri/re olugoye lwange [A - O]  
he tear past clothing my

E He has torn my clothing.

The A role cannot occur without the O. 27 in which this happens is ungrammatical:

27a. S\* A / me /rarua [A]  
he past tear

27b. G\* A /nyiri/re [A]  
he tear past

E He has torn.

The Objective, however, may occur without the A. But whenever this happens the -k- rule must apply to make it subject. 28 in which the O role has become subject without the application of the -k- rule is ungrammatical

28a. S\* Nguo i / me /rarua [O]  
clothing it past tear

28b. G\* Olugoye lu/nyiri/re [O]  
clothing it tear past

E The clothing has torn apart.

But the following sentences where the O roles have become subject by the rule of -k- marking are grammatical:

29a. S Mkate u / na /umuka [O]  
bread it pres rise

29b. G Omugati gu/zumbuluka [O]  
bread it rise

E The bread is baking.

30a. S Nguo yangu i / li /raruka [O]  
clothing my it past tear

30b. G Olugoye lwange lw/ a /nyiriki/ re [O]  
clothing my it dist tear past  
past

E My clothing tore apart.

31a. S Mkate huu u / na /pasulika vibaya [O]  
bread this it pres break badly

31b. G Omugati gunu gu/mosoka wundi [O]  
bread this it break badly

E This bread breaks unevenly.

32a. S Uwingu u / li /geuka [O]  
sky it past change

32b. G Ekireri ky/ a /kyuki /re [O]  
sky it dist change past  
past

E The sky changed.

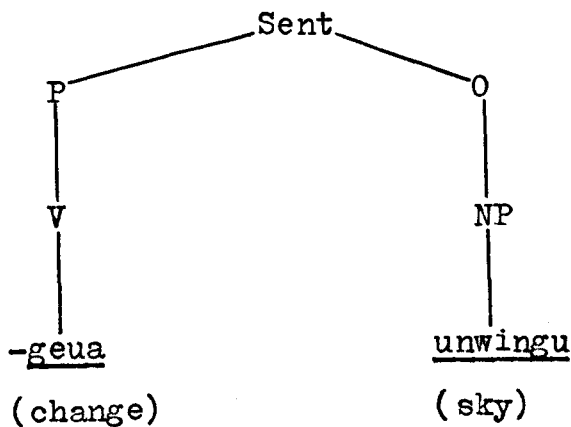
33a. S Embe li/ me /anguka [O]  
mango it past fall

33b. G Omuyembe gw/anuki/re [O]  
mango it fall past

E A mango has fallen.

None of the sentences in 29-33 can permit the occurrence of an Agentive in adjunct position in either Swahili or Gwere. Further, there is no implication that the O roles in 29-33 are dependent on some other role in the deep structure (as is the case in 15-25 above). There is no semantic or syntactic evidence that the Agentives are present in the deep structures of 29-33. It is, therefore, suggested here that sentence 32a (as an example of the sentences of type 29-33) has deep structure as in figure 23.

Figure 23



In figure 23 only the rule of -k- marking can attach the O role onto the predicator.

The case frames where the rule makes role dependency apparent are varied (as illustrated in 3.0.2.1) but those in which the rule applies obligatorily if only one case role is present are restricted to the [A - O / A - E]. In either case, the rule applies to alter the normal subject selection rules (discussed in Chapter 2), by making O's or E's subjects when the Agentives are present, for example.

### 3.0.2.3 The Rule of -k- marking and the Nominal and Adjectival Predicators.

In 3.0.2.1 and 3.0.2.2 we have discussed the application of the rule of -k- marking to verb predicators, and have discussed the functions of the rule in the case frames permitted by these

predicators. When we consider the nominal and adjectival predicators, we observe that the rule performs a function different from those noted above.

As an example, we shall consider predicators S taabu (trouble), S elimu (education), and G etegefu (be ready), all of which occur in case frame [0]. The rule of -k- marking may apply to all these predicators as shown below:

34. S Ni/ li /taabika [0]  
       I past be troubled  
       E I was troubled.
35. S Huyu mwalimu a / me /elimika [0]  
       this teacher he past be educated.  
       E This teacher is educated.
36. G N/etegeke /re [0]  
       I be ready past  
       E I am ready.

With these nominal/adjectival predicators, the rule of -k- marking applies to alter their surface structure predicative characteristics (V 2.0.1.2). The subject and tense markers have been attached to the predicators in 34-36 as a result of the application of the rule of -k- marking. Without the application of the rule, these markers would be borne by -na (with) or the copula as shown in 37-38:

37. S <sup>SM</sup>  
       A /na taabu [0]  
       he with trouble  
       E He is in trouble.
38. G <sup>SM</sup>  
       N/ a /li mwetegefu [0]  
       I dist be ready  
       past  
       E I was ready.

In conclusion, we may note that the rule of -k- marking, like the rule of -n- marking blocks the object selection rules discussed in Chapter 2. But unlike the latter rule, the rule of -k- marking alters the normal subject selection rules discussed (ibid) by selecting other roles subject in case frames where an Agentive, Instrumental or Experiencer would normally become subject.

3.0.3 THE RULE OF -W- MARKING

Grammarians analysing the verbs in Swahili have distinguished the -w- verbs from the -i-, -s-, -n-, and -k- verbs. C. M. Scotton (1967) has suggested that the Passive (known as the rule of -w- marking in this work) is a 'replacement' as opposed to an 'extension'. She distinguishes the two notions as follows:

"the passive verb represents the replacement of a feature (passive replaces active voice), not the extension of a meaning by the addition of new semantic and syntactic features" (p. 141)

C. Eastman (1967) makes much the same point when she suggests that -w- is an 'inflection' as distinct from the 'verbal extension' which is 'semantic' category (1967 : 45). She says,

"It seems to me that Passive is more an inflectional category while Verbal Extension is more a semantic one."

Thus, the -w- suffix is considered as a semantically empty suffix in the verb structure whereas the other markers are 'semantic' categories which change the meaning of the verb whenever they occur. Such a distinction among the verb suffixes might be quite tenable in morphological analyses of the verbs where the suffixes are regarded as lexical constituents of the verbs with which they occur. Thus, according to Scotton's approach, in the following sentences, the predicators S -la (eat) and G -lya (eat) have four different meanings (because they have permitted all the four suffixes which are considered to be meaning changing - that is, suffixes -k-, -i-, -n- and -s-):

- 1a. S Chakula ki/ ta/lika [0] -k- rule  
       food it fut be eatable
- 1b. G Emmere y / a /lika [0] -k- rule  
       food it fut be eatable
- E The food will be eatable.

2a. S dagaa wa / li /kuwa kitoweo wa / li /cho /lia  
 fish they past be sauce they past with which eat  
 ugali A - (I) - O -i- rule  
 meal

2b. G onandere niye e / y/ a /ba/ire oshodo e / gi  
 fish be it which it dist be past sauce it with  
 past  
 ba /lili/ire obwita A - (I) - O -i- rule  
 which they eat past meal

E Fish was the sauce at the meal.

3a. S Watu wa kabila lile wa / na /lana A - O -n- rule  
 people of tribe that they pres eat one another

3b. G Abantu b'/eyiwanga elyo ba /lyangana A - O -n- rule  
 people of tribe that they eat one another

E The people of that tribe eat one another.

4a. S Wa / ta/ m /lisha dawa (A) - A - O -s-rule  
 they fut him make eat medicine

4b. G B / a / mu/lisya obulezi (A) - A - O -s- rule  
 they fut him make eat medicine

E They will make him eat the medicine.

In 1, the predicators S -la(eat) and G -lya (eat) would be said to have the 'stative' or 'potential' meaning (V. 3.0.2); in 2, they would be accorded the 'Instrumental' meaning (V. 2.0.5.1); in 3, they would have the 'reciprocal' meaning (C. Scotton 1967 : 73); and in 4, the 'causative' meaning (V. 2.0.5.2). Thus, the basic meaning to eat' is 'extended' four times. In sentences like 5, on the other hand, the -w-<sup>6</sup> suffix is said to add no 'extended' meaning to the basic meanings of the predicators concerned:

5a. S Chakula ki/ ta/liwa O -w- rule  
 food it fut be eaten

5b. G Emmere y / a /liwa O -w- rule  
 food it fut be eaten

E The food will be eaten.

The problems which arise in studies where the predicator suffixes are treated as lexical constituents of the predicators with which they occur have been pointed out (in Chapter 2 Part 2 of this work). And it has been suggested (ibid) that these problems have arisen because the suffixes which are, basically, syntactic features (according to this writer) have been analysed morphologically. Because these suffixes are not inherent features of the predicators which bear them in different sentences, arguments that they are<sup>are</sup> bound to prove untenable. It becomes necessary (as illustrated above, following Scotton's approach) to classify the suffixes as meaning-bearing or devoid of meaning, in which case, suffixes like the -w- with which no meaning is associated are regarded as exceptional cases.

On the other hand, if it is argued (as we have done in this work) that these suffixes are all semantically empty exponents of certain syntactic rules, no such classification of the suffixes is necessary; we only have to discuss the nature of these rules (as in 2.0.5.1; 2.0.5.2; 3.0.1; and 3.0.2, for example). In that way, no primacy is accorded to any of the suffixes and we get no singular features. We, therefore, make an important generalization about these suffixes; they are all rule-markers and the major characteristics of the rules which they mark can be discussed, generally, without being attributed to individual predicators (as described in Chapter 2 Part 2; 3.0.1; 3.0.2; and in this section).

We shall now outline the characteristics of the rule of -w- marking.

Like the sentence types already discussed the -w- sentences are derived from the case frames analysed in Chapter 2.

Predicators which occur in  $\boxed{A - O}$  case frames may undergo the rule of -w- marking as may be seen in 6.



6a. S <sup>O</sup> Barua i / me / andikwa na / <sup>A</sup> mi [A - O]  
 letter it past be written by me

6b. G <sup>O</sup> Ebaluwa e / wandiikirwe na <sup>A</sup> ninze [A - O]  
 letter it be written past by be me

E The letter has been written by me.

Both predicators S -andika (write) and G -wandiika (write) require case frame [A - O], in which A normally becomes subject (according to Rule 1 (2.0.2.1)). But as shown in 6, the rule of -w- marking makes the O role subject in this case frame (thus blocking both subject selection Rule 1 and object selection Rule 3b (2.0.2.3)). On applying to phrase marker 24, the rule of -w- marking derives phrase marker 25 so that we have sentence 6a:

Figure 24

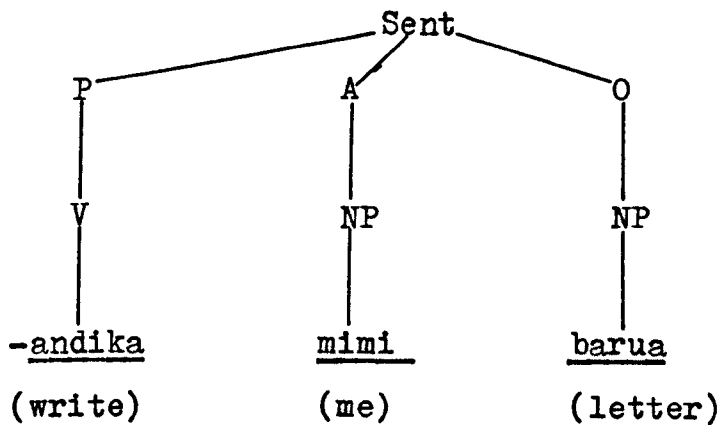
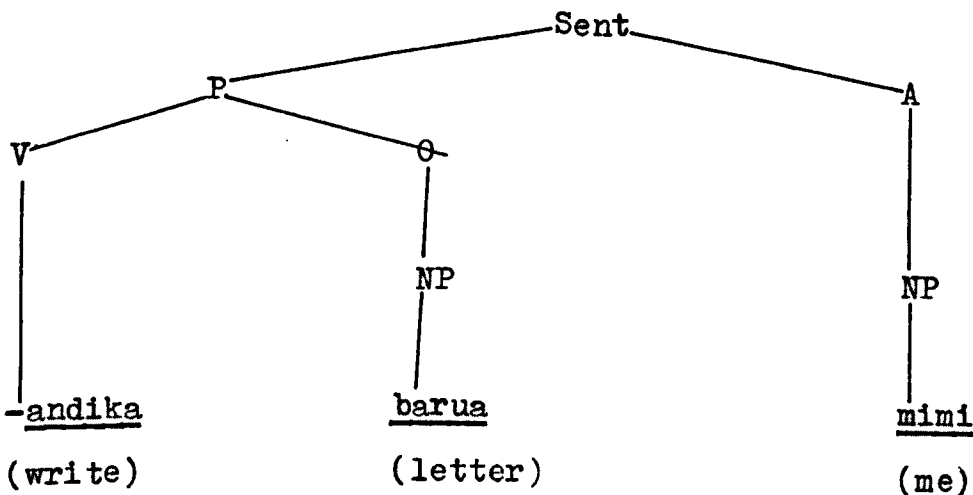


Figure 25



The Objective is the only one attached to the predicator by the rule. Since an Agentive which has not become subject cannot

become object (except in the sentences derived by the rule of -s- marking (V. 2.0.5.2d)) the Agentive may become an adjunct or be deleted if the rule of -w- marking has applied. In the following sentences, for example, the Agentives have been deleted.

7a. S Nguo i / me / shonwa [O]  
clothing it past be sewn

7b. G Olugoye lu/tungirwe [O]  
clothing it be sewn past

E The clothing has been sewn.

8a. S Nyama i / me / nunuliwa [O]  
meat it past be bought

8b. G Enyama e /gulirwe [O]  
meat it be bought past

E The meat has been bought.

The rule of -w- marking may apply to underlying case frame [I - E], making the E roles subject with predicators which would otherwise have had them become object (according to Rule 2a (2.0.2.2)), as shown in the following sentences.

9. S Ni/ li / shindwa [E]  
I past be overcome

E I was overwhelmed (i.e. mentally).

10a. S <sup>E</sup>Ni/ li / tishwa sana na habari hizo <sup>I</sup>[I - E]  
I past be frightened much by tale that

10b. G <sup>E</sup>N/ a / tisirwe inno n'/ebigambo ebyo <sup>I</sup>[I - E]  
I dist be frightened much by tale that  
past

E I was greatly frightened by that tale.

11a. S <sup>E</sup>Watu wa / li / pendezwa na maneno ya Rais <sup>I</sup>[I - E]  
people they past be pleased with words of president

E The people were pleased with the president's spe<sup>e</sup>ch.



rules given (ibid) are blocked. Case roles like the Agentives which are required by most of the rules discussed in Chapter 2 are usually deleted on the application of the rules of -w- and -k- marking.

3.0.3.1 A comment on the differences between the rules of -k- and -w- marking

While the rule of -k- marking was shown to apply to some predicators which occur in case frames containing a single case role, the rule of -w- marking cannot apply on a case frame containing only one case role. The following sentences to which the rule of -k- marking is applicable (as shown in 3.0.2.3) are all ungrammatical after the application of the rule of -w- marking:

- 15. S\* A / na /taabiwa [E]  
       he pres be troubled  
       E He is troubled.
- 16. S\* A / me /elimiwa [O]  
       he past be educated  
       E He has been educated.
- 17. G\* N/etegwe /re [O]  
       I be ready past  
       E I am ready.

And verb predicators discussed in 3.0.2.2 as permitting the 0 role to occur singly provided that the -k- rule applies to attach it to the predicator may not undergo the rule of -w- marking when an Agentive or Instrumental does not occur in the deep structure. In the following sentences, predicators to which the -k- rule applies only when the Agentive does not occur in the deep structure are shown undergoing the -w- rule when the Agentives are present:

18a. S <sup>O</sup> Nguo yangu i / me /raruliwa na watoto <sup>A</sup> [A - O]  
 clothing my it past be torn by children

18b. G <sup>O</sup> Olugoye lwange lu/nyirirwe n'/abaana <sup>A</sup> [A - O]  
 clothing my it be torn past by children

E My clothing has been torn by the children.

19a. S <sup>O</sup> Mkate u / me /pasuliwa vibaya na watoto <sup>A</sup> [A - O]  
 bread it past be broken badly by children

19b. G <sup>O</sup> Omugati gu/mosoirwe wundi n'/abaana <sup>A</sup> [A - O]  
 bread it be broken past badly by children

E The bread has been broken unevenly by the children.

Though the Agentives in 18-19 may not be manifested they must be present in the deep structure when the rule of -w- marking applies. Predicators which require only one case role permit the rule of -w- marking only after the -s- or -i- rule has applied to attach another case role to the predicator. The predicators like S -potea (get lost), G -gota (get lost) which occur in case frame [O] do not permit the rule of -w- marking when the O is the only role present. 20 in which the rule has applied to the O case frame is ungrammatical:

20a. S\* Kitabu ki/ me /potewa [O]  
 book it past be lost

20b. G\* Ekitabo ki/goterwe [O]  
 book it be lost past

E The book is lost.

But 21 in which the rule has applied after the rule of -s- marking is grammatical (since the latter rule has made the selection of the Agentive possible):

21a. S <sup>O</sup> Kitabu ki/ li /potezwa na Ali <sup>(A)</sup> [(A) - O]  
 book it past be lost by Ali

21b. G     <sup>O</sup> Ekitabo ky/ a /goteserwe n' O <sup>(A)</sup> Ali     [(A) - O]  
           book       it dist    be lost    by     Ali  
   past

E     The book was lost by Ali.

Another example of predicators which reject the rule of -w- marking when occurring with only one case role are predicators S -fa (die) and G -fa (die). 22 in which the rule has applied when the O is the only role is ungrammatical:

22a. S\* A / me /fiwa     [O]  
           he past be died

22b. G\* A /firwe     [O]  
           he be died past

E     LIT: "He has been died."

But 23 in which the rule applies after the rule of -i- marking has attached the Source role onto the predicators is grammatical.

23a. S       <sup>S</sup>   <sup>O</sup>   [O - S]  
       Wa / me /fiwa   mtoto  
           they past be died from child

23b. G       <sup>S</sup>   <sup>O</sup>   [O - S]  
       Ba /firirwe   omwana  
           they be died from past child

E     They have lost a child.

Another important difference between the two rules is that whenever they apply to related case frames, the rule of -k- marking makes the role dependency relations between the roles concerned apparent (3.0.2.1) whereas the rule of -w- marking does not, though the former rule nearly always deletes the case role which it blocks from being selected subject. In the following sentences, it is shown that the English glosses to the -k- sentences contain capability expressing forms like 'can' 'possible' 'able' etc. to convey the nature of the role interrelationship made evident by the rule of -k- marking but these capability expressing forms are not necessary in the English glosses to the -w- sentences.

- 24a.(i) S Nyumba hii ha / i/kaliki [L]  
house this neg it be lived in  
E This house cannot be lived in.
- (ii) S Nyumba hii ha / i/kaliwi [L]  
house this neg it be lived in  
E This house is not lived in.
- 24b.(i) G Enyumba enu t / e/tyamika /mu [L]  
house this neg it be lived in  
E This house cannot be lived in.
- (ii) G Enyumba enu t / e/tyamiwa /mu [L]  
house this neg it be lived in  
E This house is not lived in.
- 25a.(i) S Maelezo ya mwalimu yule ha / ya /fahamiki [O]  
explanations of teacher that neg they be understood  
E The teacher's explanations are incomprehensible.
- (ii) S Maelezo ya mwalimu yule ha / ya /fahamiwi [O]  
explanations of teacher that neg they be understood  
E The teacher's words are not comprehended.
- 25b.(i) G Eby / a/tumula ti / bi /tegeerekeka [O]  
they he say neg they be understood  
E What he is saying is incomprehensible.
- (ii) G Eby / a/tumula ti / bi /tegeerwa [O]  
they he say neg they be understood  
E What he is saying is not comprehended.
- 26.(i) S Fulani a / me /dhulumika [E]  
someone he past be oppressed  
E It has been possible to oppress him.
- (ii) S Fulani a / me /dhulumiwa [E]  
someone he past be oppressed  
E He has been oppressed.
- 27.(i) G Tu/fugika [E]  
we be ruled

E We can be ruled

(ii) G Tu/fugiwa

[E]

we be ruled

E We are ruled.

It must be clarified that we are not arguing that there are no role dependency relations between the case roles to which the rule of -w- marking applies, we are only pointing out that the rule of -k- marking makes them evident whereas the rule of -w- marking does not. In the sentences in 28, for example, we cannot argue that the -w- sentences do not imply that the church can be seen:

28a.(i) S Kanisa i / na /onwa

[O]

Church it pres be seen

E The Church is seen.

(ii) S Kanisa i / na /onekana

[O]

Church it pres be seen

E The Church can be seen.

28b.(i) G Ekanisa e /womwa

[O]

Church it be seen

E The Church is seen

(ii) G Ekanisa e /woneka

Church it be seen

E The Church can be seen.

The two rules are also distinguished in terms of ordering in case frames where the rules of -s- and -i- marking may also apply. Both rules may apply after the former rule as may be seen in 29 and 30, where the predicators S -amka (wake) and G -yega (learn) are shown after undergoing both rules:

29.(i) S Huyu mtoto h / a/amshiki

-s- + -k-

this child neg he be woken up

E This child cannot be woken up (easily).



- (ii) S Huyu mtoto a / me /amshwa -s- + -w-  
 this child he past be woken up  
 E This child has been woken up.
- 30.(i) G Omwana onu t / a/yegesyeka -s- + -k-  
 child this neg he be taught  
 E It is not possible to teach this child.
- (ii) G Omwana onu t / a/yegesywa -s- + -w-  
 child this neg he be taught  
 E This child is not taught.

But while the rule of -w- marking may apply after the rule of -i- marking (as W. H. Whiteley 1968 : 69 also notes) the rule of -k- marking, apparently, may not. In the following sentence pairs (which have all undergone the rule of -i- marking) the sentences to which the rule of -w- marking has applied are shown to be grammatical, but those to which the rule of -k- marking has applied are ungrammatical. The predicators involved are as follows:

- |   |                        |   |                     |  |
|---|------------------------|---|---------------------|--|
| S | - <u>fa</u> (die)      | G | - <u>fa</u> (die)   |  |
| S | - <u>fariki</u> (die)  |   |                     |  |
| S | - <u>pata</u> (get)    | G | - <u>funa</u> (get) |  |
| S | - <u>isha</u> (finish) |   |                     |  |
| S | - <u>ja</u> (come)     | G | - <u>iza</u> (come) |  |
- 31a.(i) S Wa / me /fiwa mtoto -i- + -w-  
 they past be died from child  
 E They have lost a child
- (ii) S\* Wa / me /fika mtoto -i- + -k-  
 they past be died from child  
 E LIT: "They have been able to lose a child."
- 31b.(i) G Ba / firiirwe omwana -i- + -w-  
 they be died from past child  
 E They have lost a child.

- (ii) G\* Ba /firiki /re omwana -i- † -w-  
they be died from past child  
E LIT: "They have been able to lose a child."
32. (i) S A / me /farikiwa -i- † -w-  
he past ne departed from  
E He is berieved.
- (ii) S\* A / me /farikika -i- † -k-  
he past be departed from  
E LIT: "He has been able to be berieved."
- 33a.(i) S Kwame Nkrumah a / li /patiwa ahadi -i- † -w-  
Kwame Nkrumah he past be got promise  
E Kwame Nkrumah was given assurance.
- (ii) S\* Kwame Nkrumah a / li /patika ahadi -i- † -k-  
kwame Nkrumah he past be got promise  
E LIT: "Kwame Nkrumah could be given assurance."
- 33b.(i) G Y / a /funirwe enyumba -i- † -w-  
he dist be got past house  
past  
E LIT: "He was got a house."
- (ii) G\* Y / a /funikii /re enyumba -i- † -k-  
he dist be got past house  
past  
E LIT: "He could be got a house."
- 34.(i) S A / li /ishiwa na nguvu -i- † -w-  
he past be finished of energy  
E He lost energy.
- (ii) S\* A / li /ishika na nguvu -i- † -k-  
he past be finished of energy  
E LIT: "He could lose energy."
- 35a.(i) S A / li /jiwa na mawazo -i- † -w-  
he past be come to by thought  
E She was filled with thoughts.

(ii) S\*A / li / jika na mawazo -i- + -k-  
 he past be come to by thoughts

E LIT: "She could be come to by thoughts."

35b.(i) G N/jizirwa ebirowozo -i- + -w-  
 I be come to thoughts

E I am filled with thoughts.

(ii) G\* N/jizika ebirowozo -i- + -k-  
 I become to thoughts

E LIT: "I can be come to by thoughts."

Finally, the two rules differ in whether or not they permit objects. Generally, -k- and -w- sentences are objectless (as pointed out at the beginning of this chapter). However, occasionally in  $\boxed{A - (S)(G) - O}$  case frames - the -w- rule permits object selection. This happens when the O role is made subject (by the -w- rule) and the S/G is not deleted, as shown in the following sentences:

36a. S <sup>O</sup> Fedha zi/ li / <sup>G</sup> m /pewa  $\boxed{O - G}$   
 money it past him be given

36b. G <sup>O</sup> Esente gy/ a / <sup>G</sup> mu /weberwe  $\boxed{O - G}$   
 money it dist him be given past  
 past

E The money was given to him.

37a. S <sup>O</sup> Vitu vyake vyote vi / li / <sup>G</sup> m /lipwa  $\boxed{O - G}$   
 things his all they past him be refunded

37b. G <sup>O</sup> Ebintu bye byonabyona by / a / <sup>G</sup> mu /saswirwe  $\boxed{O - G}$   
 things his all they dist him be refunded past  
 past

E All his things were refunded (to him).

The -k- rule, on the other hand, never permits object selection on any occasion. The following -k- sentences in which objects occur are ungrammatical.

- 38a. S \* Kitu<sup>O</sup> ki/ na / m<sup>G</sup> / palika mtoto huyu [O - G]  
 something it pres him be given child this
- 38b. G \* Ekintu<sup>O</sup> ki/ mu<sup>G</sup>/weka omwana onu [O - G]  
 something it him be given child this  
 E Something can be given to this child.
- 39a. S\* Vitu h / a / vi / m<sup>G</sup> / lipiki [O - G]  
 things neg pres they him be paid
- 39b. G \* Ebintu ti / bi / mu/ sasulika [O - G]  
 things neg they him be paid  
 E It is not possible to pay him the things.

#### 3.0.4 Commentary on the rules of -n-, -k- and -w- marking

It has been pointed out in the course of the discussion of the three rules that they block most of the object selection rules stated in Chapter 2, and that the -k- and -w- rules block the subject selection rules (stated *ibid*) as well. We may, therefore, conclude that these three rules make most of the rules stated (*ibid*) optional. In other words, there are no obligatory syntactic rules in Swahili or Gwere.

CHAPTER 4

PREDICATORS WHICH CONTAIN -S-, -I-, -N- AND -K-  
LEXICALLY.

4.0.0. Introduction

Some grammarians (for instance W. H. Whiteley (1968), M. Guthrie (1962), and C. M. Eastman (1967)) have pointed out that many predicates give the impression that they have undergone the rules discussed in Chapter 2 Part 2 and in Chapter 3 when this is not the case. W. H. Whiteley describes these predicates (i.e. those which contain the suffixes lexically) as 'pseudo-extended radicals', which, in his own words, "look as though they are extended, [- - - -] but in default of a shorter form in current use must be regarded as minimal." (Whiteley 1968 : 56).

M. Guthrie (1962 : 203) describes them as 'complex' : "not all longer radicals display a relationship to some simplex radical. Thus for example in Swahili there are radicals such as -tambik- 'offer', where there is no corresponding simplex radical -tamb-, in contrast to -pambik- 'be decorated', which is an extended variety of -pamb- 'decorate'. Any longer radicals which cannot be broken down into a simplex radical and an extension are termed 'complex'." (ibid). And Carol Eastman refers to them as 'Fixed stems'. A 'fixed stem' being defined as "one which, although it may originally have been formed spontaneously, has come to act as a unit in the language with a fixed meaning often semantically quite distinct from that of the form from which it was presumably derived, if such a form does exist." (Eastman 1967 : 42).

Thus, these grammarians have adopted solely morphological or semantic criteria for distinguishing predicates of this sort from those which incorporate -s-, -i-, -n-, -k- etc. as a result

of the application of the rules discussed (ibid). In the following discussion, it will be shown that the properties of these rules can also be used as criteria for distinguishing the two types of predicators.

4.0.1. The Predicators containing -i-

It was argued (in 2.0.5.1) that the rule for i- marking applies optionally to incorporate certain case roles (which would otherwise occur as adjuncts or unmarked NPs) into the predicator. There are, however, predicators which contain an -i- which cannot be associated with any of the selected case roles. Some of the predicators of this kind are listed below:

S	<u>-ongea</u> (converse)	[A]	S	<u>-kimbia</u> (run)	[A]
S	<u>-tembea</u> (walk)	[A]	S	<u>-lia</u> (cry)	[A]
S	<u>-sikia</u> (hear)	[E - O]	S	<u>-elea</u> (understand)	[E - O]
S	<u>-ghumia</u> (faint)	[O]	S	<u>-angamia</u> (be destroyed)	[O]
S	<u>-tengenea</u> (be stable, be steady)	[O]	S	<u>-gugumia</u> (stutter)	[O]
S	<u>-senea</u> (be blunt)	[O]	S	<u>-zoea</u> (be used to)	[E]
S	<u>-tekelea</u> (be accomplished)	[O]	S	<u>-potea</u> (get lost)	[O]
S	<u>-tangulia</u> (precede)	[A - C]	S	<u>-fagia</u> (sweep)	[A]
S	<u>-ning'inia</u> (dangle)	[O]	S	<u>-teketea</u> (be destroyed)	[O]
G	<u>-wuulira</u> (preach)	[A - O]	G	<u>-lilira</u> (wish for, long for)	[E - O]
G	<u>-eyendera</u> (do intentionally)	[A - O]	G	<u>-waliirya</u> (soothe)	[A - E]
G	<u>-eralikirira</u> (worry)	[E]	G	<u>-bibirira</u> (perform in a panic)	
G	<u>-jigijira</u> (be destroyed)	[O]	G	<u>-valira</u> (search)	[A - O]
G	<u>-tereera</u> (be steady)	[O]	G	<u>-egairira</u> (implore)	[A - E]
G	<u>-ongera</u> (heighten)	[E - O]			

With other predicators, on the other hand, the -i- may be associated with one of the case roles selected by the predicator concerned. The Swahili predicator -tumia (use), for instance, occurs in case frame  $\boxed{A - I - O}$ ; the -i- may, therefore, be connected with the Instrumental role.

And with the following predicators, the -i- may be related to the Goal or Locative roles:

S	<u>-kumbatia</u> (embrace)	$\boxed{A - G}$	S	<u>-vamia</u> (pounce upon)	$\boxed{A - G}$
S	<u>-jalia</u> (grant, permit)	$\boxed{A - G - (O)}$	S	<u>-pokea</u> (receive)	$\boxed{O - G}$
S	<u>-endelea</u> (go on)	$\boxed{A - (G) - O}$	S	<u>-tokea</u> (appear, arise)	$\boxed{(A)(O) - G}$
S	<u>-ambia</u> (tell)	$\boxed{A - G - O}$	S	<u>-tia</u> (put)	$\boxed{A - G - O}$
S	<u>-rejea</u> (return)	A - G	S	<u>-enea</u> (spread out)	$\boxed{O - L}$
S	<u>-ingia</u> (enter)	$\boxed{(A)(O) - G}$	S	<u>-amkia</u> (greet)	$\boxed{A - G}$
S	<u>-sogea</u> (move forward)	$\boxed{A - G}$	S	<u>-fukia</u> (cover in, dig in)	$\boxed{A - (G) - O}$
S	<u>-tegemea</u> (rest on, rely on)	$\boxed{O - G}$	S	<u>-simulia</u> (narrate)	$\boxed{A - (G) - O}$
G	<u>-fumbatira</u> (embrace)	$\boxed{A - G}$	G	<u>-vuminkirirya</u> (pounce upon)	$\boxed{A - G}$
G	<u>-kobera</u> (tell)	$\boxed{A - G - O}$	G	<u>-ngira</u> (enter)	$\boxed{(A)(O) - G}$
G	<u>-ongera</u> (go on with)	$\boxed{A - G - O}$	G	<u>-sembera</u> (move forward)	$\boxed{A - G}$
G	<u>-simira</u> (cover in, dig in)	$\boxed{A - G - O}$	G	<u>-terembera</u> (advance)	$\boxed{A - G}$
G	<u>-ebbembera</u> (lead)	$\boxed{A - G}$	G	<u>-sugirya</u> (greet)	$\boxed{A - G}$
G	<u>-yanirirya</u> (reach for)	$\boxed{A - G}$			

The Swahili predicator -saidia (help) occurs in case frame  $\boxed{A - B}$ , where the -i- may be associated with the B role.

But even in instances like these where the -i- may be attributed to a case role in the underlying case frame selected by the given predicator, there is no syntactic evidence, in surface structure, that the sentences in which the predicators listed above occur result from the application of the rule for i- marking.

In the first place, some of the Swahili predicators listed above (for instance -senea (be blunt), -simulia (narrate), -saidia (help) and -rejea (return)) are thought to have been borrowed as they are from Arabic.

1

Secondly, these predicators often occur in different types of sentence from those derived by the supposed rule. As an example, we shall compare the sentences which result from the application of the *i-* rule (as discussed in 2.0.5.1) with some of the sentences in which these predicators occur.

We stated that *-i-*, as a marker of the rule which incorporates certain case roles into the predicators, may not occur in a sentence without the antecedent role (just as the adjunct markers like na (with, by etc.) and kwa (with) may not occur if the case roles that have become adjuncts are not manifested) (c.f the argument against L. Harries (1970) in 2.0.5 above). We shall find that the *-i-* in the predicators shown above may occur when the case role which would be its antecedent (by the *i-* rule) is not manifested. This may be illustrated as follows.

The predicators S -ingia (enter), G -ngira (enter) occur in case frame  $\boxed{[A](O) - G}$ , and contain an *-i-* that may be attributed to the presence of the G role. However, in the following sentences, the *-i-* occurs even though the Goal role is not manifested:

- |     |   |                    |     |
|-----|---|--------------------|-----|
| 1a. | S | Wa / me /ingia     | [A] |
|     |   | they past enter    |     |
| 1b. | G | Ba /ngir/e         | [A] |
|     |   | they enter past    |     |
|     | E | They have entered. |     |

Similarly, in 2, *-i-* occurs in the predicators S -tokea (appear) and G -ebbembera (lead) although the Goal is not manifested:



2a. S A / li /tokea [A]  
 he past appear  
 E He appeared.

2b. G Y / e /ebbembeir/e [A]  
 he dist lead past  
 past  
 E He lead.

Conversely, with predicators like S -tumia (use); and S -ambia (tell), G -kobera (tell), the case roles with which the -i- might be connected are always obligatorily manifested. The sentences in 3-4 where the Instrumental or Goal does not occur are ungrammatical:

3. S\* A / li /tumia [A]  
 he past use  
 E "He used"

4a. S\* A / na /ambia vitu vingi [A - O]  
 he pres tell things many

4b. G A /kobera ebintu bingi [A - O]  
 he tell things many  
 E "He tells many things."

3-4 are ungrammatical because the Instrumental and Goal roles, respectively, do not occur. But as may be seen (in the same sentences), the predicators concerned still contain the -i- despite the non-occurrence of these roles. Since the -i- that is the result of the rule that incorporates case roles such as these into the predicator may not occur in a sentence without the incorporated role, we may argue that the -i- in the predicators of the type shown in sentences 1-4 is not derived by the rule discussed in 2.0.5.1. Also, the fact that -i- is obligatory to these predicators whereas the rule - derived -i- is optional is evidence that the two -i-s are different.

Further, we pointed out that the rule for i- marking does not operate on its own output. We shall see (in the following sentences) that the predicators listed above permit the application of the i- rule:

- 5a. S Umaskini u / me / <sup>G</sup>tu /ingilia [O - G]  
 poverty it past to us enter
- 5b. G Obunaku bu/ tu /ngiriir/e [O - G]  
 poverty it to us enter past  
 E We have become poor.
6. S Mama yake a / li / <sup>(B)</sup>m /tilia pilipili penye  
 mother his she past for him put pepper onto  
 titi la ziwa [A - (B) - O - G]  
 teat of milk  
 E His mother put pepper on the teats for him.
7. G Ba / mw /ongerera omulimo mu/maiso [A - (B) - O - G]  
 they for him go on with work in front  
 E They are advancing the work for him.
8. S Akina mama wa /weke tayari vilio vingi kwa ku /  
 group women they put ready food much for inf  
 pokelea <sup>(I)</sup>dawa [(I) - O]  
 take with medicine  
 E The women should prepare much food to take the  
 medicine with.
9. G A /sugirirya <sup>(S)</sup>yala [A - (S)]  
 she greet from far  
 E She greets from afar.
- 10a. S A / li / <sup>G</sup>m /sogelea mjomba wake [A - G]  
 he past to him move uncle his

10b. G Y / a / <sup>G</sup> mu / sembereir / e okoizawe [A - G]  
 he dist to him move past uncle his  
 past

E He approached his uncle.

11. S Wageni wa / me / <sup>G</sup> m / tokelea [A - G]  
 visitors they past to him appear

E He has received visitors (unexpectedly).

12. G N/ e / ebbemberera mu / <sup>G</sup> maiso [A - G]  
 I fut lead in front

E I shall lead later on.

5-12 provide further evidence that the -i- in the predicators S -ingia (enter), G -ngira (enter); S -tia (put); G -ongera (go on with); S -pokea (receive), G -sugirya (greet); S -sogea (move forward), G -sembera (move forward); S -tokea (appear); G -ebbembera (lead) (and others which contain an -i- but permit the application of the -i- rule) is not the -i- discussed in 2.0.5.1.

#### 4.0.2 The Predicators containing -s-

The predicators listed below contain an -s- which might be thought to be a marker of the rule by which Agentives from 'higher' sentences are permitted into case frames (as discussed in 2.0.5.2):

S <u>-omboleza</u> (bewail, beseech)	[A]	S <u>-hinikiza</u> (deafen)	
S <u>-bembeleza</u> (quieten, soothe)	[A - E]	S <u>-sisitiza</u> (reiterate)	[A]
S <u>-tisha</u> (terrify)	[A - E]	S <u>-funza</u> (learn)	[A - O]
S <u>-sikiliza</u> (listen)	[A - O]	S <u>-maliza</u> (finish)	[A - O]
S <u>-fuatisha</u> (trace)	[A - O]	S <u>-tarakanya</u> (search for)	[A - O]
S <u>-osha</u> (wash)	[A - O]	S <u>-agiza</u> (instruct, direct)	[A - E]
S <u>-danganya</u> (cheat, deceive)	[A - E]	S <u>-sindikiza</u> (accompany)	[C - O]
S <u>-konyeza</u> (make a covert sign to)	[A - E]		

G	<u>-swansya</u> (exchange)	[A - 0]	G	<u>-kwatisya</u> (trace)	[A - 0]
G	<u>-wulisisya</u> (listen)	[A - 0]	G	<u>-loberya</u> (prohibit)	[A - 0]
G	<u>-gezya</u> (try)	[A - 0]	G	<u>-zunguzya</u> (shake up)	[A - 0]
G	<u>-yokya</u> (roast)	[A - 0]	G	<u>-bizya</u> (boil briefly)	[A - 0]
G	<u>-yanzululya</u> (unfold)	[A - 0]	G	<u>-lya</u> (eat)	[A - 0]
G	<u>-taanya</u> (arrange)	[A - 0]	G	<u>-boiza</u> (eat one by one)	[A - 0]
G	<u>-bikirya</u> (put down)	[A - 0 - L]	G	<u>-nonya</u> (search for)	[A - 0]
G	<u>-menya</u> (break)	[A - 0]			

There is, however, strong evidence that the -s- (-z-, -y-) (V. footnote 31 Chapter 2) in the above predicators is not related to the -s- analysed in 2.0.5.2.

Most of these predicators have no roots (i.e. they contain -s- obligatorily). And even those which have co-existing phonologically related predicators which could be considered as their roots are found to be semantically and syntactically unrelated to them. For example, the predicators

- S -sikiliza (listen), G -wulisisya (listen); and  
 S -fuatisha (trace), G -kwatisya (trace)

have possible roots in predicators S -sikia (hear), G -wulira (hear); and S -fuata (follow), G -kwata (catch).

But if it were the case that the last four predicators are differentiated from the first four on purely syntactic grounds (i.e. through the application of the -s- rule), we would expect the Agentives in the case frames selected by the first four predicators to be optional (since all the Agentives originating from higher sentences are optional), in which case, we would predict that sentences 13-14 have Agentless counterparts:

- 13a. S <sup>A</sup> Tu/ ta/sikiliza <sup>O</sup> maneno yake [A - 0]  
 we fut listen words his

- 13b. G <sup>A</sup> Tw/ a /wulisisya ebigambo bye [A - 0]  
we fut listen words his  
E We shall listen to his words.
- 14a. S <sup>A</sup> Tu/ ta/fuatisha ramani [A - 0]  
we fut trace map
- 14b. G <sup>A</sup> Tw/ a /kwatisya ekifananyi [A - 0]  
we fut trace map  
E We shall trace the map.

However, sentences 15-16 which would be the Agentless counterparts to 13-14 are ungrammatical

- 15a. S \* Maneno yake ya / ta/sikia [0]  
words his they fut hear
- 15b. G \* Ebigambo bye by /a /wulira [0]  
words his they fut hear  
E "His words will hear."
- 16a. S \* ramani i / ta/fuata [0]  
map it fut follow  
E "The map will follow."
16. G \* Ekifananyi ky/ a /kwata [0]  
map it fut catch  
E "The map will catch."

It would thus seem that the Agentives in 13-14 are not optional, hence, we cannot claim that they originate from higher sentences and that they are permitted in the respective case frames by the rule for -s- marking. The -s- in predicators S -sikiliza (listen), G -wulisisya (listen) and S -fuatisha (trace), G -kwatisya (trace) is, therefore, obligatory. And since the -s- resulting from the application of the optional rule which incorporates Agentives from higher sentences into the lower ones (V. 2.0.5.2) is optional, the argument that the -s- (-z-, -y-) in the predicators listed

above results from the same rule is untenable.

4.0.3 The Predicators Containing -n-

Predicators which contain an -n- which could be considered as resulting from the application of the rule for n- marking (discussed in 3.0.1) are very few. (According to the data considered in this work).

They include predicators S -fanana (resemble), G -fanana (resemble), and G -sangana (meet). Apart from the fact that these predicators contain -n- obligatorily, the other point distinguishing them from the predicators which contain the -n- only after the application of the -n- rule is that they permit objects, as illustrated in the following sentences:

17a. S A / na / <sup>0</sup>m / fanana [C - O]  
he pres him resemble

17b. G A / <sup>0</sup>mu / fanana [C - O]  
he him resemble  
E He resembles him.

18. G N/ a / <sup>0</sup>mu / sangana [A - O]  
I fut him meet  
E I shall meet him.

Seeing that the rule of -n- marking blocks all the object selection rules stated in Chapter 2 Part 1 (as shown in 3.0.1) the sentences in 17-18 which contain objects cannot be derived by the n- rule; consequently, the -n- in the predicators in 17-18 does not mark that rule.

4.0.4. The Predicators containing -k-

The -k- in the following predicators could be interpreted as marking the application of the rule discussed in 3.0.2:

S	<u>-epuka</u> (avoid)	[A - 0]	S	<u>-hangaika</u> (be anxious)	[E]
S	<u>-sikitika</u> (be sorry)	[E]	S	<u>-nun'unika</u> (be discontent)	[E]
S	<u>-nyoka</u> (be straight)	[0]	S	<u>-tumbuika</u> (be soothed)	[E]
G	<u>-wizuka</u> (dawn)	[0]	G	<u>-katuuka</u> (be dry-skinned)	[0]
G	<u>-kyukyuka</u> (lose colour)	[0]	G	<u>-ahamuka</u> (stop raining)	[0]
G	<u>-sirika</u> (be quiet)	[E]	G	<u>-ssebuka</u> (sprout)	[0]
G	<u>-ohowoka</u> (pour out)	[0]	G	<u>-fuduuka</u> (be dirty)	[0]

If the -k- in the predicators listed above marks the rule of -k-marking analysed above, the predicators concerned should occur in non- -k- forms (since the -k- marking rule is optional). This is, however, not the case; all these predicators have no non-k- forms. The Swahili predicator -epuka (avoid) which has a possible non-k-root in -epua (put out of the way) does not contain the -k- studied above. In the first place, -epuka (avoid) occurs with an object as shown in 19:

19. S Ali a / li / <sup>0</sup>/mw/epuka nyoka [A - 0]  
 Ali he past it avoid snake  
 E Ali avoided the snake.

As the -k- marking rule prohibits object selection (as shown in 3.0.2) the -k- in -epuka (avoid) cannot be considered as marking that rule. Further, the -k- rule can only make an Agentive subject in complex sentences derived by the -s- rule (as noted *ibid*). In sentence 19 the predicator -epuka (avoid) is shown occurring in case frame [A - 0], where the A is not incorporated into the sentence by the -s- marking rule. It is, therefore, unlikely that -epuka (avoid) contains the rule - derived -k-.

#### 4.0.5 Commentary

It is thus evident that these predicators do not contain the kind of -s-, -i-, -n-, -k- etc. which we have analysed in this work (as rule markers). We, therefore, conclude that they contain the consonants and vowels concerned lexically, and are syntactically related to the predicators which do not contain any of these consonants and vowels.



CHAPTER 5

COMMENTS ON THE COMPARABILITY OF SWAHILI AND  
GWERE AND CONCLUSION

5.0.0. Introduction

In the preceding chapters, Swahili and Gwere have been discussed side by side within one framework. A number of similarities and differences between them have been, accordingly, made evident in the course of the description. We shall now comment on these findings.

5.0.1 Similarities and differences

A number of differences have been found between Swahili and Gwere.

It has been observed that not all the phonologically similar Swahili/Gwere predicators occur in the same case frames. The following pairs of predicators, as an example, are shown permitting different case frames:

- |    |   |                              |         |   |                                    |         |
|----|---|------------------------------|---------|---|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | S | - <u>tambua</u> (understand) | [E - O] | G | - <u>tambula</u> (walk)            | [A]     |
| 2. | S | - <u>tawanya</u> (disperse)  | [A - O] | G | - <u>tawanya</u> (Disturb, bother) | [A - E] |
| 3. | S | - <u>oza</u> (rot)           | [O]     | G | - <u>oza</u> (wash)                | [A - O] |
| 4. | S | - <u>ua</u> (kill)           | [A - O] | G | - <u>wuwa</u> (be confused)        | [E]     |
| 5. | S | - <u>huzuni</u> (be sad)     | [E]     | G | <u>buzuni</u> (be in pain)         | [O]     |

It would thus seem that phonological similarity does not guarantee syntactic similarity. Since the predicators listed above occur in different case frames, they may also occur in different types of sentence. In 1, for instance, the Swahili predicator -tambua (understand, recognize) which requires at least two case roles in the case frame has selected both surface structure subject and

object, whereas Gwere predicator -tambula (walk) which requires only one obligatory case role has selected only the subject:

- 1a. S    E            O  
       Ni/ me / m /tambua            [E - O]  
       I    past him recognize  
       E    I have recognized him.
- 1b. G    A  
       N/tambula                    [A]  
       I walk  
       E    I am walking.

Conversely, in 2, the Swahili predicator -oza (rot) which has selected one case role has permitted only subject selection, while the Gwere predicator -oza (wash) which is occurring with two case roles has permitted both subject and object selection:

- 2a. S    Machungwa <sup>O</sup> ya / me /oza            [O]  
       oranges    they past rot  
       E    The oranges are rotten.
- 2b. G    A    O  
       N/ gy /oze /re    engoye            [A - O]  
       I them wash past clothes  
       E    I have washed the clothes.

Other differences noted between Swahili and Gwere are of two types: one type concerns the number of surface structure objects permitted in a surface structure sentence and the other concerns the distribution of certain case roles in surface structure. These two points of contrast have already been pointed out in sub rules 3e and 8a (V. 2.0.2.3 and 2.0.3.3, respectively). Out of the 23 rules discussed in Chapter 2, these two sub rules are the only ones which are restricted to either Swahili or Gwere (i.e. either sub rule applies to only one of the two languages).

As illustrated in sub rule 3e, in Swahili, the O role may not become surface structure object in case frames  $\boxed{A - E - O}$ ,  $\boxed{A - S - O}$  and  $\boxed{A - G - O}$  if the E, S and G<sup>†</sup> case roles become objects.

Similarly, as shown in 2.0.5.2, even the complex sentences derived by the rule of s- marking may not have more than one surface structure object, in Swahili. Sentences 3 and 4 which have two objects are ungrammatical:

3.  $S^* \begin{matrix} (A) & & A & & O \\ A / li / m / wa / fungisha \end{matrix} \quad \boxed{(A) - A - O}$   
 he past him them make imprison  
 E He made him imprison them.

4.  $S^* \begin{matrix} (A) & & A & & O \\ A / li / m / ni / pigisha \end{matrix} \quad \boxed{(A) - A - O}$   
 he past him me make beat  
 E He made him beat me.

As discussed above, sub rule 3e applies to Gwere, and Gwere equivalents to Swahili 3 and 4 (above) are all acceptable.

It has been discussed in 2.0.3.3 and stated in sub rule 8a that the Time role does not become surface structure subject in Gwere whereas it does in Swahili. Other case roles found to be distributed differently in some contexts in the two languages include the Agentives, the Experiencers and Objectives.

It has been pointed out (towards the end of 2.0.5.2) that Agentives may become adjuncts as a result of the application of the rule of -s- marking. However, this rule seems to be more applicable to Gwere than to Swahili. In the latter language, the Agentives which might be expected to occur as adjuncts in this context are obligatorily deleted, in most instances. In the following Swahili sentences, for example, all the sentences with manifested Agentives which have become adjuncts are ungrammatical:

5.  $S^* \begin{matrix} (A) & & O \\ A / li / m / fungisha \end{matrix} \quad \text{na } \underline{\text{Waarabu}} \quad \boxed{(A) - A - O}$   
 he past him make imprisoned by Arabs

E He made him be imprisoned by the Arabs.

6. S\* <sup>(A)</sup> A / li / m / pigisha      na <sup>A</sup> mwalimu      [(A) - A - O]

he past him make beaten by teacher

E He made him be beaten by the teacher.

7. S\* <sup>(A)</sup> A / li / m / shikisha      na <sup>A</sup> askari      [(A) - A - O]

he past him make caught by policeman

E He made him be caught by the policeman.

But 8-10 (where the Agentives have been deleted instead of being manifested as adjuncts) are possible:

8. S <sup>(A)</sup> A / li / m / fungisha      [(A) - O]

he past him make imprisoned

E He made him be imprisoned.

9. S <sup>(A)</sup> A / li / m / pigisha      [(A) - O]

he past him make beaten

E He made him be beaten.

10. S <sup>(A)</sup> A / li / m / shikisha      [(A) - O]

he past him make caught

E He made him be caught.

All the Gwere equivalents to the non-grammatical 5-7

(Swanili) are possible, as illustrated below:

11. G <sup>(A)</sup> Y / a / mu / sibisirye      n' / <sup>A</sup> Abaarabu      [(A) - A - O]

he dist him make imprisoned by Arabs  
past

E He made him be imprisoned by the Arabs.

12. G <sup>(A)</sup> Y / a / mu / kubisirye      n' / <sup>A</sup> omusomesya      [(A) - A - O]

he dist him make beaten by teacher  
past

E He made him be beaten by the teacher.

13. G <sup>(A)</sup> Y / a / mu / kwatisirye      n' / omwisulukale      [(A) - A - O]

he dist him make caught by policeman  
past

E He made him be caught by the policeman.

It has also been noted (in 3.0.2.1), that in Swahili all the Agentives which do not become subject when the rule of -k-marking has applied, making some other case role subject, are obligatorily deleted, but in Gwere, they may be manifested as illustrated (ibid).

The other instance of differing case role distribution in surface structure occurs in case frame  $\boxed{E - O}$ . A few semantically similar Swahili/Gwere predicators which occur in case frame  $\boxed{E - O}$  have been found to permit different distribution of the case roles in surface structure (as pointed out in 2.0.2.2).

Predicators of this kind include the following:

- |      |   |                 |   |                               |                 |
|------|---|-----------------|---|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. S | - <u>elea</u> (be intelligible,<br>be understood) | $\boxed{E - O}$ | G | - <u>tegeera</u> (understand) | $\boxed{E - O}$ |
| 2. S | - <u>pasa</u> (compel)                            | $\boxed{E - O}$ | G | - <u>sana</u> (be compelled)  | $\boxed{E - O}$ |
| 3. S | <u>aibu</u> (be shameful)                         | $\boxed{E - O}$ | G | - <u>swala</u> (feel shame)   | $\boxed{E - O}$ |

The Swahili predicators (1-3) select the Objective role as subject but the Gwere predicators (1-3) have the Experiencer for subject as illustrated in the following sentences:

14a. S <sup>O</sup> Mambo ya / me / <sup>E</sup> ni/elea sasa  $\boxed{E - O - (T)}$   
 matters they past me understand now

14b. G <sup>E</sup> M/ bi /tegeir /e atyanu  $\boxed{E - O - (T)}$   
 I them understand past now  
 E Things are now clear to me.

15a. S <sup>O</sup> I / na / <sup>E</sup> tu/pasa tu/fanye haraka  $\boxed{E - O}$   
 it pres us compel we work quickly

15b. G <sup>E</sup> Tu/sana tu/kole mangumangu  $\boxed{E - O}$   
 we be compelled we work quickly  
 E We are compelled to work quickly.

16a. S  $\overset{O}{\underline{I}}$  / li /kuwa aibu kwetu  $\overset{E}{}$  [E - O]  
 it past be shame to us  
 E It was shameful for us.

16b. G  $\overset{E}{\underline{Tw}}$  / a /swair /e na  $\overset{O}{/kyo}$  [E - O]  
 we dist feel shame past with it  
 past  
 E We were ashamed of it.

Finally, the two languages also differ according to whether or not their semantically related Adjectival or Nominal predicators permit the application of the suffix-marked rules (discussed in Chapter 2 Part 2 and in 3.0.2.3).

It was stated (in 1.0.2 and 2.0.2) that the Adjectival and Nominal predicators do not incorporate the subject/object and tense markers unless the rules for -i-, -s-, or -k- marking have applied (as illustrated in 2.0.5.1, 2.0.5.2 and 3.0.2.3, respectively).

After considering some semantically related Swahili/Gwere Nominal predicators which occur in similar case frames, we find that the Swahili ones permit the application of one or more of these rules whereas their Gwere equivalents do not. Some of these related predicators are as follows:

- |                                    |                |                                |             |
|------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. S <u>karibu</u> (near)          | [A](O)-(G)(L)] | G <u>kumpi</u> (near)          | [A](O) - L] |
| 2. S <u>maana</u> (have meaning)   | [O]            | G <u>makulu</u> (have meaning) | [O]         |
| 3. S <u>zawadi</u> (present)       | [A - G]        | G <u>kirabo</u> (present)      | [A - G]     |
| 4. S <u>shughuli</u> (engagements) | [O]            | G <u>mirimo</u> (engagements)  | [O]         |
| 5. S <u>sababu</u> (have reason)   | [O]            | G <u>nsonga</u> (have reason)  | [O]         |
| 6. S <u>taifa</u> (nation)         | [O]            | G <u>eiwanga</u> (nation)      | [O]         |

The Swahili predicators (1-6) permit the application of the -i-, -s- or -k- marking rules but the Gwere predicators (1-6) do not, as illustrated in the following examples:

- 17a. S Tu/ me / u /karibia mji [A - G] -i- rule  
 we past to it come near town
- 17b. G \* Tu/kumpi /re ekiwuga [A - G] -i- rule  
 we come near to past town

E We are approaching the town.

18a. S A / li /tu/karibisha sebule /ni [(A) - 0 - L] -s- rule  
 he past us let into entrance hall in

18b. G\* Y / a /tu/kumpisiry/e omwidiro [(A) - 0 - L] -s- rule  
 he dist us let into past in entrance hall  
 past

E He let us into the entrance hall.

19a. S Neno hili l / a /maanisha nini? [(I) - 0]  
 word this it press mean what

19b. G\* Ekigambo kinu ki/maku lisha niki? [(I) - 0] -s- rule  
 word this it mean what

E What does this word mean?

20a. S Wa / li / m /zawadisha kuku [(A) - 0] -s- rule  
 they past him give present hen

20b. G\* B / a / mu/kirabisiry /e onkoko [(A) - 0] -s- rule  
 they dist him give present past hen  
 past

E They gave him a hen for a present.

21a. S <sup>0</sup>A / na /shughulika na mambo mengi [(I) - 0] -k- rule  
 he pres be busy with things many

21b. G\* A /mirimika n' /ebintu bingi [(I) - 0] -k- rule  
 he be busy with things many

E He is very busy.

22a. S A / na /ji /shughulisha mno [(A) - 0 - (M)] -s- rule  
 he pres Ref busy very much

22b. G\* Y / e /mirimisya inno [(A) - 0 - (M)] -s- rule

E He keeps himself very busy.

23a. S Kifo kyake ki/ me /sababisha ugonjwa kwa mama yake  
 death his it past cause illness to mother his  
 [(I) - (G) - 0] -s- rule

23b. G\* Okufa kwe ku/nsongesery/e obulwaire bwa ma /ye  
 death his it cause past illness of mother his  
 [(I) - O] -s- rule

E His death has caused his mother's illness.

24a. S Tu/ me /taifisha mabenki [(A) - O] -s- rule  
 we past nationalize banks

24b. G\* Tw/eiwangaisiry/e amabanka [(A) - O] -s- rule  
 we nationalize past banks

E We have nationalized the banks.

Thus, Swahili seems to have more nominal predicators which permit the application of the suffix-marked rules than Gwere.

Apart from the instances of fortuitous phonological resemblances of predicators which may obscure their underlying differences (as shown above), most of the differences between the two languages occur in surface structure.

When we consider the deep structure P/NP relations, we observe striking similarities. Fourteen case roles have been discovered in Swahili as well as Gwere. And in the course of the analysis of the semantic and syntactic properties of individual case roles, it has been noted that their distribution amongst the predicators of either language is largely the same (i.e. the two languages have matching case frames). For instance, many of these case roles occur in types of case frame selected by phonologically and semantically similar pairs of Swahili/Gwere predicators. Some of these pairs of predicators (all of which have been discussed above) and their case frames are as follows:

- |                                |                  |                              |                  |
|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. S - <u>uma</u> (hurt, bite) | [(A) - O - (Pt)] | G - <u>luma</u> (hurt, bite) | [(A) - O - (Pt)] |
| 2. S - <u>tuma</u> (send)      | [A - O]          | G - <u>tuma</u> (send)       | [A - O]          |
| 3. S - <u>lima</u> (cultivate) | [A - O]          | G - <u>lima</u> (cultivate)  | [A - O]          |
| 4. S - <u>la</u> (eat)         | [A - O]          | G - <u>lya</u> (eat)         | [A - O]          |
| 5. S - <u>nywa</u> (drink)     | [A - O]          | G - <u>nywa</u> (drink)      | [A - O]          |
| 6. S - <u>soma</u> (read)      | [A - O]          | G - <u>soma</u> (read)       | [A - O]          |



- |   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| 7. S - <u>kakamua</u> (apply effort upon) | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>kakamula</u> (apply effort upon) | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 8. S - <u>zika</u> (bury)                 | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>lika</u> (bury)                  | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 9. S - <u>nawa</u> (wash)                 | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>naba</u> (wash)                  | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 10. S - <u>anika</u> (set out to dry)     | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>anika</u> (set out to dry)       | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 11. S - <u>anua</u> (take in or down)     | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>anula</u> (take in or down)      | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 12. S - <u>umba</u> (make)                | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>bumba</u> (make)                 | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 13. S - <u>mwaga</u> (pour away)          | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>mwaga</u> (pour away)            | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 14. S - <u>guguna</u> (gnaw)              | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>guguna</u> (gnaw)                | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 15. S - <u>zira</u> (refrain from)        | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>zira</u> (refrain from)          | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 16. S - <u>loga</u> (bewitch)             | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>loga</u> (bewitch)               | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 17. S - <u>toa</u> (give out)             | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>tola</u> (give out)              | <u>A</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 18. S - <u>iba</u> (steal)                | <u>A</u> - S - <u>O</u>                            | G - <u>iba</u> (steal)                  | <u>A</u> - S - <u>O</u>                            |
| 19. S - <u>kunyua</u> (bite a piece off)  | <u>(I)(A)</u> - <sup>(G)</sup> <u>S</u> - <u>O</u> | G - <u>kunyula</u> (bite a piece off)   | <u>(I)(A)</u> - <sup>(G)</sup> <u>S</u> - <u>O</u> |
| 20. S - <u>nyakua</u> (snatch)            | <u>A</u> - <sup>(G)</sup> <u>S</u> - <u>O</u>      | G - <u>nyakula</u> (snatch)             | <u>A</u> - <sup>(G)</sup> <u>S</u> - <u>O</u>      |
| 21. S - <u>nyima</u> (with hold from)     | <u>A</u> - S - <u>O</u>                            | G - <u>ima</u> (with hold from)         | <u>A</u> - S - <u>O</u>                            |
| 22. S - <u>leta</u> (bring)               | <u>A</u> - G - <u>O</u>                            | G - <u>leta</u> (bring)                 | <u>A</u> - G - <u>O</u>                            |
| 23. S - <u>twaa</u> (take)                | <u>A</u> - G - <u>O</u>                            | G - <u>twala</u> (take)                 | <u>A</u> - G - <u>O</u>                            |
| 24. S - <u>tiririka</u> (run)             | <u>O</u> - <u>S</u>                                | G - <u>tirika</u> (run)                 | <u>O</u> - <u>S</u>                                |
| 25. S - <u>ingia</u> (enter)              | <u>(A)(O)</u> - <u>G</u>                           | G - <u>ngira</u> (enter)                | <u>(A)(O)</u> - <u>G</u>                           |
| 26. S - <u>gawa</u> (give out)            | <u>A</u> - (G) - <u>O</u>                          | G - <u>gaba</u> (give out)              | <u>A</u> - (G) - <u>O</u>                          |
| 27. S - <u>imba</u> (sing)                | <u>A</u> - Rt                                      | G - <u>yemba</u> (sing)                 | <u>A</u> - Rt                                      |
| 28. S - <u>cheka</u> (laugh)              | <u>A</u> - Rt                                      | G - <u>seka</u> (laugh)                 | <u>A</u> - Rt                                      |
| 29. S - <u>ota</u> (dream)                | <u>E</u> - Rt                                      | G - <u>lota</u> (dream)                 | <u>E</u> - Rt                                      |
| 30. S - <u>taka</u> (like, wish)          | <u>E</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>taka</u> (like, wish)            | <u>E</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 31. S - <u>ona</u> (see)                  | <u>E</u> - <u>O</u>                                | G - <u>wona</u> (see)                   | <u>E</u> - <u>O</u>                                |
| 32. S - <u>pona</u> (be cured)            | <u>E</u>   | G - <u>wona</u> (be cured)              | <u>E</u>   |
| 33. S - <u>kyokoza</u> (tease, bully)     | <u>A</u> - <u>E</u>                                | G - <u>kyokoza</u> (tease, bully)       | <u>A</u> - <u>E</u>                                |

34. S - <u>okoa</u> (save spiritually)	[A - E]	G - <u>lokola</u> (save spiritually)	[A - E]
35. S - <u>sumbua</u> (trouble)	[A - E]	G - <u>sumbuwa</u> (trouble, annoy)	[A - E]
36. S - <u>alika</u> (invite)	[A - E]	G - <u>lalika</u> (invite)	[A - E]
37. S - <u>chuchumaa</u> (squat)	[A]	G - <u>chunchumala</u> (squat)	[A]
38. S - <u>kohoa</u> (cough)	[(A) (O)]	G - <u>kowola</u> (cough)	[(A) (O)]
39. S - <u>vaa</u> (dress)	[(A)(O) - I]	G - <u>zwala</u> (dress)	[(A)(O) - I]
40. S - <u>cha</u> (dawn)	[O]	G - <u>kya</u> (dawn)	[O]
41. S - <u>vimba</u> (swell)	[O]	G - <u>bimba</u> (swell)	[O]
42. S - <u>amka</u> (wake up)	[O]	G - <u>lamuka</u> (wake up)	[O]
43. S - <u>kua</u> (grow up)	[O]	G - <u>kula</u> (grow up)	[O]
44. S - <u>waka</u> (shine)	[O]	G - <u>aka</u> (shine)	[O]
45. S - <u>konda</u> (grow thin)	[O]	G - <u>yonda</u> (grow thin)	[O]
46. S - <u>chemka</u> (boil)	[O]	G - <u>kyemuka</u> (boil)	[O]
47. S - <u>lemaa</u> (be lame)	[O]	G - <u>lemala</u> (be lame)	[O]
48. S - <u>fa</u> (die)	[O]	G - <u>fa</u> (die)	[O]
49. S - <u>dunda</u> (palpitate)	[O - (Pt)(L)]	G - <u>dunda</u> (palpitate)	[O - (Pt)(L)]
50. S - <u>winga</u> (drive away, chase)	[C - O]	G - <u>binga</u> (drive away, chase)	[C - O]

However, phonological similarity is not an obligatory criterion for Swanili/Gwere predicators which select the same case frames. There are even more phonologically different but semantically similar Swanili/Gwere pairs of predicators which select the same case frames than pairs which are both phonologically and semantically similar. Some of these pairs of predicators and their case frames are repeated (they have already been given as examples in Chapter 2) below for convenience:

1. S - <u>nunua</u> (buy)	[A - (S) - O]	G - <u>gula</u> (buy)	[A - (S) - O]
2. S - <u>omba</u> (ask for)	[A - S - O]	G - <u>saba</u> (ask for)	[A - S - O]
3. S - <u>pata</u> (get)	[A - S - O]	G - <u>funa</u> (get)	[A - S - O]
4. S - <u>ficha</u> (hide)	[A - <sup>(G)</sup> (S) - O]	G - <u>bisa</u> (hide)	[A - <sup>(G)</sup> (S) - O]

5. S - <u>rudi</u> (return) [(A)(O) - <sup>(G)</sup> (S)]	G - <u>ira</u> (return) [(A)(O) - <sup>(G)</sup> (S)]
6. S - <u>enda</u> (go) [(A)(O) - G(L)]	G - <u>aba</u> (go) [(A)(O) - G(L)]
7. S - <u>ja</u> (come) [(A)(O) - G]	G - <u>iza</u> (come) [(A)(O) - G]
8. S - <u>kanyaga</u> (tread on) [(A)(S) - G]	G - <u>ema</u> (tread on) [(A)(S) - G]
9. S - <u>lipa</u> (pay) [A - G - O]	G - <u>sasula</u> (pay) [A - G - O]
10. S - <u>stahili</u> (deserve) [G - O]	G - <u>swana</u> (deserve) [G - O]
11. S - <u>kaa</u> (sit) [(A)(O) - (G)(L)]	G - <u>tyama</u> (sit) [(A)(O) - (G)(L)]
12. S - <u>ua</u> (kill) [A - O]	G - <u>ita</u> (kill) [A - O]
13. S - <u>piga</u> (hit) [A - O]	G - <u>kuba</u> (hit) [A - O]
14. S - <u>funga</u> (tie) [A - O]	G - <u>siba</u> (tie) [A - O]
15. S - <u>pika</u> (cook) [A - O]	G - <u>sumba</u> (cook) [A - O]
16. S - <u>nuia</u> (resolve) [A - O]	G - <u>genderera</u> (resolve) [A - O]
17. S - <u>rarua</u> (tear) [A - O]	G - <u>nyira</u> (tear) [A - O]
18. S - <u>nyonya</u> (suck) [A - O]	G - <u>yonka</u> (suck) [A - O]
19. S - <u>andaa</u> (prepare) [A - O]	G - <u>tegeka</u> (prepare) [A - O]
20. S - <u>zungumza</u> (talk) [A - O]	G - <u>tumula</u> (talk) [A - O]
21. S - <u>ruka</u> (jump) [A]	G - <u>tuuma</u> (jump) [A]
22. S - <u>kimbia</u> (run) [A]	G - <u>iruka</u> (run) [A]
23. S - <u>simama</u> (stand) [(A) (O)]	G - <u>yemerera</u> (stand) [(A) (O)]
24. S - <u>inama</u> (bend) [(A)-O-(Pt)]	G - <u>kotama</u> (bend) [(A)-O-(Pt)]
25. S - <u>saidia</u> (help) [A - B]	G - <u>yamba</u> (help) [A - B]
26. S - <u>cheza</u> (dance) [A - Rt]	G - <u>bina</u> (dance) [A - Rt]
27. S - <u>lia</u> (cry) [A - Rt]	G - <u>kunga</u> (cry) [A - Rt]
28. S - <u>amuru</u> (order) [A - E]	G - <u>lagira</u> (order) [A - E]
29. S - <u>laumu</u> (blame) [A - E]	G - <u>nenya</u> (blame) [A - E]
30. S - <u>shukuru</u> (thank) [A - E]	G - <u>ebalya</u> (thank) [A - E]
31. S - <u>sagua</u> (scrub) [A-(I)-O]	G - <u>yirya</u> (scrub) [A-(I)-O]
32. S - <u>kata</u> (cut) [(I)(A)-O]	G - <u>sala</u> (cut) [(I)(A)-O]
33. S - <u>choma</u> (pierce) [(I)(A)-O]	G - <u>sumuta</u> (pierce) [(I)(A)-O]
34. S - <u>choma</u> (burn) [(I)(A)-O]	G - <u>yokya</u> (burn) [(I)(A)-O]

35. S - <u>shika</u> (seize)	[ (I)(A) - 0 ]	G - <u>kwata</u> (seize)	[ (I)(A) - 0 ]
36. S - <u>lowa</u> (get wet)	[ I - 0 ]	G - <u>doda</u> (get wet)	[ I - 0 ]
37. S - <u>fukuza</u> (chase)	[ C - 0 ]	G - <u>binga</u> (chase)	[ C - 0 ]
38. S - <u>sindikiza</u> (escort)	[ C - 0 ]	G - <u>ereka</u> (escort)	[ C - 0 ]
39. S - <u>nona</u> (be tasty)	[ E - 0 ]	G - <u>woma</u> (be tasty)	[ E - 0 ]
40. S - <u>udhi</u> (vex)	[ E - 0 ]	G - <u>luma</u> (vex)	[ E - 0 ]
41. S - <u>fahamu</u> (understand)	[ E - 0 ]	G - <u>tegeera</u> (understand)	[ E - 0 ]
42. S - <u>jua</u> (know)	[ E - 0 ]	G - <u>manya</u> (know)	[ E - 0 ]
43. S - <u>sikitika</u> (feel sorry)	[ E ]	G - <u>nukuwala</u> (feel sorry)	[ E ]
44. S - <u>tetemeka</u> (shake)	[ 0 ]	G - <u>dagaizira</u> (shake)	[ 0 ]
45. S - <u>bivu</u> (ripe)	[ 0 ]	G - <u>engi</u> (ripe)	[ 0 ]
46. S - <u>pungua</u> (decrease)	[ 0 ]	G - <u>kendeera</u> (decrease)	[ 0 ]
47. S - <u>oza</u> (rot)	[ 0 ]	G - <u>yunda</u> (rot)	[ 0 ]
48. S - <u>maana</u> (have meaning)	[ 0 ]	G - <u>makulu</u> (have meaning)	[ 0 ]
49. S - <u>hodari</u> (skilful)	[ 0 ]	G - <u>kanu</u> (skilful)	[ 0 ]
50. S - <u>lala</u> (sleep)	[ 0 ]	G - <u>gona</u> (sleep)	[ 0 ]

Thus, a large number of Swahili/Gwere pairs of predicators which are phonologically and/or semantically similar select the same case frames. Consequently, the two languages have basically the same type and number of underlying predicator classes (with the underlying case relations as the classificatory parameter) (as discussed in Chapter 2.)

It is, therefore, evident that the differences arise in the distribution of the underlying case roles in surface structure. However, even the surface structure differences are not to be exaggerated. It has been shown (in Chapter 2 and 3) that the rules showing the surface structure distribution of the case roles in Swahili are largely the same as the rules which show their distribution in Gwere. As already pointed out, only two subrules, out of the 23 rules discussed (ibid), are exceptional.

### 5.0.2 Conclusion

On the basis of the data considered in this work (V. Footnote 1 Chapter 2) the writer has discovered the same number and types of case roles in Swahili and Gwere. On the same basis, most of the rules stated in Chapter 2 Part 1, and all the marked rules discussed in Chapter 2 Part 2 and Chapter 3 which connect the underlying case relations to the surface structure are found occurring in either language. Since the sets of surface structure relations defined in Swahili and Gwere are alike, (comprising the subject, object, adjunct and unmarked NP relations) the identity of the two systems of derivational rules indicates that the two languages have identical case role co-occurrence restrictions at both the deep and surface structure levels (except for the few exceptions discussed above).

It is thus shown that Swahili and Gwere have very closely related transitivity systems.

The findings of this study suggest that a re-classification of Bantu languages which "accepts 'the centrality of Syntax'" (C. Fillmore 1968 : 20) in linguistic description would place Swahili and Gwere, and probably many other Bantu languages, in the same subgroup.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Previous comparative work in Bantu languages has been concerned solely with either etymological, or morphological differences and similarities. (For instance, Lichtenstein (1808) in N.R. Cust (1833); Lepsius in N.R. Cust (1883); C.M. Doke (1954); A.N. Tucker and M.A. Bryan (1957); M. Guthrie (1967-'71, 1970)).
2. W.H. Whiteley (1960) describes the 'pattern/entailment' process as follows: "A sentence may be said to be fully entailed from another if its constituent units are comparable in shape - with certain specified variations - of those of the original, and if the whole can be inferred from the original." And, <sup>in</sup> Whiteley (1968:10) 'entailment' is said to be the procedure used to transpose the item(s) in the object-relationship with those in the subject-relationship while retaining the same lexical items", and ~~an~~ "An entailed sentence [ . . . ] is one which a native speaker can infer from, or holds to be implicit in, the starting sentence."
3. "Case Complexes" are Whiteley's "conflated" versions of C. Fillmore's "Case Frames", as defined in Fillmore (1968).
4. E.O. Ashton terms as "nominal construction" that relationship in which nouns are used "with no preceding preposition to introduce them." (1947:299).
5. The term 'extension' is used to describe suffixes to the verbs, excluding the <sup>tense</sup> marking morphemes.

6. Other references to the treatments of these grammarians follow in the next chapters.
7. S s N is short for 'Short Series Nominals', a phrase he uses to describe noun phrases.
8. These prefixes which represent the NPs selected into subject and object functions in the verb structure are not actually pronouns in Swahili and Gwere. Strictly, they are better interpreted into English as subject/object prefix, first person singular/plural animate/inanimate subject/object prefix etc. But as these denotations are too long to be incorporated into each gloss, the approximate English pronouns will be used, solely ~~solely~~, for convenience, provided that they bring out the appropriate sense. Therefore, in instances where the NP governing the prefix is a Swahili or Gwere pronoun the English gloss to the pronoun and the prefix representing it in the verb structure will be the same.
9. Case Role is used as defined by Fillmore (1968).
10. Parameter is used in the sense of Whiteley (1972).
11. 'Pattern complexes' is used here to refer to what ~~what~~ were described as 'pattern/entailment sets' in Whiteley (1968). The 'Referential Complex' is "a complex in which N P<sub>1</sub> is animate, and semantically related to N P<sub>2</sub> as whole to part. Though in a majority of cases the part may constitute an inalienable possession of the whole, this is not the fact that is being stressed " (Whiteley 1972:8).



e.g. S Ni / me / ji / piga / kichwa  
I past ref. hit head  
E I have hit my head.

The 'Contrastive Complex' is said to be "associated with marked retrospective focus" (1972:10), e.g.

S "Shamba hili li / me / lima watu ishirini"  
farm this it past dig people twenty  
E This farm has taken twenty men to cultivate it.

The 'Resultative Complex' is associated with 'focus' 'on N P<sub>1</sub>', and, it "seems also to be associated in some cases with variations in the meaning of the verb so that no satisfactory general statement is yet possible." And some of the examples are:

S "njia (ile) i / me / simama watu"  
street that it past stand people  
E "That street is blocked with people".

S "nyumba ile i / me / kaa wageni"  
house that it past sit visitors  
E "That house has guests staying in it". (so there is no point in looking for a room there) (1972:12).

12. In this study a subject N P (that is, the N P in subject function) is that N P with which the initial prefix in the predicator, or in the tense-bearing proform (co-occurring with non-tense-bearing predicators) agrees. There are a few variations to this rule in both languages:

(a) In Gwere, the relativization rule marker, and the prefix of the relativized N P, where the latter is not the same as the N P subject, precede the subject prefix whenever they co-occur. e.g.

G ekitetei e / ki / n / e / tungi / ire  
dress Rel marker it I for Ref sew past  
E The dress which I made for myself.

Also, the Gwere ni (narrative aspect marker) precedes the subject prefix whenever they co-occur:

G Y / a / m / pa / ire ni / n / dya  
he dist me give past nar I eat  
past asp

E He gave me and I ate.

(b) In Swahili, the subject prefix is preceded by the ha negation morpheme whenever the latter co-occurs. e.g.

S Ha / m / stahili masamaha yangu  
neg you deserve forgiveness my  
E You do not deserve my forgiveness.

Also, in Swahili, the subject prefix does not co-occur

(i) with the hu (habitual aspect marker). e.g.

S Watoto wangu hu / we we seka usiku  
children my hab talk in sleep night  
asp

E My children talk in(their) sleep at night.

(ii) with the si (negative morpheme) when it co-occurs with the first person singular subject N P. e.g.

S Mimi si / taki  
me neg want  
E Me, I don't want.

The subject prefix co-occurs optionally:

(i) With the ka (Swahili narrative marker)

(ii) With the imperative rule marker.

Object N P refers to that noun which is not in subject function, and is representable by a prefix, normally the one immediately preceding the predicator, in tense-bearing predicators, <sup>or</sup> occurs penultimately in the tense-bearing proforms which co-occur with noun and adjective predicators. With many tense-bearing predicators, this type of N P is selected subject after the -w- and -k- rules (see chapter 3), and often joins the subject N P in the course of the -n- rule (see chapter 3). For instance, the underlined N P 's in the following:

S Juma a / me / m / himiza Anisa.

Juma he past her encourage Anisa

E Juma has encouraged Anisa.

S Ni / na / z / o shughuli nyingi

I with them engagements many

E I have many things to do.

G A / mu / kub / ire

he him hit past

E He hit him.

G A / ki / sali / ire osabuni

he it cut with past soap

E He used it to cut (the) soap.

In both languages, a sentence may have only one subject, but may have more than one object.

13. Adjunct- that N P which is not in subject or object function, and is preceded by a preposition-like relation marker (a marker which is free from any affixal agreement to any N P as a lexical item) e.g. the na of both languages. The locative role markers like ku, mu, ni, may also mark the adjunct N P.

14. By 'predicator' is meant that lexical item which can imply deep structure grammatical meanings as tokens of the syntactic environment it is likely to enter in the surface structure. In surface structure a predicator may or may not incorporate the tense, subject, object etc. markers into its structure.
15. This term is used in the sense of John T. Platt (1971).
16. For instance, those identified by Elizabeth Closs (1967).
17. There is syntactic evidence that in Swahili and Gwere, verbs, adjectives, and nouns are distinct categories. As predicators in the surface structure, verbs always incorporate the tense markers and the syntactic relation markers <sup>to</sup> in<sub>∧</sub> their structures. Nominals and adjectives, on the other hand, structurally incorporate neither of those markers before undergoing some of the syntactic rules discussed in chapter 2 and chapter 3. Without or before the operation of the latter rules predicative Nominals and Adjectives have to co-occur with special functional forms, verb-like or non-verb like, to bear such markers.
18. A root is a lexical item without the rule-marking suffixes discussed in chapters 2 and 3.
19. This point is discussed further in chapter 2 Part I.
20. Predicator roots without the suffixes.
21. Predicator<sub>∧</sub><sup>roots</sup> plus the rule-marking suffixes.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 2

PART I

1. There may be some other data which has not come to my attention in the course of this study.
  
2. This study will not specifically treat the Result and Partitive case roles. They are defined as follows:  
Result (Rt) "the entity that comes into existence as a result of the action." (Fillmore 1969:116).  
Partitive (Pt) the Case Role that delimits an area or a part of the referent of the co-occurring Case Role. Partitives are strongly dependent onto other case roles.
  
3. The English glosses given for relational markers like na, kwa, and the markers (like ni, mu, ku etc. ) of the subclasses of the exponents of the Goal, Source, and Locative case roles are strictly contextual; they are not meant to be generic with regard to the particular item in all the other contexts in which it occurs.
  
4. The syntactic properties of the underlying sentences of the type shown in this figure are discussed in more detail towards the end of chapter 2 Part II.
  
5. The terms 'noun class' and 'concord' are used as described in the grammars (for instance, E.O. Ashton (1947:10-12) and E.C. Polomé (1967:94-95)).

6. An N P which is 'unmarked' in a given surface structure sentence <sup>can</sup> is that N P which neither be attached to the predicator (through either of the formal markers discussed <sup>in</sup> 2.0.1.2) nor become an adjunct.
7. Gwere often permits reflexivization within a single case role.
8. They ~~may~~ only have the O roles become subject after the rules of -w- or -k- marking have applied (v. chapter 3).
9. This rule may be restricted or altered by the rules of -s- and -i- marking (v. chapter 2 part II); and it may be blocked altogether by the rules of -w- and -k marking (v. chapter 3).
10. The only occasion when the E and G co-occur, discretely, in a case frame is after the rule of -i- marking (see chapter 2 part II).
11. Walter A. Cook (1971:14-15) describes "coreferential roles" as "two distinct case notions which have the same semantic referent. Verbs of motion, for example, may all be listed as having the cases Agentive-Objective-Source-Goal. But these verbs differ among themselves, in that the Agentive case is sometimes co-referential with the Objective, sometimes with the Source, and sometimes with the Goal case."
12. But see Appendix A for counter examples to this rule.
13. See footnote 12 chapter 1 for the definition of an object.

14. The Partitive may be co-referential with the Locative in instances where both roles are derived from ~~the same~~ the complex exponents of the E or O case roles.
  
15. But see chapter 2 part II for the discussion of the effects of the rule of -i- marking, on the surface distribution of the instrumentals.
  
16. The only sentences in which an Instrumental may occur as subject when an Agentive is present are those derived as a result of the application of the rule of -s- marking. It will be argued below (in chapter 2 part II) that sentences of this sort are derived from more complex underlying structures involving two (or more) sentences.
  
17. They only permit the Agentives after the rule of -s- marking has applied, and it is only then that they can have Instrumental subjects.
  
18. This rule is often restricted by the rule of -i- marking (v. chapter 2 part II).
  
19. Occasionally it may become object (see chapter 2 part II).

CHAPTER 2

PART II

20. The quotation from A. Madan (1903) given here is part of the extract cited by E. O. Ashton (1947:216).
21. She describes an 'Extended form' as one that "has certain meaning characteristics in relation to the meaning of its base form so that all members of the same extended form class are in the same meaning relationship with their base forms e.g. -pigish- and -pig-' (C. Scotton 1967:52).
22. C. Scotton (1967 article:250) defines 'a grid pattern' as follows: "A grid pattern is defined as the network of semantic and syntactic relationships between extended shapes from any one base verb shape. Thus, all extended shapes from the <sup>base</sup><sub>Λ</sub>-piga 'to hit', for example, would be members of one grid."
23. For instance, she notes that the 'stativeness' concept is not quite adequate: for the "boundaries of the class of deep structure stative stems are not distinct" though "the existence of a basic distinction of stative: non-stative seems to exist" (Scotton 1967:66). And, "the fact that some stems may function for both stative and non-stative meanings and transitive and intransitive <sub>meanings</sub> complicates the situation further." (ibid: 85).
24. As many as 24 types of predicator suffixes have been listed for Bantu languages. The present study will not attempt an exhaustive description of the same number, partly because many of those listed/...



listed are hardly productive, but mainly because most of them are not relevant to a transtivity study. As Carol Eastman ~~not~~ (1967) notes, most of the suffixes which have been listed, "unlike the Operative Extensions on a Root/stem, do not have definite syntactic requirements dictated by or as a consequence of the final element (Extension suffix in the case of the Operative Extensions). This fact provides an argument against subcategorization on a purely semantic basis within categories having a syntactic - semantic (or Form and Function/Meaning) basis (the Operative Extensions). [...] To treat them as individual lexical items would be more efficient and economical linguistically. An awareness of them would be beneficial certainly, for example, to an English speaker learning Swahili ~~and Gwere~~ or to a person academically interested in evolving a semantic theory." (ibid: p. 343)

25. Formal surface structure marking for this rule varies from -i- to -e-, in both ~~languages~~ Swahili and Gwere, according to the rules of vowel harmony that are noted in the grammars, (for instance, Ashton 1947:217).
26. Alternative to the -i- marking rule, Gwere has another rule which incorporates the markers of the Goal, Source or Locative role sub-classes (markers like ku 'on, at', mu 'in' etc. ) into the predicators (instead of attaching them onto the N Ps filling those sub-classes as is usually the case) to mark the attachment of the role concerned onto the given predicator.
27. The special meaning that is often associated with the sentences derived by the -i- rule in Gwere (as shown in this example) is commented on in Appendix A.

28. Predicators which appear to have undergone the rule twice are those which contain the -i- lexically (for example, predicators like S -ingia 'enter', G -ngira 'enter'; S -kimbia 'run'; S -tembea 'walk'; S -tokea 'result, appear' etc. ). See chapter 4 for further discussion.
  
29. W.A. Cook (1971:14) describes "built-in roles" as "roles that are implied by the lexical content of the verb itself", and are only expressed when the 'built-in' role is modified in some way.
  
30. In a handout to a lecture given at the University of York, Department of Language on 31st August, 1972.
  
31. -s- is used to denote the rule discussed in this section, but it has phonetic variants -z- and -y- as will be seen below.
  
32. See Appendix A for other meanings which are associated with S-sentences.



even when the Pt can become subject and the E object. This is probably due to the fact that the N Ps filling the two roles never match in terms of noun features like [+ animate], [+ adult etc.]. Such fine requirements which involve the consideration of the different Noun subcategorization features are beyond the scope of this study.

4. The marker of the rule for the -k- marking has variants -k- and -k-na as will be seen in the examples given below.
5. There are likely to be some extra syntactic properties preventing the application of this rule (as is true of most linguistic rules). For example, there is no syntactic property barring the application of the rules of -s- and -k- marking to the predicators S -fa 'die', G -fa 'die', except, possibly, that the two predicators are lexically in complementary distribution with the predicators S -ua 'kill', G -ita 'kill', and are consequently, syntactically distinguished from the latter predicators.
6. An 'extended' meaning is the meaning which is said to be added to that of the root predicator (v. Footnote 18 chapter 1) by the 'extension' (v. Footnote 5 chapter 1).

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 4

1. I am grateful to Mr. Abood (from Iraq) a Chemistry student at the University of York, for this observation.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

COMMENTS ON SOME MEANINGS AND ATTRIBUTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH  
SOME SENTENCES IN SWAHILI AND GWERE

1. ASSOCIATION WITH SENTENCES DERIVED BY RULES NOT FORMALLY MARKED  
BY SUFFIXES.

Rule 1 (2.0.2.1) states that the Agentive normally becomes subject when it occurs in a case frame unless the -s-, -k- or -w- marking rules apply to make some other role subject. But as noted (ibid), there are other qualifications to Rule 1 (other case roles, for instance, the L and G (v. 2.0.2.5) , sometimes become subject when the Agentive is present).

It has been noted (in the course of <sup>this</sup> study) that sentences in which some other <sub>role</sub> becomes subject (without the application of the -s-, -k- or -w- rules) when the Agentive is present are often qualified: they imply disapproval or surprise on the part of the speaker, as indicated in the following sentences:

1a S <sup>O</sup> Vitu kama hivyo vi / na / tenda <sup>A</sup> wakorofi. [A - O]  
things like those they pres do evil-minded

1b G <sup>O</sup> Ebintu nga ebyo bi / kola <sup>A</sup> beitima. [A - O]  
things like those they do evil-minded

E Lit. "Things like those do the evil-minded."

E Such things are done only by the evil-minded.

(i.e. the speaker thinks that the action is notorious)

2a S Je, <sup>O</sup> nyama i / na / choma <sup>A</sup> watu wangapi? [A - O]  
I say, meat it pres roast people how many

- 2b G Nkoba, <sup>O</sup>enyama e /yokya <sup>A</sup>abantu bameka? [A - O]  
I say meat it roast people how many  
E Lit. " I say, the meat is roasting how many people?"  
E I say, how many people are roasting the meat?  
(i.e. the speaker thinks that they are too many for the job).

- 3a S <sup>I</sup>Kitambaa hiki ki / na / vaa <sup>A</sup>maskini [A - I]  
cloth this it pres wear impecunious  
3b G <sup>I</sup>Olugoye lunu lu / zwala <sup>A</sup>banaku. [A - I]  
cloth this it wear impecunious  
E Lit. "This cloth wears the impecunious."  
E This (type) of cloth is worn by the impecunious.  
(i.e. the speaker thinks the cloth is substandard).

- 4a S <sup>O</sup>Machungwa ya / me / nunua <sup>A</sup>watu wengi [A - O]  
oranges they past buy people many  
4b G <sup>O</sup>Emichungwa gi / guli / re <sup>A</sup>abantu bangi [A - O]  
oranges they buy past people many  
E Lit. "The oranges have bought many people".  
E The oranges have been bought by many people.  
(i.e. the speaker did not expect it to turn out that way).

- 5a S <sup>G</sup>Kule ku / na / kwenda <sup>A</sup>wasichana. [A - G]  
there at pres inf go they girls  
5b G <sup>G</sup>Eyo e / yaba <sup>A</sup>baala. [A - G]  
there at go they girls  
E Only girls are fit to go there. (i.e. the speaker thinks that other people would<sub>be</sub> out of place there).



It would thus seem that disapproval or surprise which is expressed through intonation in other contexts may be expressed through the alteration of some general syntactic rules (like Rule 1 (2.0.2.1)).

This observation, however, requires further investigation, especially as we have found that disapproval or surprise is not implied in all the instances where Rule 1 is blocked by an unmarked rule. For instance, neither surprise nor disapproval is expressed in 6 and 7 where the G and L have become subject despite the presence of the A role; (this is also true of the illustrating sentences (similar to 6 and 7) discussed in 2.0.2.5. concerning the selection of the Goals and Locatives as subjects in  $\boxed{A - G}$  and  $\boxed{A - L}$  case frames).

6a S <sup>G</sup> Nyumba / ni mu / me / ingia <sup>A</sup> mtu mmoja.  $\boxed{A - G}$   
 house in in past enter person one

6b G <sup>G</sup> Omu / nyumba mu / ngir / e / mu <sup>A</sup> omuntu moiza  $\boxed{A - G}$   
 in house in enter past in person one

E Lit. "In the house has entered one person."

E Somebody has entered the house.

7a S <sup>L</sup> Mwitu ni mu / na / bweka <sup>A</sup> mbwa.  $\boxed{A - L}$   
 forest in in pres bark dog

7b G <sup>L</sup> Omu kibira mu / sama / mu <sup>A</sup> ombwa  $\boxed{A - L}$   
 in forest in bark in dog

E Lit. "In the forest is barking a dog."

E A dog is barking in the forest.

2. ASSOCIATION WITH THE -I- RULE - DERIVED SENTENCES

In Gwere, some sentences to which the rule for the -i- marking of Goals applies are associated with a combative meaning. This is shown in the following examples:

- 8 G <sup>A</sup> A / <sup>G</sup> mw / abira. [ A - G ] -aba 'go'  
he to her go (combatively)  
E He is going to (attack) her.
- 9 G <sup>A</sup> Onkoko a / <sup>G</sup> n / gulukir / e. [ A - G ] -guluka 'fly'  
hen it at me fly past  
E The hen has attacked me.
- 10 G <sup>A</sup> Ba / <sup>G</sup> n / tuukir / e. [ A - G ] -tuuka 'arrive'  
they to me arrive (to attack) past  
E They came to (attack) me.
- 11 G <sup>A</sup> Ba / <sup>(G)</sup> n / tumulir / e <sup>O</sup> ebintu bingi. [ A - (G) - O ] -tumula  
they to me speak past things many 'speak'  
E They have said many (outrageous) things to me.
- 12 G <sup>A</sup> Ba / <sup>G</sup> n / jizira. [ A - G ] -iza 'come'  
they to me come (combatively)  
E They are running to (attack) me.

As stated above, combativeness is implied only in some sentences of this sort. It is not implied in the following sentences, for example:

- 13 G <sup>A</sup> Tu / <sup>G</sup> mw / irukiriir / e [A - G]-iruka 'run'  
 we to her run past  
 E We ran to her.
- 14 G <sup>A</sup> Tw / a / <sup>G</sup> mu / semberera. [A - G]-semblera  
'move forward'  
 we fut to her move  
 E We shall approach her.
- 15 G <sup>A</sup> N / a / <sup>(G)</sup> ba / <sup>Rt</sup> fumira ekifumo. [A - (G) - Rt]-fuma  
'tell a story'  
 I fut to you tell story  
 E I shall tell you a story.
- 16 G <sup>A</sup> N / a / <sup>(G)</sup> ba / <sup>O</sup> tumira omubaka [A - (G) - O]-tuma 'send'  
 I fut to you send messenger  
 E I shall send a messenger to you.

### 3. ASSOCIATION WITH THE -S- RULE-DERIVED SENTENCES

In both Swahili and Gwere, some -s- sentences imply that someone is feigning something or deliberately doing something bad, inadequate, or pointless. This is shown in the following sentences:

- 17a S Huyu msichana a / me / ji / tukanisha. -tukana  
'abuse'  
 this girl she past Ref make abuse  
 kwa wenzi / e.  
 to friends hers
- 17b G Omwala onu y / e / zumisiry / e n' / abaina / ye. -zuma 'abuse'  
 E This girl has deliberately incurred abuse from  
 her friends.

18a S Yule mtu ni hodari kabisa, a / na / ji / pumbaza tu.  
that man is able very he pres Ref make a fool only  
-pumbaa 'be foolish'

E That man is quite skilled, he just pretends to be a fool.

18b G Oyo y / e / siruwalya. -siru 'be foolish'  
that he Ref make a fool.

E He is just pretending to be a fool.

19a S Wengi wao wa / li / kuwa wa / na / ji / liza tu.  
many them they past be they pres Ref cry only  
-lia 'cry'

19b G Abasinga obingi ba / ba / ire b / e / kungisya.  
they exceed many they be past they Ref make cry  
-kunga 'cry'

E Many of them were just pretending to cry.

However, it is not to be assumed that whenever the Reflexivization rule and the rule for -s- marking apply to the same underlying sentence the meaning that someone is feigning or deliberately doing something unfavourable is implied. The following sentences (to which the Reflexivization and the -s- Rule have applied) do not imply these meanings:

20a S A / li / ji / laza mkeka / ni. -lala 'lie down'  
she past Ref stretch mat on

20b G Y / e / tambikisiry / e oku / mukeeka.  
she Ref stretch past on mat

-tambika 'stretch'

E She stretched herself on the mat.

- 21a S A /li / ji / inamisha miguu / ni pa Mama Amu.  
she past Ref make stoop feet at of mother Amu  
-inama 'bend, stoop'  
E She stooped at mother Amu's feet.
- 21b G Y / e / sulamiry / e. -sulama 'bend, stoop'  
she Ref make stoop past  
E She has stooped.

In Gwere, there is another meaning which is associated with -s- sentences; it is the implication that somebody has made insulting remarks about the way someone else looks like or acts, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- 22 G A / n / giginalisiry / e. -giginala 'show teeth'  
he me make show teeth past  
E He has said that I am showing my teeth.  
(i.e. he has made an insulting remark about the way I speak or laugh).
- 23 G A / m / penyayenyesery / e. -penyayenya 'wobble'  
he me make wobble past  
E He said that I wobble. (i.e. he has made an insulting remark about the way I walk).
- 24 G A / n / tangalisiry / e. -tangala 'stare'  
he me make stare past  
E He has said that I stare. (i.e. he has said something unfavourable about my eyes).



28 G Tw / a / bingangana naye. [C - O]

we fut chase each other with him

E I(am determined)to chase him.

And in 29, courage is attributed to both the E and O :

29 G Tw / a / wonangana naye. [E - O]

we fut see each other with him

E We shall test each other's potential.

Quality attribution is not a general property of the -n- sentences; none of the -n- sentences discussed in 3.0.1 bears this feature.

## 5. COMMENTARY

The implications pointed out above cannot be systematically accounted for on the basis of any of the sets of relations analysed in this study - the deep and surface structure N P / Predicator relations. As shown above, they occur with one Agentive, Experiencer, Objective, Goal, Locative, Instrumental etc. but not with another. They are not case role properties. Similarly, they do not occur, generally, with subjects, objects or any other surface relation, so they cannot be considered as features of these relations either.

And although they are associated with certain types of sentence, they do not occur consistently with all the sentences of a given type; as shown above, they occur, quite unaccountably, with only a limited set of the sentences of the type concerned.

We, therefore, conclude that these meanings and attributions originate from outside the respective linguistic structures with which they come to be associated.

APPENDIX B



APPENDIX B

ABBREVIATIVE NOTATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

Most of the symbols used are ~~xxx~~ conventional in generative transformational works (for instance, as used in Chomsky (1957); Bach (1964); and Fillmore (1968) ). Only the less obvious ones are commented on below.

The case roles are denoted by their initial vowels or consonants as in Fillmore (1968) ). However, to avoid confusion, the REASON and RESULT case roles are abbreviated to Rn and Rt, respectively; the PARTITIVE case role is shortened to Pt, so as to be differentiated from PREDICATOR, which is abbreviated to P; and the SOURCE case role is assigned the symbol S, distinguished from Sent., which represents SENTENCE.

TENSE AND ASPECT SYMBOLS:

<u>Tense/Aspect</u>	<u>Symbol</u>
Distant Past	dist. past
Distant Future	dist. fut.
Conditional	cond.
Progressive aspect	prog. asp.
Narrative aspect	nar. asp.
Unfulfilled action aspect	unfulf. asp.
Habitual aspect	hab. asp.

APPENDIX B

OTHER SYMBOLS:

The following terms are abbreviated as indicated:-

'Infinitive'	Inf.
'extent'	ext.
'diminutive'	dim.
'Reflexive'	Ref.

S, G, and E preceding sentences indicate the Swahili, Gwere, and English sentences, respectively.

The vertically linked parentheses notation:

{ } performg the same function  
⋮ ⋮

as the braces

{ } (as defined by E. Bach (1964:17) ).

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