

ASPECTS OF THE SWAHILI EXTENDED VERB SYSTEM  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
SOME DEEP STRUCTURE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS

by

Carol Marie Myers-Scotton

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To Professors: Zeps

Fowler

Harries

This thesis having been approved in respect to form and mechanical execution is referred to you for judgment upon its substantial merit.

Robert A. Alberty  
Dean

Approved as satisfying in substance the doctoral thesis requirement of the University of Wisconsin.

Valdin J. Zeps  
Major Professor

Murray Fowler

Lydon Hume

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## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### 1.10 The Position of Swahili

Swahili is a Bantu language spoken by about 25 million people in Tanzania and Kenya.<sup>1</sup> The Bantu group is the most prominent offshoot of the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo subfamily of the Congo-Kordofanian family of languages.<sup>2</sup>

In the coastal regions and on the islands (Zanzibar and Pemba being the largest islands), Swahili is the first language in many areas, but its importance lies in the fact it is also spoken fluently by many people for whom it is a second language. As such, it is the official language of Tanzania. And outside Tanzania, it is spoken or at least understood all over East Africa from the Somalia border in the north to the Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) border in the south, and as far west in the Republic of the Congo as Stanleyville and Elizabethville.

The Unjuga ('Zanzibar') dialect traditionally formed the basis of Standard Swahili; due in part to the prestige of that dialect and the fact that it was the subject of the earliest Swahili grammars. Now, however, there is reason to consider the Dar es Salaam (and coastal region) dialect, Kimrimu, as Standard Swahili, since Dar es Salaam is the capital of Tanzania and accordingly the governmental and educational center. The dialect of Mombasa, Kimvita, has always enjoyed prestige along the Kenya coast, but it has only regional status.



While one cannot say that Standard Swahili admits variations since, by definition, it is something of an arbitrary 'halfway house', one can note that what is heard as competent Swahili varies somewhat from region to region. For instance, near the coast and in Moslem areas, the language includes a high proportion of words of Arabic origin. And up-country people who have little contact with outsiders or outside agencies, through schooling or employment, speak a Kiswahili cha Bara 'up-country Swahili' with local variations in pronunciation and vocabulary, and somewhat different grammatical rules (for example, class nine 'n class' concords are freely used for nouns normally found in other classes). Kishamba (shamba means 'farm' or 'country') is another name for up-country Swahili.

Two other types of Swahili are not well enough established to be called dialects, but they should be noted. Kisetla, is spoken by many Europeans, who are not competent in Standard Swahili, everywhere in East Africa and is understood by their domestic and farm staffs. And Kihindi is a name sometimes applied to a sub-standard Swahili spoken by Asians anywhere in East Africa, although it must be noted that many Asians are excellent speakers of Standard Swahili.

Swahili enjoys a solid status in Tanzania and the reasons all seem to be practical ones. Tanzania is a land of many languages, each spoken by a relatively small group,<sup>3</sup> and it is obvious that some one language is needed to serve as a lingua franca. Since no one group of speakers of a single language is large enough to challenge seriously Swahili's historical position as the language of administration and commerce, there has been little resistance to accepting Swahili as the first language of the nation.

In Kenya, although there is a long coastline where Swahili is spoken as a first language in many areas or is held in prestige, Swahili never became established up-country as it did in Tanzania. Here the linguistic situation and the historical situation are quite different. Linguistically, there is the matter of several large groups of speakers of one language, notably the Kikuyu and the Luo. Historically, there is the situation of a relatively large number of European settlers speaking English. While many Kenyans know and speak Standard Swahili, the majority speak a Swahili much influenced by their native languages or by English. Furthermore, they attach prestige to speaking well their own first language or to speaking English, not Swahili. In contrast, in Tanzania a Bondei from near Tanga (on the coast) or a Chagga from the Moshi-Arusha area, who is educated and has a civil service position, will speak Swahili and English almost exclusively, rather than his own first language.

As the official language of Tanzania and as the lingua franca of East Africa, Swahili enjoys a position no other African language has attained. (This is not to say Swahili is the most important African language; such a judgment in the favor of any language cannot be made and furthermore would be without point. In terms of written literature, for example, Zulu also offers a great many examples. And in terms of speakers Hausa may equal or surpass Swahili. But as the recognized and accepted language of an entire nation and the means of communication for an entire region, Swahili has a notable position.)<sup>4</sup>

## 1.20 Field Work

The bulk of material on which this thesis is based was collected in a period of field work with four main informants in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, from September 1964 to June 1965. It was added to by work with Mr. Dunstan Shabani at the University of Wisconsin during the 1965-66 academic year.

## 1.21 The Informants

Young adult speakers of Standard Swahili, or, more specifically, of educated Standard Dar es Salaam Swahili, were chosen as informants. If the subject of research had been dialect studies, older, non-urban, monolingual speakers would have been chosen. However, since it is the state of a sub-system of the particular Swahili language which is setting present-day standards which is being considered here, it seems only reasonable to choose Swahili informants who are representative of the standard-setting group. The boundaries of this group may not be entirely distinct, but they certainly include teachers and government employees and other people of such a level in Dar es Salaam.

Such people were chosen, rather than other speakers, who may live in isolated villages and speak a Swahili which has not been influenced by the styles and tempo characteristic of a new nation and by the need to express new concepts such as 'five year plan', 'textile factory', etc. which nationhood has brought into daily consideration.

Further, mono-lingual Swahili speakers have not been sought out because it is felt a Swahili which is free from the influences of the desire and practice of translating various concepts from English is not a Swahili representative of what is, in fact, the standard-setting Swahili spoken by members of the modern society of East Africa. The

informants chosen may speak Swahili as a second African language and they also speak English fluently; yet they are individuals who were judged as competent Standard Swahili speakers by persons with a recognized knowledge of Swahili. (Furthermore, three of the informants, Miss Mkwaya, Mr. Ashery, and Mr. Shabani, consider Swahili as either a first-language or a near-first-language.)

See section 3.20 for personal details on the informants.

### 1.22 Data Gathering

Information was gathered mainly in daily formal sessions with the informants. They supplied comments and sentences as examples of the usage of 35 representative verb stems and their operative extended forms. The verbs were chosen as representative in terms of their phonological shapes and information already known about the varying extents to which these verbs took the various extensions (i.e., their grid patterns). At least one sentence for each extended form was elicited from each of the two primary informants, followed by considerable discussion (each base verb and its extended forms were discussed at three separate sessions over the period of field work). The other two main informants supplied sentences and discussion for about 20 of the 35 verbs. Other informants were consulted about special questions only.

For almost all of the verbs considered, extended forms were listed as operative (with example sentences) by several informants, only to have the same forms totally rejected by other informants. How can one account for this? First, there is the possibility that the informants were producing artificial forms only to satisfy the researcher. This explanation is ruled out, however, due to the amount

of time actually spent with the informants which led to an informal and relaxed atmosphere concerning the work. Second, it is possible that certain informants were producing theoretically possible but entirely non-existent forms. This is a possibility which must be accepted. One can only note what the majority of the informants consider operative and make judgments about a form accordingly. Third, it is possible that various forms were produced which are rare, but possible, and which are simply little used and therefore are susceptible to rejection by certain speakers, but to acceptance by others. Consider the English example: 'He should have been being read'.<sup>5</sup> Many first-language English speakers will reject the sentence as ungrammatical, but others will accept it without reservation, granted the proper context.

Therefore, the practice of listing all forms given as operative by one or more informants is followed. But only those forms on which the majority of informants agree as to occurrence and meaning are put forth as generally operative. (Note that a form is termed 'operative' or 'non-operative' on the basis of whether or not it actually occurs in general Swahili. If it does not occur, there is no evidence to indicate it ever did occur. But a form is termed 'existent' or 'non-existent' on another basis: a non-existent form is non-operative, but there is evidence, in the grid patterns of which existing forms are members, to indicate the non-existent form did exist at one time.)

### 1.30 Scope and Form of the Study

This study is limited to a partial description of only part of one

sub-system of Swahili, the extended verb system.

A verbal extension is defined as one of eight pre-final suffixed partials capable of cooccurrence with verb root. The result of this cooccurrence is an alteration or 'extension' of the meaning of the verb root. The resulting verb stem (root plus extension suffix(es)) is called an extended verb shape. When this shape is classified according to the meaning for which it functions, it becomes a member of one of nine different extended form classes, and is itself called an extended verb form.<sup>6</sup>

Any verb root may theoretically suffix any extension or combination of extensions for an alteration in meaning. But not all verb roots, in fact, are operative with all extensions, or concurrently operative with the same extensions for meanings of the same extended form classes. Traditionally, grammarians have noted the extended form class characteristics, but have left unanalyzed the capacity of various verbs for taking various extensions and the resulting relation of shape and meaning. That is, the form of the grammar of the system is left unspecified except for listing the membership of the various form classes (into which the corpus of data has been classified).

To consider such a classification (an organization of data limited to the listing of regular and divergent forms) a satisfactory description of a linguistic system has been and remains an unfortunate conclusion. For it means 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.

Rather, in this thesis, the view is taken that a description-- even if little more is done than suggest its direction here--which at all approaches the threshold of adequacy must be concerned with 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).

This means the deep structure of the grammatical system is the primary concern here--that part of the system which any classification necessarily implies, but leaves unanalyzed. In order to study this governing device, this deep structure, one turns to uniformities in the output (note the emphasis made on function and relationships in chapter III)-- in the operative extended forms. Studying the patterns in lists rather than considering list-making the goal enables one in turn to make simplifying, productive generalizations about the lists--about the features which produce uniformities. That is, patterns give the basis for explaining 'lists' and the wherewithal to classify the far majority of 'exceptions' to the lists as not exceptions, but simply lists with different deep structures.

Generalizations based on deep structure limitations, then, will be the source from which the rules of the syntactical and semantic component of any adequate grammar must emanate.<sup>7</sup>

In this thesis the attempt is made only to outline the components an acceptable grammar of the extended verb system must contain. (1)  
Chapter II most resembles a final consideration of a component, for it

contains formalized rules for determining the phonological shapes of the possible extensions and their assembly with verb stems.<sup>8</sup> In portraying verb roots and extensions, however, it is assumed that an appropriate theory of phonetic distinctive features has been established.

(2) Chapter III, although it is considerably less complete in its treatment, deals with the companion syntactical and semantic component. The chapter has two parts: (a) There is a discussion and some revision of the standardly recognized features which govern the grouping of extended verb shapes into form classes. This is coupled with a survey of past literature on the subject. (b) Preceding the form class discussion is a treatment of some of the features of the deep structure system which appear to govern the relation of shape to form class and the relation of form class to grid pattern. In a finished grammar, these features--among others yet to be discerned--would be contained in formalized rules as the determiners of syntactic and semantic processes.

(4) Chapter IV is a practical presentation of eleven representative verb roots and their operative extended forms, as contained in example sentences from the informants. This material was intended as examples which can be used to substantiate deep structure feature specification in chapter III.

For the extended forms, the existence of a system of features comprised of two sub-systems is seen: (1) One contains the features that are inherent in the verb root (the deep structure of the root) which restrict the 'taking' of an extension at all, or the taking for the standard form class meaning of that extension. These features include most prominently the stative: non-stative distinction (discussed



in section 3.32 and elsewhere)<sup>9</sup>. How far reaching is this distinction, in terms of the patterns it governs, is not yet clear; but it seems apparent that a formal recognition of the distinction goes a long way in explaining 'exceptions' to the causative and prepositional form classes. (2) A second sub-system contains features that restrict the meaning of an extension again, but this time features which are inherent in the extension itself. These include the standard, recognised characteristics of the form classes themselves. But they also include deep structure features, such as the intrinsic demand of the reciprocal form that its subject be animate and also be able to function as its own object (for a standard reciprocal form class meaning). For example, tunapendana sana 'we like each other very much', but not \*tunaendana sana '\*we go each other very much'.

These two sub-systems are almost inseparable; the fact a deep structure stative stem will not take a standard causative extended form meaning depends on the semantic and syntactical restrictions of the extension itself, as well as on the deep structure of the stative verb. The point is, however, that the extended verb system can only be analyzed in a manner which approaches being satisfactory if it is viewed as having an underlying set of features which define the system itself. (Presumably these features are in a hierarchial organization, but not strictly so, since the examples just cited make it clear there is a good deal of cross-classification.)

A grammar is proposed, then, which would specify each lexical entry in terms of its phonological distinctive features and also in terms of the collection of features which specify both its categorial context (for example, membership in the deep structure stative class)

and its syntactical context (for example, feature limitations on verb subjects or objects)<sup>10</sup>.

The simplifying point of treating a system such as that of the Swahili extended verbs (and, it follows, an entire language) in terms of such deep structure features is that the organization of these features--when formally accomplished--need not be stated in the grammar proper at all. Rather, their organization has the status of axioms of sorts which apply universally, at least to the language in question. Just as for English one can state axiomatically that two obstruents in a cluster will agree in terms of the feature of voicing, one can apparently state as an axiom for Swahili, for example, that a deep structure stative stem will not take a causative meaning for its causative extension shape. (Instead, it takes a meaning which only implies the possibility, rather than requires, the activation of the meaning of the stem, if the shape is operative at all.)

What is suggested, then, is the need to recognize the advantageous results of discerning and stating these deep structure features. The complete set of such features as part of the lexical entry of an item not only (1) explains the patterns which characterize the system, but also (2) simplifies the actual grammar because of the generalizations these features effect. The extent to which these considerations can be realized should be apparent from the relatively far-reaching statements which can be made based on the few deep structure factors considered in this thesis.

## Notes - Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>The number of Swahili speakers (including those who speak it as a second language) has been estimated as high as 40 million by Sheik Mohammed Ali, 'Kiswahili', Souvenir Program, National Festival of Tanzania 1964, p. 22 (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1964), but the usual published estimate has been closer to 15 million. Lyndon Harries (personal communications) estimated the number at 25 million at most.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Greenberg, The Languages of Africa, p. 153 (Publications of the Indiana University Research Center for Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics Number Twenty-Five, 1963). See M. A. Bryan, The Bantu Languages of Africa, 126-9 (International African Institute, London, 1959) for an outline of the dialects of the Swahili group.

<sup>3</sup>W. H. Whiteley, 'Language and Politics in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records 47.160 (1957):

'There are spoken in Tanganyika something over one hundred languages; most of these are Bantu but there are also Nilotic (Luo), Nilo-Hamitic (Masai, Barabaig), Click (Sandawe, Hadza) and completely unclassified languages (Iraqw). Many of the groups are extremely small, and at the time of the 1948 census the thirty or so largest groups accounted for something like seventy per cent of the population.'

<sup>4</sup>For further verification of the established position of Swahili, consider these points: (1) Swahili as a school subject. Swahili is accepted by the University of London for its Honours Degree in African Studies. It is studied in schools throughout East Africa and may be taken as a subject in the Cambridge School Leaving Certificate examination and other examinations administered from Europe. It is taught at University College in Dar es Salaam. (2) Swahili literature. Most noteworthy among the literature is a considerable body of poetry going back to the eighteenth century (written in Arabic script) as well as much modern verse. Every newspaper has its poetry page. While there is a growing amount of prose literature, considering the amount of interest that is professed for Swahili, the number of works is small, (but not in comparison with other African languages). (3) Periodicals. In 1959 there were more than 80 Swahili newspapers and other periodicals appearing in East Africa (mainly on the mainland in Tanzania and on Zanzibar), according to W. H. Whiteley and A. E. Gutkind, A Linguistic Bibliography of East Africa (East Africa Institute of Social Research, Makeré, Uganda, 1958 and updated December 1959).

<sup>5</sup>Murray Fowler, February 1964; professor's handout to a class including the present writer included this sentence: 'Nevertheless I think it is abundantly clear that Paul was on the right track, and he should have been being read [*italics mine*] constantly ever since he wrote his book'. This example is quoted by Martin Joos, The English Verb, Form and Meanings, p. 75 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964).

<sup>6</sup>In A Study of Yao Sentences, p. 37 (London, 1966), W. H. Whiteley notes that 'the term "extension" for what were earlier described as "derived forms" of the verb was introduced first by M. Guthrie, and has since gained wide acceptance among students of Bantu languages'. The term 'extension is used in this thesis only to designate the extension suffix. A stem plus an extension suffix is an extended shape or, if identified as a member of a form class, an extended form.

<sup>7</sup>Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, p. 189 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965):

'There is no doubt that items must be specified lexically in terms of the operations that apply to them; this is particularly clear from a consideration of phonological rules, but is no less true of syntactic processes. Much of lexical structure is, in fact, simply a classification induced by the system of phonological and syntactic rules.'

<sup>8</sup>Although this distinction is made later in the thesis, it is perhaps helpful to note here the difference between extended verb shapes and extended verb forms. Stems are classified as extended verb shapes only in terms of their phonological makeup. That is, a root plus a prepositional extension suffix is called a prepositional extended verb shape. This does not mean necessarily that it is a member of the prepositional extended verb form class. Membership in extended verb form classes is determined by function. Therefore, if the prepositional extended shape, used as an example, functions with the characteristics attributed to the prepositional form class, it is called a prepositional extended form. But it may be a member of another form class, according to its function.

<sup>9</sup>The terms deep structure stative and non-stative, refer to two categories of verb stems. These categories have been set up to characterize stems in terms of certain seeming subcategorization features inherent within the verb stem. (This is discussed in Chapter III). These terms, stative and non-stative, have no direct connection with the stative extension suffix in Swahili or the stative extended verb form class. It is important to keep this distinction in mind.

<sup>10</sup>Chomsky, p. 95. Chomsky says, 'Rules...which analyze a symbol in terms of its categorial context [and he gives such contexts as 'adjective', 'prepositional phrase', 'predicate-nominal' for examples of contexts for a verb as a complex symbol] I shall henceforth call strict subcategorization rules. Rules...Which analyze a symbol (generally a complex symbol) in terms of syntactic features of the frames in which it appears [and he gives + or - abstract, etc. as examples of environment], I shall call selectional rules.'

CHAPTER II  
 THE PHONOLOGICAL COMPONENT OF A GRAMMAR OF THE  
 SWAHILI EXTENDED VERB SYSTEM<sup>1</sup>

2.10 A Consideration of the Verb Assembly as a Whole

In order to place the extended verb forms in their proper phonological and morphological setting, the assembly of a completely inflected verb form will be outlined. However, only details about the extension suffixes will be expanded in ensuing rules and discussed.

V 1 Lexical Entries : Verb-Root

This statement (and note that these 'v' entries are called statements and not rules since they define components rather than replace symbols in any generative sense) means that the shapes listed in the lexicon under the classification 'verb' are roots. A root is understood to be the single unit action- or state-determining partial to which derivational (extension) suffixes may be affixed.

V 2 Verb Stem : + Root +  
 + Root + Extension Suffixes<sup>2</sup> +

Either the root alone or the root + extension suffix(es) may stand as a verb stem. A stem is characterized by the ability to affix conjugational prefixes and suffixes. The extension suffixes are derivational since they alter the meaning attached to the root. That is, while the root (and also stem) -end- means 'go', the root + the prepositional extension suffix results in the form -ende- which means 'to to, for' etc.

V 3 Verb Assembly :

# Subject Prefix + Tense/Aspect Prefix + (Object Prefix)<sup>3</sup> +  
 (Infinitive Marker) + Verb Stem + General Suffix 'A' +  
 (Relative Suffix)<sup>4</sup> #

This statement outlines the assembly pattern of the Swahili verb (the forms in parentheses are optional). The only components of interest to us in this discussion, however, are the verb stem (with its components of root + extension suffix(es)) and the general suffix 'A' (which is always realized in some form in every inflected verb form). The rules which follow state the requirements for the phonological realization of the stem without prefixes or other suffixes. Rules for the realization of the general suffix 'A' are not given: the fact that suffix 'A' is always positively realized is relevant, but how it is realized is not specifically relevant to a discussion of the extended verb forms.

The above assembly will apply to all verbs in Swahili, including loan words. In a complete statement for assembly, certain provisions would have to be added to V 3. Most important would be the statement specifying assembly limitations for loan words from Arabic. In the case of an Arabic verb stem not including extensions, general suffix 'A' is realized as  $\emptyset$  (formally to be stated in the transformational component of the complete grammar as  $A \rightarrow \emptyset // \text{Arabic loan stem} - \text{extensions} + \_\_\#$ ). That is, the stem -samehe 'forgive' from an Arabic loan, for example, may be inflected with prefixes (or the relative suffix) with no positive realization of general suffix 'A'. Thus, nimesamehe 'I have forgiven'. But the stem -ambi 'tell' from a Bantu root cannot be inflected without general suffix 'A' (which is generally realized as /a/ but has at least two other phonological realizations--one's view of exactly how many depending upon one's total description). Thus, nimeambia 'I have told'. When a stem is an Arabic loan and includes extensions, other provisions

apply which are listed in the rewrite rule component of the extended verb assembly below.

V 4 Extension Suffixes:

Passive  
 Stative  
 Causative  
 Prepositional (Objective)  
 Reciprocal/Associative  
 Contractive  
 Reversive  
 Static

This specifies the extension suffixes whose phonological shapes will be stated in replacement rules which follow. But there are one or perhaps two additional extension form classes (and the above shapes and their names do not always coincide with form classes of the same name). Besides form classes with names identical to the eight shapes listed, there are also form classes for the intensive form, which is parasitic in nature since it has no shape of its own, but takes over the shapes of other classes. One may also argue--as do most grammarians--that a reduplicative extension form exists. The reduplicative, however, is formed not with extension suffixes, but by a combination of the verb stem + suffix 'A' + stem, as in -funguafungu- from the stem -fungu- 'open'. Therefore, on the grounds of its formation, the status of the reduplicative as an extended form is open to question. In this thesis, the reduplicative is considered a sub-member of the intensive extended form class. (As such it is the only member which is (a) not an extended form with independent status and (b) not made up of extension suffix(es).) See Chapter III for a discussion of the intensive form.

These nine extension form classes (the eight specified by V 4 plus

the intensive) do not include two classes (and separate shapes) included by some in the extended verb system, namely the reflexive and the inceptive extensions. Since an object prefix, -ji-, as in nimejichagua 'I have chosen myself', not an extension suffix, functions for a reflexive meaning, there seems no justification for calling the reflexive an extended form. Further, unlike the reduplicative, it has no direct semantic relation to any extended form. The inceptive form does not belong in the extended verb system because it is a verbal form derived from a noun or an adjective with the addition of a verbalizing suffix; extended verb forms are all derived from verb roots. For example, -nenep- 'get fat' is an inceptive form derived from the partial -nene 'fat'.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, in regard to the extended verb system as a whole, it should be noted that the traditional names for the extension suffix shapes and consequently for the form classes are used only because they are familiar. There is no doubt that names more closely corresponding to function could be found.



## 2.20 Replacement Rules for the Extension Suffixes

R 1 Passive  $\rightarrow + w +$

R 2 Prepositional (Objective)  $\rightarrow + \phi +$

R 3 Stative  $\rightarrow + k +$

R 4 Causative  $\rightarrow + y +$

Except for R4, all rules of the R-series produce shapes which are at once the theoretical base shape and the actual realization of an extended shape. For example, the stative shape is always /k/ as specified by R 3.

But the causative shape is almost always realized as something other than /y/, and /y/ stands only as the theoretical base shape in terms of which all realizations can be described. The following secondary rules indicate the realizations.

It should be noted, however, that these sub-rules are theoretically somewhat out of order in this series since they are not replacement rules of the same type as the main R rules themselves. A replacement rule specifies a shape, but these sub-rules are rewrite rules which specify a process by which one symbol or more undergoes a change to result in one or more symbols. In this sense, the sub-rules are more akin to the rewrite rules in 2.80 which follow (except that they apply only to the realizations of the causative shape and the rules of 2.80 refer to the assembly of any stem plus any extension(s)).

Strictly speaking, these rewrite rules for the causative should stand outside the section on replacement rules. Yet, since the causative is the only shape which can not be specified simply by a replacement

rule but instead requires rewrite rules to account for its various realizations, it seems unnecessarily complicating--in terms of the total presentation--to segregate these few, distinctive sub-rules from the parent rule which they naturally follow.

The sub-rules for the causative shape follow (they are ordered):

$$R\ 4.1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ t \end{array} \right\} + y + \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} z \\ s, \text{š} \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule states that a stem ending in /l/ takes a /z/ as its causative shape, and a stem ending in /t/ takes a /s/ or /š/. Note that the stem itself is altered, for it is the final stem consonant plus the theoretical causative base shape, /y/, which results in the realization of the actual causative shape. Thus, -lal- 'sleep', -laz- 'cause to sleep'; -takat- 'become clean', -takas- 'make clean'; -pit- 'pass', -piš- 'let pass, cause to pass', but also -pitish- which follows the more regular rule, R 4.3; -pat- 'get', -pash- 'cause to have', but also -patish-.

There are relatively very few stems affected by this rule.

$$R\ 4.2 \quad \begin{array}{l} w \rightarrow v \\ p \rightarrow f \end{array} \quad // \quad \_ + y +$$

This rule, as does the one above, states the condition for a change in the stem itself caused by the addition of the causative suffix. In this case, however, the causative shape is not amalgamated with the stem, but remains intact. Thus, /w/ in the presence of  $\phi + y +$  becomes /v/ and /p/ becomes /f/. For example, -lew- 'be drunk', -levy- 'make drunk, intoxicate'; -ogop- 'be afraid', -ogofy- 'cause to fear', but also the

more regularly formed -ogopesh-, according to R 4.4.

R 4.3 + y + → y // n + \_\_\_+

This rule simply states that the theoretical causative base shape is assembled without change to itself or the stem with stems ending in /n/. Thus, -on- 'see', -ony- 'warn'.

R 4.4 + y + → z // V \_\_\_+

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{z} // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V + (1 + V^y) + \\ C + \quad \quad V^y + \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \text{___+}$$

This rule specifies the most common realizations of the causative shape. (1) With a V stem, the causative shape is /z/. For example, -ingi- 'go in, enter', -ingiz- 'cause to enter'; -siki- 'hear', -sikiz- 'listen to'. (2) With a stem ending in a consonant (other than those specified by the above rules R 4.1--4.3) assembled with  $V^y$ , or with a V stem assembled with  $(1 + V^y)$ , the causative shape is /š/. The assembly is explained in section 2.30. For examples of C stems, -pig- 'hit', -pigish- 'cause to hit'; -end- 'go', -endesh- 'drive'. For examples of stems assembled with  $(1 + V^y)$ , -angu- 'knock down', -anguli- 'knock down for' (prepositional shape), -angulish- 'cause to knock down'.

However, this rule is not without exception since there is a certain amount of free variation between the choice of /z/ or /š/ as the causative suffix, particularly in the V \_\_\_+ environment. It does seem more likely that /z/ will occur following a front vowel, but even this is not always so. For example, -siki- 'hear', -sikili- 'hear by means of' (considered non-existent by some informants), -sikiliz- 'listen to'; -pend- 'like', -pendez- 'please'; -angu- 'knock down', -angush- 'knock down' (intensive). Some informants seem to feel that a causative shape with /z/ has a stronger connotation than one with /š/. For example, both -pakiz-

and -pakish- are given for the meaning 'cause to pack' with the explanation by at least one informant that -pakiz- carries more force.

In regard to all the realizations of the causative suffix, it should be noted that the shapes /z/ or /š/ are quite distinct from the other realizations in that they are not suffixed directly to the stem, but require assembly with the thematic vowel discussed in section 2.30 which follows. According to this view, any V stem is considered to be the prepositional or reversive shape of a C stem (the presence of the thematic vowel makes it a V stem). For example, the V stem -angu- 'knock down' is the reversive shape from a C stem base form of \*ang-; -ende- 'go to, etc.' is the prepositional shape from a C stem -end- 'go'. In many cases, the base form C stem is now non-existent. See section 2.43 for a further discussion of the causative shape.

R 5 Contactive → + at +<sup>6</sup>

R 6 Reversive → + ø<sup>2</sup> +<sup>7</sup>

R 7 Reciprocal/Associative → + an +

R 8 Static → + am +

## 2:30 Definition Rules for the Assembly of Stems and Extensions

- D E 1 /e/, /o/ : + central  
 /ɪ/, /u/, /a/ : - central  
 /i/, /e/ : + front  
 /u/, /o/ : - front (+ back)

This rule defines the vowels in terms of the features which are distinctive in the extension assembly. The choice of the thematic assembly vowel introduced below depends upon the agreement of this vowel with the stem vowel in terms of the specified features.

- D E 2 V : V<sup>x</sup> // (C) \_\_\_ C verb stem  
 (C) \_\_\_ verb stem

This rule specifies the stem vowel which occurs last (whether followed by a consonant--as in the case of a C stem--or not) as the V<sup>x</sup>. It is this vowel with which V<sup>y</sup>, introduced below, must match according to the specifications below.

- D E 3 V : V<sup>y</sup> // verb stem + (1) + ( ) + extension suffix  
 V<sup>y</sup> is identified by this rule as the thematic vowel whose presence will be required in the stem + extension suffix assembly in the case of assemblies involving certain extension suffixes.

Note that a stem may be either a root or a root + an extension suffix; it is important that this be kept in mind for all rules.

2.40 Rewrite Rules for the Assembly of Stems and Extensions<sup>8</sup>

RE 1 Stem from Arabic loan of /...CV# shape →  
 Bantu stem of ....C# shape →

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{C stem} + \text{V}^y \} \\ \{ \text{C stem} + \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} // \text{---} + \\ // \text{---} + \phi + \\ \quad + \text{C} + \\ // \text{---} + \text{elsewhere} \end{array}$$

This rule specifies that stems from Arabic loans of the stem shape ...CV# (such as -jibu- 'answer'), when undergoing assembly with extension suffixes, be considered as C stems which are always assembled with the thematic vowel V<sup>y</sup>. Thus, the pattern will always be, for example, -jibu- + V<sup>y</sup> + any extension suffix. Bantu stems of the C shape are not always assembled with the thematic vowel, however, as the rule states. This happens only before an extension suffix which is realized as a zero (ϕ) or as a consonant. Thus, -pak- 'apply' (usually with rangi 'paint') requires the presence of V<sup>y</sup> before assembly with either the prepositional or the reversive extension suffixes--both of which are realized as zero--or before the causative or stative suffixes--both of which are realized as a consonant (the stative is + k + and the causative is + ʃ +). Fuller examples follow rule RE 3 below.<sup>9</sup>

RE 2 Stem from Arabic loan of ...au# shape → ( au# stem + ) // + \_\_\_ +  
 Bantu stem V# shape [-front v] → { V stem + } 1 + V<sup>y</sup> // + \_\_\_ + SV +  
 Bantu stem V# shape → { V stem + } // + \_\_\_ + ϕ + }  
 { V stem + } // + \_\_\_ + elsewhere

This rule has three parts. (1) It states that stems from Arabic loans ending in ...au# (such as -sahau- 'forget') will always be assembled with the thematic (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) before any extension suffix. (2) It states that any Bantu V# stem with a -front vowel will take the (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) assembly

before a semi-vowel, which means--in terms of the extension suffixes-- before the passive (which is + w +). Therefore, -angu- 'knock down' will have this assembly for the passive: -angu- + (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) + w + . (3) The rule states that any V stem from a Bantu root will take the (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) assembly before an extension suffix realized as zero. (In practice, this means (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) is required before the prepositional extension suffix. Although the reversion suffix is also zero, it does not seem to operate in combination with V stems.) Thus, for example, -paki- 'pack' (usually with mizigo 'burdens') will be assembled in this way for the prepositional: -paki- + (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) +  $\phi$  + . This branch of the rule further states that, before all other extension suffixes (in the environment of 'elsewhere') a V stem from a Bantu root is assembled without any intervening mechanism. Thus, for example, -paki- 'pack' will be assembled in this way for the stative (+ k + ): -paki- + k + .

RE 3  $V^y \rightarrow$   $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{-central} \\ \text{-front} \\ \text{-central} \\ \text{-front} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V^x \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{+ central} \\ \text{+ front} \end{array} \right] C + \\ V^x (C^{0--1}) + \end{array} \right\} \text{---} + \phi^2 \text{ (reversive)}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{-central} \\ \text{+front} \end{array} \right\} // V^x (C^{0--1}) + \text{---} + \text{elsewhere}$

First it should be noted that this rule introduces a matching convention operating between V<sup>x</sup> (the stem vowel) and V<sup>y</sup> (the thematic vowel which is a component of the assembly--and its occurrence is specified in RE 1 and 2--and not of either the stem or the extension suffix(es).

The three parts of this rule make these specifications: (1) In the case of an assembly involving +  $\phi^2$  + (the reversion suffix realization), when V<sup>x</sup> of the stem is central and front (/e/), the thematic vowel V<sup>y</sup>

will be realized as -central and -front. According to the feature specification of DE 1, this means that  $V^y$  will be realized as /u/. To illustrate, consider the assembly of the stem -teg- 'set a trap' with the reversive suffix. According to RE 1, a Bantu C stem will be assembled with  $V^y$  before a zero (the reversive suffix). According to this branch of the rule,  $V^y$ --in the case of a stem with a vowel such as -teg---will be realized as /u/. Therefore, -teg-+ u + is the proper realization of the reversive stem from the base stem -teg-. Inflected with prefixes and the general suffix 'A', -tegu- could take such a form as nimetegua 'I have let a trap go off'. Note that the thematic vowel  $V^y$  agrees with the stem vowel  $V^x$  in the other two branches of this rule in terms of centralness; it is only in the case of the assembly of a C stem with a central and front stem vowel with the reversive suffix that this agreement (in terms of centralness) is violated.

(2) The second branch of the rule states that  $V^y$ , in the case of any other C stem, will agree with the stem vowel  $V^x$  in terms of centralness, but will also be a -front vowel. Therefore, for example, \*-ang- 'hang' (which according to RE 1 is assembled with  $V^y$  before a zero--and the reversive suffix is realized as a zero) will have this assembly for the reversive: -ang-+ u +. A fully inflected form such as nimeangua nazi 'I have thrown down the coconuts' is possible. A stem with a + central vowel (which is not also + front--in this case the first branch of this rule applies), such as -chom- 'pierce, stab', will take + o + as its realization of  $V^y$  (since + o + agrees in terms of centralness with the stem vowel, /o/).

(3) The third branch of this rule specifies that  $V^y$  will agree



with the stem vowel,  $V^x$ , in terms of centralness and will be front in the case of any other assemblies with extension suffixes which require the presence of  $V^y$  (according to the specifications of RE 1 and 2).

Therefore, for examples, consider the following forms:

(a) Stem of ...CV# shape from Arabic loan. Examples: -sameh- 'forgive' and -jibu- 'answer'. According to RE 1, such a stem is considered as a C stem for purposes of assembly with extension suffixes (that is, it drops its own final vowel) and is always assembled with  $V^y$ .

Thus,

-sameh- +  $V^y$  → -samehe- + w (passive) → -samehew-  
 ∅ (prepositional) → -samehe-  
 k (stative) → -samehek-  
 š (causative) → -samehesh-  
 an (reciprocal) → -samehean-

-jib- +  $V^y$  → -jibi- + w (passive) → -jibiw-  
 ∅ (prepositional) → -jibi-  
 k (stative) → -jibik-  
 š (causative) → -jibish-  
 (also z) → -jibiz-  
 etc.

(b) Bantu stem of ...C# shape. Examples: -pend- 'like' and -pak- 'apply'. According to RE 1, such a stem is assembled with  $V^y$  only before a zero or a consonant. Thus,

-pend- +  $V^y$  → -pende- + ∅ (prepositional) → -pende-  
 k (stative) → -pendek-  
 z (causative) → -pendez-

elsewhere: -pend- + an (reciprocal) → -pendan-  
 etc.

-pak- +  $V^y$  → -paki- + ∅ (prepositional) → -paki-  
 k (stative) → -pakik-  
 š (causative) → -pakish-  
 ∅ (reversive) → -paku-

elsewhere: -pak- + at (contactive) → -pakat-  
 an (reciprocal) → -pakan-  
 w (passive) → -pakw-

(c) Stem of ...au# shape from an Arabic loan. Example: -sahau- 'forget'. According to RE 2, such a stem remains the same in shape in assembly with extension suffixes (note above that other stems from Arabic loans drop their own final vowel), but is always assembled with (1 + V<sup>y</sup>). Thus,

<u>-sahau-</u>	+ (1 + V <sup>y</sup> )	→	<u>-sahauli-</u>	w (passive) → <u>-sahauliw-</u>
				∅ (prepositional) → <u>-sahauli-</u>
				k (stative) → <u>-sahaulik-</u>
				ʒ (causative) → <u>-sahaulish-</u>
				an (reciprocal) → <u>-sahaulian-</u>
				etc.

There are very few verb stems of this shape. The two most common are -sahau- and -dharau- 'scorn':

(d) Bantu stem of ...V# shape. Examples: -paki- 'pack', -ele- 'be clear, be intelligible', and -angu- 'knock down'. According to RE 2, any V stem with a non-front vowel will be assembled with the (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) mechanism before a semi-vowel (the passive suffix + w + ). Otherwise all V stems of Bantu origin are assembled the same: they take the (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) mechanism before a zero (the prepositional suffix), but otherwise are assembled with no intervening mechanisms. Thus:

<u>-angu-</u>	+ (1 + V <sup>y</sup> )	→	<u>-anguli-</u>	+ w (passive) → <u>-anguliw-</u>
elsewhere: <u>-angu-</u>				∅ (prepositional) → <u>-anguli-</u>
				k (stative) → <u>-anguk-</u>
				ʒ (causative) → <u>-angush-</u>
				etc.

<u>-paki-</u>	+ (1 + V <sup>y</sup> )	→	<u>-pakili-</u>	+ ∅ (prepositional) → <u>-pakili-</u>
elsewhere: <u>-paki-</u>				w (passive) → <u>-pakiw-</u>
				k (stative) → <u>-pakik-</u>
				an (reciprocal) → <u>-pakian-</u>
				etc.

<u>-ele-</u>	+ (1 + V <sup>y</sup> )	→	<u>-elele-</u>	+ ∅ (prepositional) → <u>*-elele-</u>
elsewhere: <u>-ele-</u>				w (passive) → <u>-elew-</u>
				z (causative) → <u>-elez-</u>

Note: It follows from this description of the assembly of Bantu V stems that the prepositional shape is the base form of any stative or causative shape with the  $(1 + V^y)$  in its makeup. Thus, -pakilik- is a compound extended shape and is the stative shape of a prepositional base shape.

RE 4 + w → + \_\_\_\_\_ + General Suffix 'A' # // Stem Extensions (6--n)

This rule states that in any assembly of a stem plus extensions the passive extension, +w, must come in the final extension suffix position before the general suffix 'A' (which is always in the very final position except when a relative suffix is also suffixed).

Other than this requirement--that the passive be the final extension suffix--there are no formal phonological restrictions on the order in which a stem may suffix extensions or on the number it may suffix. In fact, there are certain semantic restrictions on suffixation which will be discussed in chapter III. For example, for the majority of the informants, the stative is never followed by a passive suffix.

2.50 Problems of Assembly. Although the description outlined in sections 2.10 to 2.40 provides for all instances of assembly of a verb stem plus extension suffix(es), several points need further discussion.

2.51 The Assembly Mechanism. The rewrite-extension rules, RE 1, 2, and 3, set up a mechanism of thematic vowel, in the case of C stems, and an 'l + thematic vowel', in the case of V stems, which stands outside either the stem or the suffix. While such a description admittedly complicates the actual assembly somewhat by generating the thematic vowel (and the + l +) in limbo, as it were, it does simplify the overall statement. First, it is possible to give the extension suffixes themselves very simple representation: only the causative suffix has more than one phonological shape. Second, one can avoid the situation either of making the thematic vowel part of the stem itself (which would necessitate listing a change in shape for the stem depending upon the extension suffix with which it combines), or of making the thematic vowel simultaneously a member of three and sometimes four extension suffixes. (The prepositional, stative, and causative--when the latter is realized as ǰ or z--all occur with the thematic vowel, no matter what the treatment employed. Also, the passive extension suffix is assembled with it after -front V stems. Further, according to this treatment employed here, the reversion shape is also assembled with the thematic vowel.)

The only reasonably attractive alternative description would make the thematic vowel (and l in the case of V stems) parts of the prepositional extension suffix. Note that under the present treatment, the prepositional suffix is realized as ǰ, as is the reversion suffix. The two zeroes are quite different, however, in their environmental influence:

the thematic vowel is front and matches the stem vowel in terms of centralness with the prepositional suffix zero as its context. But in the environment of the reversive zero, the thematic vowel is -front and only matched with the stem vowel in terms of centralness if the stem vowel is not central and front.)

Such a treatment may be valid. But it has the drawback of making the simple prepositional shape the base form for the stative and usually the causative and sometimes the passive shapes, but of leaving the simple stem proper (the stem with no extension suffixes at all) as the base form for the other simple shapes (reciprocal, etc.). (By simple shape is meant a verb stem plus only one extension suffix; a shape with more than one extension suffix is termed compound.)

However, the description followed here which requires only one base form for all simple extended verb shapes, with the extension mechanism as something which intervenes when necessary and otherwise is ignored, seems to provide the simpler treatment. Under the treatment, neither the shape of the stem nor the shape of the suffix need change to meet the requirements of assembly with the other--rather, the intervening mechanism makes the adjustments. Further, note that this assembly operates equally well for any compound extended shape as a base form in the place of the simple stem (i.e., root). That is, if any extension suffix is added to the simple stem plus any extension the same rules apply with no change.

2.52 'Prepositional' Shape Stative and Causative Shapes. While according to the treatment adopted, the prepositional extension suffix does not serve as the simple base form for any of its coordinate sibling extension suffixes to form simple extended shapes), it should be emphasized that the simple stem plus the prepositional extension is, in fact, the base form for any V stem assemblies which include the (1 + V<sup>y</sup>) for stative or causative shapes (and for passive shapes if the stem vowel is not front).<sup>10</sup> It turns out that in some cases--and relatively many--no simple stative or causative shape (formed according to RE 2 with no intervening assembly mechanism) will be operative for a V stem. Instead, prepositional stative and causative shapes alone will be operative. In still other cases, two shapes--the simple stative and causative and the prepositional stative and causative--may exist side by side (but with different aspectual meanings as discussed in chapter III).

For example, for the verb stem -fungu- 'open' (which is itself a reversive shape from -fung- 'close'), two stative shapes exist: -funguk- (which is formed from the stem -fungu- plus the stative suffix, + k +, according to RE 3) and -fungulik- (which is formed from the base -funguli-, the prepositional shape from -fungu-, also according to RE 3). When two causative shapes exist, the same formative history applies. (That is, -funguz- is a causative shape formed from the reversive shape of a simple stem which is the root, -fung-; but -fungulish- is a causative shape formed from the prepositional shape -funguli- which was formed from the reversive shape, -fungu-, of the simple stem, -fung-.)

But even though these prepositional stative and causative shapes

are phonologically related most directly to the prepositional shape, they are more directly relatable in terms of meaning to the simple base form. The entire phenomenon seems unclear at this point, but these observations apply: (1) when one shape exists in the causative or stative slots--either a simple or a prepositional shape--it generally functions for the typical meaning which characterizes the respective stative or causative form class. The causative shape of a deep structure stative stem (see Chapter III for details on deep structure stative verbs), which will be so tagged in the lexicon, will not, however, function for a characteristic causative form class meaning, but most likely for a meaning which is the non-stative counterpart of the base form's meaning. For example, -siki- 'hear' is a deep structure stative stem. Its causative shape, -sikiz- or -sikiriz- 'listen to' has no causative meaning related to 'hear'. Rather 'listen to' as the non-stative counterpart of 'hear' refers to an action which implies the state of 'hearing', but has no causative relationship with the state. (Again, see chapter III for the full discussion of deep structure stative stems.) (2) When two shapes--the simple and the prepositional--exist for either or both the stative and the causative slots, it is likely that the semantic situation will follow these lines: (a) The simple stative shape will function for a meaning which refers to the stative aspect of the stative form, and the prepositional stative shape will function for a meaning referring to the potential aspect of the same stative form. (See section 3.44 for a discussion of aspects of the stative form class.) Or--and this seems the more usual circumstance--when the simple stative shape appears to be functioning for a base meaning of a deep structure stative stem (such as

-anguk- 'fall', -funguk- 'close', -epuk- 'avoid'), the prepositional stative shape will function for the potential aspect of the stative form class of the non-stative counterpart's meaning. That is, -angulik-, for example, means 'possibility of being knocked down' not 'of falling, etc.' And -epulik- means 'capable of being saved (or removed)'.

(b) The simple causative--when a prepositional causative shape is also present--will function as an intensive form of either the simple base form or of the reversive shape which is serving as a base form (as in the case of -angush- 'knock down' as the intensive of -angu-; or -chukuz-, which is operative for some informants as the intensive of -chuku- 'carry' and -chukulish-, which means 'cause to carry'.). Then the prepositional causative shape will function as a simple causative form, indicating outside causation and operating syntactically with two objects (as -angulish- 'cause to knock down' does). See chapter III for further discussion.

However, when two causative shapes operate, it is also possible that they are simply in free variation to some extent or another, depending upon the informant.



2.53 The Causative Shape. The formation of the causative suffix is the most puzzling feature of the phonological component of the extended verb system. The majority of stems form their causative shapes in -ǰ-, as specified in R 4; but, as it also indicated, -yθ seems to be the base shape of all causative suffix shapes, at least according to Meinhof.<sup>11</sup>

Meinhof, however, not only argues for the historical validity of the -y- as a base shape, but also seems to indicate that the causative extended verb shape is formed--not from a simple stem base shape--but from the stative extended verb base of a stem ending in -eka- or -ika- + ya. He cites -onesha- from \*-oneka- as an example. While one can see that such an argument could account for a number of supposedly 'exceptional' causative verb shapes, such as -angush- from -anguk- and -kumbush- from -kumbuk-, accepting such a treatment creates difficulties, such as how to determine formally the basis of the stative as a base form rather than--in the examples cited--the reversion form (which, in fact, functions as a simple base form in meaning). For example, to cite Meinhof's own example again, it seems difficult to accept the view that -onesha- (the ǰ) should be described as the result of a palatalized amalgamation of \*-oneka- + ya rather than the generated result of a combination of the base form -on- with the intervening thematic vowel (realized as /e/) plus the causative suffix -y- (which is realized as /ǰ/, also the result of palatalization).

It seems more reasonable to accept a description which (1) generates the causative verb shape from the same base form as will generate other sibling shapes (co-ordinate extended shapes) and which (2) does not

complicate matters--with no apparent gain in terms of insight into structure--by making the causative verb shape sometimes emanate from its sibling stative shape, but otherwise from the general parent form.

(3) Further, the assembly as stated seems to conform more with semantic --and grid pattern (as discussed in chapters III and IV)--reality than does any alternative assembly. The causative form is active in voice, as is the base form; but the stative is neutral in voice.

Consider the traditional listing (whether influenced by Meinhof's ideas or not) of -amk- (stative stem shape) as the base form of -amsh- (causative stem shape). -amk- means 'awaken, be awake' with its subject functioning only as the subject of a state; therefore, it is a verb in the neutral voice, according to the terminology followed here:

Nimeamka saa moja asubuhi 'I woke up at seven o'clock in the morning'.

But -amsh- 'wake up' refers to an action: Juma aliniamsha saa moja 'Juma woke me up at seven o'clock'. These two verb shapes, -amk- and -amsh- are obviously related phonologically and semantically, but it

seems clear that theirs is a sibling relation tracable to a common base.

What complicates the matter, of course, is that -amk- appears to have taken over the meaning of the non-existent base and, as such, is the deep

structure stative counterpart of -amsh-. That is, the semantic relationship is similar to that between -siki- (a simple base) 'hear' and -sikiliz-

(its prepositional causative extended shape) 'listen' or -ju- (a simple base) 'know' and -julish (its causative shape) 'inform', or -epuk- (a

stative shape) 'avoid' and -epush- (its sibling causative shape) 'save'.

But this does not make -amk- the phonological base form of -amsh-.

Along this same line, it appears that certain causative verb shapes

(which have been listed traditionally as causatives from stative bases, formed by the combination of -k- + ya) should be listed instead with reversive verb shapes as their base forms. (Note this does not mean that -y- is not the original shape of the causative suffix; but it is realized as /ɣ/ in the case of these causative shapes, not as the result of amalgamation with a preceding consonant, but through vowel influence. It occurs intervocally between the final vowel of the V stem (the reversive stem always has a V shape) and the always vocoid realization of the final suffix 'A'.) This list includes the following verb shapes for which reversive base forms--whether existent or not would be specified in the lexicon. (Note that the typical causative extended verb shape--or any of the 'simple' extended shapes--has a simple stem, of a root, as its base form. For these shapes, no special specification as to base form is needed in the lexicon. Thus, a causative shape such as -wekesh- 'cause to place, set', which is formed entirely regularly from the simple stem -wek- 'put, place' needs no special notation as to base form. It is only a causative shape such as -amsh-, with a reversive stem as its base, which needs the notation.)

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Stative Shape</u>	<u>Causative Shape</u>
* -ru-	-ruk- 'jump'	-rush- 'throw up or off, etc.'
-shu- 'let down, lower'	-shuk- 'descend'	-shush- 'let down, discharge'
-angu- 'pick, throw down'	-anguk- 'fall'	-angush- 'throw down'
* -amu <sup>a</sup> -	-amk- 'awaken'	-amsh- 'wake up'
* -chemu-	-chemk 'bubble up'	-chemsh- 'boil'
* -kumbu-	-kumbuk- 'remember'	-kumbush <sup>θ</sup> 'remind'
* -kau-	-kauk- 'become dry'	-kaush- 'dry'
-wa <sup>b</sup> - 'shine' 'blaze'	-wak- 'become lighted'	-wash- 'set fire to'

<sup>a</sup> A complete set of phonological rules would include the specification  $mu > m$ , as in the case of -amk-, -chemk-.

<sup>b</sup> Compare -wa- with -va- 'put on (clothes)', as a base form. The stative shape of -va- is -vik- and means 'provide with clothes' and the causative shape is -vish- (with the prepositional causative also functioning for approximately the same meaning, -valish-), meaning 'dress'.

There seems to be some relation between the stative and causative sibling shapes of this list which corresponds to the stative: non-stative deep structure distinction discussed in detail in chapter III, but the entire picture is far from clear. However, it does seem apparent that there is no true stative form class meaning: causative form class meaning relationship existing between any of these shapes. In all cases, the meaning of the causative (for example, -kumbush- 'remind') seems to imply the possibility of the meaning state of the causative state existing (for example, -kumbuk- 'remember'), but there is no direct causal: action relationship. For example, with -anguk- 'fall' and -angush- 'knock down', if one 'throws down coconuts', it does not seem that he 'causes coconuts to fall'; rather, 'the coconuts enter the state of having fallen'. Or if one 'reminds someone', does he 'cause him to remember' so that 'reminding' and 'remembering' have the same 'action causes action' relationship which obviously exists between 'commanding to carry' and 'carrying'? 'Remembering' represents a state while 'carrying' is an action: one can cause an action, but not--apparently--a state. See chapter III for a further discussion of this matter. The point which needs to be made here is that, on the deep structure grounds of meaning and voice (that the causative shape can be related in meaning more directly and in voice completely with another shape--even if non-existent--other than the stative shape), and on the grounds of simplification (that following a procedure which requires only one base form for all sibling extended verb shapes--those which are on the same stratum in the grid pattern), a description of the causative shape as the palatalized result of -y- combining with the -k- of the stative seems unreasonable.

Finally, in regard to the causative extension suffix in general, it should be noted that a few base forms seem to generate two causative extended verb shapes with suffixes of two different shapes. Consider, for example, -ony- 'warn' and -onyesh- 'show', both from -on- 'see' (there is not always a meaning differential in this case). These seem to be explainable only as exceptions and are discussed in chapter III along with other causative form class members.

## Notes - Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>Conventions of the Rules

- # Pause (word division as applied here).
- + Grammatical constituent boundary (usually between a stem and an extension suffix or an extension suffix and the final general suffix, as it appears in these rules).
- 'is replaced by'. One symbol in a string is replaced by another. There are, however, two somewhat different kinds of rules which use this → to replace symbols. In replacement rules, one symbol is merely replaced by another. For example, the symbol 'passive' is replaced by the symbol + w +. But in rewrite rules, a process by which one symbol undergoes a change to result in one or more symbols is specified.

The derivation of a string of symbols is constructed by successively applying the replacement and rewriting rules of the grammar, beginning with the string, # Verb Assembly # (or only # stem extensions, as is the case here) until the final string of the derivation consists only of the phonological formatives and therefore no further replacing is possible. Rules must be applied in order and are context determined.

- : indicates only that some form specified to the left of the sign 'is' what is specified to the right of the sign. Statements in which this symbol is employed may be considered as sorts of preliminary axioms for the phonological component.
- // 'in the environment of'. The double line is written to the left of the blank which indicates the position in which the replacement is to be made.
- { } a paradigmatic choice; that is, one of the items so enclosed must be chosen as the subject to which the rule applies. But the rule ultimately applies to all items so enclosed.
- ( ) an optional choice. The item within the parentheses may be chosen or nothing may be chosen. When used in a statement of environment, it may be read as 'whether or not (the element enclosed) is present'.
- [ ] sets off information about restrictions on a certain item (it immediately follows the item) from the rest of the string.
- x,y superscripts which, when appended to a class symbol (they are appended only to vowels--V--in these rules), form a generalizing symbol referring to any member of that class. A class symbol is so tagged to indicate that it enters into a relationship of matching features with another class symbol which is also so tagged.

6 a symbol used as a variant, indicating that the variable is deleted from the string under question. It also indicates that the partial in whose position it stands in an assembly pattern if phonologically realized as zero.

When no environment is stated, there are no environmental restrictions.

2 The extensions are considered as suffixes, not infixes. It is, however, necessarily true that in compounds (more than one extension suffix) the extensions are not always suffixed to the root with which they are associated. But they are always suffixed to a stem (whether it is a simple stem of root alone or of a compound one of root plus other extension suffixes). For example, one must consider -patian- 'get for each other' the prepositional reciprocal extended shape from the base -pat- 'get' as the extended form of the parent -pati- 'get for' (the simple prepositional verb shape), not from -patan-, the reciprocal shape. A consideration of meaning, discussed to some extent in section 3.47 of chapter III, seems to make this clear.

3 The second person plural suffix or enclitic -eni- is considered as a discontinuous part of the object prefix and complete rules for verb assembly would have to specify this. For example, ninewapendeni 'I have loved you' (the -wa- standing as the second person plural object prefix).

4 Note that the relative is listed as a suffix, not a prefix as it is ordinarily considered by grammarians of the Bantu languages. It is Mr. Patrick Bennett's view that the relative is a suffix and it is that treatment accepted here; but no discussion on this point is included since it is not relevant to the main subject.

5 W.H. Whitely in A Study of Yao Sentences p. 51-2 (London, 1966) calls the inceptive a 'pseudo-extension' along with the static and contractive extended forms. But it seems the latter two have a different status since they are formed from derivative suffixes attached to verb stems, not to other syntactic components.

6 Note that there were no recorded instances in the research for this thesis of a contactive suffix attached to a V stem; none is found in Swahili grammars either. If there were an instance of such a formation, it is likely the suffix shape would be -t- rather than -at- as listed here. However, since the -t- alternate is not called for, it seems unnecessary to list two shapes in the rules.

7 Note that the reversive is listed with the same zero realization as the prepositional suffix. But these zeroes are, in fact, different (therefore the reversive is identified as  $\phi^2$ ) in their influence on the realization of the thematic vowel  $V^y$  which always occurs in the environment of either suffix:  $V^y$  is always front before the prepositional and back before the reversive.



<sup>8</sup> A list would be needed for the very few verb stems which do not contain a syllabic and which do not conform in all instances to the following rules. In general, however, these verbs do conform, with minor variations. -i- 'eat', for example, is only outside the rules to the point that it takes /i/ (there is no explanation for why it takes the central thematic vowel rather than the central one) before SV (passive),  $\phi$  (prepositional), and C (stative and causative). Beyond this, its extended verb assembly is quite regular. The same applies to the verb stem -p- 'give' which takes /e/ as a thematic vowel in the same instances. A stem such as -ya- 'wear clothes, be attired' also would have to be listed with its extended shapes, some of which agree with the rules and some which do not. Its reversive shape is -vu- 'undress, take off clothes'; its stative shape is -vik-, and the causative is -vish-. But the prepositional shape is regular: -vali-.

<sup>9</sup> Generally, loan words from other non-Bantu languages seem to correspond (that is, they are made to conform by analogy) to the pattern of Bantu stem shapes (a finally vowel--usually /a/--is added to loans ending in a consonant) and take the Bantu rules outlined here and in the following rules.

<sup>10</sup> The fact that the prepositional extended verb shape is the base form of (1 V<sup>y</sup>) assemblies is somewhat obscured in the discussion in chapter III of grid patterns and in the examples outlined in chapter IV. In chapter IV when only one stative or causative shape appears in these respective slots in the grid and it is the prepositional shape, it is still put in the grid as if its base form were the simple stem. Of course, in terms of meaning, its base form is the simple stem, but not in terms of shape. The differentiation should be kept in mind.

<sup>11</sup> Carl Meinhof and N.J. van Warmelo, Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages, (Berlin, 1932, Anastatic Reprint, Hamburg, 1962), p. 129:

The causative ending -ya is frequently found, but is in most cases amalgamated with a preceding consonant....

The ending -ekaya becomes -esa, e.g. -onesa 'show' from \*-oneka, -ponesa 'cure' from \*-poneka (-pona 'recover', -ika + ya in like manner becomes -isa, e.g. -tumisa 'make use of' from -tumika 'be useful'.

The termination -esa, -isa has now become the usual causative ending and appears wherever -ya is not used, especially in foreign words.

## CHAPTER III

### SOME ASPECTS OF THE SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC COMPONENT

#### 3.10 Preliminary Remarks

While grammarians have long recognized the extended verb forms of Swahili (and other Bantu languages) as members of some sort of a system,<sup>1</sup> few have even attempted to discuss the forms as part of that system.

One of the better treatments; that of Mrs. E. O. Ashton,<sup>2</sup> begins with a typical disclaimer for the virtues of methodology when the matter of approaching extended verb forms arises. She quotes Madan from the introduction to his Swahili Dictionary as saying, 'Shadès 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.' And Madan goes on (in the same passage) to blame the lack of organization on Swahili itself. For he advises that 'if he [the student] is still inclined to complain of the vagueness and inadequacy in their interpretations [of the extended verb forms] it may be remembered that language unwritten (Swahili) is the speech of a living people, and so carries its own simultaneous commentary of look, gesture and tone as well as sound, thus appealing to four senses in sympathetic and intelligent relation to the speaker, and not only to the eye in interpreting a written character. The full meaning of any written statement has at best often to be guessed, and a Swahili if he writes, writes as he speaks, assuming a hearer and not a reader.'<sup>3</sup>

Rather than look for correspondences among the behavior of extended forms of various verb roots, involving possible semantic and syntactic deep structure restrictions, grammarians have taken a basically taxonomic approach. They classified what they found (with phonological shape seemingly the dominant criterion for categorization), and noted inconsistencies within the classifications. Any kind of an overview which would relate the extended forms as part of a system, which in turn might help explain various relations of shape to meaning, has been lacking. For example, Steere, who admittedly wrote his first Swahili grammar more than 50 years ago and was one of the first to describe Swahili at all, concludes after a general discussion of extended forms that 'other derived forms there are surely, but the beginner will be well advised to regard them for the present as separate verbs when he comes across them.' As an example of the complicated situation which exists within the extended verb system, Steere cites two extended forms which are linked, but linked by an obsolete form. He then simply concludes, 'Such matters therefore become somewhat complicated.'<sup>4</sup>

This chapter represents an investigation of the extended forms as members of a system. As such, it is an attempt, using some non-intuitive, stutable criteria, to describe the forms in terms of the correspondences which exist among them and to characterize the occurrence of these forms and of the relationships which exist between shape and meaning.

The chapter includes three major sections: (1) specific information about the Swahili speakers consulted as informants, (2) a discussion of some aspects of deep structure which appear to govern the system, and (3) a discussion of the individual extended form classes themselves.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.20 The Informants

The principal informants were Saidi Mannoro and Sylvia Mkwaya<sup>6</sup> with whom the writer worked daily for five months. Mr. Mannoro, in his early twenties, has been a resident of Dar es Salaam for seven years. His first language is Ngindo and he comes from the Kilwa region on the coast of southern Tanzania. He studied and spoke Swahili as a child and now speaks either Swahili or English most of the time. He works as a library assistant at the Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam and regularly comes into contact with foreigners with whom he speaks English, and Tanzanians with whom he speaks Swahili. He rarely speaks Ngindo, tending to speak Swahili even with relatives in Dar es Salaam. He attended school through standard 10 and recently passed the Cambridge School Certificate examination (including the Swahili examination) after private study. Mr. Mannoro at one time lived with and considers himself a disciple of Sheikh Amri Abedi, a well-known Swahili poet (and accordingly considered a Swahili scholar by Swahili speakers), who died in the fall of 1964. A poet himself, Mr. Mannoro is more interested in Swahili as a language than is the average speaker.

Miss Mkwaya is a typical representative of a growing group of Swahili speakers: she is a native of Dar es Salaam and a member of a tribe with its own living language, but she speaks Swahili as a first language. Although she is a Zaramo by tribe, Miss Mkwaya does not speak Zaramo, but she can understand it. Miss Mkwaya attended school through standard 12 (roughly equivalent to a high school education) at the Tabora Girls' School (Tabora is several hundred miles inland from Dar es Salaam and the school has a student body drawn from the entire nation) for a period just previous to her work with this writer. She is 20 years old and very well

educated for a woman by Tanzanian standards. While she was working as an informant, she also was secretary for the Lutheran Church district office in Dar es Salaam. She also speaks good English.

Benjamin Ashery, age 26, also served as informants several hours a day, but for only three months. Like Miss Mkwya, he is a native of Dar es Salaam. He considers both Swahili and Zaramo (he is also a Zaramo by tribe) his native languages, although he speaks Zaramo only infrequently. He attended school through standard 12 and holds the Cambridge School Certificate. He is an accountant with a Dar es Salaam firm and has worked from time to time for the Lutheran church teaching Swahili to foreign missionaries.

Frank Rashidi, an office clerk, in his early twenties, also served as an informant. His work was limited to commenting on the sentences elicited from Mr. Mannoro and Miss Mkwya and then giving written examples of his own. He is a short term resident of Dar es Salaam and comes from southern Tanzania. He speaks Yao as a first language. Of the four main informants, his Swahili seemed most divergent from standard Swahili in terms of choice of syntax. He completed standard 12 in school.

Dunstan Shabani, graduate assistant in Swahili at the University of Wisconsin, also served as an informant, answering specific questions about the responses of the other informants and supplying sentences of his own when needed. Mr. Shabani is a native of the Tanga region (which, along with Zanzibar, has been considered traditionally as the prestige region for speakers of safi 'clean, elegant' Swahili). He speaks Bondi as a first language. However, as is the case with many Tanga region speakers, he began speaking Swahili regularly at a very early age and considers it almost as a first language. Prior to coming to Wisconsin, Mr. Shabani

was a secondary school teacher in several areas of Tanzania, including the Dar es Salaam region.

Two other young, relatively well-educated Dar es Salaam residents of several years' standing also served as informants, but only to answer specific questions raised by work with the regular informants. One is David Mhina, also a Bondei speaker from Tanga who considers Swahili as an almost first language. The other, Justin Maedè, a Chagga by tribe from Arusha, considers Swahili as his first language (he says Swahili was the language spoken in his home as a boy),

A list of about 40 sentences, mainly those elicited from Mr. Mannoro, containing especially compounded extended forms (up to three extensions in one stem) was submitted for comment to four individuals in Dar es Salaam who are locally recognized as Swahili authorities. These were Sheik Mohammed Ali, legal translator in the Tanzania Ministry of Justice and of the third generation of a family of Swahili poets (Sheik Ali discussed the sentences with this writer but did not return written comments); Said Hilal el Bualy, Swahili expert (and formerly assistant to the Dr. Hollingsworth, foremost Swahili grammarian) from Zanzibar and a Dar es Salaam secondary school teacher at the time; Nicholas Kuhanga, Swahili tutor at the Institute of Adult Education; and Ali Ahmed Jahadhmy, Swahili tutor at Chang'ombe Teachers Training College near Dar es Salaam. The comments of these persons are included in footnotes for the relevant sentences.

When a Swahili sentence is used in the text, the informant supplying it is identified by code letters: Mr. Mannoro (SM), Miss Mkwaya (SyM), Mr. Ashery (A), Mr. Rashidi (R), and Mr. Shabani (DS).

### 3.30 Aspects of Deep Structure

### 3.31 The Writing of A Generative Grammar

Until recently it was believed that writing a generative grammar involved establishing linear arrangements of morphological classes by the now familiar branching re-write rules and by the transforms operating on these arrangements. It seems now, however, that such rules are insufficient, and that the crucial element in determining the co-occurrence of elements depends on the deep structure of the elements themselves. Noam Chomsky has outlined the theory for a grammar covering the subcategorization rules for specifying syntactical and semantic features which determine deep structure.<sup>7</sup> In such a system, the syntactic component of the grammar consists of a base component and a lexicon. The lexicon (which becomes considerably more than a traditional lexicon and therefore is better termed the lexicon/dictionary) is a list of unordered entries, each with its specifications for particular semantic and syntactical features. The base component of the grammar would be a set of rules, one part of which would contain branching rewrite rules which could contain morphological categories that are either syntactically or semantically determined. These categorizations are subject to subcategorization and are called 'complex symbols' (CS). The second part of the base component would contain mainly context-restricted rules which apply to the complex symbols and introduce, by subcategorization, the deep structure features of syntax and semantics specified in the lexicon.

In this treatment, no actual rules are written and no complete lexical entries are offered. However, some proposals are made as to the key semantic and syntactic features which subcategorization rules must introduce into the grammar for the Swahili extended verb system. Actual

rules will be needed, of course, to formalize this treatment; but, according to the investigation made, the features treated are those which seem to explain some of the major unanswered perplexities in the system and would therefore be the prime subjects of any rules.

The point of view taken is that anything short of a consideration of the deep structure features necessarily does not satisfy the demand for a knowledge of the real structure of the system. This statement is made while granting at the same time that a grammar which actually characterizes relevant features of subcategorization would be tremendously--perhaps impossibly--complex. However, the fact seems to remain that subcategorization rules are necessary to provide for the step from lexicon to actual grammatical utterance.

Further, it is believed that comparisons of function are necessary to characterize a grammatical system. Any approach which is based on the principle of uniqueness whereby elements are treated as individual entities seems inadequate. In the particular instance of the extended verb system, this means all stems and their extended forms ought to be treated in terms of similarities and differences in relation to one another rather than treated as individual 'things' in a list. In arguing for comparison as a primary methodological tool, H. J. Uldall says:

To the historian, the linguist, etc. the data to be ascertained and recorded are still "things", each with its properties and activities, and even when we get so far as to arrange our data in classes, these classes are defined by properties (Russell's "class-concepts") rather than by functions.

This has the corresponding disadvantages, "things are always unique: No two "things" are ever exactly alike. In such a view, therefore, the universe is heterogeneous, and all differences are differences of kind, which cannot be measured or even compared but can, in fact, only be ascertained and recorded in terms of concepts as flüssig und offen as possible. It is an inevitable consequence of this method that no systematisation is possible, and that such far-reaching



generalizations as have been achieved in the exact sciences are entirely out of the question.<sup>8</sup>

Basing a grammatical description on comparisons which hopefully produce patterns, which in turn can be the basis of simplifying generalizations, does not mean it is claimed that everything in the language can be fitted into a pattern. Exceptions do exist, but they do not alter the fact that patterns exist also.<sup>9</sup> For example, the category, deep structure stative vs. non-stative, is proposed in this study as one of the key elements of any subcategorization of features which governs the extended verb system. (See section 3.32 directly following for a discussion of stative vs. non-stative stems.) The stem -sahau- 'forget' has all the features of a deep structure stative stem, but the seemingly most central one. This is the incompatibility of the base stem's meaning with the concept of 'to cause'; therefore, when a deep structure stative stem is assembled with a causative extension suffix, the resulting form does not have a causative meaning. But -sahau- has a totally operative form with a causative meaning, -sahaulish-, as in Alinisahaulisha kitabu changu shuleni 'He caused me to forget my book at school'. Strictly speaking, this puts -sahau- outside the deep structure stative category; but other features in terms of which it is like a deep structure stative stem differentiate it from non-stative stems. The only alternative is to list it as an exception. However, this lack of 'fit' for -sahau- (and no doubt other stems) does not alter the fact that there are a number of stems (called deep structure stative stems) which behave in a common way which is different from that of verbs in another category (called non-stative). To describe these stems in terms of these categories simplifies the entire description of the extended verb system.

### 3.32 Stative and Non-Stative Stems

When Swahili verb stems and their extended forms are approached in terms of deep structure factors which may be keys to subcategorization within the system, the division of stems as stative or non-stative seems to be a central one.

In looking more and more for ways to state what features actually restrict cooccurrences of grammatical elements and determine shape-meaning relationships, grammarians have been paying increasing attention to the idea that verb stems need to be categorized in terms of more than surface structure. (such categorization accordingly would account for surface structure and seeming anomalies.) Martin Joos, in his study of English verbs, says that, in terms of aspect, English verbs may be classified as either 'status' verbs (what are called deep structure stative stems in this thesis) or 'process' verbs (called non-stative here).<sup>10</sup> A few verbs seem to function only as stative or status stems, but members of a much larger group are used both as stative and process stems and join the many stems which are process verbs only. What distinctly characterizes these status verbs in English, Joos says, is their rejection of 'the time-limited validity of the temporary aspect.'<sup>11</sup> That is, the status verb has reference to a state, not to a process (or an action). Joos goes on to say:

'That makes no difference' is not a process, not an event that essentially proceeds but is now frozen for our inspection; it is instead a relation between 'that' (whatever it is) and the whole world we live in: it doesn't happen, but simply is so. Equally truly, 'I drop the tablet into this warm water, and you see it dissolves quite nicely'... is not a process of seeing; it doesn't mean seeing is proceeding within time so that it could be made temporary by using the temporary aspect. Instead, this perception, a kind of psychic state if you like, is sort of relation between the beholder and the dissolving tablet.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the extended verb system and the relationships within it

which can be characterized in terms of the stative or non-stative classification of the base form, the recognition of this difference which seems to divide verbs is especially important. The term 'stative' for this deep structure feature is admittedly not the best for describing a language such as Swahili because of the established use of 'stative' as the name for an extended form class, characterized by the -ik- or -ek- extension suffix. (And it is important that a deep structure stative stem not be confused with a member of the stative extended form class.) However, since the name 'stative' generally seems to characterize best verb stems which express a relation or a state, it will be kept for this thesis.

Within the discussion which follows, it is also important to emphasize the differences intended between references to extended shapes, extended forms, and base forms or base stems. A verb stem which includes an extension suffix, but which has not been classified as a meaningful member of an extended form class, is referred to as an extended shape. The name for a particular extended shape does not necessarily place it in the extended form class of the same shape. For example, -sikiz- 'listen' will be called a causative extended shape, but it is not a causative extended form. An extended form must have 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. For example, -pigish- 'cause to hit' is a causative extended shape and form from the base form -pig- 'hit'. A base form or a base stem is a stem from which extended shapes are formed. The extended shape equals the base form plus an extension suffix. An extended shape is related--necessarily--to its base form only in terms of shape, but an extended form is also related to its base in terms of meaning.

One of the features of the extended verb system which always has been considered least susceptible to systematic description is the seeming existence of a variety of meanings for which the causative extended shape can function. For example, the base form -pend- 'like' produces the causative shape -pendez- 'please'; the base form -siki- 'hear' has the causative shape -sikiz- 'listen to'. Grammarians traditionally have taken the view that such causative shapes function for specialized extensions of the base meaning, and they are sometimes called 'intensive' meanings (such as that of -sikiz-) or what may be termed 'consequential' meanings (such as that of -pendez-: 'if you cause someone to like, therefore, you please him'). Or grammarians have simply concluded that such forms must be treated individually with experience as the only guide.

It is proposed, however, that a storable relationship does in fact exist for these base forms and their causative shapes—one which depends on the semantic deep structure of the verb roots involved. Further, this is a relationship which has ramifications within the extended verb system considerably beyond the base form: causative shape meaning relationship. The nature of this relationship becomes clear if the base form, in such instances (i.e., when a stem has a causative shape which does not have a meaning which is strictly causative), is treated as a deep structure stative stem and its causative shape as a non-stative counterpart. That is, the base form is a stative or a status verb and the causative shape is a process verb.

A simple empirical investigation leads to the stative stems: the causative and prepositional extended shapes derived from certain verb stems do not behave semantically as do the similar shapes of other stems (which are process or non-stative stems). Further, it develops that these 'special'

verb stems, while perhaps not numerous when all possible verb stems are considered, tend to function for the meanings which occur very frequently in any language. The meanings are those of perception (such as 'see', 'hear') and of mental attitudes (such as 'remember', 'know'), as well as those of common relationships (such as 'be closed'). Hence, the importance of recognizing the stative: non-stative distinction becomes clear. If-- as it appears in this thesis--the causative and prepositional extended shapes from stative base stems function for meanings which cannot be related to the base form in terms of membership in the traditional extended form classes, then descriptive categories based on something beyond such a division (into extended form classes followed by a listing of exceptions) must be used.

Deep structure stative stems differ, then, from other stems in these ways: (A) They take a causative extended shape with which the base form has no causal relationship. Instead, the causative shape, which may be viewed as the non-stative counterpart of the base stem, becomes a base form in its own right (and may be assembled with all the extension suffixes as any base form). (B) The prepositional shape functions for some meaning other than the central one associated with the prepositional extended form class of 'do something for someone' with the sense of 'in the place of someone'. Sometimes, it also becomes an independent base form (independent in terms of meaning, for it is necessarily related in shape), as in the case of -amki- 'greet' from the base form -amk- 'awaken'.

For an example of the typical causal relationship which holds between a non-stative base form and its causative extended form, consider -pig- 'hit' and -pigish- 'cause to hit'. The basic root meaning remains untouched and only the idea of outside force is added. Both meanings

refer to actions. Instead, with the stative stem, the causative shape has a meaning which is related to the meaning of the base form in a different way. Consider -pend- 'like' and its causative shape -pendez- 'please'.

The relationship between the two meanings is not that of the addition of causation to an action. The only relationship is that the causative shape's meaning implies, but not does require as with a 'regular' causative form, the existence of the base form's meaning. The same difference in relationship applies in English, so English examples may be used to illustrate. In the sentences (1) 'John hits Mary; John causes Jim to hit Mary', the causative sentence refers to a series of two separate actions, the second (which is also the single meaning of the base form) contingent upon the first. But in the sentences (2) 'John likes Mary'; Mary pleases John', the second sentence (the 'causative' one) refers only to one action which may bring about the state of John's liking Mary.

A deep structure stative stem, then, refers to a state which may be induced, but cannot be caused to occur, but an action may be caused to occur.

It is quite true that a deep structure stative stem has a meaning which is subject to variations of intensity. As Joos has noted, 'A status verb in the temporary aspect necessarily refers to an intensity of meaning that is either temporary or is temporarily waxing and waning, and this derived meaning replaces the basic meaning of the verb.'<sup>13</sup> That is, in terms of the verb 'like' discussed here, one can say that a person can like 'more or less', but 'liking' still remains a relation to another object, not a process. Or consider the verb 'avoid', which can be used either statively or non-statively, (-epuk- in Swahili). A person who is avoiding a car or avoiding danger stands in a relationship; he is not

involved in a process of avoiding. If a process is meant, the verb 'move' is used in English (or the non-stative meaning of 'avoid' is intended). The non-stative causative shape -epush- is used in Swahili (Jiepushe gari life! 'Avoid (in the sense of 'save yourself') that car!'). The degree to which a person 'avoids' may change, but a person cannot be caused to 'avoid' in the stative sense; he can only be caused to 'move'.

The pattern of relationship between the deep structure stative stem and its causative extended shape seems to be this: 'The object of the action of the causative shape is involved in a process which may result in the state of affairs of the meaning of the base form'. For example, if 'John reminds Mary' (the causative shape -kumbush- means 'remind' in Swahili) then 'Mary may remember' (the stative shape -kumbuk- is used for 'remember', with no base form for either -kumbush- or -kumbuk- existing). Or if 'John informs Mary', then 'Mary may know'; if 'John frightens Mary', then 'Mary may fear'. But the act of reminding does not actually cause Mary to enter the state of remembering. It may influence the intensity of that state, it is true.

This is somewhat different from the situation, if 'John causes Mary to hit Jim', then 'Mary hits Jim'. The matter of 'to hit or not to hit' deals with a process which is subject to external causation; but the state of affairs of a stative verb cannot be required in the same way. Put informally, it is a matter of 'You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink'.

Whether or not the term 'stative' is accepted, it can be shown that the causative shapes of certain stems called 'stative' here (and the prepositional shapes as well, as will be discussed) of certain stems called 'stative' here have meaning relationships to the base form not held

by stems called 'non-stative'. An important simplification can be effected in the grammar if these stative stems are treated as members of one category. It can be stated systematically that verb stems labeled stative in the lexicon and their extended shapes behave in certain common ways. Axioms correlating with the label 'stative' would state common characteristics and would be in the lexicon dictionary. In reference to the extended verb system, these appear to be the significant characteristics which set apart deep structure stative stems from non-stative stems: (1) The causative shape of a deep structure stative stem has no causal relationship to the meaning of the stem and is therefore not a member of the causative extended form class. (2) The prepositional shape of such a stem also does not function for a standard prepositional form class meaning.

Specifically in regard to the causative shape (from a deep structure stative stem), these characteristics are shared: (1) The causative shapes are non-stative counterparts of the meaning of the stative stems. As such, they refer to actions which may be preliminary to the occurrence of the state referred to by the base form, but action which is not dependent on the base form meaning in the way the meaning is of a causative shape of a non-stative base form. That is, 'cause to hit' deals only with causation and hitting; but 'look at' refers to an act which may result in 'seeing' but yet is separate from 'seeing'. (2) Accordingly, the causative shapes of stative base forms reflect their independent semantic existence in their ability to function as base form in their own right and thereby be assembled with a full grid of extension suffixes. For example, consider, -sikiiz- 'listen to', the causative shape from the deep structure stative base -siki- 'hear'. Apparently because its frame of semantic reference is not causation and hearing (as it would be



if it meant \*'cause to hear' rather than 'listen to'), but an independent though related concept, 'listening', it functions as a base form itself. For example, a prepositional extended form, -sikilizi- 'listen to for (someone else)', from the base, -sikiliz- 'listen to', is decidedly operative. Alinisikilizia mtoto wangu wakati nilikwenda sokoni (DS) 'He listened to my child for me when I went to the market'. The other major simple extended forms (stative, causative, reciprocal) are also quite operative for the base -sikiliz-, or any other causative shape of a deep structure stative base form. The case is quite different for the causative shape from a non-stative base form. For example, consider -fanyish- 'cause to do' (usually coupled with the linking noun kazi 'work') from the non-stative base -fany- 'do'. (Note: -fanyish- and -fanyiz- are both operative, preference for one or the other varying according to region.) The prepositional extended form of -fanyish- is only marginally operative. Questioned about its existence, the informant, Mr. Shabani, was so uncertain of it that he tended to reject one day what he accepted the day before. This was his feeling about the following sentences:

Alinifanyishia watu wengine kazi hii kwa sababu nilikuwa mgonjwa.

'He caused other people to do this work (for me) because I was sick'.

Alinifanyishia Juma kazi yangu.

'He caused Juma to do my work for me'.

A study of the causative form's syntactical pattern (and -fanyish- is a causative form while -sikiliz- 'listen to' is not, even though it has a causative shape) makes the difficulty clear. The object prefix with a causative form normally refers to the direct object of the causation (which is also the subject of the action of the verb). In the case of the prepositional form, the object prefix normally functions for the indirect object of the action. Therefore, in a compound extended form--composed

of both a causative and a prepositional extension--there is some confusion as to whom the object prefix refers, the person who is 'caused to do' or the person 'for whom the causing is done'. Thus, the examples cited for -fanyishi- 'cause to do for' are only marginally acceptable to informants. Other extended forms from a causative form serving as base are also often rejected. See section 3.44 for a discussion of the acceptability of stative causative and causative stative forms, for example.

The ability of the causative shape of a base form to take its own extended forms becomes, then, a criterion for establishing the distinctive quality (called deep structure stative) of the base form. For further examples, consider the case of -on- 'see', which would be labeled a deep structure stative stem in the lexicon, and its extended forms. The ability of its causative shapes (in this case, two are operative---ony- 'warn' and -onyesh- 'show') to serve as independent base forms should be clear.

- (1) Siwezi kuona vizuri. (SM)

'I cannot see well'.

- (2) Ninakuonya ya kwamba uache ulevi. (SM)

'I warn you that you should leave off drunkenness'.

- (3) Ukinionyesha njia ya kwenda Temeke nitafurahi sana. (SM)

'If you show me the road to go to Temeke I will be very happy'.

- (4) Bwana Hakimu alinionyea mtoto wangu kwamba aache tabia ya kutoroka. (SM)

'The judge warned my child (for me) that he leave off his habit of running away'.

- (5) Alinionyeshea mgeni wangu njia ya kwenda Temeke. (SM)

'He showed my guest for me the way to go to Temeke'.

(6) Tulionyeshana makosa yetu darasani. (SM)

'We showed each other our mistakes in the class'.

(7) Nguo hiyo ni ya siri haiwezi kuonyesheka mbeleza watu. (SylM)

'That is a secret garment; it cannot be shown before people'.

(i.e., in public)

As was discussed above, the deep structure stative stem is distinguished not only by a causative shape with a non-causative form class meaning.

The prepositional shape also functions for a meaning different from the major prepositional form class meaning of 'do something for someone', or the prepositional shape is not operative at all. For example, here are sentences illustrating the meaning of the prepositional shapes formed from deep structure stem bases:

(1) -on- 'see'

-one- 'feel ill towards', 'feel

oppressed by'

Alimwonea wivu kwa kiwa baba yake ana mali nyingi. (SylM)

'He felt jealous of him because his father has much money (or property)'.

(2) -siki- 'hear'

-sikili- 'hear by means of'

Masikio yangu hayafanyi kazi vizuri kwa hiyo ninasikilia mashini ya kusikilizia. (SM)

'My ears do not function well; therefore I hear by means of a machine for listening'.

Note: This form and this usage are not acceptable to all informants.

(3) -pend- 'like'

-pende- 'like on account of'

Ninakupendea kwa macho yako. (A)

'I like you on account of your eyes'.

- (4) -ju- 'know'                      -juli- 'know' (intensive)

Nataka kwenda kumjulia hali dada yangu. (SylM)

'I want to go to know the condition (of) my sister'.

Note: This form and this usage do not seem to be generally acceptable.

- (5) -ogop- 'fear'                      -ogope- 'fear' (intensive)

Alimkataza jioni asiende na kundi lile kwa sababu ameogopea asiye akawa mwizi kama wao. (SM)

'He forbade him that he go (out) in the evening with that gang because he feared lest he be a thief as they (are)'.

It is true that prepositional extended forms from deep structure non-stative bases can also function for the meanings illustrated above, as well as for the 'do something for someone' meaning. But prepositional forms from deep structure stative bases can function only for prepositional form classes meanings which are not 'do something for someone'. Just as one cannot 'cause someone to enter a state', one cannot 'enter a state for someone else'.

Further research might suggest that the present prepositional form class be divided into two separate form classes on the basis that the 'do something for someone' meaning is a property of prepositional forms from deep structure non-stative bases. The result would be more strictly defined form classes, but at the expense of adding a class to the total description of the extended verb system. For the present it would suffice to state as a general characteristic of deep structure stative stems (probably in an axiom which would precede subcategorization rules) their incompatibility with the 'do something for someone meaning'.

A partial listing of the stative verbs in Swahili, based on the criteria discussed above, follows:<sup>14</sup>

<u>Base Form Shape</u>	<u>Causative Shape</u>
(1) <u>-on-</u> 'see'	<u>-ony-</u> 'warn', <u>-onyesh-</u> 'show'
(2) <u>-siki-</u> 'hear'	<u>-sikiz-</u> , <u>-sikiliz-</u> 'listen to'
(3) <u>-fahamu-</u> 'understand', 'know'	<u>-fahamish-</u> 'inform'
(4) <u>-ju-</u> 'know'	<u>-julish-</u> 'inform', 'introduce'
(5) <u>-pamb-</u> 'excel'	* <u>-pambish-</u> , <u>-pambanish-</u> 'organize a contest'
(6) <u>-tak-</u> 'want'	<u>-takish-</u> 'coax', 'convince' (rare)
(7) <u>-chuki-</u> 'hate'	<u>-chukiz-</u> 'offend'
(8) <u>-eleke-</u> 'seem', 'be reasonable', 'take advice'	<u>-elekez-</u> 'warn', 'direct'
(9) <u>-shuku-</u> 'suspect'	* <u>-shukish-</u>
(10) <u>-ogop-</u> 'fear'	<u>-ogofy-</u> , <u>-ogofish-</u> , <u>-ogopesh-</u> 'frighten'
(11) <u>-nuk-</u> 'smell bad'	* <u>-nukish-</u>
(12) <u>-fikiri-</u> 'think that'	* <u>-fikirish-</u>
(13) <u>-pend-</u> 'like'	<u>-pendez-</u> 'please'
(14) <u>-ngepend-</u> 'hope (that)' <sup>15</sup>	*'cause to hope'
(15) <u>-som-</u> 'read, study'	<u>-somesh-</u> 'teach'
(16) <u>-tazam-</u> 'contemplate' (also 'look at', 'examine')	<u>-tazamish-</u> 'draw attention to'
(17) <u>-kumbuk-</u> 'remember (stative extended shape)	<u>-kumbush-</u> 'remind'
(18) <u>-shukuru-</u> 'appreciate'	* <u>-shukurish-</u>
(19) <u>-pote-</u> 'be lost'	<u>-potez-</u> 'lose'

- (20) -fik- 'arrive at', 'reach'    -fikish- 'enable to reach', 'assist to reach'

Note: It is understood, in line with discussion above, that some of the base forms listed can be used either as a stative or a non-stative stem.

A great deal more investigation is necessary before all Swahili verbs can be categorized conclusively as stative or non-stative. Several others of the verbs investigated here seem to be stative, but the case is not so clear as for those verbs cited above. For example, consider -va- 'put on, wear' and the shapes -vik- 'dress' (with emphasis on the idea of 'providing with clothing'), and -vish- and -valish- (the actual act of dressing). Can this extension grid be fitted into the earlier pattern of 'if an action, then the possibility of a certain state'? Here it would seem that if 'John dresses his child', then he actually 'causes his child to put on clothes'. Yet, consider these examples of the use of the extended forms:

- (1) Ulivaa nguo nzuri sana ya hariri wakati wa sikukuu. (SylM)  
'You wore a very fine garment of silk on the occasion of the holiday'.
- (2) Nataka kumvika mtoto wangu mavazi mazuri ya kupendeza. (SylM)  
'I want to dress my child in fine clothes which are pleasing'.
- (3) Alimvalisha mtoto wake kofia. (SM)  
'He dressed his child in a hat'.
- (4) Alivalia nguo ya thamani sana kwenye arusi ya mdogo wake. (SylM)  
'He wore expensive clothes at the marriage of his younger brother.'

Note: The meaning of this prepositional shape corresponds to that of deep structure stative stems, not non-stative stems; -vali- is an

intensive. The concept of 'wear for someone' is not expressed and appears to be unacceptable semantically.

- (5) Alimfanya mtoto wake avaa kofia. (DS)

'He caused his child to put on a hat'.

- (6) Anna na Mary hupenda kuvaliana nguo. (SylM)

Anna and Mary like to wear each other's clothes'.

- (7) Tulivalishana tulipokuwa tukitaka kwenda kutembea. (SylM)

'We dressed each other when we wanted to go for a stroll'.

- (8) Tulivikana kofia. (DS)

'We dressed each other in hats'.

- (9) Alinivalishia mtoto wangu nguo nzuri sana walipokuwa wakienda kanisani. (SylM)

'He dressed (for me) my child in fine clothes when they were going to church'.

- (10) Mtoto huyu amezoea baridi kwa hiyo hawezi kuvalishika nguo nzito hapa. (SylM)

'This child is used to cold (weather); therefore, he cannot be dressed in heavy clothes here'.

Note: The examples 7-10 would be generally considered inoperative for the true causative form of a non-stative verb. Rather, they correspond (in their ability to occur) to the extended forms of a causative shape of a stative verb, the causative shape then being a base form in its own right.

Or consider the case of the extension grid of -epuk- 'avoid' and its sibling causative shape -epush- 'save' (the extended causative shape of -epuk- is -epukish- and it is not accepted as operative by all; when it is used, it functions as an intensive of -epush-, however.):

- (1) Aliepuka hatari ile kwa kukimbia. (SylM)

'He avoided that danger by running away'.

- (2) Aliniepusha na ajali.... (SylM)

'He saved me from an accident....'

- (3) Niliepukia mbali na mambo ya anasa za dunia. (A)

'I completely avoided the material things of the world.'

Note: This usage corresponds to that of prepositional forms of stative verbs; to 'avoid for someone' is unacceptable. Other examples have the meaning 'avoid' with mahali 'place' aspect.

- (4) Aliniepushia mtoto wangu katika ajali ya gari.... (SM)

'He saved (for me) my child from a car accident....'

- (5) Mtoto huyu hawezi kuepushika na maradhi mabaya.... (SM)

'This child cannot be saved from serious diseases....'

Note: The examples 4 and 5 would generally be considered inoperative as extended forms of an operating causative form.

Or consider the case of -amk- 'awaken' and -amsh- 'wake up':

- (1) Aliamka alfajiri na mapema. (SylM)

'He woke up very early in the morning'.

- (2) Inatupasa kuamkia kila aliye mkubwa yetu. (SM)

'It behooves us to greet every person who is our senior'.

Note: This usage corresponds to that of the prepositional forms of stative verbs; the concept 'wake up for someone else' is unsemantical. See Example (4) below.

- (3) Nilinwamsha mapema ili asichelewe kazini. (SylM)

'I woke him up early so that he might not be late to work'.

- (4) Aliniamshia mtoto wangu asubuhi mapema ili awahi kwenda shule'.

(SM)



'He woke my child up (for me) early in the morning so that he might be on time to go to school'.

- (5) Mary hawezi kuamshika kwani ana usingizi mzito. (SylM)

'Mary cannot be waked up because she has a sound sleep'.

- (6) Waliamkiana kwa ufuraha.... (SylM)

'They greeted each other with joy....'

Note: Examples 4-6 would be rarely operative for the grid of a non-stative verb.

Yet how far can one extend the concept of 'stativity'? If -epuk- 'avoid' is a deep structure stative stem, then what about -anguk- 'drop' which can produce a similar extended form grid pattern (with -angu- as 'pick' or 'cause to fall' and -angush- as its intensive)? Or, consider -sahau- 'forget', which has a grid pattern corresponding to that of the 'firmly' stative stems in all ways except in the primary one of having a non-causative form class causative shape. There is no avoiding -sahaulish- as meaning 'cause to forget', as in Uvivu wake ulimsahaulisha kwenda kazini (A) 'His laziness made him forget to go to work'.

However, while it is readily admitted that the boundaries of the class of deep structure stative stems are not distinct, the existence of a basic distinction of stative : non-stative seems to exist. Clear examples of non-stative stems, such as -pig- 'hit'; -fany- 'do'; -kut- 'meet'; etc., and the difference between their extended form grids (and the meanings involved) and those of such stative stems as -on- 'see'; -pend- 'like'; etc., make this certain. More important, the generalizations which can be achieved by recognizing the stative category result in an extensive simplification of the grammar and argue for the distinction.

In summary, these statements can be made about the deep structure

stative stem in relation to the extended verb system:

(1) Its prepositional form will (a) exist with a variant of the standard prepositional meanings, such as the 'negative' aspect (do something to the displeasure of the person indicated by the object prefix), or the mahali 'place' aspect, or the 'on account of something' meaning, or (b) it will function as an intensive of the base form, or (c) it will have a totally unrelated meaning (-amk- 'awaken': -amki- 'greet') or (d) it will not exist at all.

(2) Its causative shape will exist as the non-stative counterpart of the stative base form with a meaning which implies the possibility of the state of the base form being realized but not caused, or it will not exist at all.

(3) Its causative shape will function as a simple base form itself and take its own grid of extended forms.

The importance of recognizing the distinction stative : non-stative should be clear for, as has been seen, many of the most common verbs fall in the stative category. Once the stative verbs and the characteristics of such verbs in terms of their extended forms are specified in the lexicon, what appears to be a useful generalization for the extended verb system has been made; it may well serve to make other generalizations for general syntax. How applicable the stative : non-stative distinction is to other languages remains to be determined.

### 3.33 Some Syntactic Features

The subject of syntax and the restrictions it enforces upon the extended verb system is treated only very incidentally. But several observations may be appropriate: (1) An extended verb form, in practice, rarely is operative if it calls for more than two objects. Theoretically,

a form with three objects, such as a prepositional causative form, is possible (e.g., 'John caused Jim to do the work for Mary' with a direct object of the causation, a direct object and an indirect object of the verb 'do') but rarely occurs. Two objects (a direct and an indirect object) regularly occur with the prepositional form and two objects (a direct object of the causation and a direct object of the main verb) occur with the causative form.

When the prepositional form has two objects, the first is the indirect object of the action and the second is the direct object.<sup>16</sup> For example:

Nilimpatia Mary maji ya kunywa. (SylM)

'I got for Mary drinking water'.

Or, it is possible that no indirect object is indicated other than by the object prefix. The object prefix always refers to the indirect object, however, (providing the verb is a prepositional extended form):

Unaweza kunipatia maji ya kunywa. (SM)

'You can get for me drinking water'.

Note: The partial -ni- is the object prefix marker for 'me'.

When the prepositional shape appears with no object prefix, it is almost certainly functioning for a meaning which does not take an indirect object. For example:

Siwezi kutumia chumba hiki kwa kujifunza... (SylM)

'I cannot use this room for studying....'

Unaendea wapi? (SM)

'Where are you going?'

According to the point of view taken in this treatment, one of the marks of the causative form class is the presence of two objects. One is the object of the causation (signalled by an object prefix as well as often

by a free standing object) which becomes the subject of the action. The other object (if the verb is transitive) is the direct object of the action. (No instances were recorded of the direct object being signalled by an object prefix with a causative form.) The following are examples of typical causative form class members:

Waarabu waliwachukulisha watumwa mizigo kwa lazima. (SM)

'The Arabs made slaves carry burdens by order'.

Alinitendeza kazi hii kwa nguvu. (A)

'He caused me to do this work by force'.

Note: As noted in chapter II, the common shape for the causative extension suffix may be either -z- or -š-, and varying opinions exist--varying with the stem in question--as to which is more acceptable. Miss Mkwaya says here, for example, that she would accept only -tendesh-, and Mr. Mannoro says he would accept either shape, but adds that the shape with -š- indicates a lesser force (kwa njia pole 'by a gentle way').

In section 3.42 on the intensive form there is a discussion on the syntactic distinctions between the causative and intensive form. There it is stated that a causative shape (of a transitive stem) without two direct objects, which is not specified in the lexicon as the non-stative counterpart of a deep structure stative stem (which is its base form), will be an intensive form.

(2) Since more than two objects seem to complicate the syntax and make an utterance ambiguous, the existence of extended verb compound forms which require a proliferation of objects is unlikely. The prepositional causative compound form is the one most affected. For, in the case of both the prepositional and the causative forms, the object prefix seems essential. Therefore, when the two forms are compounded, confusion as to what the

object prefix refers seems inevitable and is avoided only by avoiding the compound form itself. The following sentence is only marginally possible:

Nilimwanzishia Ali kazi ya Juma kwa sababu Juma hakuwapo. (DS)

'I caused Ali to begin the work of Juma (for Juma?) because Juma was not here'.

And a sentence, such as this one, is more likely:

Nilimlazimisha Ali amfanyie kazi ya Juma kwa sababu Juma hakuwapo. (DS)

'I required Ali to begin Juma's work for him because Juma was not here'.

The unacceptability of the compound form, which results in confused object prefix reference, is demonstrated by the fact that while Mr. Shabani will accept (marginally) the prepositional causative form -anzishi- 'cause to begin for', he will not accept another seeming equally acceptable prepositional causative form, -pigishi- 'cause to hit for'. In place of \*Nilimpigishia Juma msumari Ali \*'I caused Juma to hit the nail for Ali', Mr. Shabani prefers a construction which makes object reference entirely clear. (It should be noted that this is no doubt one of the reasons why the fanya or lazimisha constructions often are preferred over the extended forms.):

Nilimfanya Juma ampigilie Ali msumari katika kiwambaza chake. (DS)

'I make Juma that he hit for Ali the nail into his wall'.

(3) Finally, in regard to syntax, except in unusual and not clearly acceptable circumstances, the sentence subject of a stative extended form is only a subject of a neutral state or possibility and is in no way to be considered an actor. For example:

Ukutu hauwezi kupakika chokaa. (DS)

'This wall cannot be whitewashed'.

It is possible that the potential actor may be included in the sentence in a construction of na + the actor following the verb stem, but this seems relatively rare; the actor is more likely to be included in a sentence in which the passive extended form is employed (which emphasizes the agentive aspect)

In line with the fact that the subject of the stative extended form is not an actor, the verb itself does not refer to an action and therefore allows no direct object. Further, no instances of indirect objects were recorded, probably because the stative extended form is only used when it is the state or possibility which is of prime interest and not the actors or agents related to it.

### 3.34 Some Aspects of Subject-Verb-Object Subcategorization

While the precise relationship has not yet been made entirely clear, it appears that nouns are restricted in their ability to cooccur with verb stems by certain subcategorization features inherent in the respective nouns and verbs. In Swahili, such restrictions affect not only the cooccurrence of nouns and verb stems but also the potentiality of various verb stems to produce certain extended forms.

In the case of subject-verb-object relationships, however, an interesting phenomenon occurs. This is the circumvention of certain of these deep structure subcategorization restrictions by a change in meaning in the extended forms. That is, theoretically the basic restriction on subject-verb-object patterns would deny the occurrence of certain extended forms for certain roots. For example, the meaning of an extended form class might require the presence of a direct object, but the meaning of the root (on which the extended form is based) denies the possibility of a direct object. Such an extended form from such a root may still occur;

however, its meaning is not an 'extension' of the root meaning (as would normally be the case) but a new meaning, perhaps little related to the root meaning.

It turns out, then, that deep structure categorization features limit only the meaning of the various extended forms, but not their occurrence. As long as the meaning does not violate the syntactic and semantic restrictions involved in the subject-verb-object phrase under consideration the form may occur. It is this device of meaning change which seems to account for the ability to occur of prepositional and causative extended shapes from deep structure stative base stems. As discussed in section 3.32, it is clear that the occurrence of these extended shapes, if they had the expected extended form class meaning, would violate deep structure restrictions: the state inherent in a deep structure stative stem neither can be 'caused' nor entered into 'for someone else' (respectively the typical causative and prepositional form class meanings). Yet the extended shapes occur, thanks to a change to a meaning different from the root meaning (in the case of the causative and sometimes the prepositional shapes) or a variant extension of the root meaning (for the prepositional shape) assuming that the main meaning of the prepositional form class is 'do something for or to someone'.

In the next section (3.35) another type of restriction on meaning is discussed, the influence--or at least organizing effect--of the grid pattern of extended forms.

The entire subject of the relation of meaning change to subcategorization restrictions needs a great deal more systematic investigation than this thesis provides. But the direction such investigation must take seems clear, and it can be indicated. As an example, the effect will be

considered of the subcategorization restriction feature animate : inanimate in the subject and object on the meaning of the reciprocal/associative form.

Apparently any transitive verb stem which regularly allows for the pattern: animate subject and animate object can take an expected reciprocal form meaning of 'do something mutually'. For example, -pendan- 'like each other', as in Walipendana sana 'They liked each other very much'. But any stem which does not take the animate combination cannot have a reciprocal shape with this standard meaning; instead, the form still stands, but with a 'skewed' meaning. Consider these examples:

- (1) Wanadamu walio bora kuamkiana kila wanapokutana. (SM)

'Human beings who are the best kind (i.e., 'well-bred') greet each other every time they meet'.

Note: -amkian- is the simple reciprocal form of a prepositional form -amki- 'greet' from the base form -amk- 'wake up' (which seems to be a deep structure stative stem).

- (2) Tuliokoāna kwa kupiga kelele. (DS)

'We saved each other by shouting'.

- (3) Walivunjana mikono kwa hasira walipokuwa wakipigana. (SylM)

'They broke their arms in anger when they were fighting'.

- (4) Tunapotendana ubaya inakuwa si jambo zuri. (SM)

'When we do each other evil it is not a good thing'.

- (5) Watu walifungana na kamba. (DS)

'The people tied themselves together with rope'.

Note: The base form -fung- means 'tie, close'.

- (6) Ni vizuri kuliana chakula iwapo mnaishi pamoja. (SM)

'It is a good thing to eat food together if you live together'.



Note: The base form is -l- 'eat'; -lian- should be considered a simple reciprocal form alongside -lik- (stative), -lish- (causative).

(7) Wamechukuana sana. (SM)

'They get along well together' (i.e., 'they are well matched')

Note: The base form, -chuku- means 'carry, usually loads'. Admittedly it can be used with an animate object; still, its reciprocal shape has this variant meaning.

(8) Yule mtu na mkewe walipatana sana. (DS)

'The man and his wife got along well together'.

Note: The base form -pat- means 'get'.

(9) Kamba zimefungana. (DS)

'The ropes have become entwined' ('twisted').

(10) Rangi zimechukuana. (SM)

'The colors harmonize'.

Examples (1) and (2) further illustrate the standard reciprocal meaning of 'mutual action'. In the case of (3) and (4), verb roots appear which cannot take an animate object. Thus, the meaning is 'skewed' by the introduction of a direct object which stands outside the verb stem itself (and outside the concept of 'mutuality', for in the standard reciprocal form, the only direct object is also the subject of the form). In sentences (5) and (6), verb roots again occur which cannot take an animate object. Once again the meaning is 'skewed', but this time in a different way. The reference changes from reciprocal action to associative action: the subjects do something not 'to each other' but 'together'. (Here is another example of this usage: Lini ulikutana na Juma? Tulianza zamani sana. (DS) 'When did you meet Juma?' 'We began (i.e., met each other) long ago'.) In sentences (7) and (8) there are verb roots which could

take animate objects. But the reciprocal/associative shape meaning is associative and the root meaning has been changed. Further, the form stands as an intransitive. Examples (9) and (10) illustrate verb roots with inanimate subjects. Here also the reciprocal shape functions as an intransitive.

Thus, this statement can be made about the animate : inanimate relationship to the reciprocal-shape's meaning: (1) Only a root taking both animate subjects and objects may have a standard reciprocal meaning of 'do mutually to each other' (examples 1 and 2). (2) A reciprocal shape with an inanimate subject will have an intransitive meaning which represents an alteration of the root's meaning (examples 9 and 10). (3) For reciprocal shapes, with animate subjects, from roots which cannot take animate objects, the meaning will be associative (examples 5 and 6) in some instances ('do something together') and will represent joint action (examples 3 and 4) in other cases ('do something to some outside object together'). In a third set of cases, the form alters the meaning and becomes intransitive (examples 6, 7, and 8). The distinction between the three cases is not entirely clear at this point.

The reciprocal form may also function with an associate meaning— even though the root meets the requirement of taking both an animate subject and object—with the addition of na + a direct object. For example:

- (1) Walipendana na jirani wote. (DS)

'They liked all their neighbors'.

- (2) Tulipokuwa tukienda shule tulikutana na kundi kubwa la askari.

(SylM)

'When we were going to school we met (with) a large group of soldiers'.

Also on occasion, when the verb root does not meet the requirement of animate subject and object, a simple reciprocal shape will be used with a prepositional reciprocal meaning. This, however, is not considered good Swahili; yet, it seems to occur frequently enough. For example, Madaktari wataponyana magonjwa. (SM) 'The doctors will cure for each other diseases' (i.e., 'they will treat each other'). From one point of view, examples (3) and (4) above can be considered as instances of this usage, too. (See section 3.47 on the reciprocal form.)

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.

### 3.35 The Extension Grid as a Pattern.

Phonological shapes have been introduced in chapter II for the various extension particles which are suffixed to the verb stem to produce extended verb shapes. These shapes have been named according to traditional terminology, only for the sake of familiarity and expediency (if they were named 'A', 'B', etc. and kept free of form class connotations it would be less confusing ultimately, as will become clear). They are discussed individually in section 3.40 of this chapter in terms of the meanings for which they can function and, accordingly, their form class membership.

But it should be kept in mind at all times that the names for the shapes identify them only as phonological shapes; the form to which a shape corresponds depends upon other factors, some pertaining to semantic and syntactic deep structure. That these deep structure features are related to the extension grid as a pattern is clear. At this point, the

precise nature of the relationship remains unclear: whether in fact the deep structure of the root determines the grid or whether the grid is an independent influence in its own right which also happens to reflect deep structure. However, what is clear is that an understanding of grid structure for an individual verb stem may account for certain seeming anomalies. Here four so-called exceptional features of the extended verb system are explained in terms of the grid pattern: (1) 'exceptional' causative shapes, (2) reversion shapes with 'skewed' meanings, (3) the existence of two stative shapes, and (4) the existence of two causative shapes.

The 'exceptional' causative shapes have been introduced already in chapter II. A discussion of these forms in terms of the grid patterns into which they fit makes clearer their proper placing, because they are now placed within a system. For example, a consideration of -angush- 'throw down' as the causative shape of -anguk- 'fall down', or as a causative form class member at all, is strictly erroneous. Rather, both are shape extensions of -angu- and therefore have a sibling relationship in terms of shape. Further, -angush- is, in form, an intensive of -angu- and not a causative form at all. The following example sentences illustrate the meaning relationship which holds between these shapes:

(1) Angua nazi. (SM)

'Pick the coconuts'. (in a general sense)

(2) Nazi zimeanguka. (DS)

'The coconuts have fallen down'.

(3) Angusha nazi. (SM)

'Pick the coconuts'. (in the specific sense of causing them to fall)

(4) Juma aliwaangulisha wafanyakazi maembe. (A)

'Juma caused the workers to pick the mangoes'.

Note: -angulish- is the causative shape formed from the simple prepositional form as base. It qualifies as a member of the causative form class because it has a direct object of the causation, while -angush- does not. See section 3.42 for a discussion of the distinction between intensive and causative form class members.

As is the case with other 'exceptional' causative shapes (see section 2.43 for a listing), there is evidence tentatively to consider -angush- as the deep structure non-stative counterpart of a stative stem in the extension grid in question. In this instance, it appears that -anguk- 'fall' is a deep structure stative stem (as well as having a stative shape) and that -angu- is its primary non-stative counterpart and that -angush- functions in the same way (and also as an intensive of -angu-). The lack of a causative form is clear (if one accepts the view that 'drop' or 'knock down' or 'pick' all refer to an action or process, and 'fall' (-anguk-) refers to a state), since -angush- does not so function and -angukish- does not exist. A prepositional form exists, -anguki-, but with the variant prepositional meaning of 'fall, with reference to place' (termed the mahali 'place' aspect in this thesis).

As stated above, certain reversive shapes seem to have 'skewed' meanings or compound functions. Such reversives are related to the base form in the extension grid as being reversive in meaning, but they may also be the reversive of their own sibling extended forms (existing on the same grid level and therefore formed from a common base). For example, -vu- 'take off clothes' is the reversive of the base form -va- 'put on clothes'. But it also means 'undress'. Since its sibling shapes, -vik- (stative

shape) and -vish- and -valish- (simple and prepositional causative shapes) all mean 'dress, provide with clothes', -vu- can be considered the reversive of these forms when it functions in its second meaning ('undress'). Further, it seems valid to consider -vik-, -vish-, and -valish- tentatively as the deep structure non-stative counterparts (it is clear that they are not members respectively of the stative and causative form classes because of their meanings) of -va- 'be attired'. This means considering -va- a deep structure stative stem, of course. Two alternatives seem possible: (1) -va- is a stative stem no matter what its meaning or (2) -va- is a stative stem when it means 'be attired' but is a non-stative stem with an active sense when it means 'put on clothes'. The second alternative seems best at this point.

Correspondingly, -vu- (as the reversive of -va-) must also be considered a deep structure stative stem if -va- is so treated. And just like -va- it is only a stative stem when it has a non-active meaning; therefore, as 'take off' (clothes) it is non-stative and as 'be undressed' it is stative. Its grid pattern bears out the classification of -vu- as a deep structure stative stem, for the stative extended shape from -vu-, -vulik- functions as the deep structure non-stative counterpart of -vu- and not as a member of the stative form class. That -vulik- is not a stative form is clear from its ability to function in the active voice and with a direct object. (See section 3.44 for a detailed discussion of the stative form). This sentence illustrates the point: nimevulika nguo hadharani (SM) 'I took off (my) clothes in public'.

In the case of -va- and -vu-, then, it seems that the simple base form (-va-) and its reversive shape (-vu-) are deep structure stative stems and that their stative and causative shapes are the deep structure

non-stative counterparts (and base forms in their own right, not members of extended form classes). But this is somewhat different from the usual situation. Generally, if there is a deep structure stative stem in an extension grid, the reversive shape is always the non-stative counterpart and never the stative stem itself. Consider -inu- 'raise up', which appears to be the non-stative counterpart of -inuk- 'be raised up'. Another example is -angu- 'pick' as the non-stative counterpart of -anguk- 'fall'. Why should the grid situation be reversed in the case of -vu-? One answer to this question may be the grid situation itself; it is different and therefore yields a different semantic pattern.

In order to explain the different patterns, the following shifts within the grid are proposed as having occurred for stems of the -inu- : -inuk- pattern:

#### Outline of Deep Structure Shifts:

(1) The simple base form is theoretically the grid's one deep structure stative stem (if the base meaning for which the grid functions would produce a stative stem at all). When the simple base form is non-existent, the concept of the deep structure stative meaning either is lost entirely in the grid or it shifts to the simple stative extended shape (which was formed from the simple base form).

For example, in the grids for \*-in- 'be bent down, incline' and \*-ang- 'hang' (it is generally considered inoperative for this meaning) the deep structure stative concept shifted to the simple stative shapes, -inik- and \*-angik- (its operativeness is in dispute.) These shapes may possibly drop.

For other deep structure stative stems, such as -on- 'see', -pend- 'like', etc., the simple base stem has remained in use in its stative sense.

(2) By analogy, the simple stative shape formed from the reversive shape (of the simple base form) also takes over the function of serving as the deep structure stative stem for its grid (the grid of which the reversive shape has become the simple base form). It is assumed this happens before the base form's simple stative shape drops, if it does drop.

For example, -inuk- 'be raised up', -anguk- 'drop', -kumbuk- 'remember', and -epuk- 'avoid' are such simple stative shapes (formed from the reversive shape as base form) which have become deep structure stative stems.

(3) This leaves the simple reversive form--which theoretically also would have been a deep structure stative stem alongside the simple base form (with the reverse meaning of the simple base form) had the simple base form not dropped--without its stative meaning. It therefore is altered to serve as the non-stative counterpart of the 'new' deep structure stative stem in the grid, which happens to be its own simple stative extended shape.

For example, consider the relation of -angu- 'pick' to -anguk- 'fall', -inu- 'raise up' to -inuk- 'be raised up', -epu- 'remove, save' to -epuk- 'avoid'.

(4) The sibling causative shape of the 'new' deep structure stative stem in the grid also functions as a non-stative counterpart (as is the usual case in other grids with a deep structure stative stem as the simple base form: -pend- 'like', -pendez- 'please', etc.). But since its slot as non-stative counterpart already is filled by the reversive form, it is more of an intensive of the reversive's meaning than anything else.

For example, -angush- 'knock down' and -angu- 'pick', -epush- 'save'



and -epu- 'remove, save'.

Where the reversive form itself has dropped from the grid, the causative shape formed from the reversive functions as the deep structure non-stative counterpart of its own sibling stative shape (which is the deep structure stative stem in the grid), as discussed above. For example, -kumbush- 'remind' and -kumbuk- 'remember'; and tentatively -amsh- 'wake up' and -amk- 'be awake'.

Complex as this explanation may seem, it appears to describe accurately the situation as it now exists. The point is that all of these steps never happened in the case of -va- : -vu- 'be attired: undress' because the simple base form -va- remained existent. Whether this explanation is valid or not, the facts show that -va- : -vu- does have a different grid pattern and a set of meanings different from that of most deep structure stative stems with reversive forms in the pattern. Still a third pattern exists, however, such as that of -chagu- 'choose'. If -chagu- is listed as a deep structure stative stem (this is tentative only), then its grid pattern must be reconciled with that of both -va- : -vu- and that described for the apparent majority of grids with reversive shapes. These differences are apparent: First, no simple base form exists in the -chagu- grid. This sets up the grid for the shifts outlined above. But the shift does not occur. It seems it is thwarted because no simple stative shape exists either of <sup>\*</sup>-chag- or of -chagu-. Therefore, -chagu- retains the basic role it has been accorded in this treatment as the deep structure stative stem in its own grid.

It has been found that three different grid patterns involving reversive forms and deep structure stative stems exist. Therefore, it would seem the grammar can be simplified if all reversive forms (with

deep structure stative stems in the grid) are tagged in the lexicon according to the pattern with which they conform. The meanings of extended forms in the grid then can be predicted.

(1) -va- : -vu- pattern. Both the simple base form and the simple reversive form exist and both function as deep structure stative stems. Their stative and causative extended shapes are non-stative counterparts and not members of the stative and causative form classes.

(2) -angu-, -inu- pattern. No simple base form exists, and either the simple base form's stative shape functions as the deep structure stative stem in the grid, or it does not exist. (It does seem to exist in all cases considered; however, the boundaries of the deep structure stative category are not entirely clear.) The simple stative shape (before it drops, if it drops,) influences the reversive's simple stative shape to function also as the deep structure stative stem in the grid. In this case, the reversive form becomes the non-stative counterpart and so does the reversive's causative extended shape.

(3) -chagu- pattern. No simple base form exists; but neither does any simple stative shape nor any reversive stative shape. The reversive form itself is the deep structure stative stem in the grid. (The meaning and acceptability of its simple causative stative shape and the prepositional causative shape are unclear. They may mean 'pick out; select for'. Mr. Shabani, for one, rejects the idea that -chagulich- is semantically possible and only will accept -chaguz- as an intensive form.)

The case of -fung- : -fungu- 'close' and 'open' is not clear. For here the simple base and reversive forms both exist, yet the deep structure stative feature in the grid seems to be a quality of the stative extended forms, -funik- 'close' and -funuk- 'open'. There is also the

case of -funik- 'cover' (with a non-existent base form \*-fun-) and a sibling reversive shape -funu- 'uncover'. In this sentence, it seems clear that -funik- functions--as does -va- 'put on clothes' or 'wear'-- in both the active ('cover') and neutral or stative ('be covered') voices. These sentences illustrate the point:

- (1) Ukitoka kwenda mjini usisahau kufunika chungu cha mboga. (A)

'If you leave to go to town, do not forget to cover the pot of vegetables'.

- (2) -Funua chungu, kimefunika. (A)

'Uncover the pot; it is covered'.

It is seen that -funu- 'uncover' occurs in the active voice only. Its stative-extended shape, -funuk-, 'state of being covered' parallels the second, stative meaning of -funik- in the neutral voice.

Neither of these situations (for -fung- : -fungu- 'close : open' and -funik- : -funu- : -funuk- 'cover : uncover : be uncovered') fits any of the three patterns outlined above. However, it would seem they could be accommodated in the -angu-, -inu- pattern, which appears to be the most common one. In this pattern, it is the stative shapes which are the deep structure stative stems in the grid pattern.

The matter of the transitive : intransitive division should be mentioned in relation to the non-stative : stative pattern. While it seems that the two sets of features are related, investigation has not revealed anything approaching the precise nature of the relationship. One can neither say that stative stems are transitive nor that they are intransitive. The stative stem, -epuk- as in Epuka hatari! 'Avoid danger!' is not intransitive; but the tentative stative stem, -anguk-, is intransitive as in Nazi zimeanguka chini. 'The coconuts fell down below'.

The fact that some stems may function for both stative and non-stative meanings and transitive and intransitive meanings complicates the situation further. For example, -ya-, in its transitive sense, as in Amevaa nguo nzuri leo 'He is wearing fine clothes today' seems to be non-stative. And in its intransitive sense, as in Hajavaa 'He is not dressed yet', it seems to be stative. But -inuk-, which is always intransitive, seems to have both a stative and non-stative sense.

Consider these examples:

- (1) Ni kusudi ya serikali kuwainua wananchi. (SM)

'It is the intention of the government to raise up the citizens (in condition)'.

- (2) Mary aliinuka kwa haraka alipoanguka katikati ya barabara. (SYM)

'Mary got up with haste when she fell in the middle of the highway'.

Note: Miss Mkwana says she could as well have said Mary alijiinua (the -ji- being the reflexive prefix) 'Mary raised herself up'.

- (3) Nchi yote karibu na Moshi imeinuka. (SM)

'The whole country near Moshi is elevated (raised up)'.

There seems to be no question but that -inu- 'raise up' is a non-stative stem referring to an action. And in example (3) -inuk- is certainly functioning as a deep structure stative stem in the neutral voice, referring to the state of being raised up. But example (2) cannot be analyzed so easily. Here -inuk- is clearly intransitive, but is it in the active or neutral voice? This seems especially unclear since the informant herself would have substituted for it the active voice stem -inu-, used transitively with the -ji- reflexive object prefix.

An examination and comparison of the grid patterns of certain stems

seems to indicate that there is some relationship between the existence of two stative extended shapes fully operative in the grid--a simple and a prepositional stative--and the occurrence of a deep structure stative stem in the grid. This appears to be the case with the stems -fung- : -fungu- 'close : open' and -funik- : -funu- : -funuk- 'cover : uncover : be uncovered'. In their grid patterns it seems that the simple stative shape is often a likely candidate for the deep structure stative category. At the same time, the prepositional stative shape seems to function exclusively for the potential aspect of the stative form class meaning. (see section 3.44 for a fuller discussion of the stative extended form class.)

The existence of two causative shapes also seems to be tied to the presence of a deep structure stative stem in the grid pattern. The simple causative shape seems to function as either an intensive of a non-stative counterpart to a deep structure stative stem or as the non-stative counterpart itself. The prepositional causative shape will function as a true causative form class member.

To illustrate all of the above features, consider these examples:

A simple base form which is a deep structure non-stative stem

- (1) Nilimkuta Ali alipokuwa anapika chakula. (SM)

'I met Ali when he was cooking food'.

- (2) Nilipaka rangi nyumbani. (DS)

'I painted the house'.

A simple base form which is a deep structure stative stem

- (1) Nilimwona Juma jana. (A)

'I saw Juma yesterday'.

- (2) Nampenda sana dada wa Juma. (A)

'I like Juma's sister very much'.

A simple base form which appears to be either a deep structure stative or non-stative stem

- (1) Juma amefunga mlango. (DS)

'Juma has closed the door'.

- (2) Mvua inafunga leo. (A)

'It is a settled raid today' (i.e., the rain has closed)

A simple base form (reversive) which appears also to be a deep structure non-stative counterpart

- (1) Funua chungu upakue wali. (SM)

'Uncover the pot that you may dish up the rice'.

- (2) Epua chungu katika moto. (DS)

'Remove the pot from the fire'.

A simple stative shape which appears to be a deep structure stative stem and also an extended stative form functioning for the stative aspect

- (1) Nguo ilifunuka wakati upepo mkubwa ulipokuja. (SM)

'The garment opened (i.e., uncovered) when a big wind came'.

- (2) Vikombe vimeanguka. (DS)

'The cups have fallen down'.

A simple stative shape which is not a deep structure stative stem, but which is an extended stative form functioning theoretically for both the stative and the potential aspects, but in practice largely for the potential aspect (there is no simple prepositional stative extended shape in the grid)

- (1) Baiskeli inakwenda mbio sana kwa hiyo haiwezi kukutika na mtu atembeaye kwa miguu. (SM)

'The bicycle goes very fast; therefore, it cannot be met with by a man who goes by foot'.

- (2) Kongo kunaendeka? (SM)

'Is it possible to go to the Congo? (i.e., 'is the Congo goable?')

A prepositional stative shape which functions for the potential aspect of the extended stative form (and a simple stative shape is present in the grid)

- (1) Mzigo huu umefungwa kwa nguvu hauwezi kufungulika. (SylM)

'This burden has been tied with force; it cannot be untied'.

- (2) Hakuweza kuokoleka katika ajali ile. (SM)

'He could not be saved from that accident' (i.e., event).

A simple causative shape functioning as the non-stative counterpart (or as the intensive of a non-stative counterpart--the reversive) of a deep structure stative stem

- (1) Ali aliangusha nazi. (SylM)

'Ali picked coconuts'. (i.e., knocked them down)

- (2) Inusha zaidi mzigo huu ili uweke kichwani. (SM)

'Raise up more this burden so that you may put it on (your) head'.

- (3) Usimvishe mtoto chupi hiyo imelowa maji. (SylM)

'Do not dress the child in these pants; they are wet'.

A simple causative shape functioning as a simple causative form (neither the base form nor the sibling stative shape is a deep structure stative stem)

- (1) Alinitendesha kazi hii kwa malipo makubwa. (SM)

'He caused me to do this work for a large payment'.

- (2) Alinikatisha safari yangu kwa maneno yake ya kutisha. (SylM)

'He caused me to cut off my safari by his menacing words'.

A prepositional causative shape as the simple causative form

- (1) Alinifungulisha mlango. (A)

'He caused me to open the door'.

- (2) Alinikalisha kitako nimwelezee yote.... (SM)

'He caused me to sit down so that I might explain all to him....'

In conclusion, these generalizations can be made about the extension grid as a pattern:

(1) The phonological shape and semantic reference of certain 'exceptional' causative shapes, such as -angush- 'knock down', can be explained as parts of the system and need not be considered irregular.

(2) The semantic relationships among extended shapes in a grid which contains a deep structure stative stem and a reversive form can be explained in terms of one of three seemingly basic grid pattern arrangements.

(3) In grids containing two stative and two causative shapes, it seems that the simple stative shape may be serving as a deep structure stative stem and the simple causative shape as its deep structure non-stative counterpart. They are not members of the stative and causative form classes. The prepositional stative and causative shapes, then, take over the 'regular' form class characteristics of the shapes for the stative and causative slots and are members respectively of the stative and causative form classes. The prepositional stative shape tends to function for the potential aspect meaning of the stative form class. The causative shape may serve either as a simple causative form or as an intensive form, depending on the syntax. See section 3.42 and section 3.45 on the causative for a fuller discussion.



It is possible that a grid may contain only prepositional stative stative and causative shapes, not the simple stative and causative shapes. A deep structure stative stem may still be part of the grid, but seemingly as a simple base form (as in the case of -siki- 'hear'); in this case, the grid relationships associated with the deep structure stative stem are in effect: (a) the causative shape is a non-stative counterpart, not a causative form, and (b) the prepositional shape takes variant prepositional form meanings only (not 'do something for someone').

### 3.40 Characteristics of the Individual Extended Verb Forms

#### 3.41 The Number of Forms Distinguished

In terms of function, there are considered to be nine forms: passive,<sup>17</sup> prepositional, stative, causative, reversive, static, intensive, contactive, and reciprocal/associative. The traditional names are retained simply because they are familiar, even though in some cases they are somewhat less than entirely accurate.

Distinguishing eleven and ten forms respectively, Mrs. Ashton and the Rev. Loogman provide the most extensive list of extended forms and the most comprehensive discussions of them. Other treatments tend to concern themselves only with the five main forms: passive, prepositional (or applied or directive), stative (neuter), causative, and reciprocal (or associative). The forms Mrs. Ashton discusses are these five, plus the static (-am-), contactive (-at-), reversive (or conversive as she calls it), inceptive (-pa#), augmentative (intensive, durative), and diminutive (reduplicative).<sup>18</sup>

Loogman lists approximately the same forms along with Swahili equivalents for his names: passive (namna ya kutendwa), directive (namna ya kutendea), stative (namna ya kutendeka), causative (namna ya kutendesha), reciprocal (namna ya kutendana), potential (namna ya kutendekana), inersive or extractional (namna ya kinyume au ya utokezi), frequentative (namna ya kutendatenda), and intensive (namna ya kutendeza).<sup>19</sup>

The main distinctions between the two classifications are these:

- (1) Loogman groups the -ma#, -pa#, and -ta# forms (respectively Ashton's static, inceptive, and contactive forms) under the stative. He explains rather briefly that these suffixes 'may be used much like -ka (the stative) to indicate a condition or state of being... They are used rather

infrequently and only to express a special shade of meaning slightly different from that implied by -ka.<sup>'20</sup> Both Ashton and Loogman are in agreement, however, over the functions of these forms. Of the static, Mrs. Ashton says it 'expresses a stationary condition or one of inactivity.' She adds, 'The -ma suffix (static) frequently takes Associative -na, the two suffixes expressing a state of interdependence or interaction'<sup>'21</sup> (Examples of the static: base form -fung- 'tiē, bind': static form -fungam- 'be in a fixed position; static form -andam- 'follow in order': static/associative form: -andaman- 'accompany, associate with'.) Of the inceptive, Loogman says it 'indicates getting into a condition or becoming.'<sup>'22</sup> (Examples of the inceptive form: base form -nene, adjective meaning 'fat: inceptive form -nenep- 'get fat'.) Loogman finds some fault with the name 'contactive' for the -at- shape. He says that 'while a host of verbs ending in -ta do imply contact, many verbs that end in -ta either exclude all notion of contact or are such that the connotation is not easy to discover.'<sup>'23</sup> (Examples of the contactive form: base form -oko- 'save, rescue': contactive form: -okot- 'pick up'; base form \*-pak- 'pack' or -pak- 'lay on, apply': contactive form -pakat- 'hold on lap, etc'.)

On the point of to group or not to group the static, contactive, and reversion forms with the stative, Ashton's treatment seems the better (leaving them as separate independent extensions) except perhaps in the case of the static. It is true that the meaning associated with the static 'be in some fixed position' does approximate the stative meaning of 'be in some state'. Further, the two forms take the same syntactic pattern: the sentence subject stands for the receiver of the action. However, little economy in terms of the entire system (the static is a

rarely occurring form)<sup>24</sup> is achieved by subordinating the static to the stative category. And although the two meanings are similar, they are still different: the fact that the extension shape -am- correlates with a meaning of not simply 'be in a state' but consistently of 'be in a fixed state or position' is worth being distinguished.

There seems little justification for considering the contactive and stative forms as one, and there is good reason not to do so. The two forms govern quite different syntactical patterns: the sentence subject is receiver of action with the stative form, but the subject is the actor with the contactive form. Whether the name 'contactive' is misleading as Loogman claims is open to question and relatively unimportant. Loogman's examples certainly do not prove his point.<sup>25</sup>

Since the inceptive is not considered properly classed as a verbal extension, no reason is seen for considering it a sub-form of the stative. The inceptive form is a verb form, not derived from a verb root by the addition of a suffix, but rather is derived from a noun or adjective (see Loogman's examples above).

(2) Loogman and Mrs. Ashton both list an intensive extension, but they disagree somewhat as to its shape. Loogman tends to restrict it to the causative shape; particularly of the -z- shape, while Mrs. Ashton indicates that several shapes function for the intensive meaning. The meaning seems clear enough: the intensive form reinforces the meaning of the base form, whether this be a simple form of a verb root or a form composed of a root plus one or more extensions. Sometimes there is a slight change in meaning, but it involves an intensification of meaning in some way.

## 3.42 The Intensive Form

Even though it must be a well-used form (enough occasions would obviously arise for its use), the intensive is perhaps the extended form which receives the least treatment in grammars. Either it is left with no boundaries in terms of phonological shape or it is limited to being a borrower of the causative shape, although even then no rules for occurrence are given. Loogman's treatment is typical, for in connection with his discussion of the causative he notes that 'to form the intensive these same verbs take the ending -iza or -eza.' He gives as examples: kushika 'to hold', kushikisha 'to make hold', and the intensive kushikiza 'to keep in place, to tack!'; kulipa 'to pay', kulipisha 'to make pay', kulipiza 'to make full payment'.<sup>26</sup> And at another point he says, 'The ending of the intensive verb is usually -za, occasionally -sha or -sa.'<sup>27</sup> Steere is somewhat more specific in that he makes some attempt to differentiate between the causative and intensive. That the shape is identical, he writes, 'explains why we sometimes come across a causative form which either cannot be causative, or which at least does not seem to be used in any causative sense.'<sup>28</sup> He goes on to say that normally causatives have an object prefix and the intensive does not 'being used intransitively for the most part'--although not always, he admits. His example is this: (causative) Nani atawalisha watoto? 'Who is going to support the children?' and (intensive) Kondoo walikuwa wakilisha 'The sheep were browsing'.<sup>29</sup>

Though Mrs. Ashton's treatment of the intensive is not without shortcomings, it shows considerably more insight than does any other. She is certainly aware of what the actual situation seems to be, but her treatment stops short of a statement of the relationship of the intensive form to the system. In shape, the intensive seems best described as

'parasitic'; that is, it has no shape exclusively its own but can 'take over' the shapes of other extensions in rather clearly defined situations. Mrs. Ashton goes as far as noting some of the shapes it may have. She says (and note she calls it 'augmentative' more than 'intensive'), 'the suffixes employed are identical in form with certain of the conversive, causative and prepositional suffixes already discussed.' But, she concludes, after a list of examples, 'It is difficult to bring these forms under rules, for the method of conveying an augmentative implication varies according to the basic meaning of the root and the form of the verb to which the suffix is added.'<sup>30</sup>

While it is agreed that the shapes Mrs. Ashton cites serve the intensive form, it seems advisable to rephrase her statement and add several other forms to the list.

First, while the reversive (conversive) shape may operate for the intensive form in a few instances, these seem to be fewer in number than she indicates.

Among Mrs. Ashton's examples are base form -kam- 'squeeze' (especially in milking): reversive shape but intensive form -kamu- 'wring, squeeze out'; -song- 'press': -songo- 'wring'; -ep- 'avoid': -epu- 'remove'. This investigation has not included specifically the first two stems cited, but it has dealt with -ep- and it seems that the pattern proposed in this thesis for this stem--and others of similar shapes and grid arrangements--may give a truer picture of the reversive shape's function than does calling it an intensive form.

It has been found that a reversive shape often has two form functions: (1) It indeed functions for the reversive meaning of a base shape (as, for example, -fungu- 'open' from -fung- 'close'). (2) It functions as

the deep structure non-stative counterpart of a deep structure stative stem in the grid (apparently always its base form or its own stative extended shape). Now consider the case of -ep- : -epu- 'avoid' : 'remove' (or 'save' as it also has been found to mean more generally for all informants except Mr. Shabani who restricts its meaning to 'remove pots from the fire'). 'Saving' is not 'avoiding' intensified. If the situation is compared to the stative : non-stative pattern outlined in section 3.32 it is found that the relationship is the same. Therefore, as discussed in section 3.35, such reversive shapes as -epu- are classed as reversives in shape, but as simple base forms in form, with the additional specification that they are the non-stative counterparts of deep structure stative stems in their grids. But they are in no way to be considered as intensive forms.

However, it is agreed that the double prepositional shape, as Mrs. Ashton points out, does often function for the intensive form. Note these examples:

- (1) Nilionelea ni heri nirudi nyumbani kwanza ili nikamwone mama.

(SylM)

'I thought it a good idea that I return home first so that I might see (my) mother'.

- (2) James alipigilia msumari kutani. (DS)

'James pounded the nail in the wall'.

Note: simple base form -pig- 'hit, etc.'; simple prepositional form -pigi- 'hit for' or 'hit' with mahali 'place' aspect. -pigili- is an example of an intensive form which particularizes the meaning of the base form; it is

generally used with the linking noun msumari 'nail'.

Nilimpigilia mbali kwa sababu aliniudhi. (SM)

'I hit him a great deal because he annoyed me'.

Note: simple prepositional form + mbali generally intensifies the meaning of the simple base form; the intensifying action is therefore further compounded here. Such a usage of -pigili- is considered kiswahili cha mjini 'city Swahili' by some informants.

The extent to which an understanding of the extended verbal system depends on a knowledge of the entire grid of extended forms of the verb in question is well illustrated in the consideration of the double prepositional shape. A double prepositional shape may well function as an intensive form but it may also be a simple prepositional form. In the case of -tembele-, for example, one recognizes a double prepositional shape but it turns out to be a simple prepositional form because the simple prepositional shape -tembe- is functioning for the simple base meaning 'go about, stroll' since no base shape is operative. Therefore, -tembele- means 'go to visit' (a perfectly expected simple prepositional meaning) as in Utantembelea Juma siku ya Alhamisi (SM) 'You will go to visit Juma on Thursday'.

As the majority of grammarians writing about Swahili have noted, the causative shape often functions for the intensive form. But the statement of Loogman (although he does not make it consistently) that the -z- shape of the causative tends to serve for the intensive form is somewhat misleading. Other factors than shape--some known and others as yet unknown--govern the choice of shape of the intensive. The major unknown factor is why some verb roots readily take an intensive form of the



causative shape and others do not. Further, the lines of what is acceptable are very hazy, for intensive forms which one informant will accept are totally unacceptable to another informant. Consider the case of -pakiz- -pakish-, shapes related to -paki- (the relationship either being a sibling one--in terms of the grid--with -paki-, the prepositional shape, functioning as a base form meaning 'pack' with the linking noun mzigo 'burden, pack' and 'give a ride to' with the linking noun garini 'in the car'). Mr. Shabani maintains that -pakiz- is an intensive form (he rejects -pakish- as operative) with the linking noun mzigo meaning 'to pack a burden'. For example, Nilipakiza mizigo garini kabla ya safari 'I put the burdens in the car before the safari'. But Mr. Mannoro (who is normally much more inclined to consider causative shapes as intensive forms than is Mr. Shabani) states categorically that -pakiz- -pakish- are causative forms (-pakiz- being stronger in connotation). For example, Nilimpakiza mizigo yangu ndani ya gari kwenda stesheni 'I had him pack my burdens in the car to go to the station'. Further, Mr. Mannoro will accept -pakilish- as an operative causative form. But Mr. Shabani tends to reject this shape. To say 'cause to pack' he would use a construction combining the verb -ajiri- 'to hire' with -pakiz- such as Nilimwajiri Juma apakize mizigo yangu 'I hired Juma to pack my burdens'.

There are, however, certain statable factors which seem to govern the use of the causative shape for the intensive form. Various grammarians have noted that the causative form usually demands an object prefix (in the verb assembly); such a statement, however, is only half true, for an intensive form can also take an object prefix. The full situation seems to be this: if an extended form with a causative shape has two objects (counting the personal object prefix as one object if the person to whom

it refers is not otherwise indicated), the form is a causative; if it has one object, it is an intensive. (The true causative form, from this point of view, exists only when the subject of the verb causes an object-- usually animate--to 'do' the action of the verb to a second object. A verb form in which the subject of the verb 'causes something to be done' is considered an intensive. Therefore the form in Nilianzisha chama hiki 'I established (or 'caused to begin') this club' is intensive. So is that in Niliangusha nazi 'I knocked down the coconuts'. But the form in Nilimwanzisha chama hiki 'I caused him to establish this club' is causative.)

Consider the following examples:

- (1) Alinivunjisha saa yangu kwa sababu aliniangusha chini. (SM)

'He caused me to break my watch because he knocked me down'.

Note: -ni- is object prefix for 'me'.

- Alivunjisha vikombe kwa kuvigonga pamoja. (SylM)

'He broke the cups by knocking them together'.

Note: -vunjish- as an intensive is not acceptable to all informants.

- (2) Alifunikiza mihindi isipate mvua. (DM)

'He covered the corn so that it might not get wet (i.e., get rain)'.

- Alinifunikisha kofia jua lilipowaka sana. (A)

'He caused me to wear a hat when the sun was shining very brightly'.

- (3) Alichukuza chukuza mizigo akapata pesa. (DM)

'He carried burdens a good deal and he got money'.

- Nilimchukulisha Ali mizigo yangu. (SylM)

'I had Ali carry my burdens'.

(4) Ninavisha watoto wangu vizuri kila asubuhi. (SM)

'I dress my children well every morning'.

Alimvalisha mtoto wake kofia. (SM)

'He caused his child to put on a hat'.

(5) Nilimpitisha Mary njia asiyojua. (SylM)

'I caused Mary to take a road which she did not know'.

Nilipokuwa naenda sokoni sikumwambia kaka yangu nilipitiliza tu. (SylM)

'When I went to the market I went straight on by without going to greet (my) brother'.

Note: In the grid for the verb -pit- 'pass', the simple prepositional form is a base form in its own right, meaning 'pass by'; therefore this double prepositional causative shape is considered an intensive of the simple prepositional form, not the base form.

(Note: As is seen in example (4), the simple causative shape tends to function for the intensive form, and the prepositional causative shape operates for the causative form when both shapes are operative. For other examples, see -angush- : -angulish- in chapter IV or the sentences under section 3.35. How uniform this phenomenon is has yet to be investigated, but this suggestion can be made on the basis of the study of the stative: non-stative stems in section 3.32 and the grid patterns in 3.35: the causative shape may only function as an intensive form when it is not the non-stative counterpart of a deep structure stative verb. Consider -pend- 'like' and its causative shape -pendez- 'please'. The normal relationship of simple base form to causative form is already broken, and it is obvious that -pendez- 'please' does not function to

intensify -pend- 'like'. The grid arrangement with -angush- is typical of cases in which the causative shape is an intensive form--in this case of the base form -angu- (and -angu- is the non-stative counterpart of -anguk- 'fall').

The shapes treated above, the double prepositional, the causative (and perhaps the reversive in some instances), are not the only shapes which function for the intensive form. (They are, however, the only ones which have been specifically so characterized in past treatments.) It is proposed here to call any compound shape (that is, any form made up of two or more extension suffixes) the intensive form. These three exceptions exist, however: (1) A compound shape of which the passive suffix is one of the elements is most generally a compound form class member (rather than an intensive form). If a compound form with the passive suffix is operative, it is most likely the prepositional passive or the causative passive form. (2) A compound form in a grid for which a simple base shape (that is, a root without any extension suffix) does not exist probably functions as a member of some other form class than the intensive. In such a case all the 'slots' in the grid are generally 'stepped up' in terms of the relationship of shape to form. That is, a double prepositional shape is actually a simple prepositional form. (3) A compound form with the following derivational history in the grid is most generally not an intensive form: the compound form is an extended form of a base form (which itself is necessarily an extended shape from a base form) which has a meaning with an independent status outside the meaning of its base form. For example, -pakatish- 'cause to hold on the lap' actually consists of a root -pak- plus two extension suffixes. But the contactive suffix -at- has given the form -pakat- independent status.

separate from the meaning of 'pack' of its base form. Therefore, -pakatish- may be a compound shape, but it is a simple causative form.

Except for these limitations, other compound shapes would be reclassified as members of the intensive form class rather than as independent extended form classes. This would include most specifically the reduplicative form and the shape stem + -Vkana, termed by some the potential form.

Grammarians have made a variety of statements, but they finally seem to agree that the reduplicative shape may express continuous action or state or an action made up of a series of actions. Usually the entire stem itself plus final suffix 'A' is duplicated; for example, the reduplicated shape of the stem -vunj- 'break' is -vunjavunji-. Apparently any of the simple forms may be reduplicated. Note these examples:

- (1) Juma alivunjavunja vyombo vyote nyumbani kwa sababu amelewa. (SM)

'Juma broke all the dishes in the house because he was drunk'.

- (2) Vyungu vilisukuma na mbwa kwa hiyo vilivunjikavunjika kwa kadri ya kwamba hakukuwa na hata kimoja cha kupikia. (SM)

'The pots were pushed (off?) by the dog; therefore they broke (entirely) to the extent that there was not even one for cooking'.

- Alifunguafungua mlango na kwa hiyo sikupata usingizi mwema. (A)

'He kept opening the door and therefore I could not sleep well'.

The reduplicative shape may also lessen the force indicated by the root meaning, Mrs. Ashton notes, although her later statements seem to conflict with this<sup>31</sup> and no such examples have been found in this study. However, there seems to be no reason not to consider diminutive forms as intensives themselves. Whether the doubling of shape lessens the force of the root or adds an idea of thoroughness to the basic meaning or

denotes repetition, it still indicates an intensifying of the root meaning in one direction or another.

Shapes composed of a stative extension plus another stative extension, or plus a reciprocal/associative extension are classified under the potential form by Loogman and the stative form by other grammarians. IN the system proposed here, these shapes are all members of the intensive form class--when a simple stative form is also operative. (When it is not, it is possible the above compound shapes could have taken over the function of the simple stative. In the case of -wezekan- 'be possible' where the simple stative shape -wezek- seems almost totally inoperative, one must consider -wezekan- as having taken over the simple stative meaning and form class membership.)

Loogman says of his potential form, 'the resulting verb-form implies that there is a potentiality on the part of the subject to enter into, or be brought into, the condition indicated by the stative form.'<sup>32</sup> His precise meaning is not clear and he seems to be somewhat in error. The expression of potentiality is a basic characteristic of the simple stative form class itself. The -ikan- and -ekan- shapes certainly may express potentiality, but only in such a way that the potentiality aspect of the simple stative form is being intensified. And when the -ikan- and -ekan- forms so function, it is specifically the 'complete' aspect of the stative form class is being emphasized. It should be noted here that, for most verb roots, most speakers seem to reject the operativeness of both a simple stative (or a prepositional stative) form and an -ikan- or -ekan- form.<sup>33</sup> But for those who do accept the two forms, for the -ikan- or -ekan- shape these two shades of meaning are possible within the 'complete' aspect: (1) The ease or possibility of achieving the state in question

is emphasized. (2) The state referred to is associated with completeness to the point that lack of order is present. These examples illustrate the meanings:

(1) Mwezi unaoneka. (SM)

'The moon is visible'. ('The moon can be seen'.)

Mwezi unaonekana. (SM)

'The moon is clearly visible'. (The moon can be seen with no difficulty at all; there are probably no clouds, etc.)

(2) Embe zimeangukana ovyo kwa sababu kuna upepo mwingi. (SM)

'The mangoes are falling all about because there is such wind'.

('There is an element of disorder in the way the mangoes are falling....')

As noted above, the existence of this shape (the -ikan- or -ekan-) for any meaning is generally rejected. Yet when the shape is considered operative, contexts indicate it certainly seems best to consider it an intensive.

As for the double stative shape (stem plus -ekak- or -ikik-), this also appears to be an intensive form of the stative form. Here the matter of intensity has to do with the inherentness of the state or potential state in question (as opposed to the 'complete' aspect of the state discussed above, either in terms of how great the potentiality of reaching it is or how great the extent of the state is). The state itself in its narrowest sense is emphasized.

Of course when the double stative shape stands in a grid in which the simple stative shape does not function as a simple stative form (such as when it is a deep structure stative stem), the double stative shape may take over this simple stative form class function. For example,

-amkik- is such a double stative shape. Its base form -amk- 'wake up' seems to be a deep structure stative stem and not a simple stative extended form. Thus, -amkik- means 'the possibility of being awakened' as in Kumwamkika kwake ni kwa taabu kwani ana usingizi mzito. (SylM) 'His being awakened is (a matter) of difficulty because he is in a deep sleep'.

When the double stative shape is not functioning as a simple stative form, it is generally considered inoperative by most informants. But when it is given, informants explain its function as one of kutia mkazo 'offer or place emphasis', or they say its position in the grid as a stative form is one of hatua ya pili 'the second step'. In addition, they say the double stative shape stresses the uwezekano 'possibility' of a state's being realized. Those informants who make these statements also say that 'possibility in relation to the actor' is more likely the property of the simple stative form. One informant, Mr. Ashery, specifically said that the simple form refers to possibility upande wa watu 'on the side of people' while the double stative shape is juu ya hali yenyewe 'about the condition itself'. These sentences show the double stative shape functioning for the intensive form:

- (1) Binti huyu hawezi kupendekeka kwa sababu tabia yake ni mbaya mno. (SM)

'This young woman cannot be likeable at all because her nature (disposition) is very bad'.

- (2) Wakati wa kiangazi njia inaweza kuendekeka. (A)

'During the hot season the road is passable'.

It should be emphasized that the above examples--and others of the use of the double stative shape--are not acceptable to all informants. And, in general, all informants say such a shape would be used only rarely.



Of the informants who do give such shapes as operative at all, only Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Ashery distinguish it in meaning from the simple stative form at all consistently. Miss Mkwya, for example, often gives double stative shapes as operative, but considers them in complete free variation with simple stative forms.

Both the stative causative shape and the causative stative shape-- either with or without further extension suffixes added--may be considered members of the intensive form class. However, it should be noted that most informants totally reject the existence of these shapes. They are discussed in detail in section 3.44.

From one point of view, it would seem best to group the reciprocal/associative shape under the intensive form class classification when this shape functions as an associative. In the case of verb roots which require an inanimate object, the semantic concept of inanimateness appears to be incompatible with mutual action; therefore, the reciprocal idea of 'action by and to each other' is impossible. In such instances the reciprocal/associative shape functions only for an associative meaning (and one which is often somewhat different from that of the root). For example, -anz- 'begin' has the reciprocal/associative shape, -anzan- meaning 'begin together'. 'Begin' requires an inanimate object so that 'begin each other' is semantically impossible. (The prepositional reciprocal/associative shape, -anzian-, will not follow -anzan- in being associative, but will return to function as a true reciprocal form for the root meaning 'begin'. -anzian- means 'begin something for each other'.)

These associative-meaning reciprocal/associative shapes are classified as members of the reciprocal/associative form class and not as intensive forms since not all such shapes (of inanimate object-specifying

verb roots) are directly relatable to the root meaning as intensives. For example, -pat- 'get' : -patan- 'get along together' but not \*'get together'. Tulipatana sana mwaka uliopita 'We got along together very well last year'. See section 3.34 and 3.47 for further discussion.

When the causative reciprocal/associative shape is considered operative by a particular informant, it often seems to function as an intensive of the reciprocal form, not as the product of both its parts. That is, the causative suffix seems to have only an intensifying force. Whether or not the shape (causative reciprocal/associative) is considered operative for a joint causative and a reciprocal meaning appears to depend on one's view of the semanticity of the possibility of 'causing each other to do something mutually'. Mr. Shabani, for one, almost totally rejects the possibility of such a verb form existing on the grounds that mutual action is initiated voluntarily and not because of causation, even mutual causation. But neither does Mr. Shabani accept the causative reciprocal/associative shape as an intensive form. For example:

(1) Walianzaishana kazi asubuhi na mapema. (A)

'They began the work together early in the morning'. (intensive)

or 'They caused each other to begin the work together....'

(causative of an associative form)

Note: Of the two translations, Mr. Shabani would accept only the possibility of the second one; however, he would reject its existence on semantic grounds.

But in the following sentence, there seems to be no alternative to considering the shape an intensive form since a causative meaning would be nonsensical:

(2) Siwezi kusemeshana na mtoto kama wewe ambaye hufahamu lolote. (SylM)

'I cannot speak with a child (person) such as you who does not understand anything whatsoever'.

Note that the causative reciprocal/associative shape in the following example has special status as a simple reciprocal form because it is the simple reciprocal extended shape of -ogopesh- 'frighten' (a causative extended shape of -ogop- 'be afraid', a seeming deep structure stative stem) which has independent status as a base form, not a causative form:

(3) Watoto huogopeshana wenyewe kwa michezo yao ya kutisha. (SylM)

'The children frighten each other by their terrifying games'.

In summary, the intensive is considered a parasitic form, with no unique shape of its own (except the reduplicative shape), and it exists by 'taking over' the shape of other forms. Some of its occurrences seem predictable; others, unfortunately, seem to depend upon individual contexts.

Its existence is predictable in these instances:

(1) When a verb stem with a causative shape has only one object (an object prefix marker is counted as fully representing an object), the shape is intensive in form.

(2) When the double prepositional shape is not functioning as the simple prepositional form, it is generally an intensive form.

(3) When the stative suffix is either doubled or when -an- (the reciprocal/associative suffix) is suffixed to a stem with a stative shape, and a simple stative form also exists in the grid, the compound stative shape will be intensive in form.

(4) When the reduplicative shape appears, it is an intensive form.

The major non-predictable instance is this one:

(1) When any stem is made up of two or more extension suffixes and

no 'holes' exist in the grid 'above' these shapes (that is, when such double extended shapes are not functioning for simple forms for which no simple shapes operate), these double shapes may be intensive in form.

### 3.43 The Passive Extended Form

Earlier treatments of the passive form are very straightforward and brief, as they should be, for there are no particular problems of description for this form class. Special mention, however, must be made of the prepositional passive form.<sup>34</sup> First, note that with such a form the subject of the verb is not its deep structure direct object, but its indirect object. For example, Nilisemewa maoni yangu kwa sababu mimi mwenyewe sikuweza kusema. (SM) 'I was spoken for my views (by someone else) because I myself could not speak'. Second, note that -V# verb stems (including stems of Arabic origin for description purposes) form their simple passive shapes and their prepositional passive shapes identically. Which one is intended is made clear by the syntax: a prepositional passive form must have an animate subject and a direct object. Therefore:

- (1) Mizigo yangu ilipakuliwa na Juma. (SM)

'My burdens were unloaded by Juma'.

- (2) Nilipakuliwa mizigo yangu na Juma. (SM)

'I was unloaded for my burdens by Juma'.

The passive and the stative forms are sometimes confused, since for both the sentence subject is not an actor. But they are generally—and adequately—differentiated by grammarians. As Loogman puts it, 'The stative or resultant indicates a condition or state of being. A passive verb always connotes a cause; the stative verb focuses attention on a resultant condition, abstracting from any cause which may have produced that condition.'<sup>35</sup> Or, put more simply, the passive emphasizes the

agentive aspect of an action; the stative deals with the inherent capability or state of an action being done. The line could be drawn even more strongly between these two extended form-classes inasmuch as the voices of the two are different. The passive form is in the passive voice and the stative form in the neutral voice.

Further, the distinction passive:<sup>active</sup>appears less great than that of neutral : active. All the other extensions (except the passive and the stative) are active in voice. They combine readily with the passive form and change their voice to passive (although note that the passive must always be the last member of a combination). But a combination of the stative with other extensions is generally impossible for most informants (with the one-exception of Mr. Mannoro).

#### 3.44 The Stative Extended Form

While grammarians have indicated to lesser greater degrees that they are aware the term 'stative' poorly serves the meanings which are subsumed under it, they have allowed it to stand and becloud somewhat the actual situation. Mrs. Ashton makes a perceptive initial statement--unfortunately not followed up--about the stative form class, saying that 'it expresses two different concepts, which need to be distinguished although they are intimately connected.'<sup>36</sup> These concepts are (1) state without reference to agency, and (2) potentiality, i.e., whether or not the subject is capable of receiving a given action, usually with some reference to agency or the condition of the object being acted upon, or whether or not a certain state may be achieved.

Not only do the two different concepts exist, two different shapes to differentiate them often (admittedly, not always) exist also. Further, it becomes clear that it is the concept of state which is opposed to the

concept of passive position with reference to agent (as expressed by the passive extended form). The potential aspect concept, also carried by the stative shape, is quite unrelated to the opposition. While this study has been limited and a conclusive statement would demand a larger sample, it does seem that the grids of the verbs investigated show that when two stative shapes exist, (1) the simple shape functions for a distinctively stative aspect referring to the 'state of things', and (2) the prepositional stative shape functions for the potential aspect, referring not to fait accompli but to possibility.

The existence of two stative shapes is admittedly, somewhat unusual for grids other than those with a stem of the -V# shape as a base form. Where only one stative shape exists, it seems to function for both the stative and potential aspects, with the potential aspect more often present. However, whether one shape or two is present, it should be recognized that two different--although of course related--aspects are involved. Consider these examples:

The Stative Concept:

- (1) Ukitoka kwenda mjini usisahau kufunika chungu cha mboga. (SM)

'If you go out to go to town, do not forget to cover the pot of vegetables'.

- (2) Sauti ilisikika kwa mbali. (A)

'The voice was heard from afar'.

Note: The simple stative shape in this grid is inoperative; therefore, -sikik- is a simple stative in form if not in shape.

- (3) Embe hili si zuri kwa sababu limepigika mno. (SylM)

'This mango is not good because it has been banged about too much'.

The Potential Concept:

- (1) Sanduku lilifunulika kwa shida kwa sababu lilikazwa sana. (SM)

'The box was able to be opened (only) with difficulty because it was very tightly secured'.

- (2) Meza hii haiwezi kuinulika kwa sababu ni mzito. (SM)

'This table cannot be raised up because it is heavy'.

- (3) Kwa sababu ya kutu nyingi mlango haukuweza kufungulika. (A)

'On account of much rust, the door could not be opened'.

The Intensive (double stative in shape)

- (1) Mtungi haukufunikika kwa sababu kawa ilikuwa ndogo. (SM)

'The water jar could not be covered at all because the cover was small'.

- (2) Mzigo huu hauwezi kufungikika kwa bidii bila ya kamba ya kutosha. (A)

'This load cannot be properly tied at all without sufficient rope!'

Note: The double stative shape is not generally considered operative by all informants. See section 3.42 for further discussion.

It should be emphasized again that no claim is made that, in all instances, a clear contextual differentiation can be made between the stative shape functioning as stative or as potential; however, the informants have generally indicated they feel the differentiation exists. (This may not be the case for all Standard Swahili speakers; Miss Mkwaya, for one, often said she would use the two shapes--simple stative and prepositional stative--interchangeably.) However, it seems clear the distinction should be recognized as inherently existing, if not always operating, if one is to account for the presence of two stative shapes

when they are present. Consider the case of -funguk- and -fungulik-:

- (1) Mlango ulifunguka kwa ghafla. (SylM)

'The door opened suddenly'.

- (2) Kamba hii haiwezi kufungulika kwa sababu imefunganika vibaya. (SM)

'This rope cannot be untwisted because it is badly entwined'.

There is no question that the aspects carried by the two different shapes are different--it is not merely a degree of intensity.<sup>37</sup> For a further discussion of the importance of this distinction see section 3.35 on the structure of the grid of extended forms.

When the same shape functions for both the stative and potential aspects, one must decide which aspect is present in terms of context. It has been noted, however, that most of the examples given by the informants are of stative shapes (when only one shape is present) functioning for the potential aspect. Why? This is a matter which requires much further investigation; but one can propose this hypothesis: the stative aspect is a component of the deep structure stative verb. It only exists when the grid in question is for a deep structure stative verb. Further, unless one wishes to insist upon the state of something, it seems more likely one will use the passive extended form and indicate the agent. For example, Mlango umefunguka 'The door has closed' is quite possible, but--according to Mr. Shabani, for one--such a sentence evokes the question, Ulifungwa na nani? 'it was closed by whom?'. Consider also the following examples:

- (1) Ampigika wakati alipokuwa anapiga kilele. (DS)

'He was hit when he was shouting'.

- (2) Ampigwa na mwenzake wakati alipokuwa anapiga kilele. (DS)

'He was hit by his companion when he was shouting'.



- (3) Hakuweza kupigika wakati alipokuwa anapiga kilele kwa sababu alikimbia. (DS)

'He could not be hit when he was shouting because he ran away'.

Note: In this case, the simple stative shape functions for both the stative aspect (1) and the potential aspect (3).

In regard to stative compound forms, it has been found that passive stative forms<sup>38</sup> (generally referring to the potential aspect) are not operative for any informant except Mr. Mannoro who rather consistently gives them as operative examples. The following sentences illustrate the distinction he makes:

- (1) Chakula hiki hakiwezi kulika kwani kina chumvi nyingi. (SM)

'This food cannot be eaten because it has much salt'.

- (2) Chakula hiki hakiwezi kulikwa kwa sababu ni kibaya. (SM)

'This food cannot be eaten because it is bad'.

Note: Mr. Mannoro differentiates the two sentences thus: ~~-lik-~~ refers to the inherent state of the food; ~~-likw-~~ refers to what has been done to the food after it was prepared; that is, the state of the food plus the agent are involved.

Special informants, outside the regular ones consulted, and Swahili authorities, who were questioned about sentence (2), rejected it outright. They split rather evenly, however, in giving either the simple passive form ~~-liw-~~ or the simple stative ~~-lik-~~ as acceptable alternatives in the sentence. The same was true of responses on other passive stative examples. Just why the form is rejected is unclear--or why Mr. Mannoro should so consistently call it operative in the face of these rejections. Neither the stative nor the potential aspect is concerned directly with the agent as actor (as is the passive form). Therefore it is possible

the passive plus stative combination is rejected because of the incompatibility of opposing frames of reference the compound of a passive and a stative form brings together.

A stative prepositional form is generally operative in cases where two stative shapes appear, the simple stative shape functioning for the stative aspect. In almost all cases, this stative prepositional form expresses the mahali 'place' aspect of the stative aspect. For example, Aliangukia mezani aliposukumwa na rafiki yake. (A) 'He fell down on the table when he was pushed by his friend'.

The double stative shape and the stative + -an- shape have already been discussed in section 3:42 on the intensive form.

Several informants rather consistently consider both causative stative and stative causative shapes as operative. The other informants, however, just as consistently totally reject them. Mr. Shabant specifically notes that the forms are simply incompatible in almost all instances. A comparison of the causative and stative forms in terms of voice and aspect and syntax reveals this situation:

Voice, Aspect:

- (a) stative form: stative or potential aspect, neutral voice.
- (b) causative form: indicative aspect, active voice.

Syntax, Sentence Subject:

- (a) stative form: subject only in terms of a state or potentiality; in no way an actor. In such a case as -epuk- 'avoid' the stem is considered to be a base form (a deep structure stative stem) and not a stative extended form. Therefore, it is not relevant to this discussion.
- (b) causative form: subject is actor of causation of which there

is a direct object.

Syntax, Verbal Objects:

- (a) stative form: not relevant--objects only possible where action is involved.
- (b) causative form: direct object of the causation and at once the actor of the verb action is present, generally as an object prefix (in the verb assembly) and optionally as a separate form. A second object--the direct object of the action of the verb--is also present as a free form and never as an object prefix.

Now consider the following examples of the causative stative complex extended form (remembering that it is acknowledged that such examples are generally rejected):

- (1) Chakula hiki hakiwezi kufunikishika na sahani hii ndogo. (SM)  
'This food cannot be caused to be covered with this little plate'.
- (2) Uji huu hauwezi kupozeka kwa sababu upo bado jikoni. (SM)  
'This porridge cannot be caused to be cooled because it is still on the stove'.
- (3) Mtoto wangu hakuweza kuchukulishika mzigo asioweza. (SM)  
'My child cannot be caused to carry a burden which he is not able (to carry)'.
- (4) Wananchi hawawezi kuwekeshaka akiba wakati ambapo hawana fedha.  
(SylM)  
'The citizens cannot be caused to put money in savings at a time when they have no money'.
- (5) Mtoto huyu si mvivu tu bali ni mbishi pia kwa hiyo ni vigumu kumfanyishika kazi. (SM)  
'This child is not only lazy, he is also argumentative; therefore,

it is difficult to cause him the possibility of doing work'. (?)

- (6) Kipofu hawezi kuonyesheka kitu cho chote kwa sababu haoni sawa sawa. (SM)

'A blind man cannot be shown anything at all because he does not see properly'.

Note: Such a form as -onyeshek- is causative stative in shape, but simple stative (potential aspect) in form because of its grid history; that is, the causative shape -onyesh- (in fact, a double causative shape) is not causative in form, but simple, meaning 'show'. It is the non-stative counterpart of the deep structure stative stem -on- 'see'.

For the sake of discussion, these causative stative forms (examples 1-5) are accepted as theoretically operative. Examples (1) and (2) form Case A, Examples (3) and (4) Case B, and Example (5) Case C; Example (6) is not relevant because it is not a causative stative in form. Consider their deep structure:

Voice, Aspect:

- (a) Case A: explicitly the potential aspect with the implicit addition of the action aspect and the causative aspect; voice not clear—more neutral than active?
- (b) Case B: explicitly the causative aspect with the implicit addition of the action aspect and potentiality aspect; voice more decidedly active.
- (c) Case C: potential, causative, and action aspects all present; voice unclear.

Syntax, Sentence Subject:

- (a) Case A: subject is both subject of potentiality and object of

the action aspect.

- (b) Case B: subject is both subject of the action aspect and object of the causative aspect.
- (c) Case C: subject is implied only as the subject of both the potential aspect and the causative aspect.

Syntax, Verbal Objects:

- (a) Case A: Sentence subject is the deep structure object of the action aspect (see above).
- (b) Case B: A direct object of the action aspect is formally present.
- (c) Case C: Both the object of the causation and the object of the action are present (as in the case of the simple causative form).

Of the Cases, instances of Case A seem to be the most acceptable and the most likely to be considered variants of an intensive stative form. For example, outside informants and Swahili authorities specifically questioned about Example (1), although they rejected the form -funikishik-, substituted a double stative shape (intensive form) for it, -funikik-. Further, Mr. Shabani, who tends to reject these double causative stative forms, accepts them on occasion if they are of the Case A form. He gives this example:

Kazi hii haifanyishiki na Juma. (DS)

'This work cannot be caused to be done by Juma'.

Case B types are almost always rejected and when they are accepted it appears that they are considered instances of an intensive causative form. Generally, an informant, asked to make a substitute for a Case B example, will make a simple causative substitute, leaving out the stative

concept entirely.

Case C types are the most unacceptable and even sometimes considered not only impossible, but not understandable. Outside informants and Swahili authorities questioned about Example (5) rejected the form entirely. It is of interest that the presence of the object prefix and of the second object seems to signal causative form for them, for they generally replaced the objectionable kumfanyishika kazi with kumfanyisha kazi, the simple causative construction. (It has been proposed in this thesis that the presence of two direct objects marks a form as causative.)

Therefore, these tentative observations can be made about causative stative forms: (1) There is a great deal of variation as to what is judged operative, even if only theoretically. A few informants allow a melange of the syntactic and the voice and aspect elements of the stative and causative forms which are totally rejected by other informants. (2) In such a melange, if the sentence subject is subject of the state and has no active role in any active voice (Case A), the form tends to be more acceptable than otherwise. In general, such a form seems to be an intensive stative with little regard to any causative aspect. (3) If the sentence subject is an actor in relation to an action verb (Case B), the causative stative form is less acceptable and seems to only be acceptable as an intensive causative form. (4) If the syntactical pattern of verbal objects for the causative form is present (Case C), it is incompatible for the far majority of informants with a stative or potential aspect, even only as an intensive force.

An examination of a few examples of the stative causative form used in sentences gives similar results:

- (1) Alinipakulikisha chakula kingi baadaye kikamshinda kula. (SylM)

'He caused me to be in a state of dishing up much food and then he could not eat it'.

(2) Walimchukulishikisha masanduku mazito. (A)

'They caused him to be in the state of (or they caused the possibility of his) carrying heavy boxes'.

It can be concluded, then, that in general the stative and causative forms are incompatible in combination, due to their respective aspectual and voice patterns. When a complex causative stative or stative causative shape is operative, it must be considered as an intensive stative form or an intensive causative form, with the syntax determining the choice.

(This statement must be considered generally applicable, even though Mr. Mannoro rather consistently claims, and other informants sporadically claim, a causative stative form or a stative causative form operating as the carrier of subtle distinctions.)

### 3.45 The Causative Extended Form

Grammarians have generally taken the point of view that the key to properly describing the causative form is to realize that a number of shades of meaning are involved which become clear only in terms of context. Steere, for example, lists six 'distinct shades of meaning' but then gives no guidelines for distribution or even examples of the differences. The shades of meaning he sees are these: (1) purely causal, (2) compulsive, (3) permissive, (4) persuasive, (5) consequential, and (6) neutral (not preventing). Further, he says, 'The causative is sometimes purely intensive.'<sup>39</sup> Loogman takes the same approach, saying, 'The precise implication of the causative...is susceptible of variations within certain limits according to the meaning of the verb from which the causative is

It is proposed, however, that the differences of meaning for which the causative shape functions are not differences of degree, but differences of kind. As has been noted in section 3.32 above, the causative shape often functions for the meaning of the non-stative counterpart of a deep structure verb. That is, the basic distinction of stative : non-stative is made in Swahili by functioning of the causative shape for the non-stative verb for which the deep structure stative counterpart is the simple base form on the extension grid. (It should be noted again that the term 'stative' may be an unhappy choice in the case of Swahili since confusion with the stative extension is possible; but since the term 'stative' is also applicable to other languages, notably English, it is retained.)

As also has been noted above, the effects of this stative : non-stative distinction are far reaching. Not only is the causative shape of the extended form affected; so is the prepositional shape as well as all extended forms for which either of these shapes is a base form.

A second difference of kind has also been treated above in section 3.42 on the intensive form. For, according to the system allowed here, only a form which introduces an outside causative force acting on an object, which in turn becomes the subject itself of the action of the verb form, is considered a causative form class member. A causative shape without this pattern functions for the intensive form (that is, unless it is a non-stative counterpart to a stative stem). See examples of the distinction in section 3.42.

Once these two other functions of the causative shape are recognized, the problem of 'shades of meaning' seems to disappear for the most part.



See section 3.32 for a discussion of the relationship of meaning between the deep structure stative verb and its causative shape non-stative counterpart.

Turning now to extended forms of a causative form, investigation shows only the passive causative is generally acceptable. In this case, it is the causation which is passivized, not the action of the verb. For example:

Wananchi wanawekeshwa akiba ili zivasaidie katika siku za uzee wao. (SM)

'The citizens were caused to save money so that it might aid them in their old age'.

Miti hii ilikatishwa na serikali ili kujenga nyumba ya maendeleo. (SM)

'These trees were caused to be cut (down) by the government in order to build a 'development building' (i.e., a building under the five year plan, no doubt)'.

The causative prepositional is inoperative for most informants, as noted above in section 3.33 on syntax.

The stative causative shape already has been discussed in section 3.44. In general, the double causative is totally rejected by most informants. It is, no doubt, partially rejected on phonological grounds; it is difficult to pronounce a word with an overabundance of /s/ or /z/'s, as the double causative would require. Rather, a Swahili speaker would use a fanya or lazima construction to convey the idea of double causation, such as Alinilazimisha ninchukulishe punde wangu mzigo mzito 'He required of me that I cause my donkey to carry a heavy burden'. And even such a construction as this would be rarely employed. Rather, the expressing of double causation would be avoided altogether.

When in the few instances the double causative shape is given as

operative (Mr. Mannoro does so occasionally along with the other informants more rarely), it seems to function almost always as an intensive form. But the special informants and Swahili authorities questioned about the acceptability of such a shape tended to reject it completely as ever operative--even for an intensive form meaning.

The causative reciprocal shape is operative for some informants, but generally as an intensive form. But Mr. Shabani, as has been noted above, totally rejects the combination of the 'mutuality' concept of the reciprocal form with the 'outside causation' concept of the causative form. Consider these examples. The first illustrates a rare causative reciprocal meaning (not generally acceptable) and the second an intensive meaning:

- (1) Tulipatishana mashaka kwa sababu tulikuwa hatueleani. (SM)

'We caused each other to get doubts ('be perplexed') because we were not understanding each other'.

Note: Mr. Shabani would reject this form as operative; and, since -patan- means 'get along', it cannot be considered an intensive of the simple reciprocal form.

- (2) Walitilishana hasara kwa kupotezesheana vyeti vyao vya kazi.

(SylM)

'They caused loss for each other by causing each other to lose their employment cards'.

Note: Since -tia hasara means 'cause loss to', there seems no alternative but to consider this an intensive form.

One other matter about the causative form must be discussed and that is the practice of using a fanya, lazimisha, etc. construction, followed by the simple base form in the subjunctive, to convey a causative meaning.

For example:

(1) Waarabu waliwalazimisha watumwa wapagaze mizigo. (SM)

'The Arabs made the slaves carry burdens'.

(2) Nilimfanya Mari akavae nguo. (SylM)

'I made Mary (that she) put on clothes'.

This type of construction is definitely preferred in place of the causative-extended form among those informants, such as Mr. Shabani, who tend to reject all extended forms beyond the basic simple ones. For example, rather than -pakilish- as in Nilimpakilisha mizigo garini 'I caused him to put the burdens in the car', such an informant would prefer a sentence such as this: Nilimwajiri apakize mizigo garini 'I hired him that he might put the burdens in the car' or Nilimfanya apakize.... 'I made him that he pack....'

The informants themselves advance various reasons for preferring this form. Mr. Shabani, for example, tends to think that it is a construction taken over from English. He cites the type of instruction he had in school as a boy which emphasized simple constructions (in both English and Swahili) without many uses of the extended forms. It is only the older people who would use the extended forms very extensively, he believes, and he cites his grandfather as an example. (And, since it is a speaker such as Mr. Shabani, who will be in a position to set the example, as a teacher or a government official, it seems reasonable to put some weight on his predilections in regard to modern Standard Swahili.)

Whether or not the fanya-type construction is in fact an English borrowing is open to question. Certainly one can find examples of the construction in other Bantu languages, including those relatively untouched by English.<sup>41</sup>

But the examples given by our informants do indicate a preference for non-extended forms in general. Note, for example, Mr. Shabani's use of appropriate adverbs to indicate place or degree with the simple stative form rather than the use of a compound stative form.

Obviously the subject of the influence of English on Swahili syntax needs treatment and the status of the fanya construction will be a major topic.

Finally it should be noted that certain base forms seem to have two different causative shapes (other than the different ones of simple and prepositional shapes). However, the relationship between them is not clear. Mrs. Ashton says that the two forms are different in meaning, the difference of suffix indicating the difference. 'In the one form the verb takes an object only, and in the other it requires a further noun or phrase to complete its meaning.'<sup>42</sup> As examples, Ashton cites -on- 'see' and -ony- 'warn' and -onyesh- 'show'; -pit- 'pass' and -pish- in two different sentences; and -ap- 'take an oath' and -apiz- 'call down a curse' and -apish- with regular causative syntax, meaning 'cause someone to take an oath'. Her examples are not sufficiently convincing to indicate anything more than one or two anomalies here, for there seems to be no relationship apparent, as she so states. (It is true that -ony- and -onyesh- have different deep structures, but this situation is better described as a case of -ony- taking a direct object and -onyesh- taking a direct object plus an indirect one.) In the case of -pish-, the usage without an object of the verb as in Mrs. Ashton's example Mpisho Bwana 'Allow the Bwana to pass' is an example of the intensive form of 'pass' and the second example shows the standard causative usage of 'cause to pass' (with the idea of aid). -apiz- can either be considered as intensive,

(as is the case with many -z- causative shapes) of -ap-, or a new base form; -apish- is a standard causative form.

Loogman does not agree with Mrs. Ashton that a significant semantic differential can be made between the two causative shapes. He cites the same -ony- and -onyesh- example as well as -fan- 'be of use': -fany- 'make useful' and -fanyiz- 'repair' and concludes (somewhat erroneously since he does not take the deep structures of -ony- and -onyesh- into account nor does he indicate that it is the syntactic pattern, not the shape itself which makes for the difference between causative and intensive forms) that, 'Some verbs which have a causative form ending in -ya have a second causative ending in -isha or -esha, usually without any noticeable difference in meaning.'<sup>43</sup>

In general, as has been stated above, the existence of two causative shapes seems to be rare and is best treated as an exceptional case. For example, both -ony- and -onyesh- stand in relation to -on- as deep structure non-stative counterparts, but their relationship to each other does not fit any pattern or establish any new one of general applicability.

### 3.46 The Prepositional Extended Form

As the name implies, the prepositional form extends the base form by the addition of prepositional constructions composed of the form itself and free standing objects or adverbs. Thus, the extended form at once signals the action, and prepositional concepts about the action.

Grammarians have generally agreed on the following as the main prepositional concepts so expressed:<sup>44</sup> (1) 'to do for, in the place of someone'; (2) 'to do to someone'; (3) 'to express motion towards (called the mahali 'place' aspect in this thesis; (4) 'to express purpose and (5) to express finality or completeness (generally followed by an adverb such

as sana 'very much' or mbali 'completely').

To this list should be added the following concepts for which the prepositional form functions: (1) the 'negative' aspect which indicates something being done 'to the displeasure of the person indicated by the object prefix', (2) intensification of the base form meaning or alteration in meaning which results in a making the prepositional shape a base form in its own right, and (3) the idea of 'be in a state or act on account of something'.

The 'negative' aspect is illustrated in these sentences: Alinilia chakula changu 'He ate my food'; Alinipigia mtoto wantu 'He beat my child'. The context makes clear whether or not the negative meaning is intended. For example, Yeye alinisaidia sana; alinichukulia mwanangu sokoni (DS) 'He helped me a great deal; he took my child (for me) to the market'. This is clearly not an example of the 'negative' aspect at work.

Interestingly enough, it appears that the 'negative' aspect is often intended when the causative prepositional form is given as operative. In this case, the object prefix refers to the person for whom the act is a 'negative' one, and the object of the causation and the direct object of the action stand as free forms (with no object prefix reference). Mr. Said Hilal gives the following examples:

Walnichukulisha mtoto wangu vitabu alipokuwa akienda shule.

'They caused my child (against my wishes) to carry books when he was going to school'.

Walimchukulisha mtoto wangu vitabu...

'They caused my child to carry books....'

Note that without this 'negative' aspect the causative prepositional form is considered relatively inoperative, because of the complication of objects, as noted above.

When the prepositional shape is the extended shape from a deep structure stative stem, it seems to function most typically as an intensive form or to take on a new meaning. See section 3.32 for examples.

Another common meaning for such a prepositional shape is that noted above, 'be in a state or act on account of something': For example, Ninampendea kwa sura nzuri 'I like him on account of his fine appearance'. There is no question but that this meaning is related to the standard prepositional form meaning of 'do something in the place of someone'--that is, 'to or for someone', but the two meanings are decidedly different. In the case of deep structure stative stems, it has been noted that one cannot 'enter a state in the place of someone else' although he can 'perform an action for someone else'.

The prepositional extended shape also is used in a number of other constructions, but without clear association with the prepositional form class meanings. Among these uses are: (1) with the reflexive object prefix, and (2) with the interrogative nini 'what' or the enclitic -ni 'why' following the verb form.<sup>45</sup>

Some aspects of the syntactic patterns associated with the prepositional form are discussed in section 3.33. In addition, these additional specifications should be included in the lexicon/dictionary entry for the verb roots in question. (1) Certain verb roots already contain a prepositional meaning, as grammarians have noted many times. For example, the simple base form -p- functions for the meaning 'give to' without the addition of the prepositional extension suffix, as in Nilimpa zawadi 'I gave him a gift'. (But note that the prepositional shape is required for a prepositional reciprocal meaning, as in Tunapeana zawadi kila sikukuu 'We give to each other gifts every holiday'.) (2) The distinction as to

whether 'to' plus the indirect object or 'for' plus the indirect object is intended for the meaning is not made for certain verbs. Apparently it is only made in the context. For example, Nilimwandikia barua could mean either 'I wrote a letter to him' or 'I wrote a letter for him'. The same applies to -peleke- 'send to or for'.

### 3.47 The Reciprocal/Associative Extended Form

There is little to add to the discussion of this form in section 3.34 and that on the stative plus the reciprocal shape (-ikan- or -ekan- shapes) in section 3.42 (the intensive form), and that on the causative reciprocal form in section 3.45. The prepositional reciprocal, however, needs some special mention.

First, as Perrot notes, if the prepositional form is needed to convey the right meaning in the case of one person, the prepositional form must also be used with the reciprocal form to convey the right meaning in the case of reciprocal action. 'For instance', she says, 'write to someone is not andika, but andikia; therefore to write to one another must be andikiana'.<sup>46</sup>

Second, in line with the relation of meaning between the simple prepositional form and the prepositional reciprocal form it should be noted that if the simple prepositional form has a variant prepositional meaning, so will the prepositional reciprocal form. That is, -pende-, for example, means 'like someone or something on account of'. It does not take an indirect object with a 'to or for' meaning (-pend- being a deep structure stative stem). Accordingly, the prepositional reciprocal form -pendean- does not take an indirect object, and means 'like each other on account of something'. The standard prepositional form, such as -pigi- 'hit for someone', takes the indirect object and so does its related



prepositional reciprocal form, -pigan- 'hit for each other'.

The prepositional reciprocal form, then, in its standard meaning, has a subject which is also its own indirect object. The standard simple reciprocal form, however, has a subject which is its own direct object (i.e., -pigan- 'hit each other'). In neither case is the object signalled formally by an object prefix, as it generally is in a construction with a simple prepositional form.

The following examples illustrate the possible relations of shape and meaning involved with the prepositional reciprocal form:

- (1) Tunawekeana hela ili zitusaifdie siku ya shida. (SM)

'We put aside money for each other so that it might aid us on a day of difficulty'. (i.e., in an emergency)

- (2) Walimu walipokuwa wanakwenda kwenye mkutano walichukuliana zawadi.... (R)

'When the teachers went to the meeting they took along gifts for each other'.

Note: The root -chuku- 'carry, take' has certain restrictions, related to those for roots which cannot take an animate object, which prevent it from producing a related reciprocal form meaning 'take each other'. The simple reciprocal form -chukuan- means 'harmonize', 'get along'. But the prepositional reciprocal form's meaning 'carry for each other' follows directly from that of the simple prepositional form -chukuli- 'carry for'.

- (3) Anna na Mary hupenda kuvaliana nguo. (SYM)

'Anna and Mary like to wear each other's clothes'.

Note: The simple reciprocal shape \*-vaana- does not operate for any meaning. The simple prepositional shape -vali- means 'attire oneself

especially well'.

(4) Walipendeana kwazawadi ambazo walipeana. (DS)

'The liked each other on account of the gifts which they gave to each other'.

Examples (1) and (2) parallel their respective simple prepositional forms in taking indirect objects. Examples (3) and (4) show variant prepositional reciprocal forms which correspond with variant simple prepositional forms. (walipeana 'they gave each other' in example 4, of course, is not a variant usage--it contrasts with the variant walipendeana 'they liked each other').

It should be mentioned that the restriction that base forms can only produce reciprocal shapes with reciprocal form class meanings if the base form allows an animate direct object has nothing to do with the ability of a prepositional reciprocal shape to function for a standard form class meaning. This is because the reciprocity involves the indirect object for the prepositional reciprocal form, in standard usage, not the direct object. This, it would seem, explains why many more prepositional reciprocal forms appear to be operative than simple reciprocal forms.

Grammarians have had little to say about the simple reciprocal form's pattern of subject-as-direct object as opposed to the prepositional reciprocal form's pattern of subject-as-indirect object and how it effects the operativeness of a form. One grammar touches on the point, but seemingly the phenomenon is misinterpreted to mean that 'transitive verbs are made reciprocal by adding -na to the root and intransitive verbs by adding -na to their prepositional form.'<sup>47</sup> Cited as examples are -imb- 'sing' and -imbian- 'sing to each other' and -li- 'cry' and -lilian- 'cry to each other'. The examples are, unfortunately, wrong since these verb

roots are transitive when used with cognate objects ('sing a song', etc.) But the author, Mrs. Burt, is correct in noting that intransitive roots cannot take simple reciprocal extended forms, but can take prepositional reciprocal forms (although simple reciprocal shapes--not forms--do exist for intransitives; for example, -angukan- 'fall all over' is generally considered operative as an intensive form of the base form -anguk- 'fall').

Following the example set in the case of -anguk- : -angukan- where the latter is an intensive form though reciprocal in shape, one notes that deep structure stative verbs sometimes seem to have a grid pattern which includes a reciprocal shape as intensive form. But the extent of this phenomenon has not been determined within this treatment. A number of deep structure stative verbs can be cited readily to which this trait does not apply, such as -on- 'see', -onan- 'see each other'; -siki- 'hear', -sikian- 'hear each other'. It is Loogman who notes this behavior of certain reciprocal shapes (as intensives), saying 'Some verbs of Bantu origin have reciprocal derivatives that retain a rather stative meaning. The subject of such a verb is considered as acting immanently and the result of the action is thought of primarily as an effect produced within an agent.' As a single example, he cites kuoza 'to rot' and kuożana 'to become rotten throughout'.<sup>48</sup>

From this correct observation about the function of these reciprocal shapes for certain stative base forms, Loogman goes on to make the incongruous statement that 'verbs that are reciprocal in form but stative in meaning require further introduction of a free-standing na if a complement is present.'<sup>49</sup> The example he cites is Alipigana na majivuno 'He fought against his pride'. However, the example seems to prove nothing because, although -pigan- is reciprocal in shape, it is also a

simple base form with the meaning 'fight' and it is in this role that it takes the na + complement construction. And there seems to be nothing stative in meaning about 'fight'.

However, as is noted in section 3.34 in the case of -pendan- + na, such a construction can function for a basically associative meaning.

For example:

Nitaonana nawe kesho-kutwa. (SM)

'I will see you the day after tomorrow'. ('We will see each other')

Note: Some grammarians reject the use of the singular subject with the reciprocal shape; yet, such a usage, in conjunction with na + we ('you') seems entirely acceptable to all the informants, especially for certain forms such as -onan- 'see each other' and -kutan- (meet each other'.

### 3.48 The Static Extended Verb Form

This form is described in section 3.31 in connection with the discussion of what forms may be subsumed under the category, stative form. There is little else to say except to reiterate the point that it is a rarely occurring form which stands for a stationary condition. For example:

Alinama kumwokotea Anna embe yake. (SylM)

'He bent down (stooped) in order to pick up for Anna her mango'.

### 3.49 The Reversive Extended Verb Form

In many ways, the most difficult extended form to describe adequately is the reversion form. On the surface, the matter seems straightforward enough: with the suffixing of -u- or -o- before the final A<sup>#</sup> suffix, the meaning of a verb stem is presumably reversed. For example, -kunj- 'fold' :

-kunj- 'unfold'; -zib- 'stop up' : -zibu- 'unstop'. But, as has been mentioned in section 3.35 on the pattern of the extension grid itself, the reversive form seems to have a significant role in terms of the total grid pattern. It appears--and more investigation is needed here--that the reversive form is often the deep structure non-stative counterpart of a deep structure stative verb somewhere else in the grid (generally either in the simple base form of the simple stative slots.) Consider -angu- 'pitk' : -anguk- 'fall'; -funuk- 'be uncovered' : -funu- 'uncover'.

Compare their relationship with the pattern for the stative : non-stative verbs put forth in section 3.32: 'if the second action, then the possibility of the first meaning as state'. It certainly appears that these reversive forms have the same status as the causative shapes of the presumably firmly established deep structure stative verbs--the status of functioning as a non-stative counterpart. (Note that in most instances where a reversive form seems to so function, the simple causative shape is the reversive's satellite as an intensive form.) If this is so, this considerably enlarges the list of deep structure stative verbs which can be put forward. Further, the list would then include several of the verb roots we discussed as 'likely' statives in section 3.32. (This proposal--of the reversive shape as sometimes a deep structure non-stative counterpart--would also help explain the grid of such stems as -amk- 'wake up' with its sibling -amsh- meaning 'awaken'; for we could posit a proto-grid with the non-existent reversive (the reversive of 'awaken' would not be semantical) form's function of non-stative counterpart having been shifted on 'down' the grid to the causative shape (which would be the reversive's intensive form if the reversive existed--as is stated above). At this point, this characterization of the reversive form is only

conjecture, but it appears that further investigation would prove this line of reasoning valid—especially if studies are made in terms of the entire grid pattern and the relations of shape to meaning which can be shown as applying regularly to more than one verb's grid pattern.

#### 3.410 The Contactive Extended Verb Form

Mention was made of this form in section 3.41 and little more need be said. It is a relatively rare form and expresses a special kind of contact, often the act of holding something. For example, \*-pak- 'pack' : -pakat- 'hold on the lap, especially a child'. Like the other forms, it can be a simple base form in its own right and take its own extended forms.

Whether or not the contactive form should be sub-classified under the intensive form is open to the same kind of discussion as that about the static form as a part of the stative form category. In both cases, since a specialized meaning is involved—and rather consistently—there seems good enough reason to maintain them as independent forms. Furthermore, since they are rare, their status is of little importance in simplifying the grammar.

### 3.50 The General Relation of Shape to Meaning

### 3.51 Restrictions on Occurrence

In this chapter there have been discussed a number of factors which determine the restrictions on occurrences applicable to the extended verb system. While the proposals made for describing the system must be only tentative and while more investigation is clearly needed, the patterns of shape relation to meaning which have been brought up do seem to bear out at least the direction of the overall study.

Foremost among the determining factors within the system seems to be the deep structure stative : non-stative distinction among stems which is discussed in detail in section 3.32. There a relatively short list of stative stems and the criteria for their selection are presented. Identification of stems as stative or non-stative in the lexicon, it seems, would simplify the grammar. The semantic relationship of the prepositional and causative shapes to the base form can be stated in terms of whether or not the base form is a deep structure stative stem. Admittedly, this cannot be done precisely, but meanings of causative and prepositional shapes can be stated in general. Thus, the need to consider as a unique occurrence the meaning relationship holding between a base form and its extended shapes is eliminated.

Further, it has been proposed that the identification of a stative stem affects the description of shape to meaning relationships all across the entire grid of extended forms. For example, it appears that the stative extended form seems to have two separate shapes (a simple shape and a prepositional shape) when the simple shape may be considered a deep structure stative stem. At any rate, in such a case, the simple stative shape definitely seems to function for a stative aspect meaning and the

prepositional stative shape functions for a potential aspect meaning. In grids in which only one stative shape is operative, this one seems to function generally for the potential aspect. See section 3.44.

It also has been proposed, however tentatively, that the presence of a deep structure stative stem in a grid affects the semantic role of the reversive shape. It may function solely for a meaning which is the reverse of that of its base form, but in association with a deep structure stative stem it is more likely to be a non-stative counterpart. For example, -angu- 'knock down' (a reversive shape) and -anguk- 'fall' (a stative stem). See section 3.45 for a discussion of the relation of the grid pattern and the correlation of shape and meaning in terms of the presence of a deep structure stative stem in the grid.

The most extensive change in classification of extended shapes as form class members is the enlarging of the domain of the intensive form class, as proposed in this treatment. This, too, is somewhat related to the relationships affected by the stative : non-stative distinction. The various shapes which seem to function for the 'parasitic' intensive form are discussed in section 3.42. Consider, for example, the intensive function of the simple causative shape in relation to its own base form, a reversive. This seems to be the case when this reversive base form is the non-stative counterpart of its own stative extended shape, which is a deep structure stative stem (and is the sibling shape of the causative shape functioning as an intensive).

Other suggestions have been made in section 3.33 and 3.34 about the kind of simplifying generalizations the identification of other deep structure features can effect. For example, such a feature is the syntactic requirement (specifically in regard to object complements) of



certain extended forms, such as the prepositional or the causative, seem to restrict the ability of these forms to appear as components of the same compound form. Also, subcategorization features, such as the requirement that a root allow an animate direct object, restrict the ability of that root to produce a reciprocal extended form with a standard reciprocal meaning. This information should be part of the lexical entry of such roots.

Finally, it seems that investigation shows more attention should be paid to the map-like character of the total pattern of any extension grid. Whether the grid itself is a limiting factor in regard to shape and meaning is not yet clear, but it appears no verb stem has a grid peculiar to itself, and the relationships specified by a grid as holding between the various extended shapes correspond to those of another stem's grid.

It should be emphasized that no claim is made that a definitive treatment of the Swahili extended-verb system has been presented. However, it does seem that the manner of description--the classification of components in terms of function and in terms of patterns of the relationships of shape to meaning--and the instances of its application proposed here must be taken into account in any adequate description of the system. Further, the generalizations which are achieved, though they must remain tentative, are based on storable relations of retrievable facts which do not depend upon intuition for their structuralization.

## Notes - Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>For a typical statement, see the study of the Rev. B. J. Ratcliffe and Sir Howard Elphinstone, Modern Swahili p. 114 (London, 1932):

Every regular Swahili verb has the power of adopting, by modification of the final syllable, many forms which are normally expressed in English by the use of auxiliary verbs or adverbs. Thus, in addition to the passive and neuter voices, we may form the prepositional, causative, reciprocative, reversive, and reduplicated forms, each of which is treated as a verb in itself with all the normal inflexions, and each of which in turn may be modified by the addition of other forms.

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. E. O. Ashton, Swahili Grammar (London, 1944).

<sup>3</sup>Ashton, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup>Edward Steere, Swahili Exercises p. 126 (London, 1934). Revised by A. B. Heller, 1961.

<sup>5</sup>Note the system of verb shape presentation in the text: in the general grids of extended forms in Chapter IV and at the top of each page of example sentences in that chapter, the verb shape includes the stem (verb root plus extensions) plus the final suffix (termed General Suffix 'A' in Chapter II) realized, as it generally is in the positive indicative mood, as -a<sup>0</sup> (example: -paka). In the actual discussion of the forms in Chapter III and in Chapter IV, only the verb stem is given (root plus extensions, if present, without prefixes or suffixes other than the extensions relevant--example: -pak-).

Note also this terminology: the term 'shape' refers to a phonological shape and the term 'form' refers to a shape to which a meaning has been attached and which has been assigned membership in a class of other forms of like function. That is, a partial termed a causative form is a member of the causative form class; but a partial termed a causative shape is identified as causative only in terms of phonological shape and may be a member of another form class altogether.

<sup>6</sup>Mr. Mannoro was selected for this writer as a representative, educated speaker of Dar es Salaam Swahili by Mr. Nicholas Kuhanga, Swahili tutor at the Institute of Adult Education of University College, Dar es Salaam. Miss Mkwya was recommended as an informant by the Rev. Sigvard von Sicard, a Lutheran missionary in Dar es Salaam, who is a recognized excellent speaker of Swahili.

<sup>7</sup>Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965).

<sup>8</sup>H. J. Uldall, Outline of Glossematics p. 10 (Copenhagen, 1957).

<sup>9</sup>See Noam Chomsky, 'A Transformational Approach to Syntax' in The Structure of Language, Readings in the Philosophy of Language, eds. Jerry A. Fodor and Jerrold J. Katz p. 244 (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964):

It is to be taken for granted that in a system as vast and as complex as an individual's entire speech behavior there will be all sorts of anomalies. The existence of exceptions need not effect our general policy of making the total description as simple as possible. It seems pointless to accept a principle of analysis which forces us to give up what simplifications of the grammar we can effect, because there are some recalcitrant cases.

<sup>10</sup>Martin Joos, The English Verb Form and Meanings p. 116-20 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964).

<sup>11</sup>Joos, p. 119.

<sup>12</sup>Joos, p. 119.

<sup>13</sup>Joos, p. 118.

<sup>14</sup>George Lakoff, 'Stative Adjectives and Verbs in English', a paper presented at the winter meeting 1965 of the Linguistic Society of America. The information Lakoff presents proved useful in formulating criteria for the Swahili deep structure stative verb, although some of his tests are not applicable to Swahili and some of the ones presented here seem more valuable in the case of Swahili. (For example, Lakoff says that a stative verb cannot take a present progressive tense use: \*'I am hearing the music' as opposed to 'I am listening to the music'. Although many grammarians list the -na- verbal prefix in Swahili as corresponding to the present progressive tense in English, such Swahili speakers as Mr. Shabani reject this description. Mr. Shabani's responses to test sentences indicate that the distinction between the so-called general present tense (-a- prefix marker) and the -na- tense simply does not exist to the extent English students of Swahili claim it does. Mr. Shabani says the progressive distinction depends on context, if it is made at all.)

Lakoff's list of English stative verbs was a starting point for looking at Swahili verbs in terms of the stative : non-stative distinction.

<sup>15</sup>The verb stem -pend- inflected with the -nge- prefix partial, which connotes condition, means 'hope'.

<sup>16</sup>Many writers on Bantu languages have referred to the object in first position, whether indirect or direct, as the primary object. W. H. Whiteley in A Study of Yao Sentences p. 110 defines the primary object as 'an object which may occur in a controlled relationship with a verb, the exponent of this being a pre-radical infix'. When two objects occur, the object prefix is in a concord relationship with the first object, whether the verb is a prepositional or a causative extended form. But the function of this first object varies according to the extended form class

of the verb. Therefore, while the term, primary object, appears useful from the point of view of actually naming the position of the object in question, its use obscures the fact that this first position object will be an indirect object if the verb is a prepositional extended form and a direct object (of the causation) if the verb is a causative extended form.

In relation to the entire discussion of verbal objects, mention should also be made of the object situation with reciprocal extended forms. Two objects are present in the deep structure of both the simple reciprocal form and the prepositional reciprocal form, but in neither case are both objects formally present as such. That is, the subject of the verb form is also the indirect object in the case of the prepositional reciprocal form and the subject is also the direct object in the case of the simple reciprocal form. See section 3.47.

<sup>17</sup> There is some validity to the argument that the passive verb should not be classified as one of the extended forms and accordingly as a full-fledged member of the extension grid. In terms of deep structure, 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. Formally, the passive form has its unique restrictions: it must occur as the last extension suffix (with the final suffix 'A' always absolutely finally). Still, if the passive extended form is taken out of the grid, how can one justify retaining the stative form which also alters the voice of the verb stem (active to neuter)? At this point, it should be noted only that the status of the passive form is a matter which warrants more discussion.

<sup>18</sup> Ashton, p. 214-6.

<sup>19</sup> Alfons Loogman, Swahili Grammar and Syntax, (Pittsburgh, 1965).

<sup>20</sup> Loogman, p. 133.

<sup>21</sup> Ashton, p. 236-7.

<sup>22</sup> Loogman, p. 133.

<sup>23</sup> Loogman, p. 133-4

<sup>24</sup> All of the primary informants, for example, rejected as operative in their own idiolects the often cited example stative form -fungam-. Others, such as Mr. Shabani, consider it operative, if relatively rare (the concept being easily expressed with other forms and appropriate adverbs).

<sup>25</sup> Loogman, p. 134.

<sup>26</sup> Loogman, p. 136.

<sup>27</sup> Loogman, p. 145.

<sup>28</sup> Steere, p. 124.

<sup>29</sup> Whether or not -lish- only can be interpreted as 'browsing' and is therefore intransitive is a moot point. If it is translated as 'eating', it seems to be transitive. However, it does not seem a significant point one way or the other.

<sup>30</sup> Ashton, p. 214.

<sup>31</sup> At one point, Mrs. Ashton writes, 'By duplicating the stem of a verb a lessening of force is indicated.' (p. 246). But later she says that a reduplication may express continuous action or state or an action made up of a series of actions (p. 316). She cites the example, Tulianza kutangatanga huko na huko 'We began wandering here and there'. Still, in her initial classification of extended forms, she refers to the reduplicative as a 'diminutive' extension. (p. 214).

<sup>32</sup> Loogman, p. 142.

<sup>33</sup> All the informants except Mr. Mannoro tend to reject a stative + -an- form except in grids in which the simple stative shape is non-existent. The special informants and Swahili authorities questioned about -onek- : -onekan- 'visible : possible to be seen (easily)' rejected the simple stative shape -onek- as operative. In the case of -angushik- : -angushikan- 'picked : possible to be picked at all', and the case of -pakatik- : -pakatikan- 'possible to hold : possible to hold at all', they rejected the complex stative shapes with the -an- suffix.

Apparently, for most speakers, the stative + -an- suffix is operative only when a 'hole in the grid' for the simple stative shape exists. This seems to be the situation for -patik- : -patikan- 'available : readily available'. The verb -patik- was rejected as operative by all informants except Mr. Mannoro.

It should be noted, however, that there seems to be a good deal of disagreement among Swahili speakers as to whether or not both stative shapes are operative and, if they are operative, if a difference in meaning exists. In a discussion about this matter (personal communication), W. H. Whiteley said that he had been assured by at least one supposedly competent speaker of Standard Swahili that the -patik- : -patikan- pair was fully operative, with the meaning distinction which the informant Mr. Mannoro makes. That is, the simple stative form refers to possibility and the compound form refers to possibility involving more of a definite chance the possibility will be realized.

But another competent speaker, Mr. Shabani, tends to reject entirely such a distinction and the use of both forms. When questioned how he would express the concepts supposedly carried by the compound stative form of 'state of disorder' and 'completely in a state' or 'distinct possibility', Mr. Shabani said he would use the simple stative form plus appropriate adverbs for the shades of meaning intended. As is noted elsewhere, there seems to be a definite tendency to replace extended forms in general (but especially compound ones) with the simple base form or a simple extended form and to express the concept in question, which would have been carried by the extended form, by adverbs.

<sup>34</sup>Steere's comment on the prepositional passive—a form admittedly difficult at first for the English speaker to grasp—is typical of the view the early grammarians took toward describing a language like Swahili at all; that is, he is incredulous about the amount of complication involved. He damns with the same faint praise as did Dr. Johnson when he said, upon being asked what he thought of lady preachers, 'Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all.' (Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson Vol. I:226, Everyman Edition). Just so, Steere comments on the prepositional passive (p. 88), 'This construction is undoubtedly difficult for the beginner, but from a linguistic point of view it is delightful. No people can be called uncivilized who have developed their language to this extent.'

<sup>35</sup>Loogman, p. 131. Note that some of the earlier grammarians call what is now generally termed the stative extended form the 'ika and eka passive' (J. L. Krapf, Outline of the Elements of the Kiswahili Language p. 69 (Tubingen, 1850)). Mrs. F. Burton calls it the 'resultant or quasi-passive' (Swahili Grammar and Vocabulary p. 91 (London, 1917)), and it is called the 'neuter passive' by A. and M. H. Werner, A First Swahili Book p. 137 (London, 1927). In many ways, a name which includes the idea of 'neutral state' is better than the less specific term, stative extended form.

<sup>36</sup>Ashton, p. 227-8.

<sup>37</sup>Ashton, p. 228. Mrs. Ashton does note, but she does not make any attempt to pursue the point or relate it to the extension grid, that 'sometimes the stative form, when expressing potentiality, takes the suffix -lika.' She gives these examples: Koti langu limepasuka 'My coat is split'; and Nguo hii haifai, yapasulika 'This cloth is useless, it tears easily' or 'it gets easily torn'. In terms of the point of view taken in this thesis, this lone comment of Mrs. Ashton and the entire matter of the different stative shapes deserve more attention than other grammarians have given the matter.

<sup>38</sup>There is little or no comment in any earlier works on the compound extended forms. Occasionally the prepositional stative is mentioned, as noted above.

<sup>39</sup>Steere, p. 67.

<sup>40</sup>Loogman, p. 134.

<sup>41</sup>Lyndon Harries has said in conversation that he has found the -fanya- type construction for causation in other Bantu languages. Also it has been noted in Xhosa (which, of course, has also been open to considerable influence by English).

<sup>42</sup>Ashton, p. 234.

<sup>43</sup>Loogman, p. 137.

<sup>44</sup>Ashton, p. 220.

<sup>45</sup>Note the possible ambiguities which may arise. Mr. Shabani gives this example: Alikupigia nini?

(1) 'Why did he beat you?' (prepositional form with nini)

Note: a more specific construction: Kwa nini alikupigia?

(2) 'With what did he beat you?' (prepositional form for 'by means of').

Note: a more specific construction: Alikupiga na nini?

<sup>46</sup>D. V. Perrott, Teach Yourself Swahili p. 116 (London, 1951).

<sup>47</sup>Burt, p. 92.

<sup>48</sup>Loogman, p. 141. Loogman's characterization of the subject of a stative verb as an agent seems erroneous; it is only a subject in the sense it is the subject of a state and it is not an actor in any true sense. As noted in section 3.32, a subject of a deep structure stative stem stands in a relation to its object, but it is not involved in any process.

<sup>49</sup>Loogman, p. 141.

## Chapter IV

### SOME SAMPLE VERB STEMS AND THEIR EXTENDED FORMS

#### 4.10 The General Treatment

The matter of how many extensions and which extension suffixes a verb stem might include and in what combinations has received little practical attention. Grammarians have recognized that there are limitations, but few have attempted to identify any specific boundaries. Loogman, for example, says only, 'Derivative forms, of course, cannot be devised arbitrarily; acceptable forms are determined only by usage.'<sup>1</sup>

This chapter represents, in the most practical terms, an investigation of the actual operative extended forms in the grid patterns of eleven closely studied verb stems.<sup>2</sup> A number of sentences, given by the informants to illustrate the usage of specific forms, are listed for each verb form. However, for brevity, sentences from all informants are not included for every form. Each sentence is identified as to the informant who supplied it, as in Chapter III. A grid of the operative extended forms for each stem and a general statement about the forms precedes each individual treatment.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4.11 The Extent to Which the Various Form Classes Are Operative

The examples in this chapter and the discussion in Chapter III indicate that deep structure syntactic and semantic features seem to be the underlying factors which determine whether a given form is operative or not. Although in theory all extended forms are possible--



including compound forms made up of more than one extension suffix-- in fact nowhere near all the 'holes' in any extension grid are filled with operating forms.

The conclusions reached in this thesis are only tentative and they are based only on a consideration of a small part of the syntactic and semantic component and the restrictions it imposes on the total system. However, it seems that these observations can be made about which forms are operative:

(1) Only the simple extended forms (that is, forms composed of no more than a verb stem as the simple base form plus one extension suffix) of the passive, stative, causative, reciprocal/associative and intensive form classes are at all generally operative. Whether or not a base form will have a reversive form, a contactive form, or a static form seems to be purely an individual matter which cannot be predicted. But the occurrence of compound extended forms is severely limited, with deep structure factors as the apparent limiting agents.

(2) The examples of this chapter demonstrate some of the limitations imposed on the ability of compound forms to occur. The necessity to distinguish between compound shapes and compound forms in relation to occurrence is also shown.

(a) For example, if the phonological slot for the simple causative form in a grid is filled not by a causative form, but by a non-stative counterpart of a deep structure stative stem or by an intensive of a non-stative counterpart, the possibility of further extended forms

based on this form is considerably greater than if the slot were filled by a standard causative form class member. The non-stative counterpart (in the causative slot) functions as an independent base form. Because it does not mean 'cause someone to do something', it does not have the objects a causative form necessarily carries. Therefore, its own prepositional and causative extended forms--which by definition entail objects of their own--are not encumbered with the objects their parent form would have had to carry if it were a causative form. This is discussed with examples in section 3.22 and the example sentences in this chapter also illustrate the point.

(b) If a causative shape functions for a causative form class meaning, its active aspect is incompatible with the neutral aspect necessarily associated with the stative extended form class. Therefore, a standard causative form will have its own stative extended form (i.e., a stative causative form) operative only in very marginal contexts, at best. The general incompatibility of stative and causative form class members joined in a compound form is discussed in section 3.44. The examples in this chapter show that such compound forms are unacceptable to the majority of the informants most of the time. But a causative shape which is a deep structure non-stative counterpart and therefore an independent base form will serve as a base form for its own stative extended form with little or no difficulty. Consider -sikilizik- 'that which is possible to be listened to'.

(c) Another deep structure syntactic restriction is that imposed on compound forms with a passive extension suffix as a component.

The passive form's voice is incompatible with that of the stative form (neutral voice). The reciprocal form's requirement that its subject be its own direct object, and the prepositional reciprocal's requirement that its subject be its indirect object, rule out combination with the passive form. However, the simple prepositional and causative forms--both in the active voice--both combine with little difficulty with the passive form to make a passive voice compound form.

(d) The simple reciprocal form's occurrence with a reciprocal meaning related to that of the base form seemingly is restricted by the ability of that base form to take an animate subject and object. For example, -fung- 'close', which does not meet this requirement, has a reciprocal form with a slightly altered meaning -fungan- 'entwine each other, tie each other'. The combination of the reciprocal with the causative form is restricted, for one informant at least, by the incompatibility of the two concepts involved. Mr. Shabani states that reciprocal action involves joint action that the external causation cannot be related to this reciprocity.

(e) The stative form's ability to appear in compounds is perhaps the most severely restricted. The neutral voice of the stative is apparently incompatible, for most informants, with every other simple extended form.

(3) The relation of shape to meaning and its effect on the occurrence of forms is two-fold. (a) First there is the limitation imposed by the shape and meaning relationship within the base form in the grid. If, for example, a prepositional shape functions for a

base form meaning (that is, it has no prepositional form class meaning), this means other shape-meaning relationships in the grid are also 'shifted'. The verb -ambi- 'tell' has a prepositional shape but a base form meaning. Thus, its reciprocal form -ambian- 'tell each other' may have a prepositional reciprocal shape, but a simple reciprocal meaning. (b) Subcategorization features with syntactic and semantic bases also are very significant in restricting what shapes may be operative, and with what meanings. The most important feature investigated, the deep structure stative: non-stative distinction, and its influence have been discussed extensively in Chapter III. The example sentences illustrate the difference in the grid and the possibility of operative forms depending upon whether or not the base form is a deep structure stative stem.

#### 4.12 The Example Sentences

The examples which follow show the limitations on the occurrence of the various extended form classes, especially in compound forms, which have been outlined above.

Comments on the verb form or its usage in a particular sentence are made in the footnotes when there is some question as to meaning or acceptability of the form. These comments are either by the informants on the responses of fellow informants or by the writer of this thesis. When an extension and examples of its use are given without additional comment, it can be assumed nothing was found about the extension or its use which needs special mention.

It is immediately apparent that there is a fair amount of disagreement as to whether or not many of the extended forms cited are operative for the general speaker of Swahili. And it would seem obvious that if, for example, three out of four or five informants reject a form as operative, the extension must then be considered inoperative in general. A cross-hatch (#) sign in the grid of all extended forms marks a verb form as relatively inoperative; two cross-hatches mark it as even less operative. But while these rare forms are probably inoperative in practice, they are still included in this thesis for two reasons: (1) at least one informant (who has been judged to be a competent speaker of Swahili) has stated--and restated upon questioning--these rare forms are or would be acceptable in his idiolect; and (2) more important, the comments of the other informants in rejecting a form are of a great deal of interest. For example, if the informants disagree as to what part of the form they reject (made clear by what extended form they would use as a replacement), this indicates attitudes toward the possibility of making compounds or the importance of expressing certain subtleties in the verb. Also, if the informants replace the disputed extended form with a non-extended construction (for example, a fanya construction in place of a causative form), this shows something about current ideas on the entire verb system and the syntax of the language. Finally, if the informants totally reject an extended form as not only inoperative but also incomprehensible, it provides some indication of the practical status of the many theoretically possible forms.

The numerous questionable forms are not to be considered on a par with fully operative forms. This must be made clear. These forms do, however, give valuable information on the actual means employed to state certain concepts which may be uncommon but which are nevertheless possible to be stated. And when a form for such a concept is rejected it is of interest that in many cases the theoretically possible concept is not expressed explicitly at all by other means when a replacement is made. One must assume the rare, but possible, concept has been rejected with the rejected form. For example, the form -pigishik- 'the possibility of causing someone to hit' is generally rejected. And the idea of 'possibility' is left out of any form given as a replacement.

The list of extended forms for each root is certainly not definitive. It is quite possible that other extended forms may be operative for other competent speakers of Swahili, or even for the informants interviewed here. And it is, of course, also quite possible that many of the forms given here and example sentences illustrating them may be unacceptable to other Swahili speakers. Even for the informants themselves, there was a good deal of ambivalence from session to session as to whether a form should be accepted or not and exactly how it might best be illustrated. However, the forms and sentences listed here were given as valid by the informants themselves and differences of opinion have been mentioned.

## Notes - Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup> Alfons Loogman, Swahili Grammar and Syntax, p. 122 (Pittsburgh, 1965).

<sup>2</sup> The informants in Tanzania supplied extended forms with example sentences for 35 verbs in total, but only 11 verb stems and their extended forms are illustrated here. These 11 stems seem to be representative of all the possible patterns of both grid arrangements and of relationships between shape and meaning. Examples of extended forms from the 24 verbs not included in this chapter were used whenever possible to illustrate points in Chapter III. The list of 24 verbs includes -amk- 'wake up', -ambi- 'tell', -ch- 'rise' (of sun), -ele- 'be clear, intelligible', -end- 'go', \*-fun- 'cover', \*-in- 'slant, bend down', -ju- 'know', -ka- 'live, inhabit', -kut- 'come upon, meet', -l- 'eat', -ogop- 'fear', -oko- 'save', -on- 'see', -p- 'give to', -pat- 'get', -po- 'become cool', -sem- 'say', -ti- 'put, place', -to- 'offer', -u- 'kill', -va- 'be attired, wear', -vunj- 'break', -wek- 'put, place'.

<sup>3</sup> Dunstan Shabani has spot checked all translations; misinterpretations are those of the writer, however, and not his. Many of the translations might be termed 'rough', but they purposely have been kept as direct as possible.

<sup>4</sup> Extended forms produced directly from a base form which itself is already an extended form (i.e., a root plus an extension suffix) are also termed simple extended forms if the base form of their base form is non-existent. For example, -tembe- 'go about, stroll' is such a base because it has a base meaning although it is prepositional in shape. And -tembele- 'go to visit' is a simple prepositional form although it is a double prepositional in shape.

#### 4.20 Eleven Verbs and Their Extended Forms

##### 4.21 The Stem -fa- and Its Extended Forms

##### 4.211 Points of Special Interest<sup>1</sup>

(1) Note the large number of compound extended forms from the base -fany- 'do, make' which are given as operative by one or more informants, but which are totally rejected by the other informants. In several cases, these forms were submitted to outside informants and Swahili authorities who also generally rejected them. What is most interesting about these forms and their rejection is this point (also discussed in section 3.44): When a rejected form is replaced, it is almost universally replaced without any formal replacement for the 'stative' phonological particle in the original rejected compound form. That is, if a form contains both a stative and a causative particle, the form chosen as a replacement will be a causative form, but not a stative one. This seems to be related to the concept of active voice which is judged to be contained in the sentence under consideration: a causative form meets the requirement of being in the active voice, but a stative form does not.

(2) Note also the almost total reject by all informants except Mr. Mannoro of intensive stative extended forms (either the double stative shape or the stative + -an- shape) and of passive stative extended forms.

(3) Further investigation of the entire concept of the deep structure stative: non-stative distinction may indicate that the relationship of -fa- and -fan- involves this distinction. Certainly, -fa- exhibits some of the grid features usually associated with a deep structure stative stem.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Lyndon Harries questions the grouping together of -fa- and -fan- (with -fany- as the causative extended form of -fan-), with -fan- seemingly a derivative or extended form of -fa-. This grouping is open to question; and it should be made clear that -fan- is not to be considered necessarily related to -fa-. The Johnson Standard Swahili-English Dictionary does list the twoverb roots and their extensions together with the comment (p. 88-9) that 'fana is sometimes used in the same way as faa (for similar forms see poa, pona; pua, puna; sonoa, sonona, etc.)'. There definitely seems to be some semantic relationship between these pairings in general. In the case of -po- : -pon- the relationship appears to be this (according to Mr. Shabani): the semantic fields of the two shapes overlap, but -po- has a wider field of reference. -po- may mean 'be cool or be cured'; -pon- refers more exclusively to 'be cured' and it has a more intensive meaning. Therefore, amepoa kabisa 'he has completely recovered' = amepona 'he is entirely well'. There is no question but that -fa- and -fan- also have overlapping semantic fields, but the nature of the overlapping is less clear. -fa- has a basic meaning of 'suitability' of something in general while -fan- means 'be successful' and is applied mainly to an activity. Whether, in fact, -fan- is a specialized intensive extended form of -fa- and whether the other pairs which have corresponding shapes also have the same relationship is a matter for further investigation. It is possible their relationship is related to the stative : non-stative distinction which has been posited for other grids.

4.212 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -fa-

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

CAUSATIVE

faana  
'aid each other'

faika

#falia

#fawa, falia

faa

'possibility or state of being aided'

'aid to, for'

'be fitting', etc.

fanya, #fanza

##fanika

#fawa

fana

'cause to turn out well' and therefore 'do or make'

'state of being successful'

'be successful' with emphasis on outside force

'turn out well, succeed'

#fanyana

fanyisha,

fanyika

fanyia

fanya

1) 'do each other something'--bad connotation

'state or possibility of being done'

'do for', etc.

2) 'do for each other' (same as -fanyian-)

1) 'cause to do'  
2) intensive of simple base

fanyiana

fanyiwa

fanyia

'do for each other'

'be done for'

#fanyikika

#fanyikisha,

#fanyikana

fanyika

'possibility or state of being done'--intensive

'be done with' emphasis on agent

'possibility or state of being done'--intensive

'cause the possibility or state of something being done or of doing'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

BASE FORM

PASSIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

STATIVE

CAUSATIVE

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

fanyisha

fanyishwa

# fanyishia

# fanyishika

# fanyishana

'be caused to do'

1) 'cause to do for'  
2) intensive of simple prep.

1) 'possibility or state of causing to be done or  
2) of doing'

'cause each other to do'

fanyikisha

# fanyikishwa

# fanyikishia

# fanyikishika

# fanyikishishia

# fanyikishana

'be caused the possibility or state of doing'

1) 'cause for someone the possibility or state of something being done  
2) or someone doing (a)

'be in a state or the possibility of being caused to do'  
'cause the possibility of state of someone doing'--intensive of  
'of fanyikish-

'cause each other the possibility or state of doing work'

fanika

# fanikwa

fanikia

# fanikisha

'be successful with emphasis on outside force'

'be successful for, turn out well for'

'cause the state or possibility of succeeding'

fanana

# fananwa

# fananika

# fananisha

'be similar with emphasis on outside force'

1) 'state or possibility of being resembled'  
2) 'of being compared'

1) 'cause to resemble'  
2) 'compare'

BASE FORM  
fananiéha

PASSIVE  
#fananiéha  
 1) 'be caused' 1) 'cause to  
 to resemble' resemble'  
 2) 'be compared' 2) or 'compare'  
 both with  
 'negative' 2) or of being,  
 aspect

PREPOSITIONAL  
#fananiéha  
 1) 'state' or  
 possibility  
 of being  
 resembled  
 2) or of being,  
 'compared'

STATIVE  
#fananiéshika  
 1) 'state' or  
 possibility  
 of being  
 resembled  
 2) or of being,  
 'compared'

CAUSATIVE  
#fananiéshisha  
 intensive--'cause 1) 'cause each other to  
 resemble or  
 2) to be compared'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE  
#fananiéshana

Base Form  
faa

Passive  
fawa, faliwa

faa Inafaa kujihadhari na magonjwa. (SM)  
It is a good idea to guard yourself against diseases.

Inafaa wewe ukiendelea na masomo. (SylM)  
or Inafaa kwa wewe kuendelea masomo.  
It is a good idea for you to progress with (i.e., go on with) (your) studies.

Alinifaa nilipokuwa na dhiki. (A)  
He helped me when I was in great difficulty.

Inafaa kula. (DS)  
It is eatable.  
or It is good to eat.

fawa, faliwa<sup>1</sup> Nilifaliwa sana na pesa alizoziacha marehemu baba yangu. (SylM)  
I was very much aided by the money which was left by my deceased father.

Baada ya kutengana na wazizi wangu na kuishi peke yangu mengi niliyashinda kwa kufuata yale waliyokuwa wakiniambia, hivyo kwa kweli naamini kwamba nimefaliwa nayo sana ambavyo sikutazimia. (R)  
Since moving away from my parents and living by myself, I have succeeded by many (things) from following the words which they told me, thus I certainly believe I was helped by them very much as I had not expected.

Ninashukuru kila ninapofawa. (SM)  
I am thankful for each help (thing) I am given.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery rejects both -faw- and -faliw- for his own usage. Miss Mkwana and Mr. Rashidi reject -faw-. Mr. Shabani accepts both shapes, but he rejects them for his own usage, preferring an active construction.

Base Form

faa

Prepositional

falia

falia Dawa hii inakufalia. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
This medicine aids you (i.e., is good for you).

Inafalia nini akimtesa ndugu yake? (SylM)  
For what does it do good if he teases his brother?

Tazama rafiki yangu, inakufalia nini unapopata sifa hiyo ya wizi...?  
(R)

Look, my friend, it does what good for you to get that reputation  
of a thief?

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwya rejects this usage; she would use -fa- in the sentence as in dawa hii inakufaa. Mr. Shabani tends to reject -fali- entirely and would use -fa-. But Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Ashery maintain there is not much difference between the two shapes and would use either. Note also that the last two persons reject Miss Mkwya's preference for inafaa kwa wewe over inakufalia 'it aids you' as 'too English': they object to the use of kwa wewe for 'for you' and would say inafaa kwako or inafaa kwa ajili yako (if not inakufalia).

Base Form  
faa

Stative  
faika

Reciprocal/Associative  
faana

faika<sup>1</sup> Tunafaika sana na gari hii. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
We are very much benefited by this car.

Alifaika sana kutokana na mke wake wa kwanza. (A)  
He benefited very much from his first wife.

Leonard, habari za biashara yako, je! Unafaika nayo lakini? Maana kweli unaonekana ni mtu usiyeridhika na unachokipata. (R)<sup>3</sup>  
How is your business, Leonard? But are you benefited from it? Because really you appear to be a man who is not satisfied with whatever you get.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani gives -faik- as a sub-standard alternate.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mkwana does not accept the form of this sentence; she would say Gari hii inatufaa sana 'This car suits us very well'. Mr. Ashery would accept either her sentence or the original one as equal.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Shabani notes that the sentences supplied by Mr. Rashidi often exhibit rather 'fractured' Swahili (remember that Mr. Rashidi is a native speaker of Yao and although he claims a standard 12 education, he had not been in Dar es Salaam long and presumably had not used a great deal of Swahili).

faana Tunafaana sana kati mimi na wewe. (SM)  
We help each other a great deal.

Tanzania na Kenya zinafaana. (SM)  
Tanzania and Kenya help each other.

Wanafaana kwa kulima shamba pamoja. (SylM)  
They help each other by cultivating the farm together.

Walihifadhiana kwa kufaana makoti yao. (A)  
They protected each other by giving each other their coats.

Base Form  
fana

Passive  
fanwa

Stative  
fanika

fana

Karamu ilifana? (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
Was the banquet successful?

Mkutano ulifana sana kwa sababu wajumbe wote walihudhuria. (A)  
The meeting turned out very well because all of the delegates attended.

Sijapata barua toka nyumbani ya kunieleza kama sherehe za Pasaka zilifana au vipi... (R)  
I have not yet gotten a letter from home telling me if the Easter celebration turned out well or what...

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwaya accepts this sentence and the form, but she does not use it at all herself. Mr. Shabani accepts it.

fanwa

Karamu ilifanwa? (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
Did the banquet succeed? (i.e., was it well attended, etc.?)

Kwa kutokana na ripoti zinazopatikana mara kwa mara jinsi Rais anavyopokelewa huko nchi za nje, yaelekea hivyo ziara yake inafanwa sana... (R)

From the reports which are often available (telling) how the president was received there abroad, it is made clear that that trip of his is succeeding very well...

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwaya accepts the form, but does not use it; Mr. Ashery and Mr. Shabani reject it entirely. Mr. Mannoro maintains that -fan- means 'something is well done by the initiating agents, such as the hosts of a party' and that -fanw- means 'something succeeds because of an outside agent, such as the guests or circumstances'. It is obvious that the other informants, such as Mr. Ashery, do not feel this distinction at all (see his sentence under -fan- in which the success depends on the guests).

fanika

Karamu ilifanika? Ilifana kwa sababu ilifanika. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
Did the banquet succeed? It was successful because of some inherent factor of success.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all the other informants who would use -fan- only. Mr. Mannoro maintains that the stative emphasizes the inherent nature of the success.



Base Form  
fana

Causative  
fanya

Reciprocal/Associative  
fanana

fanya, fanza<sup>1</sup> Fanya kazi hii. (SM)  
Do this work.

Naweza kufanya kazi. (SylM)  
I can do work.

Moyo wangu wanituma kufanya kazi kwa bidii yangu yote bila kujali saa na wakati ninaoifanya. (R)  
I feel like working with all my energy without regard to the hour or the occasion on which I am doing it.

<sup>1</sup>-fanz-- is sometimes heard with the same meaning as -fany- but it is considered Kiswahili kibovu 'bad Swahili' by all the informants. Professor Lyndon Harries notes, however, that its use is standard on Zanzibar and in other areas.

fanana<sup>1</sup> Watoto wamefanana kwa sura. (SylM)  
The children are alike in appearance.

Alitoa picha inayofanana nawe. (A)  
He offered (i.e., 'gave') a picture which resembled you.

Lo! Mbona mnapenda kuvaa nguo zinazofanana namna hiyo...tuseme ni kwa sababu mmefanana hizo sura zenu. (R)  
Well! Why do you like to wear clothes which resemble each other in this way...shall we say it is because you resemble each other in your appearances.

<sup>1</sup>Note that 'resemble' can be construed as an extension of the meaning 'do for each other' etc.

Base Form  
fanika

Prepositional  
fanikia

Causative  
fanikisha

fanikia<sup>1</sup>

Nilifanya karamu kwa ajili ya kuzaliwa kwangu lakini haikunifanikia vizuri. (SM)

I organized a party on account of my birthday but it did not turn out well for me.

Arusi yangu haikunifanikia kwani sikuwa na pesa za kutosha. (SylM)  
My wedding did not turn out well for me because I did not have enough money.

Kwa siku nyingi za nyuma kabla Afrika haijulikana na wengi, wavumbuzi wengi walitaka kuijulisha Afrika kwa dunia mzima lakini juhudi zao hazikuwafanikia vizuri... (R)

For a long time in the past before Africa was known to many, explorers wanted to make Africa known to the whole world but their efforts did not turn out well for them...

<sup>1</sup>  
All of the informants who use this form consider it rare but operative. Mr. Ashery does not use -faniki- with the same meaning as the other informants; he considers it more equal to -fa- with the meaning of 'be fitting'. Mr. Shabani rejects the form entirely and would use -fan- in a sense of 'succeed, turn out'.

fanikisha<sup>1</sup>

Maelezo yake mema na matulivu yalifanikisha katika maisha yangu. (SylM)  
His fine explanations and gentle ways helped (me) in my life.

Radio ilinifanikisha mtihani wangu wa-kiingereza. (SM)  
The radio caused me to succeed (i.e., aided me) in my English examination.

Roho njema ya Dakta Livingstone na utu wema wake nidyo vitu ambavyo vilivyomfanikisha katika kazi yake... (R)  
The fine soul of Doctor Livingstone and his fine personality were indeed the things which caused him to succeed in his work...

<sup>1</sup>

Both Mr. Ashery and Mr. Shabani indicate they understand the intended meaning in these sentences, but they reject the use of the form for themselves. Mr. Sahbani thinks the extensions of -fanik- (which he considers inoperative) are made by mistakenly mixing the meaning and form of -fan- 'succeed' with that of -fanyik- 'do, make'.

Base Form  
fanya

Passive  
fanywa

Prepositional  
fanyia

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fanwa

Kazi ilifanwa vizuri mwenye kazi yake hufurahi. (SM)  
If the work was well done the supervisor is happy.

Alifanwa jminga kwa kusikiliza maneno yao. (SylM)  
He was made a fool by listening to their words.

Alifanwa kuwa mjumbe wa Tanzania katika Umoja wa Taifa. (A)  
He was made a representative of Tanzania in the United Nations.

Nilipofika Nairboi kwa mara ya kwanza nilifanwa jminga kwa sababu sikuona haya kuuliza lolote lililonishangaza ambalo hapa Dar halipo. (R)

When I arrived in Nairobi for the first time I appeared to be a simpleton because I was not shy about asking about anything at all which surprised me which is not here in Dar.

fanyia

Ukinifanyia kazi hii nitakupa ujira wako. (SM)  
If you do this work for me I will give you your wages.

Alifanyia ukarimu mkubwa alipofika kwao. (SylM)  
or Alimfanyia...  
He made a big celebration for her when she arrived at his house.

Nilimfanyia mpango wake vizuri. (A)  
I organized his project for him well (i.e., I made his arrangements for him well).

1 Mr. Shabani will accept the sentence only with the object prefix (-m-) present.

Base Form  
fanya

Causative  
fanyisha

fanyisha, fanyiza<sup>1</sup> Kwa kuwa wewe ni kiongozi una budi kufanyiza kazi hii sawa sawa. (SM)  
Because you are the director you must have this work done correctly.

Ilimbidi afanyize wajibu wake kwa haraka. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
It behooves him to carry out his responsibilities quickly.

Alimfanyisha kazi ngumu na kwa hiyo alikonda. (A)  
He made her do hard work and therefore she got thin.

Maoni yangu ni kwamba ni kheri ufanyishe mkutano wa wajumbe ili tupate kuelewana vema na ninyi wakubwa wetu na hizo siasa zenu mnazotutumilia sisi wadogo. (R)  
My view is that it is better that you call a meeting of the delegates so that we get (a chance) to understand each other better (mutually) with you, our important ones, and those tactics of yours which you impose on us, we the lesser ones.

Mtu huyu ni mvivu kwa hiyo ni lazima kumfanyisha kazi. (SM)  
This child is lazy; therefore it is necessary he be caused to do work.

<sup>1</sup> -fanyiz- is given as a sub-standard form of -fanyish- as generally only spoken and not written. Professor Lyndon Harries, however, notes that -fanyiz- is standard in many areas.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mkwana specifically states she considers -fanyiz- as intensive in this sentence, but Mr. Shabani rejects the possibility that it be considered an intensive at all; he would use -fany- only. If an intensive sense is desired, he would convey it with an adverb.

Base Form  
fanya

Reciprocal/Associative  
fanyana

fanyana<sup>1</sup> Hatukuwa na haja kumlipa fundi wa kusuka nywele kwa sababu tulifanyana wenyewe. (SM)

We have no need to pay a hairdresser because we did (i.e., fixed the hair) it ourselves.

Walifanyana wajinga na kwa hiyo hawakuweza kumaliza kazi yao. (A)  
They made fools of each other and therefore could not finish their work.

Tafadhali haifai kufanyana ubaya... (R)  
Please, it does not do to do evil to each other...

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mkwana rejects the form entirely and will only use -fanyan- 'do for each other'. Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi consider -fanyan- and -fanyian- generally equal (but not in Mr. Ashery's sentence here) meaning 'do for each other'. They say -fanyian- is more used and better. Mr. Shabani says -fanyan- can only be used with the idea of 'do bad to each other'; otherwise, he says, -fanyian- must be used (he would use it in Mr. Mannoro's and Mr. Rashidi's sentences).

Base Form

fanya

Stative

fanyika

fanyika Wamekatazwa kunywa maji kutoka sasa mpaka uchunguzi utakapofanyika.

(SM)

They are forbidden to drink water from now until an investigation will have been made.

(Kazi) haitwaweza kufanyika kwa urahisi iwapo mwenyewe hutakuwapo.

(SylM)<sup>1</sup>

The work will not be able to be done easily if you yourself will not be here.

Mipango ilifanyika ovyo ovyo na kwa hiyo mambo yalikwenda upogo. (A)<sup>2</sup>

The arrangements were made carelessly and therefore things were disorganized.

<sup>1</sup>Note that there is apparently a certain amount of free variation over to use or not to use -wez- 'can, be able' as an auxiliary with the stative forms (note that Mr. Maede and Mr. Mhina tend not to use it in their responses as cited elsewhere). Mr. Shabani definitely considers it redundant with most stative forms, such as -fanyik- since he feels -fanyik- itself means 'doable'.

<sup>2</sup>Note the use of the adverbs ovyo ovyo to mean 'carelessly'. The use of the stative form plus adverbs to indicate a certain location or intensity (as in this case) seems to be the usual construction instead of the use of the stative form plus the reciprocal/associative extension which only Mr. Mannoro tends to use generally (although it is used by most speakers in the case of a few verbs (i.e., -onek- 'visible', -onekan- 'clearly visible').

Base Form  
fanyia

Passive  
fanyiwa

Reciprocal/Associative  
fanyiana

fanyiwa Alifanyiwa kazi yake. (DS)  
He was done for his work.

Juma alifanyiwa kazi yake na ndugu zake. (SM)  
Juma was done for his work by his brothers.

fanyiana Walifanyiana kazi iwapo mmoja alikuwa mgonjwa. (SM)  
They did work for each other if one was sick.

Walifanyiana kazi ya kuangalia watoto wao. (SYM)  
They did the work of watching their children for each other.

Base Form  
fanyika

Passive  
fanyikwa

Stative  
fanyikika

fanyikwa<sup>1</sup>

Mkutano ulifana kwa sababu ulifanyikwa vizuri. (SM)  
The meeting succeeded because it was organized (done) well.

<sup>1</sup>All of the other informants reject this form and would use either -fanyik- (Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi) or either -fanyik- or -fanyw- (Mr. Shabani and Miss Mkwaya). Miss Mkwaya adds there is the possibility she would consider -fanyikw- as an intensive of -fanyw-, but even she denies the stative meaning with an agentive aspect which Mr. Mannoro says he intended.

This sentence was among those submitted to two other informants, Mr. David Mhina and Mr. Justin Maede, and several persons locally recognized in Dar es Salaam as authorities on Swahili. They all rejected the form -fanyikw- and preferred either -fanyw- or -fanyik-.

fanyikika<sup>1</sup>

Nifajaribu kufanya kazi hii ikiwa itafanyikika. (SM)  
I will try to do this work if it is at all possible to be done.

Kazi ilifanyikika kwa urahisi watu waliposikilizana. (A)  
The work was possible to be done easily when the people cooperated with each other.

<sup>1</sup>This form is entirely rejected by Miss Mkwaya, Mr. Rashidi and Mr. Shabani who would use -fanyik- only. Mr. Ashery considers it rare, but operative for himself. It is intended as an intensive form.



Base Form  
fanyika

Causative  
fanyikisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
fanyikana

fanyikisha, fanyikiza<sup>1</sup>

Ukifanyikisha kazi hii vizuri nitafurahi. (SM)

If you cause the possibility of this work being done well, I will be happy.

Ukiwafanyikiza watu hawa kazi taratibu kazi itaharibika. (A)

If you cause the possibility of these people doing the work well (i.e., if you make them do it well), it will not be done well.

Overseer alipokuwa mgonjwa mjomba alichaguliwa kufanya kazi yake, lakini hakuweza kufanyikiza hizo kazi vizuri kama mwenyewe, kwaani mjomba si mkali kama yeye. (R)

When the overseer was sick my uncle was chosen to do his work, but he could not cause the possibility of the work being done as well as he himself (the overseer), for my uncle is not as firm as he is.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwya and Mr. Shabani reject the form and Mr. Rashidi says he would use it very rarely himself. -fanyikish- and -fanyikiz- are considered equal in meaning. There is no question that they are causative forms, but how much stative sense the -ik- portion of the verb shape is meant to have is not clear, for the total form could be considered as an intensive causative as well as a causative with insistence upon the possibility of the action.

fanyikana<sup>1</sup>

Itafanyikana hazi hii? (SM)

Will this work be at all possible to do?

Mkutano ulifanyikana bila ya matata. (A)

The meeting was conducted completely without difficulty.

<sup>1</sup>The form is rejected by the other informants who would use -fanyik- only.

Base Form  
fanyisha

Passive  
fanyishwa

Reciprocal/Associative<sup>171</sup>  
fanyishana

fanyishwa Wale watu walifanyishwa kazi ngumu. (DS)  
Those people were caused to do hard work.

Wanafunzi wote walifanyishwa kazi ya kujenga shule. (SM)  
All the students were caused to do the work of building the school.

fanyishana<sup>1</sup> Kwa ujinga wao walifanyishana wapate taabu maishani. (SylM)  
On account of their stupidity they caused each other to act so that  
they got troubles in their lives.

Mimi na rafiki yangu tulikuwa tukifanyishana kazi. (SM)  
My friend and I were causing each other to do work.

Walifanyishana kazi ngumu kila siku walipoamka. (A)  
They caused each other to do hard work every day when they awoke.

<sup>1</sup> This form is clearly causative. Mr. Shabani recognizes the theoretical possibility of this form's existing, but he rejects it and prefers to use another verb. For example, in Miss Mkwaya's sentence he would use wameleteana matata 'they brought each other troubles'.

Base Form  
fanyisha

Stative  
fanyishika

fanyishika<sup>1</sup>

Mtoto huyu si mvivu tu bali ni mbishi pia kwa hiyo ni vigumu kumfanyishika kazi. (SM)

This child is not only lazy, he is also argumentative; therefore it is difficult to cause the possibility of his doing work (i.e., the possibility of causing him to do work is difficult to achieve).

Kazi hii haifanyishiki na Juma. (DS)<sup>2</sup>

This work cannot be caused to be done by Juma.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants. The major point in rejecting it seems to be aversion to the use of an object prefix with a stative form. (Of the Swahili experts commenting on this sentence, Mr. Said Hilal makes this specific objection). All informants understand the sentence as meaning 'cause him to do work' and would use ni vigumu kufanyisha kazi 'it is difficult to cause him to work'. Note that the stative aspect of possibility is left out.

<sup>2</sup>Note that Mr. Shabani would reject Mr. Mannoro's active use of this form and that Mr. Shabani's own use is not active.

Base Form  
fanyisha

Prepositional  
fanyishia

fanyishia<sup>1</sup>

Mtoto huyu ni mvivu kwa hiyo nitamwomba mwalimu anifanyishie mwanangu kazi. (SM)

This child is lazy; therefore I will ask the teacher that he cause my child (for me) to do work.

Alipoulizwa na askari alijaribu kumfanyishia ubishi. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
When he was questioned by the policeman he tried to make (for him) an argument.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected outright by Mr. Rashidi. Miss Mkwya accepts Mr. Mannoro's sentence, but says she would not use the form. Mr. Shabani initially totally rejected the form, but later said he would accept it in such a sentence as alinifanyishia kazi hii kwa sababu nilikuwa mgonjwa 'he caused (for me) this work to be done (i.e., he caused someone else to do the work) because I was sick (and therefore could not do the 'causing' myself). Mr. Shabani indicates, however, that the possibility of this form's being used is very remote and that the typical speaker would use a different construction such as alimlazimisha anifanyie ... 'he required of him that he do for me ...'

The additional informants and Swahili experts who were questioned about this sentence (that of Mr. Mannoro) indicated either lack of understanding of the sentence or did not comment. Mr. Kuhanga did say this: kiarifa hiki chaelekea kuleta maana ingawa sijapata kutumia wala kumsikia mwingine akikitumia...ni jambo la watu watatu. 'This sentence seems to have meaning but I have not yet used it nor have I heard another person use it...it is a matter of three people.'

<sup>2</sup>It seems clear the form is intended as an intensive, not a causative, here.

Base Form  
fanyikisha

Passive  
fanyikishwa

fanyikishwa<sup>1</sup> Juma alifanyikishwa kazi kwa nguvu. (SM)  
Juma was made to do work by force.

Alifanyikishwa kazi ngumu alipokuwa kifungoni. (A)  
He was made to do hard work when he was in jail.

Alifanyikishwa kazi na mwalimu wake wakati usiostahili ikiwa ni  
adhabu yake. (R)  
He was made to do work by his teacher at a time which did not warrant  
being with his punishment.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mkwana and Mr. Shabani reject this form. Both reject any stative sense and would use -fanyishw-. Indeed, it seems clear that if -fanyikishw- is to be considered operative, it must be considered as an intensive of -fanyishw- unless one forms the conjecture that the stative sense contains the active idea of 'possibility of someone doing' ('doing' in the case of extensions of -fany-) as well as the regularly attributed passive idea of 'possibility of something being done' or the 'do-able-ness' of something). If this conjecture is not too far-fetched to consider, then the meaning of Juma alifanyikishwa kazi kwa nguvu is 'Juma was caused to enter the possibility (or state) of doing work by force'. If it is granted that there is not a great difference in the two meanings: intensive causative passive or stative causative passive, but there is some difference of voice.

Base Form  
fanyikisha

Prepositional  
fanyikishia

fanyikishia<sup>1</sup>

Mtoto wangu ni mvivu sana kwa hiyo nitamwomba mwalimu wake anifanyikishie kazi. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
My child is very lazy; therefore I will ask his teacher that he cause for me the possibility of (the child's) doing work.

Hali yangu si mzuri sana hivyo naomba msaada wako, ili unifanyikishie kazi niliyotaka kuifanya kesho pamoja na hao vijana wa Mgulani National Service. (R)

My health is not very good; therefore I ask for your assistance that you cause for me the possibility of my work, which I wanted to do tomorrow together with those young people of the Mgulani National Service, being done.

<sup>1</sup>This form is not understood in the same way by all informants (who all reject it as operative). Mr. Shabani understands it as meaning 'cause someone else to do work for me' and would use a construction such as naomba umlazimishie yule mtu anifanyie... But Miss Mkwaya and Mr. Ashery understand it as an intensive prepositional form meaning 'do work for me' and would use naomba anifanyie... 'I ask that he do for me....'

<sup>2</sup>The other informants and Swahili authorities who were asked to comment on Mr. Mannoro's sentence all rejected it, but also were in disagreement as to the intended meaning. All rejected the stative notion in their suggested re-phrasings—a point which is significant because it is indicative of the rejection of a stative shape combined with another extension. Mr. Kuhanga would use only amfanyishe 'cause him to work'. Mr. Hilal listed either amfanyishe kazi or anifanyishie kazi 'cause him to work for me'. Mr. Jahadmy preferred another construction, amfanyishe kazi kwa ajili yangu 'that he cause him to do work on my account', but also listed anifanyishie kazi. Mr. Maede interpreted the sentence entirely without a causative sense and used only a simple prepositional form. Mr. Mhina rephrased it with a simple causative, amfanyishe kazi.

Base Form  
fanyikisha

Stative  
fanyikishika

fanyikishika<sup>1</sup> Mtoto huyu ni mbishi hawezi kufanyikishika kazi. (SM)  
This child is argumentative; he cannot be in the state of being caused to be in the state of doing work.

Kazi haikuweza kufanyikishika kwa ukosefu wa majembe. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
The work could not be in the state of being caused to be in the state of being done because of the shortage of hoes.

<sup>1</sup>This form is totally rejected by the other informants. Miss Mkwana understands Mr. Mannoro's sentence as meaning simply hataki kufanya kazi... 'he does not like to do work', while Mr. Shabani makes it a simple causative sense by using kuwezi kumfanyisha kazi... 'you cannot cause him to do work...'. Mr. Rashidi seems to be closest to the meaning in substituting hawezi kumfanya afanye kazi... 'he cannot cause him that he do work'. But all alternatives completely lack the sense of a stative meaning (the other informants and Swahili authorities questioned on this sentence gave similar responses--and as varied--as those above). However, since this form, along with others in which a stative form is used with an animate subject, is rejected, it seems fair to conclude that generally the conjecture (under -fanyikishw- above) that a stative may have an active sense is rejected. (However, see -pendezek- which seems to mean either 'be pleasing' or 'be pleased').

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery would only use this form if he wanted to emphasize the stative potentiality of the situation (and note that there is no animate subject as there is in the case of Mr. Mannoro's sentence).

Base Form  
fanyikisha

Causative  
fanyikishisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
fanyikishana

fanyikishisha<sup>1</sup> Baba alinifanyikishisha kazi ili niwe mtu bora baadaye. (SM)  
Father caused the state or possibility of my doing work so that I  
might be a better man later.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants who would use -fanyish-. Mr. Shabani mentions that -fanyikish- could be used as an intensive causative form (but note that he earlier rejected -fanyikish- as an operative form). As used here, -fanyikish- is a causative stative, but it is obviously not operative for most speakers.

fanyikishana<sup>1</sup> Mimi na rafiki yangu tulifanyikishana kazi ngumu. (SM)  
My friend and I caused each other to enter the state or possibility  
of doing hard work.

<sup>1</sup>All other informants would use -fanyishan- (and even that form is considered rare).



Base Form  
fanana

Passive  
fananwa

Stative  
fananika

Causative  
fananisha

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fananwa<sup>1</sup>

Juma na Ali hufananwa na sauti zao. (SM)  
Juma and Ali are similar in their voices.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants who would use -fanan-.

fananika<sup>1</sup>

Tabia za Amerikani haziwezi kufananika. (SM)  
The character of Americans cannot be resembled.

Matendo yake hayakufananika hata na ndugu zake. (A)  
His deeds did not resemble at all (those) of his brothers.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by Miss Mkwaya, Mr. Rashidi and Mr. Shabani; Mr. Ashery considers it very rare. Mr. Shabani rejects the form entirely and says that -fananishw- 'be caused to resemble' and therefore 'be compared' is the only form which would make sense in these sentences. Mr. Mannoro considers -fananik- as a typical stative.

fananisha<sup>1</sup>

Nitafananisha sanamu hili langu liwe kama mimi mwenyewe. (SM)  
I will cause this statue of mine to be like I myself.

Huwezi kufananisha tajiri na maskini yule. (SylM)  
You cannot compare a rich man to that poor man.

Tuliwafananisha Juma na Ali kuwa tabia zao ni sawa. (A)  
We made Juma and Ali resemble each other that their dispositions be the same.

Nilimfananisha mtoto huyu na Juma. (DS)  
I compared this child to Juma.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani will only accept 'compare' as a meaning for this form, but it seems clear that in several of the other sentences the intended meaning is 'cause to resemble'. No doubt which meaning is intended would not be open to question at all if we had a fuller context. It is of interest, however, that there is disagreement here.

Base Form  
fananisha

Passive  
fananishwa

Prepositional  
fananishia

fananishwa Sipendi mtoto wangu kufananishwa na wako. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
I do not like my child to be caused to resemble yours.

Mara nyingi nipitapo mjia hii hufananishwa na msichana mmoja ambaye watu husema tumefanana sana. (SylM)  
Many times when I pass on this road I am compared with a certain girl who people say resembles me a great deal.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani would accept only 'be compared' as the proper meaning here. Either 'be compared' or 'be caused to resemble' seems possible in this context.

fananishia<sup>1</sup> Sipendi unifananishie mtoto wangu na wako. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
I do not like that you cause my child to resemble yours.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwana accepts this form with the meaning 'cause to resemble' but Mr. Shabani will accept only 'compare' as a meaning.

<sup>2</sup>Note the 'negative' aspect here: the object prefix does not refer to any object but conveys the idea that the action was done at the displeasure of the referent of the object prefix.

Base Form  
fananisha

Stative  
fananishika

fananishika Mtoto wangu hawezi kufananishika na wa kizungu kwa sababu rangi zao ni mbali mbali. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
My child cannot resemble a European child because their colors are different.

Mambo haya hayafananishiki kwa sababu hayawezi kufananishwa. (A)  
These matters are not comparable because they cannot be compared.

Mtu aliyesoma historia ya nchi za Ulaya Magharibi hatashangaa kwamba Waamerikani na Waingereza wanaweza kufananishika kwaani mtu kama huyo aelewa wazi kwamba hao wote asili yao ni moja tu ya Uingereza. (R)<sup>2</sup>

A man who has read the history of the countries of Western Europe will not be surprised that Americans and the English are in a state of resembling each other because a man like this one understands clearly that they all have the same origin in England.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwana regards this form as the same as fananish-, but she would not use it. Mr. Shabani accepts only the meaning 'comparable'

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Rashidi considers this form the same as fananishw-. The meaning for his sentence could be 'resemble' or 'be compared'.

Base Form  
fananisha

Causative  
fananishisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
fananishana

fananishisha<sup>1</sup>

Ninafananishisha Juma na Ali ya kwamba sura zao ni namna moja. (SM)

I caused Juma and Ali to resemble each other so that their appearance was of one sort.

Tulifananishisha sura ya Juma na Ali kuwa namna moja. (A)  
We made the appearance of Juma and Ali to be one kind.

<sup>1</sup>This form is entirely rejected by Miss Mkwana, Mr. Rashidi, and Mr. Shabani. Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Ashery consider it rare, but operative; it is an intensive form, not a double causative.

fananishana<sup>1</sup>

Mimi na Ali tunafanishana kuwa sawa na watu wa Ghana. (SM),  
(SylM)

Ali and I made each other appear to be like the people of Ghana.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani would only accept this form as meaning 'compare each other with'; he would consider it rare.

4.22 The Stem -pend- and Its Extended Forms

## 4.221 Points of Special Interest

(1) The base form -pend- 'like, love' is classified as a deep structure stative stem because it exhibits certain characteristics, notably (a) a prepositional form operating for a variant meaning other than \*'like in the place of someone', which is unsemantical, and (b) a causative shape which functions for the meaning 'please' and which is a base form in its own right for extended forms of that meaning.

(2) Note the problems of meaning which arise because -pendez-, the causative shape, seems to have a number of meanings. They are:

(a) 'please'. Grammarians have often stated the semantic situation of -pendez- thus: the meaning is \*'cause to like' and therefore 'please'. But 'please' is not only not semantically equivalent to \*'cause to like'; it also has a different syntactical structure ('please' requires only an object of the act of pleasing while 'cause to like' requires two objects). For an example of the use of -pendez- to mean 'please': Nguo hii imenipendeza (DS) 'this garment pleases me'.

(b) 'cause to be pleasing'. Confusion arises because the identical construction used for 'please' may also serve for the meaning 'cause to pleasing', depending--apparently--only on the context. Nguo hii imenipendeza can mean 'this garment causes me to be pleasing', i.e., 'this garment looks well on me'.

(c) 'be pleasing'. With a syntactical pattern allowing for no object, -pendez- means 'be pleasing', as in unapendeza 'you are pleasing' or Anapendeza kuwa headmaster (DS) 'he is pleasing to be headmaster' i.e., 'he looks or acts like the kind of person who would be headmaster'.

What is most interesting about these various meanings is the apparent neutralization of the passive:active distinction. This is not the same type of neutralization involved for 'sell' in the English example, 'John sells books quickly' and 'the books sell quickly', for in the English instance a distinction of transitive:intransitive is involved. (The same type of distinction is present for 'please': 'be pleasing' but not for 'please' and 'cause to be pleasing'.) Note, however, that 'cause to be pleasing' is not considered an instance of the standard causation as discussed in this thesis; that can only operate with two direct objects and in 'cause to be pleasing' there is only an object of the causation involved.

(3) The semantic situation just described and the grid pattern of -pendez- leads one to question the assignment of this form as the non-stative counterpart of -pend-, for it appears that -pendez- also exhibits the characteristics of deep structure stative stems: (a) The passive:active neutralization tends to indicate a neutral voice; (b) the prepositional shape takes no standard meanings, and is even non-existent for at least one informant (see below); (c) the causative shape functions as an intensive of -pendez- and not for the meaning \*'cause to please'.

(4) A closer look at the extended forms of -pendez- reveals these points: (a) The passive shape -pendezw- can mean either 'be pleased' or 'be pleasing'. For example, alipendezwa na kazi yake (DS) could mean 'he is pleased with his work' or 'he is pleasing in his work'. Again, the active:passive distinction is lacking. (Mr. Shabani specifically makes this point,) (b) The prepositional extended shape, -pendeze- presents other

problems. Mr. Shabani accepts the possibility of its being operative, but he tends to reject it; furthermore, he does not even understand the sentences supplied by other informants for this form. Their sentences can only be interpreted as exhibiting a variety of meanings:

(1) 'be pleased by'. Ninampendezea usemi wake... 'I am pleased by his conversation...' (SM)

(2) 'like' (intensive). Ali anapendezea kwenda pwani... 'Ali likes to go to the seashore...' (SylM).

(3) 'be liked for'. Alipendezea kwa mwendo wake... 'He was liked for his graceful gait...' (A). (This meaning could also be interpreted as 'please by').

(4) 'cause to be pleasing for'. Alinipendezea chumba changu.... 'He caused my room to be pleasing for me' (A).

An explanation for this variety of meanings is lacking and one can only suggest that the confusion is due to the general incompatibility of 'stative' verbs (-pendez- being one) with the prepositional extension in any meaning other than 'do something on account of some feature' (for example, alipendezea kwa sura yake 'he was pleasing on account of his appearance'). (c) As with other 'stative' verbs, there is no causative extension operative producing the meaning 'cause to please'. Rather the causative shape -pendezesh- seems to function for an intensive form, although it is rejected by Mr. Shabani. (d) There is considerable disagreement, but several informants use the shape -pendelez- (in shape the causative of the prepositional extension of the base extension -pend-) for the meaning 'cause to be pleasing' as in City Council inapendeleza uwanja wa Mnazimmoja kwa kupanda maua 'the City Council caused the field of Mnazimmoja to be

pleasing by planting flowers'. (Mr. Mannoro). But other informants generally seem to prefer and accept (see Above) the simple causative shape -pendez- to mean 'cause to be pleasing' (along with its other meanings). (e) The only other shape associated with the meaning 'please' is the reciprocal/associative in -pendezan-. Here there seems little disagreement over the use and meaning 'please each other'. (There seems no difficulty with any stative stem over the operability of the reciprocal form.)

(5) If, indeed, -pend- 'like' and its causative extended shape -pendez- 'please' are both deep structure stative stems, it upsets somewhat the pattern which has been established whereby either the reversive parent form or the causative extended shape serve as the non-stative counterpart of the stative stem. However, the case for -pendez- as a deep structure stative stem itself seems to be a strong one. Naturally, this leads one to question the classification of other causative shapes. Further investigation would indicate whether the classification under which the causative shape with a deep structure stative stem as a base form is termed a non-stative counterpart can be applied generally, or whether only a few such causative shapes are exceptions to the rule.



4.222 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -pend-

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

penda 'like, love'      pendwa 'be liked'

pendea 'like on account of'

pendealea 'be liked for'

pendeka 'possibility or state of being likeable'

pendealeka 'be favored' (bad connotation)

pendealeka 'be favored by' -- bad connotation

pendana 'like each other'

pendeana 'like each other on account of'

pendeaka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendeakeka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendezaka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendeakeka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendeakeka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendeakeka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendeakeka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

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pendezaka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendezaka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

pendezaka 'possibility or state of being likeable' with emphasis on agent

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

pendeleana  
'favor each other'  
bad connotation

#pendekezeza #pendekezezasha  
1) possibility of 'cause or state of possibility or state of being likeable', pleasing  
2) possibility or being caused to enter state of being likeable  
3) possibility of state of being petitioned

#pendekezea  
1) 'make likeable for', etc.  
2) 'petition for, to', etc.

#pendekezwa  
1) 'be made likeable', etc.  
2) intensive of -pendeza  
3) 'be petitioned' (to like)

pendezeana  
'please each other by, etc.'

#pendekezana  
1) 'petition each other'  
2) 'cause each other to be likeable (ingratiante)'

#pendezanika #pendezanisha  
'state or possibility of being pleased', intensive of 'please' -pendezeesh

##pendanishana  
'cause each other to like each other, get along' (intensive)

#pendelezana  
'please each other' (intensive)

pendelea

pendekeza

pendeza

pendekeza

pendezana

pendanisha

pendeleza

pendanishwa  
'be caused to get along, etc.' (intensive)

#pendezewa  
'be pleased by, be pleasing on account of'

## 4.223 Examples Sentences for Extended Forms

Base formPassive

penda

pendwa

Penda

Napenda kunywa chai kila siku. (SM)  
I like to drink tea every day.

Anapenda sana kutembea kando ya bahari saa za jioni. (SylM)  
He likes very much to walk along the sea during the evening hours.

Napenda kusoma magazeti ya kiswahili. (A)  
I like to read Swahili journals.

Leo nimefurahi sana, kwa ani nimekutana na yule kijana  
ninayependa saa na. (R)  
Today I am very happy because I met that young man whom I like  
very much.

Pendwa

Ninapendwa na watu wote kijijini kwangu. (SM)  
I am liked by all the people in our small village.

Mtoto yule anapendwa sana na wazazi wake. (SylM)  
That child is liked very much by his parents.

Katika mji wetu napendwa na watu wote. (A)  
In our village I am liked by all the people.

Bahati mbabaya imempata rafiki yangu, hakuna anayependwa naye  
hapa. (R)  
My friend has bad luck; there is no one here who is liked by  
him.

Base Form

penda

Prepositional

pendea

Pendea<sup>1</sup>

Mtu huyu ni mbaya kwa sura lakini nanachopendea ni usafi. (SM)  
 This man is bad in appearance but that which I like him for is  
 (his) cleanliness (of manner?)..

Ninampendea watoto wake kwa sababu yeye ananipenda mimi. (SM)  
 I like his children because he likes me.

Anampendea mwendo wake wa taratibu. (SYM)  
 He likes him for his orderly manner.

Ninakupendea kwa macho yako. (A)  
 I like you for your eyes.

Siwezi kuelewa Suzanna alichompendea Oswald, iwapo yeye Oswald  
 anayo kila aina ya sifa mbaya. (R)  
 I do not understand what it is Suzanna likes Oswald, considering  
 that Oswald has every kind of bad character trait.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani specifically notes that -pende has only the  
 specialized meaning 'like because of' and not the usual  
 meanings associated with preposition extensions (which is  
 in accord with the characteristics of a deep structure  
 stative stem).

Base FormStativeCausative

penda

pendeka

pendeza

pendeka Mtu asiyependeka na wewe usimpende. (SM)  
Do not like a man who is not likeable.

Mtoto huyu hapendeki kwani yote aliyofanyiwa kwake si kitu. (SylM)  
This child is not likeable because all the things which have  
been done for him are in vain.

Mtoto aliyependeka kwa baba alinunuliwa saa. (A)  
The child who was likeable by his father was bought for a watch.

Mtu huyu hakupendeka na kwa hiyo hakununuliwa santuri. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
This man was not likeable and therefore was not bought for a  
phonograph.

Mtu kama unajidhani kuwa maarufu na kujawa kiburi kwa uzuri wa  
mwilli wako, ni wazi utakuwa mpweke kwaani hutapendeka. (R)  
A man as you think yourself to be celebrated and full of pride  
on account of the fineness of your body, it is clear you will  
be a lonely person because you will not be likeable.

<sup>1</sup>When questioned about the use or non-use of -wez- 'can, be able'  
with the stative form, Mr. Ashery said he sees no difference  
except a slight one of more emphasis attached to the use of  
-wez- plus the stative. Note that elsewhere (in commenting on  
-fanyik-) Mr. Shabani says he considers the -wez- redundant with  
the stative.

pendeza<sup>1</sup> Maua haya yanapendeza sana kuyaona. (SM)  
These flowers are very pleasing to see.

Mtu huyu anapendeza sana. (SM)  
This man is very pleasing (or popular)

Alitaka kumpendeza baba yake kwa kumnunulia koti zuri sana toka  
China. (SylM)  
He wanted to please his father by buying him a very fine coat  
from China.

John alivaa mavazi ya kupendeza sana. (A)  
John wore very pleasing garments.

<sup>1</sup>Note that mambo ya kupendeza (DS) means 'things of interest'

Base FormRecipr/Associative

penda

pendana

pendana

Tunapendana sana na ndugu yangu. (SM)  
My brother and I like each other very much.

Katika ukoo ule ni wachache ambao wanashikana wanapendana. (SylM)  
In that family (clan) there are few who like each other as friends.

Bwana na bibi walipendana wakawaoana. (A)  
He and she liked each other and married each other.

Onyo la mwisho alilonipa baba kabla sijaondoka nyumbani, lilikuwa  
juu ya kupendana na watu ambao nafahamu wazi ni waovu kwa  
jija. fulani fulani. (R)  
The final warning which Father gave me before I left home was  
about making friends with people whom I clearly knew were  
bad in various ways.

Base Form

pendea

Recipr./Associative

pendeana

pendeana<sup>1</sup>

Tunapendeana watoto wetu kwa sababu sisi wenyewe ni marafiki.  
(SM)

We like each other's children because we ourselves are friends.

Wanapendeana ndugu zao kwa sababu wamekaa siku nyingi kwa urafiki na upendo. (SylM)

They like their brothers for each other (i.e. on account of each other) because they have lived for a long time in friendship and a state of love.

Mimi na rafiki yangu tunapendeana fedha. (A)

My friend and I like each other for money (i.e., 'the basis of our friendship is money')

Ebu kaka, niambie lipi hasa jema ambalo marafiki wao wapendeana.  
(R)

I say, brother, tell me for what good thing in particular do their friends like each other?

<sup>1</sup>Note that the meaning is not 'like something in the place of each other' (which is not compatible with the semantic structuring of a deep structure stative stem such as -pend-) but rather 'like something on account of each other' or 'like each other on account of something.'

Base Form

pendea

Passive

pendewa

Prepositional

pendelea

pendewa Mimi ni mtu fukara lakini ninapendewa tabia yangu nzuri. (SM)  
I am a poor person but I am liked for my good disposition.

Anapendewa kwa tabia yake njema na ukarimu wake. (SylM)  
He is liked for his fine nature and his hospitality.

Mtoto mtiifu alipendewa kwa desturi yake njema. (A)  
The obedient child was liked for his fine habit(s).

pendelea<sup>1</sup> Ninapendelea mpira zaidi kuliko kuogelea. (SM)  
I prefer playing ball to swimming.

Michaël anapendelea sana kuogelea ziwani wakati wa jioni. (SylM)  
Michael likes very much to swim in the lake in the evening.

Baba mzuri humpendelea mtoto wake asome. (A)  
A good father likes to have his son go to school (to study).

Nilipokuwa katika shule, Mara nyingi niliamini yote niliyoyaandika katika mtihani kuwa sahihi, hivyo baada ya kusahihishwa huo mtihani na mtu akafaulu zaidi yangu niliona shaka kwamba mwalimu kapendelea katika kusahihisha, na sasa natambua kwamba sivyo. (R)

When I was in school, many times I believed everything which I wrote in an examination was correct; thus after that examination was corrected and a person did better than I did, I suspected that the teacher had shown favoritism in the correcting, and now I realize that it was not so.

Ningependelea kusoma vitabu hivi. (SM)  
I would be interested to read these books.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts only 'be interested in' or to 'show favoritism' in the worst sense as the possible meaning of this form. The same applies to the extension of this form. Therefore, he rejects the usage of Mr. Mannoro, Miss Mkwaya, and Mr. Ashery.



<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Recipr/Associative</u>
pendeka	pendekwa	pendekeka	pendekana

pendekwa<sup>1</sup> Mtoto huyu hawezi kupendekwa kwa sababu ni kiburi. (SM)  
This child cannot be likeable because he is proud.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants who would use -pendek- only.

pendekeka<sup>1</sup> Binti huyu hawezi kupendekeka kwa sababu tabia yake ni nbaya mno. (SM)  
This young woman cannot be likeable at all because her nature is very bad.

Mtoto mdogo alipendekeka na wazee wake. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
A small child was very likeable by his parents.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants reject this form; they would use -pendek- only.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery says the meaning is the same as that of -pendek- but -pendek- implies a certain amount more of the inherent quality of likeableness. He stresses the role of the context in the determination of which form to employ.

pendekana<sup>1</sup> Mtu huyu hawezi kupendekana kwa vile tabia yake si mzuri. (SM)  
This man is not able to be likeable at all because his nature is not good.

<sup>1</sup>All other informants reject this form; they would use -pendek-.

Base FormCausative

pendeka

pendekeza

pendekeza<sup>1</sup>

Ninajipendekiza kwa bwana rais ili anipende. (SM)  
I am causing myself to be likeable by the president so that he might like me.

Usipendekize kufuata starehe za dunia zitaharibu maisha yako. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>

Do not like to follow the pleasures of the world; they will ruin your life.

Ukipendekiza sana urafiki na Anna utapotea mara moja. (SylM)  
If you enjoy friendship with Anna you will be lost at once.

Ukipendekiza ulevi basi utajiona huna afya mzuri... (R)  
If you enjoy drunkenness, well you will see (for yourself) you will not have good health...

Alijipendekiza kwa watu wakubwa ili apate kazi. (A)  
He made himself to be 'likeable by (in the eyes of) important people in order that he might get work.

Alipendekiza kwamba wajumbe wafanye kivyo. (DS)<sup>3</sup>  
He petitioned that the representatives do thus.

<sup>1</sup>In terms of its components, this form should theoretically mean 'cause to be likeable' and in the case of kujipendekiza, 'ingratiate oneself'. This is the meaning Mr. Ashery and Mr. Mannoro attribute to it. But note the sentences of Miss Mkwaya and Mr. Rashidi. They obviously see it as an intensive of the simple base form pend- and as nothing more. It is possible this confusion either is a result of or the cause of the use of the word mapendekizo 'wishes' or 'petitions'. (Rais wa Jamhuri ya Tanzania Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, jana alitangaza mapendekizo yaliyofanywa na mkutano wa pamoja Halmashauri Kuu ya TANU na AFRO SHIRAZI.... (lead story in the newspaper Uhrur, May 7, 1965) 'The president of the republic of Tanzania Julius Nyerere yesterday announced the recommendations which were made by the meeting of the executive committees of Tanu and the Afro Shirazi parties....')

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mkwaya specifically says she would interchange usipendekize with the simple base form usipende in this sentence.

<sup>3</sup>Mr. Shabani will accept this form only with the specialized meaning of 'petition' or in the shape kujipendekiza 'ingratiate oneself'. He notes the use of mapendekizo 'petitions'.

Base FormPassiveRecipr/Associative

pendeza

pendezwa

pendezana

pendezwa

Ninapendezwa sana na desturi yako. (SM)  
I am very pleased by your habit(s).

Baba alipendezwa sana na maendeleo ya Mary shuleni kwake. (SylM)  
Father was very pleased by Mary's progress in her school.

Nilipendezwa naye kwa ajili ya kazi yake. (A)  
I was very pleased with him on account of his work.

Ninapendezwa na mambo ya lugha. (A)  
I am pleased by linguistic matters.

pendezana<sup>1</sup>

Tunapendezana kwa kusaidiana kazi. (SM)  
We please each other by helping each other with work.

Wanapendezana kwa kuwa tabia zao na vitendo vyao viko sawa. (SylM)  
They please each other because their natures and their deeds are alike.

Walipendezana na kufurahishana kwa vinywaji. (A)  
They please each other and make each other happy with drinks.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani points out that this form has a second meaning similar to that of -patan-, 'suit each other'. Miss Mkwaya's sentence could be interpreted as having this meaning.

Base FormPrepositional

pendeza

pendezea

pendeza<sup>1</sup>

Ninampendezea usemi wake ijapokuwa kaukuwa mzuri. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
 I am pleased by his conversation unless it is not nice.

Ali anapendezea kwenda pwani na ndugu zake. (SylM)<sup>3</sup>  
 Ali likes to go to the seashore with his brothers.

Alipendezea kwa mwendo wake wa maringo. (A)<sup>4</sup>  
 He was liked for his graceful gait.

Alinipendezea chumba changu. (A)<sup>5</sup>  
 He made my room pleasing-for me.

<sup>1</sup> There is a great deal of confusion over the meaning of this form; however, Mr. Shabani and Mr. Rashidi reject it although they understand the sentences above.

<sup>2</sup> -pendeze- in this sentence can only be considered as a prepositional extension of -pendezw- in meaning, for the meaning is passive (although the shape is of the active form). Note also that example of the object prefix without a direct referent (but note that there is no 'negative' connotation here as there is with many such object prefixes).

<sup>3</sup> Miss Mkwaya says she considers -pendeze-, -pendele-, and -pendezw- all interchangeable in this sentence with no meaning differential. We must conclude that there seems to be no active and passive distinction in the forms of this verb. Mr. Ashery rejects this sentence.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Ashery (note he rejects Miss Mkwaya's 'active' sense sentence) considers the form passive and says he would also use alipendwa kwa in the sentence.

<sup>5</sup> This is the only sentence of the group which Mr. Shabani will accept at all. And in this sentence Mr. Ashery indicates the intended meaning is the theoretical one: alinifanyie chumba changu kipendeze ('he made for me my room that it be pleasing'). Therefore note that Mr. Ashery gives sentences showing two different uses of -pendeze- and he specifically indicates they are different.

Base FormStative

pendeza

pendezeka

pendezeka<sup>1</sup>

Mtu huyu hawezi kupendezeka hata kama avae nguo nzuri. (S)<sup>2</sup>  
This man is not able to be pleased until he may wear fine clothes.

Ampendezeka sana na nguo zile. (DS)<sup>3</sup>  
He is pleasing with those clothes

or  
He is pleased with those clothes.

Hawezi kupendezeka kwa lo lote kwani hapendi kushirikiana na wenzake. (SylM)

He cannot be pleasing in any matter whatsoever because he does not like to cooperate with his companions.

<sup>1</sup> There is a great deal of interesting discussion over the existence and meaning of this form. Mr. Rashidi rejects the form entirely, and Mr. Ashery and Mr. Shabani consider it rare, but operative.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashery thinks this sentence shows incorrect usage of -pendek-; he says the meaning is 'uwezekano wa mtu kujifanya apendeze' 'the possibility of a person making himself pleasing'. The sentence as it stand is somewhat ambiguous and could mean 'be pleasing' but, more likely, it does mean 'be pleased'. Mr. Shabani, who at first said the only possible meaning was 'be pleased', upon reflection said that either meaning was possible --depending upon context. Let us form a conjecture as to how this situation could come about. Theoretically, the meaning of -pendezek- (taking it apart) would be 'possibility or state of being pleased'. But it could take on the meaning 'be pleasing' in one of two ways: (1) consider the form as an intensive (the -ek- 'stative' shape being the intensive element) causative with the meaning 'be pleasing' or (2) consider the possibility of the stative, when in combination with a causative extension, operating with an active meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Shabani gives this as an example of a sentence which--out of context--could mean either 'be pleased' or 'be pleasing'. He also states that there is the same possible ambiguity with -pendezu- meaning either 'is pleased' or 'is pleasing' (although the examples of the other informants did not reveal this.

Base Form

pendeza

Causative

pendezesha

pendezesha<sup>1</sup>

Nitaenda safari hii ili kukupendezesha wewe. (SM)  
I will go on this trip in order to please you.

Nataka kuwapendezesha wazazi wangu kwa kuwa mtoto mwema na mtii.  
(SylM)  
I want to please my parents by being a good obedient child.

Alinipendezesha kwa namna ya mwendo wake. (A)  
He pleased me by his kind of manner.

Nilipoondoka nyumbani wazazi wangu hawakuwa radhi nifanye hivyo,  
lakini nitawapendezesha kwa kuwapelekea zawadi mzuri na kuomba  
radhi kwao pia. (R)  
When I left home my parents were not satisfied that I did thus,  
but I will please them by sending them fine gifts and asking  
pardon from them also.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this form for his own usage; he rejects the possibility that the form could mean 'cause to be pleased' or may be an intensive of the simple causative (meaning 'please') and says it must theoretically mean 'cause to please' (which makes no sense in these sentences).

It is interesting to note that in general (but not always) Mr. Shabani rejects the notion of there being an intensive form at all of any shape for most verbs. But in the case of this verb form, when four informants give sentences in which the form must be considered as either intensive or as a passive alternative ('cause to be pleased') which can be construed to mean about the same thing as 'please', it seems impossible to deny the existence of an intensive extension. (It may be pure chance, but note that none of the informants gave a sentence for -pendezesh- with the meaning 'cause to please').

Base Form

pendana

Causative

pendanisha

pendanisha<sup>1</sup>

Ninawapendanisha watoto wangu iwapo nitawapa nguo za namna moja. (SM)

I cause my children to get along if I give them clothes of the same kind.

Mama aliwapendanisha ndugu zake kwa kuwafanya washirikiane. (SYM)  
Mama made her brothers get along by making them cooperate with each other.

Mzee mwema huwapendanisha watoto wake. (A)  
A good elder causes his children to get along.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts this form, but indicates he would be more inclined to use a 'fanya' construction himself such as aliwafanya wapendane 'he made them that they get along.'

Base Form

pendelea

Passive

pendelewa

pendelewa<sup>1</sup>

Nilipendelewa kwa kupata kura nyingi katika uchaguzi. (SM)  
I was favored by getting many votes in the election.

Kwa vile hao wa kwanza kutembelea hji huo walifanya mabaya siku wameondoka, hivyo hawakupendelewa na watu watembelee tena siku za mbele. (R)

Because those first ones who walked about in that town did some bad things the day they left, therefore, they were not favored by people that they walk about again on future days.

Wamefaulu mtihani kwa sababu walipendelewa na walimu wao. (SylM)  
They passed the examination because they were favored by their teachers.

Alifaulu mtihani wake kwa njia ya pendelewa na mwalimu. (A)

He passed his examination on account of being favored by the teacher.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani is adamant on the point that this form can only be used in situations with a bad connotation and that the meaning is 'be favored unjustly'. Therefore, he would reject the sentences of Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Rashidi. None of the other informants has this completely specialized sense for this form.



Base Form

pendelea

Stative

pendeleka

pendeleka, pendeleeka<sup>1</sup> Juma hawezi kupendeleka kuwa mjumbe katika bunge. (SM)  
Juma cannot be favored to be a representative in the legislature.

Mawazo uliyoyaleta hayatapendeleka na wengine. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
The ideas which you supplied will not be favored by others.

Michezo ya mpira yanapendeleka Tanzania. (A)<sup>3</sup>  
Football games are favored in Tanzania.

Mtu akiwa na sifa mbaya, maishani mwake hapendeleki kuwa kiongozi  
kwa jinsi yo yote. (R)<sup>4</sup>  
If a man has a bad character, he will not be favored to be a  
leader of any kind whatsoever in his life.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani totally rejects (1) the shape -pendelek- and (2) accepts only -pendeleek- for which he will accept only a meaning of 'that which can be favored' with a connotation of 'no justice'. He supplies this sentence: Ni mtu anayependeleeka kwa ajili ya tabia yake 'he is a man who is the sort to whom favoritism is shown on account of his character' (He is a man who can be favored...). Mr. Shabani, therefore, rejects the other sentences given because they do not have bad connotations.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mkwaya considers the form very rare, but gives this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ashery says there is no difference at all between this form (stative) and -pendelew- (passive) in meaning. Even upon close questioning he states he has no sense of the idea of 'possibility' or 'state' in the stative form. Mr. Shabani, however, would distinguish the two. He says that the stative form means 'that which can be favored' and the passive form means 'being favored'; that is, Mr. Shabani seems to have the sense of a certain actuality (in relation to time in the sentence) attached to the passive. He also considers the use of -wez- as an auxiliary redundant with the stative, but acceptable with the passive. Therefore, for him - at least, one cannot make the passive:stative distinction (if it is to be made at all in general) on the traditional 'able' grounds. He feels the stative inherently has the idea of 'capability' in it and the passive receives it from the auxiliary -wez- (if the context calls for a passive with the 'capability' idea as well).

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Rashidi says he himself does not use -pendelek- but he supplies this sentence.

Base FormCausative

pendelea

pendeleza

pendeleza<sup>1</sup>

City Council inapendeleza uwanja wa mnazimmoja \*kwa kupanda maua. (SM)<sup>2</sup>

The City Council is favoring the field of Mnazimmoja by planting flowers.

or The City Council is causing Mnazimmoja to be pleasing...

\*Mnazimmoja is a proper name for a specific location and means 'one cocconut palm'.

Wananchi wa Tanzania waipendeleza nchi yao, kwa matangazo yao ya kulsifia misitu ya Taifa (National Parks). (R)<sup>3</sup>

The citizens of Tanzania are favoring their country (or causing their country to be pleasing) by their proclamations of recommending national parks.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mkwana and Mr. Shabani reject this form entirely. (Mr. Shabani would reject the sentences anyway on the grounds that -pendele- and its extensions can only have bad connotations).

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is not at all clear in either this sentence of that of Mr. Rashidi. Mr. Ashery says he would not use the form, but will accept Mr. Mannoro's sentence. Mr. Mannoro says the form is rare.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Rabhidi supplies this sentence, but adds that the form is rare.

Base Form

pendelea

Recipr/Associative

pendeleana

pendeleana<sup>1</sup>

Tulipendeleana kwa kupeana kura katika uchaguzi. (SM)  
We favored each other by giving each other votes during the election.

Kila mara kwenye mchezo Mary na Ali wanapendeleana. (SylM)  
On every occasion during the game Mary and Ali favor each other.

Walitoa ushahidi wa uwongo kwa njia ya kupendeleana. (A)  
They gave evidence of fraud on account of the practice of favoring.

Jambo la kupendeleana ni jambo la maudhi sana kwa mtu asiyehusika na mpango huo--hasa katika uamuzi wa mashindano. (R)  
A matter of favoring is a matter of great annoyance to a man who is not part of such a plan--especially in the judgment of competitions.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts this form as operative with the meaning 'favor each other unfairly'. While the other informants do not make this express limitation, their sentences do exhibit this meaning.

Base Form

pendekeza

Passive

pendekezwa

pendekezwa Watoto hawa wanapendekezwa kwa baba yao ili wapendwe. (SM)<sup>1</sup>

These children are caused to be likeable by their father so that they may be liked.

Mchezo wa mpira unapendekezwa sana na wananchi. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
Football is very much liked by the people.

Nilipendekezwa na rafiki yangu katika karamu ya ndugu yake. (A)<sup>3</sup>  
I was caused to be pleased by my friend (and therefore petitioned) concerning the party of his brother.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani accepts the possibility of this sentence, but he would prefer an active construction. Miss Mkwya agrees with him. She would rephrase the sentence thus, Watoto hawa wanajipendekeza kwa baba yao...

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that Miss Mkwya assigns an entirely different meaning to -pendekez- (and the extension in question here) in this sentence than she did in rephrasing Mr. Mannoro's sentence. Apparently both meanings are operative in her idiolect: 'cause to like' or 'be ingratiating' and 'be liked'. Mr. Shabani rejects this sentence and would use -pendw- (note that Miss Mkwya apparently things of -pendekezw- as an intensive of -pendw-).

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is not entirely clear here, but Mr. Ashery specifically states that the meaning is this: rafiki yangu alinifanyia uwezekano wa kunivuta karamu 'my friend made for me the possibility of my being attracted to the party'. We can only interpret this meaning as 'cause the possibility of liking' and not as 'cause the possibility of being likeable' which is surely the sense of Mr. Mannoro's use and the meaning of kujipendekeza. (But note that Mr. Ashery's meaning of 'cause the possibility of liking does correspond to the meaning of 'petition' of mapandekezo.)

Base Form

pendekeza

Prepositional

pendekezea

pendekezea<sup>1</sup> Juma alinipendekzeza watoto wangu kwa baba wa kambo. (SM)  
Juma made my children likeable to the step father.

Alinipendekzeza mdogo wangu kwa mwalimu wake. (SylM)  
He made my little child likeable to his teacher.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani will accept the use of this form only when it refers to making petitions acceptable. Both Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi say the form is entirely acceptable in the above sentence.

Note the possible 'negative' aspect involved here; that is, the object prefix does not refer to the object directly and there is therefore the connotation that the action was done against the express wishes of the person signified by the object prefix. The fuller context would make this aspect clearer.

Base Form

pendekeza

Stative

pendekezeka

Causative

pendekezesha

pendekezeka<sup>1</sup>

Watoto hawa hawawezi kupendekazeka kwa sababu ni wajeuri.

(SM)<sup>2</sup>

These children are not able to be in a state of being caused to be likeable because they are ruffians.

Siwezi kukaa na mtoto asiyependekazeka. (SylM)<sup>3</sup>

I am not able to live with a child who is not possible to be made likeable.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani accepts this form as meaningful only in reference to petitions; he does not consider the form operative, however. In these sentences (which do not refer to petitions) he would use -pendek-. Mr. Rashidi rejects the form entirely. Mr. Ashery accepts its use, but would not use it himself; he thinks that -pendek- carries the same idea.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mannoro says the form specifically refers to the idea of the possibility of an outside force (something causing) having power along with the idea of 'be likeable' (this being the meaning of -pendek-).

<sup>3</sup> Miss Mkwaya agrees with Mr. Mannoro.

pendekazesh<sup>1</sup>

Watoto hawa siwezi kupendekazesh kwa baba yao kwa sababu ni wabishi. (SM).

I cannot cause these children to be likeable by their father because they are argumentative.

Alijipendekazesh kwa ndugu zake apate msaada. (SylM)

He made himself likeable by his brothers in order to get aid.

Alimpendekazesh kwangu nikamwona kuwa ni mtu mwema. (A)

He made himself likeable in regard to me and I saw him to be a fine person.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani rejects the form entirely and Mr. Rashidi indicates it is rare or inoperative. In the above sentences we see the form has an intensive meaning (not a double causative).

Base Form

pendekeza

Recipr/Associative

pendekezana

pendekezana<sup>1</sup>

Tunapendekazana ili tusiudhiane. (SM)

We cause each other to be likeable so that we do not annoy each other.

Wanapendekazana kwa vitendo vyao ambavyo ni vibaya. (SylM)  
They ingratiate on account of their deeds which are bad.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts this form only in a context of petitioning.  
Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi both consider it possible in general contexts.

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Recipr/Associative</u>
pendezea	pendezewa	pendezeana

pendezewa<sup>1</sup> Ninapendezewa zaidi kwa tabia zangu mzuri kuliko sura yangu.  
(SM)

I am more pleasing on account of my fine traits than my face.

Johni alipendezewa sana na tabia za Anna ndiyo maana anataka kumwoa. (SylM)

John is very much pleased by Anna's nature and that is the reason he wants to marry her.

Nini kilikufanya upendezewe na mchezo wa dansi? (A)  
What made you be pleased with dancing?

Sinema, mpira, na ngumi ndiyo michezo ambayo mimi napendezewa saana (sic)...hapa mjini...(R)  
The cinema, football and fighting are the diversions which I am pleased with here in the city...

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani says -pendezew- is an archaic form and that he would use -pendezw- in its place.

pendezeana<sup>1</sup> Tunapendezeana kwa njia ya kukaribishana. (A)  
We please each other by inviting each other (to our homes).

Mimi na rafiki yangu twapendezeana kwa...(R)  
We please each other, my friend and I, by means of...

Wanapendezeana ndugu zao kwa kuwanunulia zawadi. (SylM)  
They please their brothers on account of each other by buying them gifts.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani indicates the meaning definitely involves the idea of doing something for each other rather than simply 'please each other'. (Note that Mr. Shabani also indicates that -pendezan- has the essential meaning of 'get along with each other'.



Base Form

pendezana

Stative

pendezanika

Causative

pendezanisha

pendezanika<sup>1</sup>

Watu hawa hawawezi kupendezanika kwa rais wao kwa sababu si watii. (SM)

These people are not able to be pleased by their president because they are not obedient.

<sup>1</sup>All other informants reject this form. Mr. Mannoro says the form is an intensive of -pendezek- and has no reciprocal notion connected with it at all. Other informants would use only -pendezek- in this sentence. (Note that the sentence is ambiguous: it could mean 'be pleased' or 'be pleasing toward'.

pendezanisha<sup>1</sup>

Ninawapendezanisha kwa kuwapa haki zao sawa. (A)

I please ('satisfy') them by giving them their rights equally.

Watoto hawa wote ni mapacha, na wazazi wao huwapendezanisha kwa kuwanunulia kila kitu wote kwa pamoja bila ubaguzi. (R)<sup>2</sup>  
All these children are twins and their parents please them by buying for them everything for all with discrimination.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani considers this form possible, but rare. Miss mkwaya would use only -pendezesh-. Mr. Mannoro accepts Mr. Ashery's sentence and considers the form possible, but rare. The examples given indicate no reciprocal notion at all.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Rashidi indicates he would not use the form although he gives this sentence.

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Recipr/Associative</u>
pendanisha	pendanishwa	pendanishana

pendanishwa<sup>1</sup> Walipendanishwa na baba yao kwa kutoa zawadi na kuwa na adabu. (SylM)

They were caused to get along by their fathers by the giving of gifts and (also caused to be) to be polite.

Tulipogombana tulipendanishwa tena na wazee. (A)  
When we fought with each other we were caused to reconcile again by (our) elders.

Kwa siku za kwanza ilikuwa vigumu sana kuwakutanishwa Robert na Anna, lakini baada ya kupendanishwa na Edward nao walionekana pamoja siku zote. (R)

From the first days it was very difficult to make Robert and Anna get acquainted, but after (their) being caused to get along by Edward they were seen together all the time.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani indicates this form is possible. He would, however, prefer an active construction.

pendanishana<sup>1</sup> Tunapendanishana kwa kupeana zawadi mzuri. (SM)

We cause each other to like each other by giving fine gifts to each other.

Wanapendanishana kwa kupeana maneno ya upole. (SylM)  
They make each other like each other by words of politeness.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani rejects the form entirely. Mr. Rashidi accepts it, and Mr. Ashery rejects it as operative, saying that -pendanish- has the same meaning and is more acceptable.

Base Form

pendeleza

Recipr/Associative

pendelezana

pendelezana<sup>1</sup>

Wanapendelezana kwa vitendo vyao na tabia. (SYM)  
They pleased each other by their deeds and natures.

Isitoshe si hivyo tu kwamba Robert na Ana wanaonekana pamoja;  
lakini pia hupendelezana na kufarijiana kwa mazawadi mengi  
nanyakati za sikukuu. (R)

It is not sufficient just that Robert and Anna are seen to-  
gether; but also they please each other with blessing each  
other with many gifts on holidays.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani indicates the meaning is not clear: whether  
the form is meant to mean 'favor' or 'please'. He rejects  
it. Mr. Ashery accepts the form as possible, but he says  
the meaning is the same as -furahishan-, which he prefers.

## 4.23 The Stem \*-ang- and Its Extended Forms

### 4.231 Points of Special Interest

(1) For the sense of 'hang', it appears that all of the extensions of \*-ang- are inoperative, with some questions remaining about -angik-.

(2) Instead, the stem is really only productive in terms of the numerous extended forms which are, in turn, extended forms of the reversion form, -angu-, of the base form.

(3) But -angu- 'pick' seems to have a compound function in the grid pattern. Not only is it the primary base form, it is also the deep structure non-stative counterpart of its own simple stative shape, -anguk- 'fall', which is a deep structure stative stem.

(4) Note the grid pattern which is characteristic of that for deep structure stative stems:

(a) -anguk- 'fall' has -angu- and its own sibling causative shape, -angush- (considered a specialized intensive), as its non-stative counterparts. These forms may be translated into English as 'cause to fall down', but in Swahili it seems the concept is more one of 'knock down, pick' etc. By definition if -anguk- is, in fact, a stative stem, then its semantic categorization is such that outside causation cannot directly cause the state of 'having fallen' to result. Admittedly, whether or not such a line between inherent state and induced action exists in the case of -anguk- is not a closed issue.

(b) Existing along side -anguk- is the prepositional stative form, -angulik- which refers to the potential capability of something's being picked. It does not refer to the state of having fallen, a stative situation, but to the action which must precede (but not strictly necessitate) the state.

(c) A prepositional causative form, -angulish- functions for the standard causative meaning of 'an outside cause causing someone to pick (fruit) or knock down something'.

(d) A prepositional form of -anguk- exists, but only to emphasize the mahili 'place' aspect involved.

4.232 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of \* -ang-

<p><u>BASE FORM</u></p> <p>* <u>anga</u></p> <p>'be suspended, hang'-- (supposedly non-occurring, but have one occurrence)</p>	<p><u>PASSIVE</u></p> <p><u>anguliwa</u></p> <p>'be picked'</p>	<p><u>PREPOSITIONAL</u></p> <p><u>angia</u></p> <p>specialized meaning: 'bewitch'</p>	<p><u>STATIVE</u></p> <p># <u>angika</u></p> <p>'hang'--base stative meaning (no potential sense)</p>	<p><u>CAUSATIVE</u></p>	<p><u>REVERSIVE</u></p> <p><u>angua</u></p> <p>'pick'</p>
<p><u>RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE</u></p>					
<p><u>angua</u></p>	<p><u>anguliwa</u></p> <p>'be picked'</p>	<p><u>angulia</u></p> <p>'pick for', etc.</p>	<p><u>anguka</u></p> <p>'fall'--base stative meaning (no potential sense)</p>	<p><u>angusha</u></p> <p>intensive--of -angu (meaning 'knock down, pick')</p>	<p>## <u>anguana</u></p> <p>'knock down each other'</p>
<p><u>angika</u></p>	<p># <u>angikia</u></p> <p>'hang for',</p>	<p><u>angulika</u></p> <p>'be hung'</p>	<p><u>angulika</u></p> <p>'that which is capable of being picked'</p>	<p><u>angulisha</u></p> <p>'cause someone to cause something to fall'</p>	
<p><u>angika</u></p>	<p># <u>angikia</u></p> <p>'that which is capable of or in a state of being hung'</p>	<p><u>mahali</u></p> <p>'place aspect'</p>			



<u>BASE FORM</u>	<u>PASSIVE</u>	<u>PREPOSITIONAL</u>	<u>STATIVE</u>	<u>CAUSATIVE</u>	<u>RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE</u>
<u>angusha</u>	<u>angushwa</u> 'be caused to fall down'	<u>angushia</u> 'knock down for'	<u>angushika</u> 'that which is capable of or in a state of being picked, or caused to fall'	<u>angushisha</u> 'cause someone to cause something fall' (knock down) to fall'	<u>angushana</u> 'cause each other to
<u>anguka</u>	<u>angukwa</u> 'be fallen' (?)	<u>angukia</u> 'fall down' with <u>mahali</u> 'place' aspect	<u>angukika</u> 'that which is capable of or is in a state of being knocked down'	<u>angukana</u> intensive--of - <u>anguk-</u> (meaning 'fall all about')	
<u>angulia</u>				<u>anguliana</u> 'pick for each other'	
<u>angushika</u>			<u>angushikika</u> 'that which is capable of or in to be in the state of being state of causing capable of or something to fall being in a state down, of being caused to fall' or-- intensive of - <u>angushik-</u>	<u>angushikisha</u> 'cause someone to be in the state of causing something to fall down, of being caused to fall' or-- intensive of - <u>angushik-</u>	<u>angushikana</u> intensive--of - <u>angushik-</u>

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

angukiwa

'be fallen on  
(by) '---with  
mahali 'place'  
reference

angukia



## 4.233 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

Base Form

\*anga

Prepositional

angia

Stative

angika

angia<sup>1</sup>

Wachawi walimwangia mtoto wetu. (SylM)

The witches bewitched our child.

Asha alimwangia Ali jana usiku. (SM)

Asha bewitched Ali last night.

<sup>1</sup>Obviously the meaning is a secondary one, coming from the idea of witches being suspended in the air.

angika<sup>1</sup>

Aliangika nguo yake ukutani. (SylM)

He hung his garment on the wall.

Siwezi kuangika picha hii hapa. (SM)

I cannot hang this picture here.

Aliangika nguo zake juu ya mti. (A)

He hung his clothes on the tree.

<sup>1</sup>At first Mr. Shabani rejected this form entirely; however, later he allowed it as possible. At any rate, apparently the usage is rare. The situation here is that of a verb form with the shape of a stative taking over the meaning of the inoperative base form. The double stative shape -angikik- will function as the simple stative form in meaning.

Base Form

\*anga

Reversive

angua

angua<sup>1</sup>

Angua nazi. (SM)  
Pick the coconuts.

Watu wote waliangus kickeko. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
All the people fell into laughing.

Walienda kuangua maembe. (SylM)  
They went to pick the mangoes.

Juma anaangua mapapai. (A)  
Juma is picking papaya.

<sup>1</sup>The meaning is 'pick' in its total sense--the process of going to gather the fruit. The actual act of taking the fruit off the stems is to angusha nazi 'cause to fall down'. Note also that -angu- meaning 'pick' requires a direct object and an animate subject. -angu- may be used intransitively to mean 'hatch' as in mayai yameangua 'the eggs hatched'.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this usage; he would use -anguk- instead.

Base Form  
angua

Passive  
anguliwa

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anguliwa<sup>1</sup>

Nazi zimeanguliwa jana na zote zimekwisha hesabiwa. (SM)  
The coconuts were picked yesterday and all have already been counted.

Embe nyingi zilianguliwa zikaenda kuuzwa sokoni. (SylM)  
Many mangoes were picked so that they might go to be sold at the market.

Unaonaje Luka! Si vema leo twende tukaangue zile zabibu kabla hazijaanguliwa na wezi. (R)  
What do you think, Luke! Is it not wise that we go today to pick the grapes before they are picked by thieves.

<sup>1</sup>Here is an example to show the stative aspect: passive voice distinction. Mr. Ashery gives these two sentences. He specifically states that the end result is the same, 'that the eggs were not hatched', but in the case of the sentence with the passive, no reason is given. In the sentence with the stative stem it is indicated that 'the eggs were not hatched because they were incapable of being hatched'. The distinction is perhaps fine.

Mayai yaliyokuwa mabovu hayakuanguliwa.  
The eggs which were bad were not hatched.

Mayai yaliyokuwa mabovu hayakuweza kuangulika.  
The eggs which were bad could not be hatched.

Base Form  
angua

Prepositional<sup>221</sup>  
angulia

angulia<sup>1</sup>

Juma ataniangulia nazi zangu. (SM)  
Juma will pick my coconuts for me.

Alitumia mti kuangulia maembe. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
He used a stick for picking the mangoes.

Afadhali umtafute mkwezi atakayekwenda kukuangulia hizo nazi kwaani  
yule wa zamani ni ngonjwa mguu. (R)  
Please look for the coconut palm worker who will go to pick those  
coconuts for you since that worker you used to have is sick with  
a bad leg.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani notes that -anguli- refers to the process of picking  
while -angushi- only refers to the coconut worker who is actually  
in the tree above the speaker. The same distinction applies to  
other extended forms of these stems.

<sup>2</sup>Note the use of the prepositional extension to convey the idea of  
'use for'.

anguka<sup>1</sup>

angalia usitembee katika utelezi unaweza kuanguke. (SM)  
Watch out that you do not walk on a slippery place; you will fall down.

mtoto alianguka toka kitandani. (SylM)  
The child fell out of bed.

Nimeanguka katika mti kwa sababu nilikalia tawi kavu. (SM)  
I fell out of the tree because I was sitting on a dry branch.

<sup>1</sup>The meaning here is 'fall' referring to no potential sense; in fact, it appears that certain intransitive verbs cannot be associated with the concept of 'capable of being done to'. One cannot say 'the mango is fallable' in either Swahili or English.

angulika<sup>1</sup>

Nazi zile haziwezi kuangulika kwa sababu hakuna mkwezi. (SM)  
The coconuts cannot be picked because there is no coconut tree worker.

Ni vigumu embe mbichi kuangulika. (A)  
It is difficult for an unripe mango to be picked.

<sup>1</sup>Note this is a typical stative form class member with the meaning 'capable of being picked' (potential aspect).

Base Form  
angua

Causative 223  
angusha, angulisha

angusha<sup>1</sup>  
Angusha nazi. (SM)  
Pick the coconuts.

Ali aliangusha nazi. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
Ali picked the coconuts.

Alliangusha mfuko wake wa fedha. (A)  
He dropped his money purse.

Angalia kwanza kabla hujachukua hiyo radio usije ukaiangusha. (R)  
Take care first before you take that radio lest you drop it.

<sup>1</sup>This form must be considered an intensive extension of -angu-.  
Note the sense of 'fall down' is involved in 'dropping', but  
'dropping' is an action and 'fall down' is a state.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mkwana equates this sentence with one in which -angu- is  
substituted for -angush-. Mr. Shabani makes more of a distinction  
between the two, -angu- meaning 'pick' fruit and -angush- capable of  
a more general usage.

angulisha<sup>1</sup>  
Watoto waliangulisha maembe kwa lazima. (SylM)  
The children had the mangoes picked on order.

Nitaangulisha nazi zangu kesho. (SM)  
I will have my coconuts picked tomorrow.

Kama haya machungwa yatazidi kuibwa na kufanyiwa fujo namna hiyo  
itabidi tukubaliane ili tuangulishe na kuyauza kuliko kupata  
hasara namna hii. (R)

Since these oranges are increasingly being stolen and a disturbance  
of that sort is being made, it is necessary that we agree so that  
we have them picked and sell them rather than to have loss of  
this sort.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani agrees that the meaning here is 'have something picked'.  
The form is definitely a true causative form class member while  
-angush- is not..

Base Form  
angua

Reciprocal/Associative  
anguana

anguana<sup>1</sup> Embe zimeanguana zenyewe. (SM)  
The mangoes knocked down each other.

<sup>1</sup>The form is also accepted by Mr. Ashery, but it is rejected by the other informants, including Mr. Shabani. Note that if -angu- is taken as meaning 'pick', it would normally have an animate subject. But if it is taken as meaning 'knock down', it could have either an animate or inanimate subject, and mangoes, for instance, could cause each other to fall.

angikwa<sup>1</sup>

Taa iliangukwa kwenye msumari. (SylM)  
The lamp was hung on the nail.

Taa iliangukwa darini. (SM)  
The lamp was hung from the ceiling.

Wakati radi imepiga taa yangu ilikuwa imeangukwa ukutani na kwa  
ushituko huo ilianguka chini ikapasuka pasuka. (R)  
When the thunder sounded, my lamp was hanging on the wall, and with  
the clap, it fell down and broke into pieces.

<sup>1</sup>The fact that all of the informants are willing to accept this form  
(which is in shape a passive stative) is a near sure indication that  
they do not think of it as a passive of a stative form class member.  
And it is proposed, -angik- is not a stative extended form but a  
deep structure stative stem which is a base form in a grid (even  
though it has the shape characteristic of a stative form). See the  
note under -angik-.

angikia<sup>1</sup>

Nilimwangikia picha yake ukutani. (SylM)  
I hung his picture on the wall for him.

Aliangukia nguo zake juu ya mti huu. (A)  
He hung his clothes on this tree.

Kwa vile Radio Tanzania haikuwa tayari kutangaza hilo tangazo la  
mkutano, basi ilinibidi nimwaribu mwenyewe ili apate ruhusa ya  
kuangukia hili tangazo lake mtini karibu na pale sokoni. (R)  
Since Radio Tanzania was not ready to announce that notice of the  
meeting, then it behooved me to tell him myself so that he might  
get permission for hanging that announcement of his in a tree near  
that market.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro rejects this form; note he seems to feel that -angik- is  
stative in meaning and in a neutral, not active voice, as it is used  
here.



angikika<sup>1</sup>

Picha ili haiwezi kuangikika. (SylM)  
That picture cannot be hung.

Koti lilikuwa zito mno na kwa hiyo halikuweza kuangikika. (A)  
The coat was very heavy and therefore could not be hung up.

Aliniagiza kuianga picha yake ukutani lakini haikuweza kuangikika kwa  
sababu ukufa ulikuwa ngumu sana. (R)<sup>2</sup>  
He ordered me to hang his picture on the wall but it could not be  
hung because the wall was very hard.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro rejects this form entirely.

<sup>2</sup>Note that Mr. Rashidi uses -ang- for 'hang', but that it is generally considered inoperative (by dictionaries and other informants). Note also the manner in which he expresses 'cause'-- with a separate verb for 'order to do'.

Base Form  
anguka

Passive  
angukwa

Prepositional  
angukia

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angukwa<sup>1</sup>

Juma ameangukwa na maradhi ya tumbo. (SM)  
Juma was fallen down with a disease of the stomach.

Juma aliangukwa na kicheko aliposimuliwa habari za utoto wake. (A)  
Juma was fallen down with laughter when he was told the story of his  
childhood.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants, including Mr. Shabani, reject this form.  
Remember that the base form of -angukw-, -anguk- is stative but  
not potential in form (i.e., it has nothing to do with 'that which  
is capable of being fallen down').

angukia<sup>1</sup>

Baada ya kukiri makosa yao walimwangukia hakimu miguuni. (SM)  
After confessing their efforts they fell down at the feet of the Judge.

Mti ulimwangukia Juma ambaye alikuwa anaukata. (SylM)  
Mti aliokuwa akiukata Juma ulimwangukia.  
The tree which Juma was cutting fell down on him.

Aliangukia mezani aliposukumwa na rafiki yake. (A)  
He fell down from the table when he was pushed by his friend.

Kwa vile alikuwa anatembea na wahalifu sana, kila siku aliangukia  
katika makosa.... (R)  
Because he was going about with very disobedient sorts, every day  
he fell into mistakes....

<sup>1</sup>All of these examples are clear cases of the mahali aspect of the  
prepositional. Mr. Shabani also considers this form operative.

Base Form  
anguka

Stative  
angukika

Reciprocal/Associative  
angukana

angukika<sup>1</sup>

Serikali yetu ni imara haiwezi kuangukika. (SM)  
Our government is strong; it cannot be knocked down.

Nazi hazikuweza kuangukika kwa ukosefu wa mkwezi. (A)  
The coconuts could not be knocked down because of the absence of the  
coconut picker.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants. Again, it seems apparent that the concept of the potential (i.e. 'fallable') is incompatible with the meaning of 'fall'; therefore, it would seem one could only consider -angukik- as an alternant for -angulik- or -angushik- (which is, indeed, what Mr. Ashery indicates) and that the above sentences must be interpreted accordingly.

angukana<sup>1</sup>

Embe zinanangukana ovyo kwa sababu kuna upepo mwingi. (SM)  
The mangoes are falling all about because there is much wind.

<sup>1</sup>All the other informants reject this form and would use -anguk-. It seems obvious that the meaning could not be 'fall each other'; indeed, Mr. Mannoro considers -angukan- as an intensive of -anguk-. Note the other informants do accept -angukian- 'fall on each other'.

Base Form  
angusha

Passive  
angushwa

Prepositional  
angushia

angushwa<sup>1</sup> Mnazi mkubwa umeangushwa na upepo. (SM)  
A big coconut tree was knocked down by the wind.

Kwa alikuwa dhaifu sana, aliweza kuangushwa na mwenzake mpirani. (A)  
Because he was very weak, he was able to be knocked down by his  
companion in the game.

Ile nyumba ndefu kupita zote pale karibu na bahari imeangushwa na  
lile tetemeko la ardhi lililotokea juma mbili zilizopita. (R)  
The tallest building near the sea was knocked down by the earthquake  
which happened two weeks ago.

angushia<sup>1</sup> Aliniangushia nazi kichwani nikaanguka. (DS)  
He knocked coconuts down on (my) head and I fell down.

Aliniangushia nazi. (DS)  
He knocked coconuts down for me.

Juma alimwangushia Anna maembe. (SYM)  
Juma knocked down mangoes for Anna.

John Okello alimwangushia rais Karume serikali ya kiarabu. (SM)  
John Okello knocked down the Arab rule for President Karume.

<sup>1</sup>Note the context determines whether a mahali 'place' aspect is indicated for the 'do for someone' standard meaning of the prepositional form.

Base Form  
angusha

Stative  
angushika

Reciprocal/Associative  
angushana

angushika<sup>1</sup>

Nazi hizi haziwezi kuangushika kwa sababu hazijapevuka. (SM)  
These coconuts cannot be knocked down because they are not yet developed.

Mtu huyu hawezi kuangushika ni mjanja sana. (SylM)  
This man cannot be knocked down; he is very clever.

Maembe mabichi ni vigumu kuangushika. (A)  
Unripe mangoes are difficult to knock down.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Rashidi rejects this form entirely. In Mr. Mannofo's sentence he would use -angukiw- ('be picked') and in Miss Mkwaya's sentence -angushw- ('be caused to fall down'). Mr. Shabani considers -angushik- as possible, but in all instances involving fruit picking, he would prefer -angulik-.

angushana<sup>1</sup>

Tuliangushana mtereka na Ali jana. (SM)  
I wrestled with Ali yesterday. (i.e., knocked each other down)

Mbwa waliangushana toka barazani mpaka chini. (SylM)  
The dogs knocked each other down from the porch to the ground.

Waliangushana majani. (A)  
They knocked each other down in the grass.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani would reject this form on the grounds that the causative and reciprocal extensions are incompatible; he says it is necessary to have an outside force doing the causing if a causative extension is used.

Base Form  
angusha

Causative  
angushisha

angushisha<sup>1</sup>

Nilimwangushisha mtumishi nazi kwa sababu baba alikuwa hayuko.

(SM)

I had the servant knock down the coconuts because father was not there.

Ninaangushisha machungwa ya baba yangu ili yakauzwe mjini. (SylM)  
I had the oranges of my father knocked down (by someone) so that they could be sold in town.

Ninaangushisha embe ili nipata msaada wa fedha kwa watoto wangu. (A)  
I had the mangoes knocked down so that I might get the aid of the money for my children.

Mr. Shabani rejects this form and would use only -angulish-. For the other informants, however, this form, -angushish- seems to be an immediately acceptable alternant to -angulish- 'cause to knock down' (with the same meaning). In shape, -angushish- is a double causative and double causative forms are rarely acceptable. A double causative form would necessarily involve 'someone causing someone to cause someone to do something'. It is obvious that such a confusion of objects makes the double causative form something to be avoided. Why, then, is -angushish- acceptable? If one considers the grid pattern of -angushish-, it is seen that -angush-, the base form of -angushish- is a causative in shape but not in form. It functions as an intensive of -angu- 'knock down' and as the deep structure non-stative counterpart of -anguk- 'fall'. As is the case with other causative shapes which are such non-stative counterparts, -angush- functions as a base form in its own right, not as a causative form. Therefore, it is not encumbered with the two objects characteristic of the true causative form class member (that is, 'cause someone to do something'). Accordingly, it seems to be easier for it to have operative extended forms of its own. Thus, -angushish- is, in fact, a simple causative form (even though it has a double causative shape). Note in the example sentences that the two objects characteristic of the simple causative form are present. (In Miss Mkwya's and Mr. Ashery's sentences, the animate object of the causation is only implied, not formally indicated.) Thus, the fact that -angushish- is operative as a simple stative form for three out of four informants argues for the acceptance of its base form, -angush- as a non-stative counterpart of a deep structure stative stem. This, in turn, argues for the acceptance of -anguk- as that deep structure stative stem. The relationship displayed here is common of that for extension grids with deep structure stems.

Base Form  
angulia

Reciprocal/Associative  
anguliana

anguliana

Tunaanguliana nazi zetu iwapo mmoja kati yetu yuko safarini. (SM)  
We pick our coconuts for each other if one of us is on safari.

Tulikuwa tukianguliana mapera Ali alipotuambia kuwa mwenyewe  
anakuja. (SylM)  
We were picking guavas for each other when Ali told us that the  
owner was coming.

Base Form  
angushika

Stative  
angushikika

angushikika<sup>1</sup> Nazi hizi haziwezi kuangushikika kwa sababu ya ukosefu wa mkwezi. (SM)

These coconuts cannot be in a state of being knocked down because of the absence of the coconut picker.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants. Most would use -angushik- (and drop the final stative particle, which must be considered intensive if the form -angushikik- is operative at all), but Mr. Shabani says it is not necessary to add the idea of causation to the form and would use -angulik-, saying that if coconuts 'are not pickable' it follows that they 'cannot be knocked down'. Mr. Mannoro, however, stresses the meaning he intends with -angushikik- is that 'the coconuts are not only not pickable, but that a second "possibility"--the presence or absence of the coconut picker--is also involved'.

This sentence (and form) was one of a number submitted to several other competent Swahili speakers and several recognized Swahili authorities in the Dar es Salaam area. These are their comments:

- (1) Mr. Kuhanga--rejects the form, but considers either -anguk- ('fall') or -angushik- ('capable of being knocked down') possible.
- (2) Mr. Hilal--rejects the form and would use -angushik-.
- (3) Mr. Jahadhmy--would use -angushik-.
- (4) Mr. Maede--rejects the form and would use either -angushw- or -angushik-.
- (5) Mr. Mhina--rejects the form and would use -angushw-.
- (6) Mr. M. Ali--rejects the form and would use -angushik-.

These responses indicate (1) a tendency to reject in general any attempt to use a double stative extended form to express either merely intensive force or a second situation involving a potential or stative aspect; and (2) no strong feeling for the stative aspect on the part of those two who would accept a passive alternant (-angushw-).



Base Form  
angushika

Causative  
angushikisha

angushikisha<sup>1</sup>

Ninaangushikisha nazi mimi iwapo baba yangu hayuko. (SM)  
I have (someone) knock down the coconuts if my father is not there.  
(I cause the possibility of the coconuts being knocked down...)

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants, who would use -angushish-, thereby leaving out reference to the stative or potential aspect in the sentence. Mr. Shabani would use -angulish-. The Swahili authorities and others consulted about this sentence gave these responses:

- (1) Mr. Kuhanga--'If the word in question had any meaning, the sentence would mean, "I supervise the plucking of coconuts in the absence of my father" but I have not come across such a word as yet'.
- (2) Mr. Mohammed Ali--rejected the form.
- (3) Mr. Hilal--'-angulish- or 'angushish- would be the correct forms, yet they are not in common use. One would say "Ninaangusha" or "huangusha"...and that would imply that the picking is done by the pickers'.
- (4) Mr. Johadhmy--prefers -anguz-, which is the alternate form of the more common -angush-.
- (5) Mr. Mhina and Mr. Maede--agree with Mr. Hilal in preferring -angush- and in generally rejecting the form, -angushikish-.

angushikana<sup>1</sup>

Nazi hizi haziwezi kuangushikana kwa sababu wakiti wa jangusho bado haujafika. (SM)  
These coconuts cannot be thrown down because the time of harvest has not yet arrived.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro intends this form as basically intensive, he says. But it is rejected by the other informants, who would use -angushik-. The Swahili authorities and others consulted on this sentence gave these responses:

- (1) Mr. Kuhanga--does not understand the sentence in the way Mr. Mannoro intended it. He says, Hapa maana yake ingekuwa kwamba nazi hizi haziwezi kufanya moja iangukie nyingine 'His meaning here would be that these coconuts cannot be made to fall on one another'.
- (2) Mr. Mohammed Ali--accepts -angushik- only.
- (3) Mr. Johadhmy--accepts -angushik- or -anguk-.
- (4) Mr. Maede and Mr. Mhina--both would use -angushw- (again indicating, as under -angushikik- that the idea of expressing a stative or potential aspect is lost on them).
- (5) Mr. Shabani--would use either -angushik- or -angulik-, but considers -angulik- preferable 'because the coconuts are not pickable because they are not yet ripe; there is no need to consider the matter of actually causing them to fall down'. (But while this preference for -angulik- seems consistent with the idea of the sentence, note that under -angushikik- it does not--since the reason the coconuts cannot be picked is not that they are 'unpickable', but that there is no one to pick them. At any rate, the -angulik- 'capable of being picked': -angushik- 'capable of being knocked down' distinction does not seem to concern any of the other informants or persons surveyed.

Base Form  
angukia

Passive  
angukiwa

angukiwa<sup>1</sup>

Aliangukiwa na nyoka kichwani. (DS)  
He was fallen on by a snake on his head (i.e., a snake fell on his head).

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani indicates this form is definitely operative.

## 4.241 Points of Special Interest

(1) The verb -siki- 'hear' has the shape of the prepositional extended shape of a simple base \*-sik-, which is non-existent. -siki- has taken over the meaning and grid relations of this base.

(2) -siki- is classified as a deep structure stative stem (see section 3.32) because of its grid pattern:

(a) The concept of 'hear for' (in place of someone else) is impossible. Whether or not a prepositional shape from -siki- as base can exist at all is in dispute; but even those informants who say it does exist associate it with only the meaning of 'hear by means of'.

(b) The concept of 'cause to hear' is also impossible. Accordingly, the causative shape which does exist in this slot has another meaning, 'listen to'. Two shapes exist, -sikiz- and -sikiliz-. Not all informants accept both shapes as operative, but those that do consider them to mean the same thing.

(3) While the differentiation between -siki- 'hear' and -sikiz- and -sikiliz- 'listen to' has been established, there is still--apparently-- a certain amount of free variation as to the use of the -sikiz- and -sikiliz- shapes and their extended forms for the various meanings associated with 'hear'--as well as 'listen to'. Further study would be needed to establish whether or not such free variation exists, in fact, for many speakers or whether the responses recorded here were misinterpreted.

(4) Most informants rejected any extended forms involving a combination of stative and causative shapes or stative and passive shapes. This is typical, as noted in section 3.44.

## 4.242 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of \*-sik-

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVECAUSATIVESTATIVEPREPOSITIONALPASSIVEBASE FORM\* sikasika

'hear'

sikiza'possibility  
or state of  
being heard'sikila# sikiliasikiwa

'hear by means of'

sikilikasikiza,  
sikiliza'possibility--  
'listen to'  
or state of  
(sikiza not  
being heard,  
accepted by  
all informantssikiana

'hear each other'

sikiliana# sikilianalisten for each other  
(as alternant of  
-sikilizian-sikiza,  
sikilizasikizika,  
sikilizikasikizisha,  
sikilizishasikizana,  
sikilizana'be listened  
to''possibility  
or state of  
listening to  
(not accepted  
by all) or of  
being listened  
to'1) 'listen to each  
other'  
2) 'get along (well)'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

sikilikwana  
# sikilikishwa  
'cause the state  
of possibility  
of listening to' ---  
see below

# sikilikika  
intensive--  
-sikilik-

# sikilikwa  
'possibility  
or state of  
being heard' ---  
emphasis on  
agentive aspect

sikilika

sikiliziana

'listen for each  
other'

sikilizia

# sikilizikana

# sikilizikisha

# sikilizikika

# sikilizikwa

sikilizika

intensive--'possibility  
or state of being heard'?

'cause the state  
of possibility  
of listening to'  
listening to'

'possibility  
or state of  
being listened  
to' ---emphasis  
on agentive  
aspect

# sikilizishana

# sikilizishisha

# sikilizishika

# sikilizishwa

sikilizisha

'cause each other  
to listen to'

'that which can  
be or is in a  
state of being  
caused to be  
listened to'

'be caused to  
listen to' ---  
to for someone'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

#sikilizikikwa  
 'that which can be or is in a state of listening to'--with emphasis on the agentive aspect; as such, intensive of -sikilizikw-

#sikilizikishwa  
 'be caused to be in a state of listening to'

#sikilizishikwa  
 'be caused to be in a state of being caused to listen to'

sikilizikika

sikilizikisha

sikilizishika

## 4.243 Example Sentences of Extended Forms

Base Form

\*sika

Prepositional

sikia

sikia<sup>1</sup>

Siwezi kusikia kwa sababu sikio langu limeziba. (SM)  
I cannot hear because my ear is stopped up.

Nilisikia kwamba Ali amepata uhamisho kwenda Mbeya. (SylM)  
I heard that Ali got a transfer to go to Mbeya.

Nilimsikia akilia mwituni. (A)  
I heard him crying in the forest.

<sup>1</sup>The deep structure of -siki- (which does not function as a prepositional form even though it has a prepositional shape; it has taken over the functions of the nonexistent base form \*-sik-) is different from that of its causative extended shape, which is -sikiz- or -sikiliz-. The verb -siki- is a deep structure stative stem, referring to a neutral state, while -sikiz- or -sikiliz- 'listen to', is its non-stative counterpart, referring to an action. The native speaker himself sees -sikiz- or -sikiliz- as an extension in meaning of -siki-. Mr. Shabani explains the difference between them in this way: Ali hasikii 'Ali does not hear' (in a physical sense); Ali hasikilizi 'Ali hears but he does not listen' (there is every possibility for him to hear, but he does not pay attention).



Base Form

\*sika

Stative

sikika

sikika

Mwito wa sala hauwezi kusikika kwa sababu kilele nyingi. (SM)  
The caller to prayer cannot be heard because of much noise.

Ilisikika kwamba wasichana watu watalipi kodi baada ya kufanya kazi  
kwa mwaka mmoja. (SylM)

It was said (i.e., it was heard) that young women will pay tax after  
working for one year.

Sauti ilikuwa haisikiki kwani alikuwa amekabwa. (SylM)  
(His) voice was not able to be heard because he had been strangled.

Sauti ilisikika kwa mbali. (A)  
The voice was heard from afar.

Base Form  
sikia

Passive  
sikiwa

sikiwa

Mwito wa sala husikiwa kila siku jioni. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
The caller to prayer is heard every evening.

Mwito wa sala husikika kila siku jioni. (SM)  
The caller to prayer is heard every evening.

Ukisikiwa na wakuu unadharau serikali ya TANU utaenda kufungwa.  
(SylM)

If you are heard by the leaders speaking scornfully of the government of TANU, you will be jailed.

Alisikiwa akipiga kilele. (A)  
He was heard shouting.

<sup>1</sup>Note this clear example of the difference in meaning between the passive and stative forms. The sentence with the passive (-sikiw-) places emphasis on the agentive aspect and means that the people are hearing and accordingly accepting the call to prayer. In the second sentence with the stative form (-sikir-) the primary emphasis is on the potential aspect: the caller is 'in a state of being heard', with no implication that people will necessarily accept the call.

Base Form  
sikia

Prepositional  
sikilia

Reciprocal/Associative  
sikiana

sikilia<sup>1</sup>

Masikio yangu hayafanyi kazi vizuri kwa hiyo ninasikilia mashine ya kusikilizia. (SM)

My ears do not function well; therefore I hear by means of a machine for listening.

Twatumia masikio kwa kusikilia kwa hiyo ni lazimu tuyatunze. (SylM)  
We use ears for hearing; therefore it is necessary that we care for them.

<sup>1</sup>Note the general unacceptability of this form in the minds of most informants. Mr. Mannoro and Miss Mkwana are the only ones to consider it operative at all, and they only accept it with an instrumental meaning of 'hear by means of'. However, Mr. Shabani rejects it even in this sense and would use either -siki- or -sikiliz- for such a meaning.

The unacceptability of a prepositional extended form seems to be related to the stative nature of the base verb, -siki- 'hear'.

sikiana

Waliweza kusikiana vizuri madirisha yalipokuwa-wazi. (SylM)

They were able to hear each other well when the windows were open.

Ni vigumu kusikiana sauti zetu iwapo tuko mbali mbali mno. (SM)

It is difficult to hear each other's voices if we are very distant.

Tuliweza kusikiana kwa urahisi tulipopigiana simu. (A)

We were able to hear each other easily when we called each other on the telephone.

sikiza, sikiliza<sup>1</sup>

Ninakusikiza kwa makini. (SM)

I am listening to you with calmness.

Mtoto asiyelikiza mashauri ya wazee wake huwa na mwisho mbaya. (SylM)  
A child who does not listen to the advice of his parents will have a bad end.

Nitasikiliza hotuba yako katika Sauti ya Tanzania. (SM)

I will listen to your speech on the Voice of Tanzania (radio station).

Nitawafanya watu wanisikilize. (SylM)

I will cause the people to listen to me.

Mtoto mtiifu husikiliza maneno ya babaye. (A)

An obedient child listens to the words of his father.

Nilikaa katika kiti nikisikiliza kwa makini yote aliyokuwa akisema hakimumu. (R)

I sat in the chair listening calmly to everything which the judge was saying.

<sup>1</sup>There is some disagreement as to which shape is preferable or, indeed, even operative. Mr. Shabani says that either shape is quite possible but that for coastal speakers, at least, -sikiz- is the preferred form. The other informants, however, consider -sikiliz- the more acceptable alternate; in fact, both Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi tend to reject -sikiz- in general.

Note that -sikiz- is the causative extended shape from the base -siki- and -sikiliz- is formed from the base -sikili- (the prepositional shape formed from -siki-), which is itself generally considered inoperative.

Both of these causative shapes, -sikiz- and -sikiliz- (as is the case with all causative shapes formed from bases which are deep structure stative stems) do not have a causative meaning. They mean 'listen to', and there is no extension for the meaning 'cause to hear' (which is an impossible concept if one takes the view that 'hearing' is a 'state' which, unlike an action, cannot be caused to occur by an external force). It must be realized, then, that -sikiz- and -sikiliz- are not members of the causative form class. Instead they are simple base forms on their own (that is, with a new base meaning, not a meaning which is an extension of the meaning of some other base form).

Base Form  
sikilia

Stative  
sikilika

Causative 246  
sikiliza

sikilika<sup>1</sup>

Sauti yako haiwezi kusikilika kwa sababu unasema taratibu. (SM)  
Your voice cannot be heard because you are speaking quietly.

Sauti ilisikilika kwa mbali kama mtu ambaye yuko katika shimo. (SYM)  
The voice was heard from afar as if there were a man who were in a hole.

Wimbo ulisikilika na watu wote. (A)

The song was heard by all the people.

or The song was possible to be heard by all the people.

<sup>1</sup>There is general agreement that -sikilik- is something of an intensive form of -sikik-. But note that under -sikizik- Miss Mkwana also equates it with -sikizik- and -sikilizik- (this may be either an oversight or indicate free variation between these forms).

Note especially that any idea of the meaning of 'hear for' (the theoretical meaning of -sikili- and the meaning which would theoretically carry over to its extensions) is nonexistent.

sikiliza

See -sikiliz- under the base sikia.

Base Form  
sikilia

Reciprocal/Associative 247  
sikilana

sikiliana<sup>1</sup>

Tulisikiliana sauti za watoto wetu katika simu ambazo walikuwa wanatupigia kutoka shuleni. (SM)

We listen for each other to the voices of our children on the telephone by which they were calling us from school.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro gives this as an alternate for -sikilizian- but the other informants reject it entirely and would use only -sikilizian-.

Base Form

sikiza, sikiliza

Passive

sikizwa, sikilizwa

sikizwa, sikilizwa<sup>1</sup>

Mwalimu alisikilizwa sana na watoto kwa lo lote aliloambia wafanye. (SylM)

The teacher was carefully listened to by the children in regard to anything which he told them to do.

Ni vigumu kusikizwa unaposema katika kundi la watoto wanaopiga kelele. (SylM)

It is difficult to be listened to when you are speaking in a crowd of children who are shouting.

Juma hawezi kusikizwa amri zake kwa sababu watoto wake hawamtii sawa sawa. (SM)

Juma cannot be listened to (in regard to) his orders because his children do not obey him as they should.

Bwana Rais hakuweza kusikilizwa upesi na Waingereza alipodai uhuru wa nchi yake. (SM)

The President was not able to be listened to with ease by the English when he sued for the independence of his country.

Alijaribu kujitetea lakini hakuweza kusikilizwa. (A)

He tried to defend himself but he could not be listened to.

Base Form

sikiza, sikiliza

Prepositional

sikizia, sikilizia

sikizia, sikilizia<sup>1</sup>

Nisikilizie mwanangu. (DS)

Listen to my child for me (while I am gone, etc.).

Utanisikilizia hotuba yangu katika Sauti ya Tanzania. (SM)

You will listen to my speech on the Voice of Tanzania.

Nilimtuma Ali akanisikilizie matokeo yangu ya mtihani. (SylM)

I employed Ali that he listen for me to my results on the examination.

Mama alimwambia mtumishi amsikilizie mtoto wake. (A)

Mama told the servant to listen to her child for her.

<sup>1</sup> Note that the meaning 'listen to something or someone in the place of someone else' is entirely acceptable while the meaning 'hear in the place of someone else' (-sikili-) is not. Whether or not a prepositional shape is operative for a meaning of 'do something on behalf of someone else' depends upon whether or not the base form is a deep structure stative stem or not; a deep structure stative stem such as 'hear' cannot take a prepositional extended shape with the typical prepositional form class meaning of 'do something in the place of someone else'.



Base Form  
sikiza, sikiliza.

Stative  
sikizika, sikilizika

sikizika, sikilizika<sup>1</sup>

Howezi kusikizika kwa kuwa iko jeuri sana. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
He cannot be listened to because there is much violence there.

Juma hawezi kusikizika maoni ya wazazi wake kwa sababu hana heshima nzuri. (SM)<sup>3</sup>

Juma cannot listen to the views of his parents because he does not have the proper (sense of) respect.

Sauti ya BBC ina taabu sana kusikilizika kwa sababu ni mbali mno. (SM)  
The Voice of the BBC is very difficult to be listened to because it is too far away.

Howezi kusikilizika kwa sababu yuko bondeni. (SylM)  
He cannot be listened to because he is there in the valley.

Radio ilifunguliwa kwa nguvu na uwimbo haukuweza kusikilizika. (A)  
The radio was turned off with force and the song could not be listened to.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery rejects ~~-sikizik-~~ and Mr. Shabani tends to reject both ~~-sikizik-~~ and ~~-sikilizik-~~ and accept only ~~-sikilik-~~.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mkwaya sees no meaning differential for ~~-sikizik-~~, ~~-sikilizik-~~, and ~~-sikilik-~~. Note that, taking into consideration the sentence of Mr. Mannoro which follows, this sentence of hers can be considered ambiguous. There is a possibility of considering the intended meaning as either 'possibility of listening to' or 'possibility of being listened to'. Mr. Shabani rejects it entirely with the meaning 'possibility of listening to' and would use only -sikia- for a sentence with an active voice.

<sup>3</sup>This sentence is rejected by Mr. Shabani; as noted above, he does not accept a stative with the subject as actor.

Base Form

sikiza, sikiliza.

Causative

sikizisha, sikilizisha

sikizisha, sikilizisha<sup>1</sup>

Aliniskizisha radio kwa lazima kwani alifungua kwa nguvu. (SylM)  
 He caused me to listen to the radio because he turned it on very loud.

Nilimsikizisha watoto wake hotuba ya bwana waziri kwa sababu ilihusika na masomo yao. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
 I caused his children to listen to the speech of the minister because it was relevant to their studies.

Alimwinamisha kichwa ili amsikilizishe vyema. (A)  
 He made him bend down (his) head so that he might cause him to listen well.

Sikupenda kusikiliza habari za ulimwengu leo lakini habari kuhusu safari ya Bwana Rais imenisikilizisha. (SM)<sup>3</sup>  
 I did not want to listen to the news of the world today but the news about the president's trip has caused me to listen.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery rejects -sikizish-, but would use -sikilizish-. Mr. Shabani tends to reject both forms as operative although he accepts the possibility of their both being used. To convey the same meaning, he would use a construction with lazima ('it is necessary that...').

<sup>2</sup>Note the object prefix with no direct referent.

<sup>3</sup>Mr. Mannoro says that he would use the causative extended verb either with or without an object prefix (indicating 'he who is caused') in this context.

Base Form  
sikiza, sikiliza

Reciprocal/Associative  
sikizana, sikilizana

sikizana, sikilizana<sup>1</sup>

Tunasikizana sana na mume wangu. (SM)  
My husband and I get along well together.

Mchina na Amerikani hawasikizani. (SM)  
The Chinese and the Americans do not get along well.

Anna na Mary wanasikizana sana hakuna awezaye humvunja urafiki.  
(SylM)  
Anna and Mary get along very well together; there is no one who is able to break the friendship.

Tulisikilizana na mwenye duka nikachukue vifaa na pesa nampe baadaye.  
(SylM)  
I made an agreement with the store owner that I take the necessary things now and that I pay him the money later.

Kwa ajili ya ghasia nyingi hatukuweza kusikilizana sauti zetu. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
Because of much disturbance we could not hear each other's voices.

Waliweza kusikilizana tabia zao na hivyo waliishi pamoja. (A)  
They were able to get along according to their dispositions and therefore they lived (i.e., they remained) together.

<sup>1</sup> Only Mr. Mannoro and Miss Mkwya use the form -sikizan-; Mr. Ashery accepts only -sikilizan- or would use -patan-. Note that the meaning is most commonly 'get along together' (the meaning of -patan-), although the meaning of 'listen to each other' is also accepted. Mr. Shabani accepts either form and considers -sikilizan- an intensive of -sikizan-.

<sup>2</sup> Note that there is a direct object outside the reciprocal verb itself; that is, the meaning is not 'listen to each other' but 'listen to the voices of each other'.

Base Form  
sikilika

Passive  
sikilikwa

Stative  
sikilikika

Causative  
sikilikisha

sikilikwa<sup>1</sup>

Alisema kwa sauti ndogo ambayo ilikuwa ni vigumu kusikilikwa. (SM)  
He spoke with a little voice which was difficult to be heard.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants, including Mr. Shabani, who would use -sikilik-. Mr. Mannoro, as is usual, says the form emphasizes the agentive aspect of the possibility.

sikilikika<sup>1</sup>

Sauti yake ilikuwa nyembamba kwa kadri ya kwamba haikuweza kusikilikika. (SM)  
His voice was so thin that it could not be heard at all.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro considers this form an intensive; but the other informants reject it entirely and would use -sikilik-.

sikilikisha<sup>1</sup>

Alinisikilisha sauti yake kwa njia ya simu ambayo alinipigia ili nizungumze naye. (SM)  
He caused the possibility of my listening to his voice by means of a telephone call which he made to me so that I might talk with him.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants reject this form. Miss Mkwya would replace it by a fanya construction (alinifanya nisikie... 'he made me that I listen...'). (note Miss Mkwya does not make a clear distinction between -siki- 'hear' and -sikiliz- or -sikiz- 'listen to' in terms of shape of the extended verb but it is obvious from the context that she differentiates the two meanings.) Mr. Ashery would replace -sikilikish- with -sikilizish- 'cause to listen to'. It is significant that both ignore the potential aspect supposedly conveyed by the stative extended element of the rejected form.

Base Form  
sikilika

Reciprocal/Associative  
sikilikana

sikilikana<sup>1</sup>

Watu wengi walikuwa wanapiga kilele kwa hiyo sikuweza kuelewa maneno yako sauti yako haikuweza kusikilikana. (SM)  
Many people were making noise; therefore I could not understand your words; your voice could not be heard at all.

Ilisikilikana kuwa Mary alitoroka nyumbani kwao kwa muda wa wiki tatu. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>

It is said that Mary left her home for a period of three weeks.

Kengele ilisikilikana toka mwituni. (A)  
A bell was heard from the forest.

<sup>1</sup>All informants agree that the form is rarely used, but possible. It has an intensive meaning.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mwaya says the meaning is about the same as ilisemekana or ilisikilika 'it is said' or 'it is heard'. But Mr. Shabani rejects this usage.

Base Form  
sikilizia

Reciprocal/Associative 255  
sikiliziana

sikiliziana

Tunasikiliziana habari zetu kwa mipango yetu. (DS)  
We listen for each other to our news about our plans.

Base Form  
sikilizika

Passive  
sikilizikwa

Stative  
sikilizikika

Causative  
sikilizikisha

sikilizikwa<sup>1</sup>

Habari alizozungumza alikuwa mbaya kwa kadri ya kwamba hazikuwezi kusikilizikwa na mtu ye yote. (SM)  
The news which he told was so bad that it could not be listened to by any man at all.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected entirely by the other informants who would use -sikilizik-.

sikilizikika<sup>1</sup>

Mtoto huyu ni kibure kwa hiyo hawezi kusikilizikika maoni ya baba yake. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
This child is hopeless therefore there is no possibility of his listening to the views of his father.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants who would use -sikiliz-.

<sup>2</sup>Note that the stative in this sentence must be considered as being in the active voice.

sikilizikisha<sup>1</sup>

Alimsikilizikisha mtoto kibure maoni ya baba yake kwa kumpiga viboko. (SM)  
He caused the possibility of the hopeless child listening to the views of his father by hitting him with a whip.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants who would use -sikilizish-.

Base Form  
sikilizika

Reciprocal/Associative  
sikilizikana

sikilizikana<sup>1</sup>

Ulikuwa na mayowe ambayo hayakuweza kusikilizikana kwa ufasaha. (SM)

His shouts (i.e., he was with shouts which) could not be heard at all with clarity.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro himself says the form is rare; Miss Mkwya rejects it outright; Mr. Ashery accepts the form and the sentence as possible, but says he would be inclined to reject them; and Mr. Shabani says ~~sikilikan~~ would be the only form he would use in such a context if an intensive idea is desired. Note that the form which Mr. Mannoro uses, ~~sikilizikan~~ supposedly would be associated with 'listen to' and not 'hear'; but the sentence seems to dictate the meaning 'hear'. As noted above, especially with Miss Mkwya's responses, a strict differentiation does not always seem to be maintained between the two. Note also, however, that Mr. Shabani very definitely differentiates the two.



Base Form  
sikilizisha

Passive  
sikilizishwa

Prepositional  
sikilizishia

sikilizishwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilisikilizishwa hotuba ya bwana waziri ili nipate kuelewa mambo muhimu. (SM)

I was caused to listen to the speech of the minister so that I might be able to understand (the) important matters.

Nilisikilizishwa maelezo juu ya utunzaji wa watoto katika jumba la sterehe. (SylM)

I was made to listen to instructions about the care of children in the recreation hall.

Nilisikilizishwa katika simu ambayo sikutegemea kuisikiliza. (A)

I was made to listen on a telephone which I could not depend on to listen (to).

<sup>1</sup>All of the informants, including Mr. Shabani, indicate that this form and these sentences are possible; but a construction with fanya is considerably more likely, they say.

sikilizishia<sup>1</sup>

Alinisikilizishia mtoto wangu maneno yaliyokuwa yakisemwa na mwalimu wake shuleni. (SM)

He caused my children to listen to the words which were said by his teacher at school.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants accept this form, but decidedly prefer a construction with fanya (alimfanya mtoto asikilize... 'he made the child that he listen to...').

Base Form  
sikilizisha

Stative  
sikilizishika

sikilizishika<sup>1</sup> Baba hakuweza kumsikilizishika mtoto wa mkewe kwa sababu

alikuwa hamtii mama yake. (SM)  
Father could not be listened to by the child of his wife because he  
does not obey his mother.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants; as noted elsewhere, the stative-causative combination of extensions is generally rejected. Mr. Ashery and Mr. Shabani both state specifically that the form -sikilizish- ('cause to listen to or obey') would be possible, but they prefer a fanya construction. (But in this case, one would have to consider the father becoming, then, the actor rather than the receiver of the action, as is assumed in Mr. Mannoro's sentence; baba hakuweza kumsikilizisha mtoto... 'father could not cause the child to listen....')

Base Form  
sikilizisha

Causative  
sikilizishisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
sikilizishana

sikilizishisha<sup>1</sup>

Niliwasikilizishisha watu hotuba ya bwana rais(i) wetu  
ihusuyo mpango wa miaka mitano ya maendeleo. (SM)  
I had them cause people to listen to the speech of our president which  
is relevant to the five year plan.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants understand the form and sentence, but they  
reject the double causative construction and prefer a fanya  
construction.

sikilizishana<sup>1</sup>

Tunasikilizishana maoni ya viongozi wetu hasa yahasuyo  
maendeleo ya nchi. (SM)  
We caused each other to listen to the views of our leaders, especially  
those which were relevant to the progress of the nation.

<sup>1</sup>The meaning of this form and sentence is unclear to the other  
informants. Miss Mkwana takes the form as an intensive and  
accordingly paraphrases the sentence as twasikiliza sisi wenyewe....  
'we listen we ourselves....' But Mr. Ashery takes it as an intensive  
of -sikiliza- with the alternant meaning of 'get along together'  
and would paraphrase it by using -patanisha-. This, of course  
changes the meaning of the sentence from 'we listen to the views....'  
to 'we agree (mutually) on the views....' Mr. Shabani most closely  
agrees with the interpretation of Miss Mkwana. He would reject the  
form -sikilizishana- as operative and would instead use a form of  
-ambiana- 'tell each other' or use simply tulizungumza 'we conversed  
(about)'.  
5

It seems of interest that these longer extensions, which are  
obviously little used, are in fact so much in disuse that such  
disagreement arise among native or near-native speakers.

Base Form  
sikilizikisha

Passive 261  
sikilizikishwa

sikilizikishwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilisikilizikishwa habari za ulimwengu kwa lazima ili  
nisikie mambo yanayotokea kila siku. (SM)  
I was caused to be in a state of listening to the news of the world  
by force so that I hear about the events which happen every day.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwya accepts the possibility of this form and sentence, but she decidedly prefers nilifanywa nisikilize 'I was made that I listen to....'. Mr. Ashery and Mr. Shabani agree with her, preferring either her alternative or -sikilizishw- 'be caused to listen'. Note that no one makes any attempt to paraphrase in such a way as to include the stative idea of the original form.

Base Form  
sikilizishika

Passive  
sikilizishikwa

sikilizishikwa<sup>1</sup>

Watu hawa hawawezi kusikilizishikwa habari ambazo hawapendi kusikia isipokuwa iwe ni lazima. (SM)  
These people cannot be caused (to be put in) the state of listening to news which they do not like to hear unless it be by necessity.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants reject the form entirely; they would use -sikilizishw- 'be caused to listen to'. Note the stative aspect is rejected (since it is the news which is 'listenable' and not the people, who are actors and therefore cannot--seemingly--serve as a subject for a verb with a stative extension) even in the paraphrasing.

Base Form  
sikilizikika

Passive  
sikilizikikwa

sikilizikikwa<sup>1</sup>

Watu hawa hawawezi kusikilizikikwa habari za ulimwengu  
isipokuwa walazimishwe. (SM)

These people are not able to be in a state of listening to the news  
of the world unless they are required (to do so).

<sup>1</sup>As is the case with all stative passives which he gives, Mr. Mannoro views this form as emphasizing the agentive aspect (the listening of the people) as well as the uwezekano 'possibility' aspect. But note one difference: in this sentence the actor, not the receiver of the action--as in the usual case in a sentence with a verb with a stative extension--is given as the subject. This seems to make the sentence all the more unacceptable to the other informants (as one would expect). Miss Mkwana and Mr. Ashery both reject it. Of interest, however, in their rejections is their total disinterest in expressing any sense of uwezekano in their restatements of the sentence. Miss Mkwana gives simply -sikiliz- 'listen to' and ignores both the stative and the passive concepts supposedly carried in Mr. Mannor's sentence. Mr. Ashery retains the passive concept, but adds a causative one in his alternative: -sikilizishw- 'be caused to listen'. Again, it would seem that this lack of uniformity only indicates confusion about even the possible meanings of these longer stems; and this in turn, of course, indicates that the forms are certainly impossible or not used.

#### 4.25 The Stem -anz- and Extended Forms

##### 4.251 Points of Special Interest

(1) Although relatively alone among the informants, Mr. Mannoro gives as possible--if rare--a large number of compound extended forms which are combinations of stative and passive extensions (as well as causatives and prepositionals). Surely, since they are frequently quite inoperative for the other informants, these forms must be considered inoperative in general. Yet, their being proposed at all is of some interest. First, once again it is seen that, in their rejection of these forms, the other informants invariably ignore the stative component of the form when they give an alternative form for the sentence. It appears, by comparing syntax and aspects of voice, that the stative extension seems quite incompatible with a subject who is an actor. Second, the very fact that Mr. Mannoro considers these compound forms possible may indicate, for him at least, a certain lack of distinction on the active: passive:neutral dimension. Attempts at devising test contexts have proved, however, that it is difficult to determine conclusively to what the existence of these compound forms must be attributed--whether they do, in fact, represent neutralizations of voice distinction or whether they are simple intensive forms, the intensity in direct proportion to the number of extension suffixes assembled.

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

anzana  
'begin together'  
(as intensive of  
-anz-)

anzisha  
1) 'cause some-  
one to begin'  
2) 'establish'  
3) 'intensive--  
of -anz-

anzika  
'that which  
is capable of  
or in a state  
of being begun'  
of -anz-

anzia  
'begin for',  
mahali 'place'  
emphasis

anzwa  
'be begun'

anza  
'began',  
'start'

anziana  
'begin for each  
other', etc.

## anzilia  
intensive of  
-anzi-

## anziva  
'be begun for'

anzia

anzikisha  
'cause someone  
to be in a state  
of beginning'

anzikika  
intensive--  
of -anzik-

## anzikwa  
'that which is  
capable of or in  
a state of begin  
begun'--emphasis  
on agentive aspect

anzika

anzishana  
1) 'begin together'  
(intensive of -anzan-)  
2) 'cause each other  
to begin'

anzishisha  
intensive--  
of -anzish-

anzishika  
'that which is  
capable of or  
in a state of  
being caused  
to begin'

anzishia  
'cause something  
to begin for'

anzishwa  
'be established',  
'be begun'

anzisha

anzishia  
'cause to begin  
for'

# anzishwa  
'be had some-  
thing begun for'

anzishia

## anzikishisha  
'cause someone to  
cause something to  
be capable of or  
in a state of being  
caused in a state of being  
to be in the begun'  
state of beginning'

## anzikishika  
'that which is  
capable of or  
in the state of  
being caused  
to be in the begun'  
state of beginning'

## anzikishwa  
'be caused to be  
in a state of  
beginning'

anzikisha



RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

anzishikana  
##anzishikana  
intensive--of  
-anzikish-

CAUSATIVE

anzishikisha  
##anzishikisha  
intensive--of  
-anzikish-

STATIVE

anzishikika  
##anzishikika  
intensive--of  
-anzishik-

anzishikikisha  
##anzishikikisha  
intensive --of  
-anzishikish-

PREPOSITIONAL

POSITIVE

anzishikwa  
##anzishikwa  
that which is  
capable of or in  
a state of being  
caused to begin'--  
emphasis on agentive  
aspect, or as intensive

BASE FORM

anzishika

anzishikikwa  
##anzishikikwa  
intensive--of  
other statives, with  
emphasis on agentive  
aspect

anzishikika

anzishikisha ##anzishikishwa  
to caused to be in  
a state or capable of  
beginning something

## 4.253 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Prepositional</u>
anza	anzwa	anzia

anza Nitaanza masomo yangu katika mwezi wa sita. (SM)  
I will begin my studies in June.

Nilianza shule miaka mitano iliyopita. (SylM)  
I began school five years ago.

Anza kwenda kuonana naye wewe kisha mimi niwe wa mwisho kwa sababu  
ninga machache tu ya kumweleza. (R)  
Start out to go to see him; then I will be the last because I have  
only a few things to say to him.

anzwa Jambo lo lote linapoanzwa linawezekana kumalizika. (SM)  
Anything whatsoever which is begun is capable of being finished.

Alianzwa kupigwa kabla hajafika polisi. (SylM)  
He was begun to be hit before the police arrived.

Kazi ilianzwa vibaya kwa hiyo haikumalizika. (A)  
The work was begun badly; therefore, it could not be finished.

anzia Anzia shina ufika nchani. (SM)  
Begin at the root so that you may reach the tip.

Alimwanzia kushona gauni lake. (SylM)  
He began to sew a dress for her. (i.e. her dress).

Sikuweza kuanza kazi peke yangu Juma alinianzia. (SylM)  
I could not begin the work alone (so) Juma began for me.

Walianza mashindano yao Nairobi. (A)  
They began their competitions in Nairobi.

Base Form

anza

Stative

anzika

Causative

anzisha

anzika<sup>1</sup>

Jambo linaloanzika si vigumu kumaliza. (SM)

A thing which is begun is not difficult to finish.

Kazi hii haianziki. (SM)

This work is not possible to be begun.

Kazi haiwezi kuanzika kwa haraka. (SylM)

The work cannot be begun because of the lack of workers.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Rashidi rejects this form; he says he would use -anz- in Mr. Mannoro's first sentence, for example.

anzisha<sup>1</sup>

Alianzisha chama cha wanawake. (SylM)

She established a women's club.

Mnyapara wao alianzisha kufanya kazi ile. (SylM)

Their headman caused (them) to begin to do that work.

Mimeanzisha chama hiki cha Tanu ilikudai uhuru. (SM)

I established this club of Tanu to agitate for independence.

Wakoloni ndio walioanzisha machafuko ya Congo-mara ty baada ya kumua marehemu Patrice Lumumba. (R)

It was indeed the colonialists who began the chaos in the Congo at once after the killing of the late Patrice Lumumba.

<sup>1</sup>Note the meaning is not generally 'cause to begin' but rather 'establish' (which may be considered an intensive of 'begin'); however, Mr. Shabani says that a sentence such as nilianzisha kufanya kazi jana 'I caused him to begin work yesterday' is quite acceptable.

Base Form

anza

Recipr/Associative

anzana

anzana<sup>1</sup>

Tunaanazana ugomvi ili tupigane. (SM)  
 We began the quarrel so that we might fight.

Hatukuweza kuamua ugomvi wao kwa sababu walianzana wenyewe. (SM)  
 They were not able to settle their quarrel because they began (it)  
 themselves.

Walianzana urafiki wao tangu utoto. (A)  
 They began their friendship in childhood.

"Ninyi ni rafiki sana lakini alizana lini?" "Tulizana samani  
 sana." (DS)

"You are very good friends but when did you begin (this friend-  
 ship)?" "We began (it) very long ago."

<sup>1</sup> All of the informants agree that this form can be considered either as an intensive of the base form, -anz- or as an associative in the sense of 'to begin together'. However, the former alternative seems most valid, since all informants would freely substitute -anz- for -anzan-.

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Prepositional</u>
anzia	anziwa	anzilia

anziwa Nilianziwa kushona nguo hii na dada yangu. (SylM)  
I was begun to be sewn for this dress by my sister.  
(i.e., My sister began to sew this dress for me.)

Nilianziwa kazi yangu na Juma wakati mimi mwenyewe nilikuwa sipo.  
(SM)  
I was begun for my work by Juma at a time when I myself was not there.

Alianziwa kulimiwa shamba lake na watumishi. (A)  
He was begun for to be cultivated his farm by servants.

Mipango hii ya kutafuta kazi alianziwa na kaka yake wakati yeye mwenyewe hajafika. (R)  
These plans of looking for work were begun for him by his brother when he himself had not yet arrived.

anzilia<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This form is considered possible by Miss Mkwya and Mr. Rashidi, but only marginally. They consider it an intensive. It is rejected by the other informants entirely, including Mr. Shabani.

anziana Walianziana kufumiana vitambaa kwa rangi moja. (SylM)  
They began for each other to weave for each other clothes of one color.

Tulianziana kazi zetu kabla hatujaenda safarini. (SM)  
We began our work for each other before we went on safari.

Walianziana urafiki njiani. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
They began the friendship on the way (en route).

Siku hizi ni kawaidi yao kuanziana kazi kama mmoja wao amechelewa kufika kazini. (R)  
These days it is their custom to begin work for each other if one of them arrives late.

<sup>1</sup>Note the mahali ('place' aspect here.)

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Causative</u>
anzika	anzikwa	anzikika	anzikisha

anzikwa<sup>1</sup> Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzikwa na mtu ye yote isipokuwa mimi mwenyewe. (SM)  
This work cannot be begun by any person at all unless it be I myself.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants.

Anzikika Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzikika kwa mtu ye yote isipokuwa mahodari tu. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
This work cannot be begun by any person at all except the clever ones only.

Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzikika mpaka atakaporudi mwenyewe. (SylM)  
This work cannot be begun unless he himself returns.

Kazi haikuanzikika kwa ukosefu-wa vyombo. (A)  
The work cannot be begun because of the shortage of utensils.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro differentiates this form from the simple stative in regard to degree of capability or state; Mr. Ashery agrees. Miss Mkwaya and Mr. Rashidi, however, consider it only a very rare alternant of -anzik-, the simple stative with no meaning differential.

anzikisha<sup>1</sup> Alinanzikisha kazi i japokuwa mimi mwenyewe sikuwa na adhimu ya kuifanya. (SM)  
He caused me to be in a state of beginning the work although I myself did not have enough stature (i.e., greatness) to do it.

Alianzikisha duka lake alipokuwa bado kijana. (SylM)  
He established his store when he was still a young man (i.e., he caused it to be in a state of beginning).

<sup>1</sup>The form is rejected by Mr. Ashery, Mr. Rashidi and Mr. Shabani, who would not use -anzish- in these sentences. Miss Mkwaya sees the form as an alternant to -anzish- with no meaning differential. Mr. Mannoro definitely considers it an intensive carrying the idea of the uwezekano 'possibility' aspect. Both agree it would rarely occur.

Base FormPassive

anzisha

anzishwa

anzishwa Tanu ilianzishwa na Mwalimu J. Nyerere. (SM)

Tanu was established by Julius Nyerere.

Wazo wa uhuru ulianzishwa na J. Nyerere. (SM)

The idea of independence was established by Julius Nyerere.

Kazi inaananzishwa na mkubwa wa idara. (SJM)

The work is being caused to begin by the head of the department.

Msingi wa nyumba ulianzishwa vibaya. (A)

The foundation of the house was badly laid.

Wimbo wa taifa ulianzishwa mara tu rais alipokwishapanda juu ya jukaa. (R)

The national anthem was begun the moment the president stepped on the stage.

Base FormPrepositional

anzisha

anzishia

anzishia Alinanzishia kazi hii kwa sababu mimi mwenyewe nilikuwa mgonjwa.  
(SM)

He had this work begun for me because I myself was sick.

Juma ndiye aliyeanzishia wenzake ugomvi kwa ajili ya ulevi wake.  
(SylM)

It was indeed Juma who caused the quarrel with his companions to begin on account of his drunkenness.

Baba alimwanzishia mtoto wake msingi mwema. (A)  
Father established for his child a good (financial) foundation.

Juma alinanzishia msingi mwema mtoto wangu. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
Juma established for my child (for me) a good (financial) foundation.

Tuliwaanzishia desturi ya kupata posho hapo shuleni kwa sababu wengi wao walikuwa maskini sana. (R)

We established for them the custom of getting pocket money here at school because many of them are very poor.

Ile mvua iliyoninyeshea kwa muda mrefu, ilinanzishia homa kali sana... (R)  
That rain which rained on me for a long time caused a very strong fever to begin in me...

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani rejects this usage, and the other informants considered the form relatively rare. Mr. Shabani says the meaning in this sentence is unclear and adds that if a meaning of 'establish for my child for me' is intended, the sentence must read Juma alimwanzishia mtoto wangu msingi mwema kwa ajili yangu, 'Juma established a good foundation (i.e., financial or otherwise) for my child on my account'. The rarity of the form and the presence of at least some confusion over the reference of the object prefix marks this prepositional causative shape as different from that prepositional causative shape with a deep structure stative stem as the base form in the extension grid. As is discussed in chapter III, the prepositional extended shape from a causative as base form, whose own base form is a deep structure stative stem, is not a member of the prepositional causative form class (as -anzishi- is) but is only a simple prepositional form--since the causative shape from a deep structure stative stem as base is an independent base form in its own right, initiating a 'new' (though usually related) meaning different from that of its phonological base form. Thus, -sikilizi- (a prepositional causative shape but a simple prepositional form) means 'listen to something for someone' and has nothing to do semantically with causation--even though it includes a



causative extension suffix in its assembly. This is because the base form of -sikilizi- is the causative shape, -sikiliz- 'listen to' which has no causative meaning--since it has a deep structure stative stem as its base, and the causative shapes from such bases are not causative in terms of form class membership. But -anzishi- is a member of the prepositional causative form class (since the base form, -anz- 'begin' of its base form, -anzish- 'cease to begin, establish' is not a deep structure stem) as well as having a prepositional causative shape. And the fact it is encumbered, as it were, by the compound meanings of both prepositional and causative it necessarily bears, seems to account for its lack of use and unclear meaning when it is used.

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Stative</u>
anzisha	anzishika

anzishika<sup>1</sup> Sikuweza kuanzishika kuifanya kazi hii kabla ya mimi mwenyewe kuazimia. (SM)

I could not be in the state of being caused to begin to do the work before I myself decided.

Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzishika mpaka wajumbe wote wafike. (SylM)  
This work cannot be caused to begin until all the representatives arrive.

Kazi haikuanzishika kwa upungufu wa watendakazi. (A)  
The work could not be caused to begin because of the lack of workers.

Safari haitaweza kuanzishika mpaka magari yote sita yafike ili yaondoke pamoja. (R)  
The safari will not be able to be caused to begin until all six cars arrive so that they may leave together.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this form. It is interesting that all of the other informants consider it operative--at least to some degree. The passive-active voice conflict between the stative and causative extensions, it has been seen, has made verb stems of the same shape as anzishik- inoperative for other verbs. Why not here? A clue to the answer may be the lack of passive-active distinction within the verb root's meaning, itself. 'Begin' can take either the actor or receiver as subject of a nominally active form: mkutano huu utaanza saa kumi 'this meeting will begin at 4:0'clock' or mwenyekiti utaanza mkutano huu saa kumi 'the chairman will begin the meeting at 4'.

Base Form

anzisha

Causative

anzishisha

anzishisha<sup>1</sup> Nitaanzishisha wimbo wa taifa mara mgeni wa heshima atakapofika.  
(SM)

I will have (people) begin the national anthem at the moment the honored guest arrives.

Alianzishisha kazi iliyokuwa na manufaa. (A)  
He had the work begun which was useful.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants, Miss Mkwaya, Mr. Rashidi and Mr. Shabani, reject this form. They will accept only a fanya construction such as alimfanya aanzishe kazi 'he made him that he begin the work'.

It is not clear whether -anzishish- may be considered a double causative or the intensive form of -anzish-. At any rate, the other informants do not consider the sentences above as referring to three people. To express double causation, Miss Mkwaya would say, alinwambia Ali amwanzishe mwanakazi kujenga nyumba 'he told Ali to have the worker begin to build the house'--note the object prefix.

Base Form

anzisha

Recipr./Associative

anzishana

anzishana<sup>1</sup>

Tulianzishana kuimba mara Bwana Rais(i) alipofika mbele yetu.

(SM)

We began to sing together the moment the president arrived before us.

Dudumizi huanzishana kuimba wakati wa asubuhi. (SM)

The birds begin to sing together in the morning.

or The birds cause each other to sing in the morning.

Walianzishana kazi asubuhi na mapema. (A)

They began the work together early in the morning.

or They caused each other to begin the work....

Tulianzishana wogo wakati gari letu limepasuka mpira wa nbele. (R)  
We began to be frightened when our car (blew)(split) the front tire.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this form either can be considered an intensive of the simple reciprocal/associative -anzan- or a causative reciprocal form. Whereas Mr. Shabani rejects the causative-reciprocal combination for a number of other verbs, he considers this form possible.

Base Form

anzishia

Passive

anzishiwa

Prepositional

anzishia

anzishiwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilianzishiwa kazi yangu nilipoondoka safari. (SM)  
I was had my work begun for me when I went on safari.

Nilianzishiwa kazi hii na dada yangu ambaye anaifahamu sana. (SYM)  
I was had this work begun for me by my sister who knows it well.

Alianzishiwa msingi wa fedha na mumewe. (A)  
She was had a savings account begun for her by her husband.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani considers this form operative, though rare.

anzishia

Nilimwanzishia Juma kazi yake kwa sababu hakuwapo. (DS)  
I had Juma's work be begun for him because he was not here.

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Causative</u>
anzishika	anzishikwa	anzishikika	anzishikisha

anzishikwa<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro considers this form operative (emphasizing agentive aspect) but the other informants reject it.

anzishikika<sup>1</sup>

Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzishikika kwa mtu ye yote isipokuwa mimi mwenyewe. (SM)

This work cannot be caused to begin by any man whatsoever except I myself.

Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzishikika mpaka tutakapopata vifaa vyote. (SylM)  
This work is not possible to be caused to begin until we have all the necessary things.

<sup>1</sup>The form is rejected by the other informants. Both Mr. Mannoro and Miss Mkwaya consider it essentially intensive. Miss Mkwaya equates -anzik-, -anzishik-, and -anzishikik- in meaning.

anzishikisha<sup>1</sup>

Siwezi kuanzishikisha kazi iwapo watu wenyewe hawapendi kuifanya. (SM)

I am not able to cause the possibility of the work being begun in the case that the people themselves do not like to do it.

Alitaka kuanzishikisha chama kipya cha dini. (SylM)

He wanted to cause the possibility of a new religious organization being established.


<sup>1</sup>This form is entirely rejected by the other informants. Miss Mkwaya and Mr. Mannoro consider it very rare. If operative at all, it is apparently more of an intensive than a form carrying the possible meanings of its parts. Thus, Miss Mkwaya comments that the meaning of -anzishikish- is the same as that of -anzish- or -anzikish-.

Base Form  
anzishika

Recipr./Associative  
anzishikana

anzishikana<sup>1</sup> Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzishikana wakati huu wa shughuli  
nyingi. (SM)  
This work cannot be begun at this time of much business.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants who would use  
~~anzishik~~ or ~~anzik~~. Mr. Mannoro considers the form an intensive  
of these forms.



<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Propositional</u>	<u>Stative</u>
anzikisha	anzikishwa	anzikishia	anzikishika

anzikishwa<sup>1</sup> Nilianzikishwa kuifanya kazi ngumu. (SM)

I was caused to be in the state of beginning to do hard work.

<sup>1</sup>This form is entirely rejected by all other informants, including Mr. Shabani. They would use -anzishw- in this sentence. Note this usage would completely eliminate the stative aspect.

anzikishia<sup>1</sup> Alinanzikishia kazi yangu kwa sababu mimi mwenyewe nilikuwa mgonjwa. (SM)

He caused the state of my work being begun (for me) (by someone else) because I myself was ill.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants, including Mr. Shabani. They would use -anzishi- (again ignoring the stative aspect).

anzikishika<sup>1</sup> Sikuweza kuanzikishika kazi isiyonihusu kuifanya. (SM)

I cannot be caused to be in the state of beginning work which is not assigned to me to do.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants who would use only -anzish-.

anzikishisha<sup>1</sup> Alinanzikishisha kazi ambayo ilikuwa ngumu kufanywa. (SM)

He caused me to cause the possibility of work being begun which was difficult to be done.

<sup>1</sup>This form is entirely rejected by all other informants. Mr. Mannoro maintains, however, that the form, though rare, is possible, as a causative involving three people--he who causes me to cause someone else to see to the possibility of work being begun.



Base Form  
anzishikika

Passive  
anzishikikwa

Causative  
anzishikikisha

anzishikikwa<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro accepts the possibility of this form existing, with emphasis on the agentive aspect coupled with the intensive of the stative aspect. Other informants, however, totally reject such a form. Mr. Mannoro gives this sentence:

Kazi hii haiwezi kuanzishikikwa na mtu ye yote isipokuwa mimi mwenyewe.

This work cannot be begun by any man except I myself.

anzishikikisha<sup>1</sup>

Aliniazishikikisha kazi ambayo ilikuwa ngumu kuifanya katika muda mfupi iliyokadiriwa. (SM)

He caused me to be in the state of beginning work which was difficult to do in the short time which was allotted.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants reject this form and would use -anzishi- (which conveys no stative aspect.)

Base Form

anzishikisha

Passive

anzishikishwa

anzishikishwa<sup>1</sup> Alianzishikishwa kazi ya kupalilia shamba lake mapema kabla ya mvua nyingi kunyesha. (SM)  
He was caused to be in the state of beginning the work of clearing off his farm early before much rain had fallen.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants would use -anzishw- in such a context and totally reject -anzishikishw- (and the stative aspect).

## 4.261 Points of Special Interest

(1) The disagreement between Mr. Shabani and the other informants (in general) about the limitations on meaning, especially of two forms, must be noted. The other informants consider -ep- and its extended forms to mean 'avoid' in general. But Mr. Shabani will accept only the meaning 'avoid' in terms of 'the action of shifting the body to one side'. In regard to -epu- and its extended forms, the other informants accept the meaning of 'save' in a sense of 'to remove from'. But Mr. Shabani will only consider the form operative for the limited meaning of 'remove pots from a kitchen fire, etc.'.

(2) The grid pattern shows these relationships:

(a) The examples given the informants (all but Mr. Shabani), along with the statements they make, indicate that -ep- and its stative shape -epək-, and the stative extended form from the base of -epu-, -epuk-, all are used for the meaning 'avoid'. It does seem that -ep- is more concerned with the specialized meaning of 'swerve the body' (which would be an active, deep structure non-stative meaning) as opposed to 'avoid' which seems to be a deep structure stative meaning.

(b) The simple reversive form -epu- has the general meaning of 'save'; and its causative shape, -epush- seems to stand in relation to the grid as an intensive form of -epu-. If -epuk- is considered a deep structure stative stem, then -epu- stands as its non-stative counterpart (signifying the action which implies the possibility of the state of 'avoiding').

(c) The simple causative shape, -epesh-, is not considered

operative by all informants. Further, once again, there seems to be a confusion of meanings. Mr. Shabani will accept -epesh- only as what would seem to be the non-stative counterpart of the base form -ep- (with the meaning of -ep- as 'avoid by moving the body'). But the other informants tend to group it with -epush- and -epu- and the meaning of 'save'.

(d) The relationship of the prepositional shape and the prepositional causative shape from the base -epu- to the entire pattern tends to substantiate the view that -epuk- is a deep structure stative stem. Thus, -epulik- means 'capable of being in a state of being saved' and -epulish- means 'cause to save' (although it is only marginally considered operative.)

If the gr̄d is considered in this way, it is identical to that of -angu-, -anguk-, etc. (leaving out -ep- as more than a variant of -epuk- with a specialized meaning.)

(e) The seeming amount of free variation of associating meaning and shape is of interest. (For example, -epukw- apparently can mean either 'be avoided' or 'be saved'--and even Mr. Shabani substantiates this.) Note that between -siki- (a deep structure stative stem) and -sikiliz- a lesser amount of variation occurs, but it does exist. Such a blurring of distinction between stative and non-stative members of the same pair may be typical, but this is only conjecture.

4.262 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -ep-

BASE FORM      PASSIVE      PREPOSITIONAL      STATIVE      CAUSATIVE      RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

epa      # epwa      # epea      # epaka      epesha  
 1) 'move the body; that is 'swerve'  
 2) 'avoid'      1) 'be avoided by body movement'      2) 'be avoided'      #1) 'save'      #2) 'avoid'      #3) 'cause to swerve body'  
 1) 'be avoided by body movement'      2) 'be avoided'      #1) 'capable of or in a state of being avoided'      #2) 'save'      #3) 'cause to swerve body'

REVERSIVE

epua  
 #1) 'save'  
 #2) 'remove cooking vessels from fire'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

#epuana  
 'save each other'

epuliwa      epulia      epuka      epusha  
 #1) 'be saved'  
 #2) 'be removed from fire' (of cooking vessels)  
 2) 'remove pots from fire'  
 1) 'save, with emphasis on mahali 'place' of aspect'  
 #1) 'capable of or in state of being saved'  
 2) 'or removed pots from fire'

epesha

'be caused to swerve the body'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

epuliana

- #1) 'save for each other'
- 2) 'remove pots for each other'

epukana

- 1) 'avoid'-- intensive of -epnk-
- 2) 'avoid each other'

CAUSATIVE

#/epukisha

- 'capable of or in state of being avoided'
- 'save'-- intensive of -epush-

STATIVE

epukika

- 'capable of or in state of being avoided'

PREPOSITIONAL

epukia

- apparently alternant of -epg-, but more acceptable 'avoid', with emphasis on mahali 'place' aspect.

PASSIVE

epukwa

- 1) 'be avoided'
- 2) 'be saved'

BASE FORM

epulia

epuka

epushika

- 1) 'capable of being saved'
- #2) 'capable of being avoided'

PASSIVE

epushwa

- 'be saved'

epusha

- 'save for', mahali 'place' aspect, etc.

## 4.263 Example Sentences from Extended Forms

Base Form

epa

epa<sup>1</sup>

Inafaa kupea namna yo yote ya hatari. (SM)  
It is fitting to avoid every kind of danger.

Magari makubwa yanakuja, yaepe. (SM)  
Big trucks are coming; avoid them.

Nilimwepa asiye akanidai pesa zake. (SylM)  
I avoided him lest he demand his money (from-me).

Kwa ujanja wake aliweza kupea marisasi mengi. (A)  
On account of his cleverness, he could avoid many gun shots.

Ilikuwa si ajali yake kwaani alivyoepa hiyo risasi ni vya  
kushangaza kabisa. (R)  
It was not by chance for how he avoided those gun shots is a thing  
which astonishes completely.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects any use of -ep- for any kind of avoidance other than that which means to 'swerve or move the body to avoid'. For example, he considers epa liwe lile 'swerve to avoid that rock' the correct usage. Note that the other informants do not all agree with him and use -ep- for 'avoid' in a wider sense. Mr. Mannoro, who gives it a wider usage, specifically says that -ep- conveys more of an idea of outward intention to avoid something than -epuk- does, but that is as far as he limits its use. Mr. Ashery notes that -ep- has a sense of hasa kustuka kwa ajili ya akili au ujanja 'especially to avoid by means of intelligence or cleverness', while -epuk- involves a matter of bahati tu 'just luck'.

Base FormepaPassiveepwa

epwa Magari makubwa yanapewa kwa sababu yanaweza kuua. (SM)  
Big trucks are avoided because they can kill. (i.e., they are  
swerved from)

Niliepwa na gari. (SylM)  
I was avoided by the car.

Mtoto mbaya aliepwa na mwanzake mchezoni. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
The bad child was avoided by his companion in the game.

Aliepwa na mtoto wake alipojaribu kumpiga. (DS)  
He was swerved from by his child when he tried to hit him.

<sup>1</sup>The meaning here may or may not be limited to 'manoeuver of the body' (as Mr. Shabani would so limit it); but it seems to have a wider meaning for other informants, although the examples do not make this clearly certain.



Base Form  
epa

Prepositional  
epea

epea<sup>1</sup> Gari kubwa zinakuja upande wako wa kushoto kwa hiyo epea kulia. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
Big cars are coming on your left side; therefore go to (i.e., avoid to) the right.

Kwa kutaka kujiondoa na wasi wasi niliona heri niepukie kwa kukaa na mjomba. (SylM)<sup>3</sup>  
On account of wanting to do away with anxieties for myself I saw with good fortune that I might avoid (them) by living with my uncle.

Aliepea mkono wa kushoto wakati gari lake lilipopinduka. (A)  
He escaped (i.e., avoided) on the left side when his car tipped over.

Ilikuwa bahati mbaya kwake; alijiona tu anaepa upande ambao gari lilikuwa linapitia hivyo alipondwa na kufa hapo hapo. (R)  
He had bad luck (for) he thought of himself only and he stepped (i.e., avoided) to the side on which the car was passing and therefore he was crushed and died on the spot.

<sup>1</sup>Note that all of these sentences involve the usage of the prepositional extension for the mahali 'place' aspect. Either 'swerve' or 'avoid' belong to that class of verbs for which the idea of 'do for someone' (i.e., 'do in the place of someone') is incompatible with the base meaning.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani will not accept this sort of usage for -epe- since he restricts its usage to manoeuvring of the body, not moving it any distance. For all of these sentences, he would use -epuki-.

<sup>3</sup>Miss Mkwana says she sees no difference in meaning between -epe- and -epuki-, but notes that -epuki- is more used.

Base Form  
epa

Stative  
epeka

epeka<sup>1</sup> Adhabu hii ni ya lazima kwako kwa hiyo haiwezi kuepeka. (SM)  
This punishment is required for you; therefore it cannot be avoided.

Ajali haikuweza kuepeka. (SylM)  
The accident cannot be avoided.

Kwa vile yupo mikononi mwa Polisi hivyo hukumu aliyopewa haiwezi kuepeka. (R)  
Because he was in the hands of the Police, therefore the sentence he was given cannot be avoided.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani rejects this form entirely; indeed, if the meaning were only '\*swervable' (which follows from Mr. Shabani's other views) it would be impossible.

Base Form  
epa

Causative  
epesha

epesha<sup>1</sup>

Walikutupia mawe lakini tulimwepesha. (DS)

They threw rocks at him but we caused him to swerve (i.e., move aside).

Niliepesha gari yangu ili isigongane na gari nyingine. (SM)<sup>2</sup>

I caused my car to swerve so that it might not collide with another car.

Rais Karume aliepesha serikali yake kutokana na ujasusi wa Amerikani.

(SM)

President Karume saved his government from the spying of the Americans.

Aliepesha epesha maneno hadi akashinda. (A)

He saved (his) words until he succeeded. (i.e., he avoided speaking)

Itakuwa vigumu kuepesha hiyo habari kwaani amekwisha pata ushuhuda yeye mwenyewe kutoka kwa watu wengi. (R)<sup>3</sup>

It will be difficult to suppress (i.e., save) that news because he has already gotten evidence himself from many people.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani accepts -epesh- only in the sense of the sentence which he gives, 'cause someone to move the body aside'. The other informants obviously consider it otherwise. Miss Mkwaya rejects the form entirely and would use -epush- in these sentences (meaning 'save').

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mannoro specifically states he considers the form either a causative (as in this sentence) meaning 'cause to swerve' or an alternant of -epush- meaning 'save' (as in his second sentence.)

<sup>3</sup> The meaning intended for -epesh- here is not entirely clear. Mr. Shabani rejects the usage of all and would use -epuk- (which means 'avoid' and seems less likely in this sentence than a meaning of 'save'). At any rate, the variety of responses indicates a great deal of confusion over the use and interpretation of -epesh-.

Base Form  
epa

Recipr/Associative  
epana

Reversive  
epua

epana<sup>1</sup>

Waliepana wasijuane wako wapi. (SylM)  
They avoided each other that they might not know where each other was.

Mbona tunaepana siku hizi? (A)<sup>2</sup>  
Why do we avoid each other these days?

Hao hawakugongana kwa sababu waliepana kidogo tu, isingekuwa hiyo, wangepana vibaya kwa vile kila mmoja alikuwa katika spidi kali. (R)

Those ones did not collide because they avoided each other (or they swerved from each other) just a little; if it were not so they would collide badly because each one was going at a high speed.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani rejects this form, although he understands the sentences.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashery says he would more likely use -kwepan- as an alternate form here.

epua<sup>1</sup>

Nilimwepua Ali kwa sababu alikuwa kuzama katika maji. (SM)  
I saved Ali because he was sinking in the water.

Alimwepua katika ajali ya kifo. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
He saved her from a fatal accident.

Juma hana budi kunishukuru mimi kwa sababu nimemwepua na kifungo... (R)  
Juma has no alternative but to thank me because I saved him from jail...

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is 'save' in the sense of 'remove from' something. Mr. Shabani, however, totally rejects this usage and will only accept the form as used for kwepua vyombo vya jikoni tu 'to remove kitchen vessels only'. Therefore, all of the above sentences make no sense to him at all.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mkwya says she would interchange -epu- and -epush- (as would the other informants, except Mr. Shabani, apparently; they seem to consider -epush- more of an intensive than Miss Mkwya does, however).

Base Form  
epua

Passive  
epuliwa

Prepositional  
epulia

epuliwa<sup>1</sup>

Niliepuliwa na Juma wakati mashua yangu ilipozama. (SM)  
I was saved by Juma when my boat was sinking.

Aliepuliwa na askari alipotaka kupigwa na watu. (SylM)  
He was saved by the police when he was about to be hit by people.

Aliepuliwa na wenzake kwa bahati tu. (A)  
He was saved by his companions by luck only.

Waasi walioshikwa jana na waliepuliwa na kuyongwa na Advocate  
mboja... (R)  
The rebels were seized yesterday and were saved from hanging by  
an attorney...

<sup>1</sup> -epuw- seems to be a substandard form of -epu- rather than an  
alternate passive form. Mr. Shabani rejects the usage in these  
sentences (see note for -epu-).

epulia<sup>1</sup>

Angefariki kama nisingemwepulia hatari hii. (SM)  
He would die if I would not save him from this danger.

Nilimwepulia chungu chake cha mboga kisiye kikaungue. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
I removed his pot of vegetables (for him) lest it be scorched.

Alimwepulia karibu ya kati ya bahari. (A)  
He saved him near the middle of the ocean.

Kama si msichana huyu, Ali angeuawa lakini kamwepulia mbali, na  
hivi bila shaka Ali ni mwenye shukurani nyingi kwa Joelin  
aliyeokoa maisha yake. (R)  
If it were not for this young girl, Ali would be killed but she  
saved him completely and therefore without doubt Ali is a person  
with much gratitude for Joelin who saved his life.

<sup>1</sup> Note that the preposition form functions here principally for  
the mahali 'place' aspect--perhaps because the meaning 'save for  
someone' has doubtful status and is therefore avoided.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mkwana notes that -ipu- is the more usual verb stem used for  
'to take from the fire', but that extensions of -epu- are also  
used. This is the only sentence of those cited which Mr. Shabani  
will accept.

Base Form  
epua

Stative  
epuka

epuka<sup>1</sup>  
Epuka na mtu huyu. (SM)  
Avoid this man.

Inapasa serikali iepuke mambo ya... (SM)  
It behooves the government that it avoid matters of...

Aliepuka hatari ile kwa kukimbia. (SylM)  
He avoided that danger by running away.

Juma alimwambia John, "Epuka gari; linakuja." (A)  
Juma told John, "Avoid the car; it is coming."

<sup>1</sup> See -ep- for a discussion of similarities and differences in meaning. Mr. Shabani accepts this form with the meaning 'avoid'; however, he says he sees no relationship at all between -epu- and -epuk-. Yet, he accepts a relationship between -angu- and -anguk- and the type of relationship in both cases is the same: in both cases the stative shape is used in a non-stative manner: -epuk- 'avoid', -anguk- 'fall'; likewise the reversive shape is used to indicate the action which precipitates the action of 'avoiding or falling': -epu- 'remove from or save', -angu- 'let fall down or pick'. Also, in the case of both sets of verbs, the causative shape functions as an intensive of the meaning of the reversive shape.)

Base Form  
epua

Stative  
epulika

epulika<sup>1</sup> Mashua imekwisha zama chini ya bahari kwa hiyo haikuweza kuepulika. (SM)  
The ship has already sunk in the sea; therefore, it could not be saved at all.

Watoto wengine hawawezi kuepulika na mtoto huyu mbaya kwa sababu anakwenda nyumbani kwa kila mara. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
Other children cannot be saved from this disagreeable child because he comes to the house all the time.

Ajali haikuweza kuepulika. (SylM)<sup>3</sup>  
The accident could not be avoided.

Ugonjwa ulikuwa ni mkubwa na hivyo hawakuweza kuepulika. (A)<sup>4</sup>  
The illness was widespread and therefore they could not be saved.

<sup>1</sup>The only usage Mr. Shabani will accept is this sort: chungu kiliepuliki kutoka kwa moto, 'the pot could not be removed from the fire'.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts only -epukana na (with the resulting meaning 'other children cannot avoid this disagreeable child...').

<sup>3</sup>This usage seems quite out of line with that of all other informants. It is either an error or indicates that free variation in meaning related to form is very widespread in this series of extensions.

<sup>4</sup>Mr. Ashery specifically states that -epulik- has nothing to do with the inherent possibility of avoiding something (this is the meaning of -epukik-, he states), but rather with the njia ya kuepuka 'the means of avoiding'. This is interpreted as meaning 'that which is capable of or in the state of being saved' since if someone is saved from danger, he then has the means of avoiding the danger.

Base Form  
epua

Causative  
epusha

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Recipr/Associative  
epuana

epusha<sup>1</sup>

Epusha mwili wako usipatwa na maradhi. (SM)  
Save your body that you do not get disease(s).

Aliniepusha na ajali ya wanang'angyi kwa kunionyesha njia nyingine.  
(SylM)  
He saved me from an encounter with ruffians by showing me another route.

Mwepusha mtoto wako asiunguwe motoni. (A)  
Save your child so that he will not be burned in the fire. (i.e., remove him)

Epusha hiyo baiskeli yako la sivyo itapondelwa mbali na DMT. (R)  
Save (i.e. remove) that bicycle of yours that it not be crushed under the Dar es Salaam Motor Transport bus.

<sup>1</sup> Note that this shape is essentially intensive in meaning (of -epu-) and is not a causative form class member. Mr. Shabani accepts this usage.

epuana<sup>1</sup>

Tuliepuana na njaa kwa kupeana chakula. (SM)  
They saved each other from starvation by giving each other food.

Waliepuana na ajali ile kwa kutoroka kwa kupitia njia ya maji. (SylM)  
They saved each other from that accident by running way by going along a water way.

Waliepuana hatarini kwa kupigiana kilele. (A)  
They saved each other from danger by shouting.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani rejects this form as operative.



Base Form  
epesha

Passive  
epeshwa

epeshwa Aliepeshwa na ndugu yake lile jiwe. (DS)  
He was caused to avoid the rock by his brother.

Base Form  
epulia

Recipr/Associative  
epuliana

Causative  
epulisha

epuliana<sup>1</sup> Tuliepuliana vyungu vyetu kutoka motoni. (DS)  
We removed our pots for each other from the fire.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants were not queried about this form; but, taking into account their other responses, it is likely they would extend the meaning of this form to include the idea of 'save for each other' in more general contexts than this one referring to 'removing pots'.

epulisha

Mr. Shabani accepts the possibility of a causative form existing in this series, but would not use it himself. To say 'cause someone to remove a pot' he would say nilimwambia Ali akiepue chungu... 'I told Ali to remove the pot...'

Base Form  
epuka

Passive  
epukwa

Prepositional  
epukia

epukwa<sup>1</sup> Watu wabaya huepukwa siku zote. (SM)  
Unpleasant people should be avoided at all times.

Hatari hii haiwezi kuepukwa. (SylM)  
This danger cannot be avoided.

Aliepukwa-na mzigo mzito kwa kuondoka mapema. (SylM)  
He was saved from a heavy burden by leaving early.

Aliepukwa na safari ya Dodoma kwa sababu alijufanya kuwa mgonjwa  
na aliomba 'excuse duty'... (R)  
He was saved from the Dodoma safari because he pretended to be sick  
and asked 'excuse duty'...

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani substantiates the fact that this form seems to have  
two meanings, 'be avoided' and 'be saved'. There is no apparent  
explanation.

epukia Nimezunguka na maadui kwa hiyo sina pa kuepukia. (SM)  
I am surrounded by enemies and therefore I have no place for  
avoiding (them).

Niliepukia mbali na mambo ya anasa za dunia. (A)  
I completely avoided the material things of the world.

Nyumba ilipowaka moto...sikuji Anthony ataepukia wapi lakini  
wazima moto walimsaidia kuepukana na kifo cha huo moto. (R)  
When the house was burning...didid not know where Anthony would  
go (i.e., avoid to) but the firemen aided him in completely  
avoiding a death by that fire.

Base Form  
epuka

Stative  
epukika

epukika<sup>1</sup> Ajali haiwezi kuepukika. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
The accident cannot be avoided.

Kifo hakiwezi kuepukika kwa sababu kila mtu hana budi kufa. (SM)  
Death cannot be avoided because every man has no alternative to  
dying.

"Ah, fulani bwana--hawezi kuepukika." (A)  
"Oh, that man--he just cannot be avoided."

<sup>1</sup> Note that this form is, in effect, the simple stative form since the simple stative shape has been taken over for the base meaning of 'avoid'.

<sup>2</sup> See under -epukw- where Miss Mkwya gave this sentence: Hatari hii haiwezi kuepukwa 'this danger cannot be avoided'. It is difficult to see any differentiation in the usage of the passive form and the stative here. However, it is assumed that a larger context would make the distinction clearer, with the passive emphasizing the agentive aspect and the stative the inherent quality of the state or the potentiality of the situation. (For a clear example of the distinction, see -sikiw- and -sikik-).

Base Form  
epuka

Causative  
epukisha

epukisha<sup>1</sup> Epukisha gari yako itagongwa. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
Save your car; it will be hit.

Nilimwepukisha mtoto wake katika ajali ya moto (SM)  
I saved his child from the fire accident.

Mtu mwenye busara aliweza kuepukisha shari. (A)<sup>3</sup>  
A man having good sense could save (himself from?) evil.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mkwya and Mr. Rashidi reject the form outright. Miss Mkwya would use a fanya construction with the causative idea of 'cause to save' (which seems confused). Mr. Rashidi sees no causative sense involved and would replace -epukish- with -epush-. Mr. Shabani also rejects the form as operative, but says that if it were in use, it would be a causative form as in tulimwepukisha hatari ya maadui wabaya 'we caused him to avoid the danger of evil enemies'. This response is odd since the other informants reject the possibility of a meaning such as 'cause to avoid'.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mannoro says that the form is definitely an intensive of -epush-, not a causative; although he adds that -epesh- 'cause to swerve' could have been used in this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ashery notes this form is an intensive of -epush-.

Base Form  
epuka

Recipr/Associative  
epukana

epukana<sup>1</sup> Epukana na watu wabaya. (A)  
Avoid (entirely) bad people.

Juma na mkewe wameepukana (A)<sup>2</sup>  
Juma and his wife avoid each other.

Niliepukana na kundi la wanyang'ani kwa kukaa na kaka yake. (B)  
I avoided the gang of robbers by staying with his brother.

Epukana na ulevi kwa sababu ni mbaya. (C)  
Avoid drunkenness because it is bad.

Epukana na maradhi ya ndui kwa kujihakikishia kwamba umechanjwa. (D)  
Avoid the disease of smallpox by making sure you have been vaccinated.

<sup>1</sup>This is an intensive form. While Mr. Mannoro regularly gives this stative plus associative extension for an intensive meaning, the other informants do not, so it is somewhat unexpected they consider it operative for this verb stem.

<sup>2</sup>This example is also accepted by the other informants. In this case, note that -epukan- has a reciprocal meaning (elsewhere it is more associative).

Base Form  
epusha

Passive  
epushwa

Prepositional  
epushia

epushwa Aliepushwa na kundi la watu wabaya kupelekwa shuleni. (SylM)  
He was saved from a band of unsavory people by being sent to school.

Niliepushwa na kifo kwa sababu daktari alinitibu maradhi yangu kabla haijazidi. (SM)  
I was saved from death because the doctor treated my disease before it got worse.

epushia Mungu aliniepushia mbali na balaa lile. (SylM)  
God saved me completely from that calamity.

Aliniepushia mtoto wangu katika ajali ya gari ambayo iliitokea wakati alipokuwa anarudi shule. (SM)  
He saved (for me) my child from a car accident which happened when he was returning from school.

Alimwepushia upande wa kulia wa gari lake. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
He avoided him on the right side of his car.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani accepts this form as operative, but rejects this sentence and the necessary interpretation. It does seem that either an error was made in recording the response or the free variation of form with meaning has considerable latitude since -epuki- would be the usual form for 'avoid in respect to place'.

Base Form  
epusha

Stative  
epushika

epushika<sup>1</sup> Kazi ile haikuweza kuepushika. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
That work could not be avoided. (?)

Mtoto huyu hawezi kuepushika na maradhi mabaya kwa sababu ni mchafu. (SM)  
This child cannot be saved from bad diseases because he is not clean.

Adhabu haikuweza kuepushika kwa sababu makosa yake yalikuwa makubwa.  
(A)  
The punishment could not be avoided because his faults were great.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani considers the form operative, if rare, but only as a stative, meaning 'that which is capable of or in a state of being saved'. Therefore, he totally rejects the usage of Miss Mkwya and Mr. Ashery. Mr. Shabani gives this sentence: mgonjwa yule hawezi kuepushika 'that sick man cannot be saved'.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mkwya considers the form as an intensive of -epuk-; apparently Mr. Ashery does also (and Mr. Rashidi gives a sentence with the same interpretation necessary.) Again, we must say either an error has been made in recording (but for three informants?) or there is a great deal of latitude governing the correlation of form and meaning.



4.27 The Stem -fung- and Its Extended Forms

## 4.271 Points of Special Interest

(1) In line with the total treatment, -fungik- 'in state of being closed' and -funguk- 'in state of being open' must be considered probable members of the deep structure category of stative. If they are, in fact, stative verbs, their grid patterns would be interpreted in this way:

(a) Both of their base forms, -fung- 'close' and -fungu- 'open', are non-stative counterparts. That is, they express an action which will in all probability result in the state of being 'closed' or 'open'.

(b) Both of their sibling causative shapes, -fungish- and -fungulish-, can be related to the concept of causation only in the sense that the action of closing or opening can be caused, but not the state. (Note that in the case of both shapes, Mr. Shabani, for one, tends to reject them as operative. He will accept -fungish- for the specialized meaning 'imprison' and prefers a lazimisha construction for the meaning of causation in both cases. This may indicate a feeling that confusion as to what is being caused--state or action--must be avoided; therefore, the possibly ambiguous form is avoided; but this is only conjecture.)

(c) There seems to exist in the case of -funguk- and -fungulik- the distinction between stative aspect for the former and potential aspect for the latter which we have found to exist in the case of grids for what seem to be deep structure stative stems. (For -fungik- there is no second stative shape and the one shape seems to function for both aspects.)

(2) The appearance should be noted of what must be called intensive forms, -fungash- and -fungany- with extended forms of their own and the specialized meaning of 'gather and tie' associated with 'close burdens'.

(3) Note the proliferation of compound extended forms which may be

inoperative, in general, and seem to arise as intensive forms.

(4) Note the associative meaning of the reciprocal/associative forms -fungan-, -funguan-, and -fungashan-. See section 3.24 for a discussion of the deep structure subcategorization feature of animateness in object which seems to be the force determining associative rather than reciprocal meaning here.

4.272 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -fung-

BASE FORM

funga

'tie (especially  
burdens) close  
(doors and other  
such things)'

PASSIVE

fungwa

'be closed,  
be tied'

PREPOSITIONAL

fungia

'tie, close'  
with, mahali  
'place' aspect

STATIVE

fungika

'that which  
is capable of  
or in state  
of being tied,  
closed'

CAUSATIVE

fungisha

1) 'cause to  
close'  
2) 'cause to be  
imprisoned'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

fungana

1) animate subject:  
'tie each other'  
2) inanimate subject:  
'become entwined'

funga

'tie'

REVERSIVE

fungua

'open, untie'

REDUPLICATIVE

fungafunga

'tie hurriedly'  
(intensive)

CAUSATIVE

## fungikika

intensive--  
of -fungik-

fungika

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

fungikana

intensive--of -fungik-  
( 'complete' aspect)

fungisha

fungishwa

'be caused  
to be  
imprisoned'

fungishia

'cause to be  
imprisoned'  
( 'negative'  
aspect)

## fungishika

'cause something  
to be in the  
state or capable  
of being closed,  
tied'

## fungishana

1) intensive--'be  
imprisoned'  
2) 'cause each other to  
tie'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

funguana  
'untie (each other)  
the rope, etc.'

CAUSATIVE

## funguza  
'open'  
fungulisha  
'cause to  
open, untie  
or in state  
of being  
opened or  
untied'

STATIVE

funguka  
'state of  
being open'  
fungulika  
'capable of  
or in state  
of being  
opened or  
untied'

PREPOSITIONAL

fungulia  
'open for'

PASSIVE

funguliwa  
'be opened'

BASE FORM

fungua

REDUPLICATIVE

funguafungua  
open repeatedly

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

## fungukana  
intensive--of -funguk-  
( 'complete' aspect)

## fungukisha

'cause the state  
of something  
being opened,  
untied'

fungukia

'open'--  
(mahali  
'place'  
emphasis)

funguka

funguliana

'open for each other'

fungulia

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

#fungashana  
1) 'tie together'  
2) 'ride together'

#fungashika,  
funganyika  
'that which  
is capable  
of or in state  
of being  
gathered and  
tied together'

fungashia,  
funganyia  
animate subj: 'gather and  
'be associated tie for'  
(with)  
inanimate subj:  
'be gathered  
and tied'

fungasha,  
funganya

#funganika funganisha  
#1) 'join together'  
(intensive)  
#2) 'gather  
together'

#funganwa #fungania  
'be entwined' -- 'entwine for'  
(negative  
aspect)  
agentive  
aspect

fungana

fungashiana  
'tie and gather  
for each other'

fungashiwa  
'be gathered  
and tied for'

fungashia

#funganishana  
intensive--'tie each  
other together'

#funganishika  
'capable of or  
in state of  
being tied  
together'

#funganishwa #funganishia  
intensive--  
'be joined  
together, be aspect  
caused to join  
together'

funganisha

fungiana  
'close for, tie for  
each other'

fungia

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

##fungulikisha  
'cause the state  
or capability of  
something being  
opened, untied'

##fungulikia  
'open'--(mahali  
'place' aspect)

fungulika

#fungulishana  
'cause each other  
to open'

#fungulishika  
'capable of or  
in state of  
being caused  
to open, untie'

fungulishia  
'cause to open'--  
( 'negative'  
aspect)

fungulisha  
'be caused  
to open'

fungulisha

REDUPLICATIVE

fungiafungia

fungia

'tie for' (intensive--  
amount or time)

## 4.273 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

Base Form  
funga

Passive  
fungwa

funga Funga mzigo tuondoke. (SM)  
Tie the burden that we may leave.

Funga mzigo kwa kamba. (SylM)  
Fasten the burden with rope.

Sikuweza kuondoka saa za asubuhi sana kwa sababu baba alinikataza  
kufunga safari za asubuhi asubuhi. (R)  
I could not leave very early in the morning because my father forbade  
me to set out on an early safari.

Funga mlango ule. (A)  
Close that door.

fungwa Ukishafungwa mzigo tutaanza kuondoka. (SM)  
(Ukishafungwa--ukikwisha kufungwa)  
If the burden is already tied, we will set out.

Mkutano ulifungwa. (SylM)  
The meeting concluded.

Timu ya Tanga ilifungwa na Zanzibar bao la tano.... (R)  
The team of Tanga was beaten by Zanzibar five times....

Base Form  
funga

Prepositional  
fungia

fungia<sup>1</sup> Utanifungia mzigo wangu kwa sababu mimi mwenyewe nina kazi nyingine.  
(SM)

You will fasten my burden for me because I myself have other work.

{ Nilimfungia mzigo wake (kwa) kamba. (SM)  
{ Nilifungia  
I tied his burden with rope.

Alimfungia mtoto ndani. (SylM)  
He shut the child inside.

Suruali yangu naivaa bila kufungia mkanda<sup>a</sup> kwa sababu fundi alikosa  
kushona kipimo changu. (R)  
<sup>a</sup>ukanda 'belt' is the usual shape  
I wear my pants without tying the belt because the tailor made a  
mistake in sewing my size.

<sup>1</sup>Note the examples here of the prepositional form as used to  
indicate the mahali 'place' aspect and 'applicative' ('do with,  
by means of') aspect.



Base Form  
funga

Stative  
fungika

Causative  
fungisha

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fungika

Kuni hizi haziwezi kufungika pamoja kwa sababu ni nyingi mno. (SM)  
These pieces of firewood cannot be tied together because there are too many.

Kamba haitaki kufungika. (SylM)  
The rope does not want to be fastened (i.e., The rope is difficult to tie.)

"Mlango umefungika." "Umefungwa na nani?" (A)<sup>1</sup>  
The door is closed. Who closed it?

Mlango ulikuwa na kufu nyingi ukashindwa kufungika. (B)  
The door was very rusty and was not able to be closed.

Mzigo ulioondoka toka juu ya gari langu ulikuwa haukufungika vizuri kwa sababu hiyo kamba haitosha. (R)  
The burden which fell down from on top of my car was not tied well because the aforementioned rope was not sufficient.

<sup>1</sup> Note this excellent example which shows the difference between the use of the stative (emphasis on the inherent state of the action) and the passive (emphasis on the agent) extended form classes.

fungisha<sup>1</sup>

Padre ndiyo aliyefungisha ndoa yetu. (SM)  
The priest was the one who performed our marriage.

Fungisha vizuri mizigo ili isipate taabu njiani. (SM)  
Tie the burdens well so that they do not get trouble on the trip.  
or Have the burdens tied well...

Aliwafungisha mizigo kwa lazima. (SylM)  
He had them tie the burdens by order.

John alimfungisha Juma gerezani. (A)  
John had someone lock Juma in the jail.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani tends to restrict the use of this verb stem to the meaning 'cause someone to imprison someone'. But note that the other informants use it in a more general context in which it can be interpreted either as a causative or an intensive. Mr. Shabani says which meaning is intended is not clear from the context and that it may be either, (although he himself would tend not to use the form in either way in a general way).

Base Form  
funga

Reciprocal/Associative  
fungana

fungana<sup>1</sup>

Uzi zimefungana vibaya kwa hiyo siwezi kuzifungua. (SM)  
The strings became twisted badly; therefore I cannot open (i.e., 'untwist') them.

Katika mchezo Juma na Ali walifungana kamba. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
In the game Juma and Ali tied (i.e., entwined) each other with the rope.

Kwa ajili ya kusema uongo<sup>a</sup> waliweza kufungana wao kwa wao. (A)  
<sup>a</sup>the usual shape is uwongo  
On account of saying lies, they were able to close (i.e., 'entwine' and therefore 'implicate') each other one by the other.

Watoto hawa wana mchezo mbaya wa kufungana kwamba shingoni na kufanyana kama mbuzi. (R)  
Those children have a bad game of entwining the rope around the neck and making each other (act) like goats.

<sup>1</sup>In the case of a reciprocal/Associative shape, the base form of which either must have, or normally has, an animate subject with an inanimate object, the meaning is generally associative, not reciprocal. See -anzan- 'begin together'. The situation is somewhat different when the reciprocal/associative shape has an inanimate subject (as in the case of kanga zimefungana 'the ropes became twisted'. The verb form then also becomes associative, but intransitive.

<sup>2</sup>Note Mr. Mannoro gives this sentence without a na 'with' after the verb (walifungana kamba). The other informants say they would use na although they say it is somewhat optional.

Base Form  
funga

Intensive  
fungasha, funganya

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fungasha, funganya<sup>1</sup>

Alifungasha vyombo akaenda zake. (A)  
He gathered up the utensils and went on his way (home).

Tulifunganya vitu vyao tukaviweka nje ili wenyewe wakirudi wavichukue. (SylM)  
We gathered up their things and put them outside so that if the owners returned they might take them.

Nilifunganya mizigo yangu wakati safari yangu ilipokuwa imekaribia. (SM)  
I gathered up my burdens when the time of my safari drew near.

<sup>1</sup>Note that apparently -fungash- and -fungany- are entirely equal and that both have the intensive meaning of 'close together' or 'gather up', 'tie up'. There is no causative sense at all. -fungish- apparently may be a causative or an intensive. As an intensive it means kufunga zaidi vizuri 'to tie up more and better' while -fungash- means kuunga vitu fulani 'to join various things together'. (This is Mr. Mannoro's explanation) Mr. Shabani adds that the two forms -fungash- and -fungany- are generally associated with preparing for a journey. He adds that -fungash- has the specialized colloquial meaning of 'lie' as in alinifungasha uwongo 'he told lies to me'.

Base Form  
fungua

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Reversive  
fungua

fungua

Fungua mizigo tumekwisha fika sasa. (SM)  
Open the burdens; we have already arrived now.

Alifungua shule mpya kwa kufanya karamu ya chai. (SylM)  
He opened the new school by holding a tea (reception).

Fungua mlango na nipite. (A)  
Open the door and I will pass.

Fungua milango yote ili nuru iingie ndani vizuri na watu waone nini  
kinafanyika hapa ndani. (R)  
Open all the doors so that the light may enter inside well and people  
may see what is being done here inside.

Base Form  
funga

Reduplicative 318  
fungafunga

fungafunga<sup>1</sup>

Alifungafunga virago akaenda zake. (A)  
He hurriedly packed up (his) belongings and went home.

<sup>1</sup>All the other informants, including Mr. Shabani, accept this usage as fully operative. In this case, the reduplicative form has a dual meaning: it is associative (e.e., 'tie together' or 'gather together') and intensive (i.e., 'do so in a hurry'). Mr. Shabani notes that if one wanted to convey the idea of gathering things together, but more carefully, he would use -fungash-.

funguliwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilikuwa nimefungwa katika gereza na sasa nimefunguliwa. (SM)  
I had been locked in jail and now I have been released.

Tulisikia habari za kufunguliwa shule mpya karabu na nyumba yetu.  
(SylM)  
We heard about the opening of a new school near our home.

Alifunguliwa kifungo chake cha miaka kumi. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
He was released (from) his imprisonment of ten years.

Kufunguliwa kwa yule mwizi mashuhuri toka jela kumewaanzishia watu wengi wasi wasi tena. (R)  
The freeing of that famous thief from jail caused for many people feelings of anxiety to begin again.

Nilifunguliwa mlango na Ali. (SM)<sup>3</sup>  
I was opened for the door by Ali.

Mlango ulifunguliwa na Ali kwa ajili yangu. (SM)  
The door was opened by Ali on my account.

<sup>1</sup>This shape for CV stem verbs serves for both the simple passive and the passive prepositional extended forms. The passive prepositional form will always have an animate subject (except when something is done for a 'meeting' etc. which is a group of animate subjects) and the simple passive may have either an animate or inanimate subject, depending upon the categorization rules affecting the verb root.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to reject this usage; he would prefer amepunguziwa 'he has been lessened for' literally.

<sup>3</sup>This and the following sentence differentiate the passive prepositional and the simple prepositional forms.

Base Form  
fungua

Reduplicative  
funguafungua

Prepositional  
fungulia

fungulia Fungulia mbuzi wakale majani. (SM)

Turn out the goats so they may eat grass.

Nilimfungulia mtoto mlango (SylM)

I opened the door for the child.

Aliwafungulia kuku zake ili watoke nje: (A)

He turned out (i.e., opened [door] for) his chickens so that they might go out.

Ijapokuwa nilipiga hodi na kugonga mlango sana lakini hawakunifungulia mlango hivyo ilinibidi kulala ukumbini. (R)

Although I shouted hello and knocked on the door a great deal yet they did not open the (inside) door for me and therefore it was necessary for me to sleep in the living room.

funguafungua

Alifunguafungua mlango na kwa hiyo sikupata usingizi

mwema. (A)<sup>1</sup>

He kept opening the door and therefore I could not sleep well.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants accept this usage.

funguka<sup>1</sup>  
Funga mlango kwa sababu umefunguka. (SM)  
Close the door because it has opened.

Mlango ulifunguka kwa ghafla. (SylM)  
The door opened suddenly.

Alisukuma mlango kwa nguvu mpaka ukafunguka (A)  
He pushed the door hard until it opened.

Agnes alipata aibu jaha kwa sababu sketi yake ilifunguka na  
ikaporomoka mbele ya watu. (R)  
Agnes was put to shame yesterday because her skirt opened and slid  
down in front of the people.

<sup>1</sup> As the examples show, this seems to be a fully operative shape. Mr. Mannoro explains the distinction between -funguk- and -fungulik- as this: -funguk- implies a more inherent stative sense and -fungulik- implies more strongly the action of an agent in bringing about a state. See notes under -fungulik- for other comments. This correlates with the view that -funguk- is a deep structure stative stem.

fungulika<sup>1</sup>  
Mzigo huu umefungwa kwa nguvu hauwezi kufungulika. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
This burden was firmly tied up it cannot be opened.

Kamba hii haiwezi kufungulika kwa sababu imefanganika vibaya. (SM)  
This rope cannot be untwisted because it is entwined badly.

Kwa sababu ya kutu nyingi mlango haukuweza kufungulika. (A)  
On account of much rust the door could not be opened.

<sup>1</sup> Consider the cases of other verb stems and their extended forms when the base form has the reversive shape (for example, -angu- 'let fall', 'pick', -anguk- 'fall', -angulik- 'capable of or in state of having been let fall'). If one views -fungu- as meaning 'let or cause to open', the situation is exactly the same. It then seems likely that -funguk- has the same status as -anguk- and that neither is quite a stative form. In some ways, -funguk- has more to do with potentiality. For example, Mr. Shabani specifically associates -funguk- with 'open' when the action involves using a key; he associates -fungulik-, however, more with the idea of 'that which can be opened'.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Mkwaya, however, says she would freely substitute -funguk- in this sentence and sees no difference in meaning.



Base Form  
fungua

Causative  
funguza, fungulisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
funguana

funguza<sup>1</sup> Funguza mlango. (SM)  
Open the door.

<sup>1</sup>All the informants agree this shape represents Kiswahili cha shamba 'Swahili of the outlying areas' or Kiswahili which is not safi 'clean' or 'elegant'. It is an intensive form of -fungu-, Informant A states, not a causative.

fungulisha<sup>1</sup> Askari wa forodhani walinifungulisha mizigo yangu ili watazame vile vyombo ndani yake. (SM)  
The customs officers had me open my luggage so they could examine the objects inside.

Anna alinifungulisha sanduku langu kwa sababu alihitaji kitambaa afunge kichwa chake. (SylM)  
Anna had me open my box because she needed a cloth (i.e., scarf) that she might cover her head.

Alinifungulisha mlango. (A)  
He had me open the door.

Wezi walimfungulisha mwenye duka sanduku lake la fedha kwa lazima na baada ya kufungulishwa wakachukua fedha zote wakakimbia. (R)  
The thieves made the store owner open his money box by order and after the opening they took all the money and ran off.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts the possibility of this form; but says it is really not operative; he would prefer a construction with -lazimish- such as alinilazimisha nifungue... 'he required that I open....'

funguana Tulifunguana kamba baada ya kwisha mchezo. (SM)  
We untied each other after the end of the game. ('we opened the rope')

Walifunguana kamba walizofungwa na baba yangu. (SylM)  
They untied the rope which they were tied with by my father.

Walifunguana vifungo vya magauini yao walipotaka kulala. (A)  
They opened the closings of their dresses when they were about to go to bed.

Base Form  
fungia

Reciprocal/Associative  
fungiana

Reduplicative  
fungia fungia

fungia fungia

Nilimfungiafungia mgeni wangu mizigo yake kwa haraka asije  
akachelewa gari. (SylM)  
I tied his burdens hurriedly for my guest lest he be late (getting)  
the car (or train).

fungiana

Tulifungiana milango yetu. (DS)  
We closed our doors for each other.

Base Form  
fungika

Stative  
fungikika

Reciprocal/Associative  
fungikana

fungikika<sup>1</sup>

Mzigo huu hauwezi kufungikika kwa bidii bila ya kamba ya kutosha.

(A)

This load cannot be properly tied up without sufficient rope.

Mzigo huu hauwezi kufungikika na kamba hii ndogo. (SM)

This load cannot be tied up (well enough) with this little rope.

<sup>1</sup>Only Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Ashery accept this form as operative and they definitely consider it as an intensive, and somewhat interchangeable with -fungik-. Mr. Shabani rejects the form in general and says he would indicate intensity by suitable adverbs.

fungikana<sup>1</sup>

Kamba zimefungikana. (SM)

The ropes have become completely twisted.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro is willing to accept an adverbial replacement for the intensive aspect of the -an- extension, such as that proposed by Mr. Ashery: kamba zimejifunga ovyo ovyo 'the rope tangled itself every which way'. The other informants reject -fungikan- as operative.

Outside informants and Swahili authorities asked to comment on this sentence had these views:

- (a) Mr. Kuhanga--rejects the form and would use -fungaman-.<sup>2</sup>
- (b) Mr. Hilal--rejects the form and would use any of these:  
-fungan-, -fungik-, -fungaman-.
- (c) Mr. Johadhmy--rejects the form and would use -ingian-  
'enter each other'
- (d) Mr. Maede--does not understand the intended meaning.
- (e) Mr. Mhina--rejects the form and would use -fungan-.

Mr. Shabani, in commenting upon these comments, says that any of these alternatives is possible (he, too, rejects -fungikan-), but prefers a reduplicative form himself: kanga zimefungana fungana.

<sup>2</sup>Note that while Grammars list -fungaman- ('static' extension) as a fully operative extension of -fung-, none of the principal informants would accept it as an operative form, although they all understood it.

Base Form  
fungisha

Passive  
fungishwa

Prepositional  
fungishia

Stative  
fungishika

fungishia<sup>1</sup>

Alimfungishia mbuzi wake mwembeni. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
He had her goat tied to the mango tree (for her?).

John ni mtoto mbaya sana; alinifungishia kaka yangu jela. (R)  
John is a very bad person; he had my brother locked up in jail.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends not to accept a frame of reference for -fungish- and its extensions beyond 'imprison'; therefore, he rejects Mr. Ashery's sentence.

<sup>2</sup>Note the possible 'negative' aspect of the prepositional use here and its definite occurrence in the second sentence.

fungishwa

Ali alikuwa amefungishwa na George; kwa sababu George ni mwizi hivyo walimfikiria Ali kuwa ni mwizi pia. (R)  
Ali has been imprisoned with George; because George is a thief, therefore they think Ali to be a thief also.

fungishika<sup>1</sup>

Mlango huu hauwezi kufungishika kwa sababu umeharibika. (SYM)  
This door cannot be caused to be closed because it is broken.

Kuni hizi haziwezi kufungishika vizuri mpaka tuzipange kwa utaritibu. (R)<sup>2</sup>  
These sticks of firewood cannot be had tied up well until we arrange them with some care.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects the form and would use -fungik-. He tends to only accept -fungishik- as an operative form when used to mean 'capable of being imprisoned'.

<sup>2</sup>This sentence is an example of a context in which one would have expected -fungashik- rather than -fungishik- (i.e., the sense of packing together).

Base Form  
fungisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
fungishana

fungishana<sup>1</sup> Hayo unayoniambia ni maneno mabaya sana mbele za serikali yetu ya Mwangano tena ni rahisi kufungishana iligunduliwa kwamba unasema hivyo. (R)<sup>2</sup>

Those (words) which you told me are very bad as far as our republican government is concerned; furthermore, it is easy to be imprisoned if it is discovered you are speaking in such a way.

Walifungishana mizigo bila kupenda kazi hii. (SylM)<sup>3</sup>  
They caused each other to tie up the burdens without liking this work.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants tend to reject this form.

<sup>2</sup>There seems nothing reciprocal or associative about this usage; the only alternative seems to be to consider the form an intensive.

<sup>3</sup>Mr. Shabani thinks the intended form here was -fungashian- (but note that the other informants consider the meaning of -fungish- more general than he does).

funganika<sup>1</sup> Mambo yamefunganika na hayawezekani kuamulika. (A)  
The matters are tangled together and cannot be arbitrated.

Kamba zimefunganika na vi vigumu kuzifungua. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
The ropes are tangled and it is difficult to untwist them.

Nyuzi hizi zote tatu zimefunganika kwa hiyo hazifai tena kwa lo-  
lote. (R)  
These three strings are all tangled so that they are of no use  
again for anything whatsoever.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mkwaya and Mr. Shabani reject this form outright. The informants giving sentences consider it essentially intensive (note that -fungan- already has a stative sense inherent within it, 'become tangled').

<sup>2</sup> Outside informants and Swahili authorities gave these responses to this sentence:

- (a) Mr. Kuhanga--says the form is not heard but is possible; he adds that the use of the stative extension with the reciprocal puts the emphasis on the inherent state of the ropes, not the actor or action.
- (b) Mr. Johadhmy--accepts the sentence.
- (c) Mr. Hilal--says it is no doubt possible, but for informal use only.
- (d) Mr. Maede--accepts the sentence.
- (e) Mr. Mhina--rejects -funganik- and would use -fungaman-.

Commenting on these responses, Mr. Shabani says he does consider the context one which calls for an intensive form; therefore, he would use kamba zimefungana fungana sana.

Base Form  
fungulisha

Passive  
fungulishwa

Prepositional 328  
fungulishia

fungulishwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilifungulishwa sanduku langu na askari kwa sababu nilitiliwa shaka kwamba nimetia vitu visivyo halisi. (SM)  
I was made to open my box by the policemen because I was suspected that I put in things which were not right (legal?).

Nilifungulishwa mlango na polisi usiku wa manane kuja kukagua nyumba yangu. (SylM)  
I was caused to open the door late at night by the police coming to search my house.

Aliwekewa mashaka na kwa hiyo ilibidi afungulishwe yake. (A)  
He was suspected and therefore it was necessary that he be made to open his house.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts this form, but prefers a fanya or lazimisha construction.

fungulishia<sup>1</sup>

Askari alinfungulishia wageni wangu mizigo yao forodhani.  
(SM)<sup>2</sup>

The officer had my guests open their luggage at the customs house.

Nisingeingia ndani kama asingenifungulishia huo mlango kwaani nilikwisha kata tamaa kwamba hauwezi kufungulishika tena. (R)  
I would not enter inside because he would not have this door opened for me, for I had already lost hope that it could be opened again.

<sup>1</sup>This form is considered possible by the other informants, but they all would prefer a fanya construction.

<sup>2</sup>Note the 'negative' aspect usage of the prepositional form here.

Base Form  
fungulishā

Stative  
fungulishika

Reciprocal/Associative  
fungulishana

fungulishika<sup>1</sup>

Wageni wangu hawakuweza kufungulishika mizigo yao forodhani kwa sababu walikuwa hawakutiliwa shaka. (SM)

My guests could not be in a state of being caused to open their luggage at the customs house because they were not suspected.

<sup>1</sup>This form is considered possible by the other informants, but unlikely to occur. Miss Mkwana, for example, prefers -fungulishiw- (with no stative aspect).

fungulishana<sup>1</sup>

Tulifungulishana masanduku yetu ili kuona ndani yake. (SM)  
We had each other open our boxes in order to look inside.

Haifai kufungulishana masanduku mbele ya watu na kuonyesha-vilivyomo ndani yake. (R)

It does not do to have each other open boxes in front of people to show the things which are inside.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery considers the form operative, but rare. Mr. Shabani rejects it on the grounds the causative and reciprocal/associative extensions are incompatible.



Base Form  
fungana

Passive  
funganwa

Prepositional 330  
fungania

funganwa<sup>1</sup> Kamba zimefunganwa ha haiwezi kufungulika. (SM)  
The ropes were tangled and cannot be untwisted.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants reject this form outright, except for Mr. Ashery who says he does not use it, but considers it operative. Outside informants and Swahili authorities questioned about this sentence rejected the form and all would replace it with -fungan-. A conjecture can be made as to why a passive should be proposed at all here and why this particular one should be rejected. First, it seems possible because the base form (the reciprocal/associative form 'fungan- with an inanimate subject) does not have an 'each other' meaning which is obviously incompatible with a passive voice. Rather, it means 'become tangled together'. One might then posit a passive of this meaning. But, it is rejected because--even though a meaning such as 'tangle' could be considered in an active voice with an actor doing the tangling--the other respondees seem to deny a transitive usage for this reciprocal form with an inanimate subject.

fungania<sup>1</sup> Aliniudhi kwa sababu alinifungania mipango yangu. (SM)  
He annoyed me because he ruined my plans.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected outright by all other informants. Mr. Mannoro himself says the form is rare with a specialized meaning 'ruin' (by tangling).

Base Form  
fungana

Causative  
funganisha

funganisha (1)<sup>1</sup> Walifunganisha katika ndoa takatifu. (SylM)  
They joined in holy marriage.

Nilifunganisha mashua yangu na mti mkubwa. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
I fastened my boat to a big tree.

Funganisha kamba hii iwe ndefu. (SM)<sup>3</sup>  
Join this rope together (i.e., the pieces) so that it may be long.

<sup>1</sup>Note that the meaning is essentially intensive, not causative. Miss Mkwaya, in fact, notes that -fungish- is causative but this form, -funganish- has to do with doing something oneself. Mr. Shabani rejects the form completely.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani would use -fung- in this sentence.

<sup>3</sup>Mr. Shabani thinks an extension of -fung- quite out of place and would use -ung- 'join'.

funganisha (2)<sup>1</sup> Juma alinifunganisha mizigo yangu haraka haraka ili  
niwahi kuafiri. (SM)  
Juma had my burdens collected for me quickly so that I was ready to  
travel.

<sup>1</sup>All the informants note that in this sentence -funganish- is a variation of -funganyish- and, as such, it is a causative form. Mr. Shabani rejects the form as operative for himself, but notes that it is possible and was formerly in greater use.

Base Form  
fungasha, funganya

Passive  
fungashwa, funganywa

Prepositional  
fungashia, funganyia

332

fungashwa, funganywa<sup>1</sup>

Nilifungashwa na Ali kwa sababu ya kumfuata tabia yake mbaya. (SM)  
I was associated with (i.e., tied with) Ali because of following his bad character traits.

Alifungashwa na jamaa zake ili kufuata tabia zao nzuri. (A)  
He was associated with his relatives in order to follow their good traits.

Vitabu vilivyokuwa hapa vimekwisha vilifunganywa na kuakwa sandukuni. (A)  
The books which were here have already been put in the box.

Vitu vyote visivyotakiwa vilifunganywa vikatiwa kapuni. (SylM)  
All the things which were not needed were put in the basket.

Mizigo yangu ilifunganywa na watumishi. (SM)  
My burdens were tied up by the servants.

<sup>1</sup>Note there seem to be two meanings: (1) with animate subjects, the meaning is 'be associated with' (2) with inanimate subjects, the meaning is 'be packed, tied together' with the idea of preparing for a journey. Mr. Shabani expressed some doubt about the use with an animate subject, although he said it was possible. Normally, he said, when these forms are used with an animate subject, the subject would be a dead body and 'be tied to something' in that capacity.

fungashia, funganyia

Nilifunganyia mtoto wangu vitu vyote alivyohitaji kwa safari yake. (SylM)  
I gathered up for my child all the things which he needed for his safari.

Alifunganyia mizigo yangu forodhani ili ipakiwa katika meli. (SM)  
He gathered together my burdens for me at the customs house so that they might be packed in the boat.

Tulifunganyia mizigo. (DS)  
We got rid of him. (e.e., we gathered his burdens for him)

Alifungashia mizigo yangu tayari kwa safari. (SylM)  
He made ready my burdens for the safari.

Base Form  
fungasha, funganya

Stative  
fungashika, funganyika

Reciprocal/Associative  
fungashana

fungashika<sup>1</sup> Gari hii kubwa haiwezi kufungashika kwenye (or na) gari ndogo. (SM)  
This big car cannot be put in this little one.

Masanduku yalikuwa makubwa mno hata yakashindwa kufungashika. (A)  
The boxes were too big to the extent that they could not be (i.e., failed) put inside each other.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to reject this rather specialized usage.

funganyika<sup>1</sup> Mizigo hii haiwezi kufunganyika pamoja kwa sababu yote ina vitu vya yunjika. (SylM)  
These burdens cannot be tied together because they all have breakable things (in them).

Mizigo yangu haikuweza kufunganyika kwa sababu baadhi yake ilikuwa haipo. (SM)  
My burdens could not be tied together because some were not here.

<sup>1</sup>Note that this form (and -fungashik- as well) must be considered a simple stative of -fungany-; therefore it has the same grid status as -fungik-, not as -fungishik-.

fungashana<sup>1</sup> Walifungashana juu ya baisikeli yangu. (A)  
They rode together on my bicycle.

Walifungashana katika pikipiki kwenda Kisarawe. (SylM)  
They rode together on the scooter to go to Kisarawe.

Tulifungashana mikono kuzuia watu wasienda kiwanjani. (SM)  
We joined together (our) arms to prevent that people go onto the field.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to reject this form.

Base Form  
funganisha

Passive  
funganishwa

Reciprocal/Associative  
funganishana

funganishwa<sup>1</sup>

Watu waliooana huwa wamefunganishwa mpaka kufa. (SylM)  
People who are married are joined together until death.

Nilifunganishwa mizigo yangu kwa upesi ili niwahi safari. (SM)  
I was caused to gather together my burdens quickly so that I would  
be ready to travel.

Sitaruhusu gari langu kufunganishwa na lako.... (R)  
I will not permit (that) my car be tied to yours....

Mtoto mdogo alifunganishwa na nyuzi akaanza kulia. (A)  
The little child was tied with strings and began to cry.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this form outright. Among the informants who use it, there seems to be little agreement (according to the sentences given) as to meaning. One might think the meaning would be 'be caused to join together' but such a meaning makes no sense for Mr. Rashidi's or Mr. Ashery's sentences. (In both of these sentences, Mr. Shabani would use -fungw-). If the form is considered an intensive, some of the problems of interpretation are alleviated; but we tend to doubt the form as operative.

funganishana<sup>1</sup>

Mchezo mtakaocheza sasa utahitaji nyote muwe mmeunganishana kamba halafu zaidi niwaeledezeni baadaye. (R)  
The game which you are going to play now requires that all tie each other together with a rope; then I will explain more to you later.

<sup>1</sup>This form (which may be considered an intensive) is rejected by the other informants. Mr. Shabani would use -fungan- for 'tie together' as in watu wamefungana; or wamefungwa pamoja 'they were tied together' if an outside force is responsible.

Base Form  
funganisha

Prepositional  
funganishia

Stative 335  
funganishika

funganishia<sup>1</sup>

Alinifunganishia mikanda yangu milwili akamfungie mbwa wake. (SylM)  
He had my two leather thongs joined and he tied his dog.

Alimfunganishia gari yake na kamba kwa nyuma. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
He had his car tied with a rope at the back.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Rashidi accept this form, but Mr. Shabani rejects it and would use only -fungi-. Note the 'negative' aspect of the prepositional meaning here.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery notes that there is a specialized distinction in operative for him at least: -fungish- and its extended forms are used of tying kitu kwa kitu 'thing to thing' while -funganish- and its extensions refer to tying kamba kwa kitu 'rope to thing'.

funganishika<sup>1</sup>

Magari haya hayawezi kufunganishika kwa sababu hakuna mnororo. (SM)  
These cars cannot be (had) tied together because there is no chain.

Baiskeli hizi haziwezi kufunganishika kwa sababu moja ni kubwa na nyingine ndogo. (SylM)  
These bicycles cannot be had tied together because one is big and the other little.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi also give examples, but Mr. Shabani rejects the form outright and would use -fungik-. The function of the -ish- suffix seems to be intensive; at least Mr. Ashery specifically notes that -funganik- and -funganishik- are about the same, except in degree.

Base Form  
funguka

Prepositional  
fungukia.

Causative  
fungukisha

fungukia<sup>1</sup> Nilipokuwa nimesimama kutegemea mlango ulinifungukia kwa ghafla.  
(SylM)

When I stopped to lean on the door you opened it (on me) suddenly.

Mzigo wangu ulifungukia njiani kwa sababu sikuufungwa vizuri. (SM)  
My pack opened in the street because I did not tie it well.

Je, milango ya nyumba hii inafungukia kushoto au kulia? (A)  
Do the doors of this building open on the left or the right?

Mzigo wangu ulifungukia pale pale ambapo kamba ilionekana ubovu. (R)  
My burden came open right here when the rope appeared to be bad.

<sup>1</sup>Note the essential mahali 'place' aspect of the prepositional stative in all sentences. The fact that a prepositional stative shape is operative at all leads one to suspect that -fungik- is not a true stative in terms of form class membership. Note that such a shape is only operative in general for stative shapes with non-stative form class meanings, such as -anguki- 'fall with place emphasis'.

fungukisha Alinifungukisha mizigo yangu kwa kunipa kamba zilizo mbovu. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
He caused the state of my burden coming open by giving me ropes which were bad.

Alinifungukisha mlango usiku wa manane. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
He had me open the door very late at night.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro comments this shape is very rare; his sentence is rejected by Miss Mkwya and Mr. Ashery.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mkwya says, and Mr. Ashery agrees, that there is no difference between -fungulish- and -fungukish-; therefore, they both ignore the theoretically stative aspect of the latter. Mr. Ashery says it is a substandard form (kiswahili kibovu 'bad Swahili').

fungukana<sup>1</sup>

Mizigo yangu yote ilifungukana njiani kwa sababu ya masukosuko ya motokari. (SM)

All my burdens became untied on the way because of the shaking of the car.

<sup>1</sup>This form is defended by Mr. Mannoro as conveying an intensive sense with the idea of disarray (ovyo 'recklessly, without order'). But the other informants reject it outright and would use -funguk-. Mr. Shabani notes he would use a construction such as mizigo yote imefunguka funguka kabisa (adverbial construction) to convey the intended sort of intensive meaning.



Base Form  
fungulia

Reciprocal/Associative  
funguliana

funguliana

Walifunguliana mlango wakati wa usiku. (SylM)  
They opened the door for each other at nighttime.

Walipopata barua walifunguliana na kila mmoja akasoma za mwenzake.  
(SylM)

When they got letters they opened (the letters) for each other and  
each one read (those) of his companion.

Tulifunguliana milango kila mara tuliporejea usiku. (A)  
We opened the doors for each other every time when we returned at  
night.

Base Form  
fungulia

Causative  
fungulisha

fungulisha See Entry under fungua as a base form.

Base Form  
fungulika

Prepositional  
fungulikia

Causative  
fungulikisha

fungulikia<sup>1</sup>

Mlango uliovunjika ulifungulikia kwa upande wa juu. (A)  
The door which was broken was in a state of being open at the top.

Mizigo yangu ilifungulikia forodhani nilipokwishâ kuikaribisha kutoka melini. (SM)

My burdens were in an open state at the customs house when I had finished having them brought from the ship.

Kizibo cha kopo hilo bila shaka kitafungulikia sehemu hizo ambazo hazina kutu upesi kuliko hizo zenye kutu. (R)

The stopper of the aforementioned jug, without doubt, will be able to be opened on, the parts not being rusty faster than those being rusty.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwâya and Mr. Shabani reject this form and would use -funguki- only. The other informants who consider this shape operative consider it as an alternate to -funguki- with a certain intensive meaning. The fact that this form is generally inoperative and -funguki- is generally operative leads us to believe more strongly that -funguk- should be considered as a sort of alternate base form (which takes extensions with the normal ease of a base form) rather than as a stative form. That there is a definite distinction between -funguk- and -fungulik- seems now clear (and other such 'gemini stative forms'); what the distinction is remains unclear.

fungulikisha<sup>1</sup>

Askari wa forodhani ndiye anayefungulikisha mizigo ya abiria mara tu meli ikisha tia nganga. (SM)

The customs officer is the one who had the baggage of the passengers be in an open state the minute the ship finished dropping anchor.

1

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants who would use -fungulish- only in this sentence. Mr. Shabani prefers a construction such as aliwalazimisha wafungue... 'he required them to open...!'

Base Form  
fungashia

Passive  
fungashiwa

Reciprocal/Associative  
fungashiwana

fungashiwa

Alifungashiwa vyombo vyote ndani ya sanduku kubwa. (A)  
He was packed for all the utensils inside a big box.

Anna alifungashiwa mizigo yote na dada yake kwa sababu yeye  
mwenyewe ni mdogo asingeweza kufanya kazi ile. (SylM)  
Anna was packed for all the burdens by her sister because she herself  
is little and would not be able to do that work.

Nilifungashiwa mizigo yote kabla ya safari. (SM)  
I was packed for all the burden before the safari.

fungashiana<sup>1</sup>

Walifungashiana watoto zao migongoni. (A)  
They fastened their children for each to (their) backs.

Walifungashiana vyombo vyao. (DS)  
They packed for each other their utensils.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts this form only in reference to inanimate objects (as the direct object of the verb). Therefore, he rejects Mr. Ashery's sentence. He would use -bebean- 'carry for' with reference to animate objects.

#### 4.28 The Stem -chagu- and Its Extended Forms

##### 4.281 Points of Special Interest

(1) There is a basic disagreement among the informants about the semantic possibility of a form such as -chagulish- meaning 'cause to choose' and its extended forms. Mr. Shabani feels that the idea of 'cause' is incompatible with 'choosing', for he says if one is caused to 'choose', the idea of choosing is negated. The other informants do not seem to feel this incompatibility and go on to give other extended forms from the base, 'cause to choose'. It has been noted that the concept of causation is incompatible with verbs classified as deep structure stative stems. -chagu- is tentatively classified as such a stative verb (see section 3.25 for a discussion of its grid pattern), but only very tentatively since it does not possess all of the characteristics of other verbs which appear to be more firmly in the category. For example, -chagu- does permit a prepositional form, -chaguli- 'choose for'; a prepositional form with the meaning 'do something in the place of someone' is not operative for other stative verbs.

One wonders whether there is a semantic distinction in Swahili within -chagu- between the meanings 'choose' and 'pick out' (as in 'pick out chaff'), but an examination of the example sentences reveals no such distinction made in practice (as to which meaning may be associated with which extended forms). Therefore, it is considered best to class -chagu- as only 'suspicious' at this point. Further investigation of the entire classification of stative would determine the status of -chagu- and other such doubtful stems.

4.282 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -chagu-

BASE FORM

chagua  
'choose'

PASSIVE

chaguliwa  
1) 'be chosen', 'choose for,  
2) 'be chosen' on account of  
for

PREPOSITIONAL

chagulia  
'in state of  
or capable of  
being chosen or  
selected'

STATIVE

chagulika  
'in state of  
or capable of  
being chosen or  
selected'

CAUSATIVE

# chaguza,  
chagulissha  
1) 'cause to  
choose'  
2) intensive--  
of -chagu-

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

chaguana  
'choose each other'

REDUPLICATIVE

chaguachagua  
'choose with care'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

# chagulikana  
intensive--of -chagulik-

chagua  
'choose'

## chagulikwa  
'capable of  
being chosen' -- or capable  
emphasis on  
agentive  
aspect  
mahali 'place'  
aspect or 'on  
account of'

# chagulikika  
intensive--of  
-chagulik-

# chagulikisha  
intensive of  
-chagulik-  
with the idea  
of 'cause the  
state or  
possibility of  
someone choosing'

chagulika

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

# chagulishana  
1) 'cause each other to choose'  
2) intensive-- 'choose something together'

CAUSATIVE

# chagulishika  
1) 'in state of or capable of being caused to choose'  
2) intensive-- of -chagulik-

STATIVE

# chagulishia  
1) 'cause to choose with "negative" aspect'  
#2) intensive-- of -chaguli-

PREPOSITIONAL

chagulishwa  
1) 'be caused to choose'  
#2) intensive-- of -chaguli-

PASSIVE

chagulishwa  
1) 'be caused to choose for'

BASE FORM

chagulishia  
chagulishwa  
chagulishia

chaguliana

'chose for each other'

chagulilia

intensive-- of -chaguli-

Base Form  
chaguaPassive  
chaguliwa

chagua Chagua nguo hii nzuri. (SM)  
Choose this fine garment.

Serikali ilimchagua kuwakilisha. (SM)  
The government chose him to act as a representative.

Nilichagua kitambaa hiki kwa zawadi ya sikukuu. (SylM)  
I chose this cloth as a holiday gift.

Niliweza kuchagua vazi nililopenda (A)  
I was able to choose a garment which I liked.

chaguliwa<sup>1</sup> Nilichaguliwa kuwa mwenyekiti ya mkutano. (SM)  
I was chosen to be secretary of the meeting.

Nilichaguliwa viatu vizuri na mama yangu. (SylM)  
I was chosen fine shoes by my mother.

Nilichaguliwa kwenda Ulaya. (SylM)  
I was chosen to go to Europe.

Alichaguliwa kuwa mkuu wa mji. (A)  
He was chosen to be the headman of the town.

Rais(i) wetu ni wa kuchaguliwa na wananchi. (R)  
Our president is to be chosen by the people.

<sup>1</sup>This shape serves for both the simple passive and the prepositional passive extended forms. (See Miss Mkwya's sentence).



Base Form  
chagua

Prepositional 346  
chagulia

chagulia Sikuweza kuchagua mwenyewe kwa hiyo baba alinichagulia. (SM)  
I was not able to choose myself; therefore, father chose for me.

Nilimchagulia mtoto mzuri wa kazi. (SylM)  
I chose for him a fine working boy.

Niliweza kuchagulia moyo (kwa ajili ya moyo). (A)  
I was able to choose according to the heart.

Shati hili ninalovaa alinichagulia baba.<sup>1</sup> (R)  
Father chose for me this shirt which I am wearing.

<sup>1</sup>Note position of subject; it generally precedes the verb, but may follow depending upon emphasis.

Base Form  
chagua

Stative  
chagulika

chagulika

Sukari na mchanga vinapochanganyika ni vigumu kuchagulika. (SM)  
When sugar and sand are mixed together, they are difficult to be  
picked out.

Nilipewa nafasi kubwa ya kuweza kukata shauri lakini kwa kuwa maswali  
niliyopewa kujibu ni magumu haya sikuweza kuchagulika. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
I was given an ample opportunity to form an opinion but because the  
questions which I was given to answer were these difficult (ones)  
I could not make a choice.

Kunde haziwezi kuchagulika kwani zote zimeoza. (SylM)  
The beans cannot be chosen (among) because all are rotten.

Mchele ulikuwa na mawe mengi kwa hiyo ni vigumu kuchagulika. (A)  
The grain had many stones (with it); therefore, it was difficult to  
be picked out.

<sup>1</sup>Note that the meaning in this sentence is not 'that which may be  
chosen' but 'he being able to choose'. Mr. Shabani, for one, would  
reject such a sentence; he feels the stative is definitely in the  
passive voice.

Base Form  
chagua

Causative  
chaguza, chagulisha

chaguza<sup>1</sup>

Usitii shaka katika uchaguzi huu utakuwa sawa sawa kwa sababu mimi ndiye nitakayechaguza. (SM)

Don't worry about this election; it will be quite all right because I myself am the one who will do the choosing (i.e., electing).

Nitachaguza mwenyewe nani atakayefaa. (SylM)

I will choose for myself he who will be suitable.

Rais(i) ndiye anayechaguza wajumbe wa baraza la taifa. (R)

The president is indeed he who chooses the members of the national parliament.

<sup>1</sup>This form has the same meaning as -chagulish-, but is less used, according to the informants; Mr. Ashery rejects it entirely, however.

chagulisha

Chagulisha chua katika mchele huu ili upata kupikwa. (SM)

Pick out the chaff in this rice so that it can be cooked.

Nilimchagulisha nguo wakati tulipokwenda dukani. (SM)

I had him choose clothes when we went to the store.

Alituchagulisha nguo mbaya kwa sababu hakuwa na pesa za kutosha. (SylM)

He made us choose poor clothes because there was not enough money.

Aliwachagulisha vijani wawili kuingia masomo ya juu. (A)<sup>1</sup>

He had them choose two boys to go into advanced studies.

or He chose two boys to go into advanced studies.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery says either a causative or an intensive sense is possible. Mr. Shabani rejects the form outright and all other extended forms from this base since he feels the notion of 'cause to choose' is impossible.

Base Form  
chagua

Reciprocal/Associative  
chaguana

Reduplicative  
chaguachagua

chaguana

Tulichaguana kwenda katika mkutano. (SM)  
We chose each other to go to the meeting.

Walichaguana wawe katika timu moja. (SylM)  
They chose each other to be on one team.

John na Mary walichaguana wenyewe na kisha wakawaonana. (A)  
John and Mary chose each other and then they got married.

chaguachagua<sup>1</sup>

Chaguachagua mahindi haya kwa sababu yamechanganyika na mawe. (SM)  
Examine with care and sort this maize because it is mixed with stones.

Usichaguachague embe hizo zote ni hali moja. (SylM)  
Do not pick over those mangoes; all are of the same condition.

Kuko alichaguachagua chakula chake mchangani. (A)  
The chicken separated its food from the sand.

Siwezi kupika mchele huu bila kuchanguachagua chuwa kwanza. (R)  
I cannot cook this rice without separating out the chaff first.

<sup>1</sup>The reduplicative is generally considered diminutive in meaning, but among the verbs surveyed here at least, it seems more often to have an intensive meaning (in the sense that the action of the verb is insisted upon in some way).

Base Form  
chagulia

Prepositional  
chagulilia

Reciprocal/Associative  
chaguliana

chagulilia<sup>1</sup>

Juma alinichagulilia zawadi nyingi sana. (DS)  
Juma chose many, many gifts for me.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani indicates this form is possible, but not probable, as an intensive form.

chaguliana

Tulichaguliana kanga kwa ajili ya sikukuu. (SM)  
We chose lengths of cloth for each other on account of the holiday.

Walihaguliana zawadi nzuri kwa marafiki zao. (SylM)  
They chose fine gifts for each other for their friends.

Walichaguliana wachumba kwa sababu nido mila yao. (SylM)  
They chose fiances for each other because it was their custom.

Walichaguliana nguo zao walipokwenda kununua. (A)  
They chose their clothes for each other when they went to buy them.

Base Form  
chagulika

Passive  
chagulikwa

Prepositional  
chagulikia

Reciprocal/Associative  
chagulikana

chagulikwa<sup>1</sup>

Chua hizi haziwezi kuchagulikwa kwa sababu hazionekani vizuri. (SM)  
These pieces of chaff cannot be picked out because they are not clearly visible.

Rais hawezi kucagulikwa na watu wachache. (R)  
The president cannot be chosen by a few people.

<sup>1</sup>The other informants reject this form and would use -chagulik-. Mr. Mannoro says the passive stative is used to stress the agentive aspect of the action over the potentiality or state involved.

chagulikia

Chua huchagulikia jikoni ambako kazi za upishi zinafanyiwa. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
The chaff is picked out in the kitchen where the tasks of cooking are done.

Ngomani si mahali ambako mchumba anaweza kuchagulikia. (S)  
A dance is not the place where a fiance can be chosen.

Alichagulikia kwa sababu ya upole wake. (A)  
He was chosen (i.e., in a state of being chosen) because of his politeness.

<sup>1</sup>Note in both this sentence and the one which follows the mahali 'place' aspect associated with the prepositional extension.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery stresses the kwa ajili ya 'on account of' aspect involved in his use of the prepositional extension here; however, he considers the form -chaguliki- very rare in spoken Swahili. Mr. Shabani rejects the form entirely.

chagulikana<sup>1</sup>

Chua haziwezi kuchagulikana iwapo wingi wake ni sawa na mchele wenyewe. (SM)  
The chaff cannot be separated out at all if its amount is equal to the rice itself.

<sup>1</sup>All other informants reject this form; they would use -chagulik- only.

Base Form  
chagulika

Causative  
chagulikisha

chagulikisha<sup>1</sup>

Nilimchagulikisha chua kwa sababu asiye akazipika pamoja na mchele safi. (SM)  
I had him pick out (i.e., caused his being in a state of picking out) the chaff lest he cook it together with the clean rice.

Wazee wawili waweza kuchagulikisha baina ya vijana hamsini. (A)  
Two elders were able to cause the possibility of a choice among fifty young men.

Alimchagulikisha mwenzake kitambaa kile ili ampe rafiki yake. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
He had his companion choose that length of cloth so that he might give it to his friend.

<sup>1</sup>The form is rejected by Mr. Shabani. Note that the contexts here call for the form to be considered as active in voice (opposed to the usual neutral voice of the stative), if indeed it is operative at all.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mkwya considers the form rare, but quite possible; she specifically notes it is causative in meaning, with the stative extension adding emphasis to the idea of uwezekano 'possibility'.

Base Form  
chagulika

Stative  
chagulikika

chagulikika<sup>1</sup>

Chua hizi haziwezi kuchagulikika kwa sababu ni nyingi mno. (SM)  
This chaff cannot be separated out because there is too much of it.

Ukienda duka lile vitambaa haviwezi kuchagulikika kwa sababu vyote  
vimeshindana kwa uzuri. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>

If you go to that store, lengths of cloth cannot be chosen because  
all compete with each other in being fine.

Alikuwa ni msichana wa kupendeza mno na kwa hiyo alichagulikika  
upesi. (A)

She was a very pleasing girl and therefore was chosen quickly.

Wazuri ni wengi kwa kadiri ya kwamba mchumba hawezi kuchagulikika. (R)  
The desirable ones are so many that a fiance cannot be chosen.

<sup>1</sup>This is considered an intensive form which is operative, but rarely used.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mkwya says there is no difference at all between -chagulik-  
and -chagulikik- in meaning; but she says -chagulik- is more used.  
Mr. Ashery agrees with her.



Base Form  
chagulisha

Passive  
chagulishwa

Prepositional  
chagulishia

chagulishwa<sup>1</sup>

Tulichagulishwa viatu hivi bila kupenda kwa sababu baba hakuwa na pesa za kutosha. (SylM)  
We were made to choose these shoes without liking them because father did not have enough money.

Nilichagulishwa mchumba kwa sababu nipate kuoa. (SM)  
I was made to choose a fiance that I might get married.

Alichagulishwa na wakuu wa baraza kuwa mmoja wa wajumbe. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
He was chosen by the headmen of the council to be one of the representatives.

Nilichagulishwa nguo nisiyoipenda. (R)  
I was caused to choose clothes which I did not like.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to reject this form as operative.

<sup>2</sup>Note that in this sentence the form must be considered intensive ('be chosen') and not causative ('be caused to choose').

chagulishia

Alinichagulishia mtoto wangu nguo ambayo ilikuwa ghali. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
He caused my child to choose clothes which were expensive.

Aliwachagulishia wenzake vitambaa vizuri kupita kiasi. (SylM)  
He caused his companions to choose bolts of cloth finer than average.

Alinichagulishia vitu alivyovipenda moyoni mwake. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
He chose for him things which he liked in his heart.

Alinichagulishia mtoto wangu shule ambayo haina walimu wazuri. (R)  
He made my child choose a school which has no good teachers.

<sup>1</sup>There is some confusion as to the meaning of this form. Note that in this sentence of Mr. Mannoro and in that of Mr. Rashidi there is a 'negative' aspect associated with the prepositional extension; that is, what is done is done at the displeasure of the person indicated by the object prefix. Still, for these informants and for Miss Mkwaya, the form remains a causative. Mr. Shabani rejects it outright and would use -chagulia- (with no causative sense).

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery specifically states there is no causative aspect in this sentence; he considers -chagulishi- equal to or an intensive of the simple prepositional form, -chaguli-.

Base Form  
chagulisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
chagulishana

chagulishana<sup>1</sup>

Tulichagulishana kanga tulipokwenda dukani. (SM)

We caused each other to choose garments when we went to the store.

Kwa ajili na watoto walichagulishana vitu vya kitoto walipoenda dukani peke yao. (SylM)

On account of the children they caused each other to choose children's things when they went to the store by themselves.

Walichagulishana mavazi wayapendayo. (A)<sup>2</sup>

They chose together garments when they liked.

They caused each other to choose garments which they liked.

Tulichagulishana warembo wa kucheza nao ngoma. (R)

We chose dancing partners for each other.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to reject verb stems which include combinations of causative and reciprocal extensions. He says that the two concepts contradict each other: the reciprocal concept is of mutually agreed upon action; the causative concept involves an outside force as the actor of the causation (the subject of the sentence is this actor) of the action. To express the idea of 'cause each other to do something'.

The other informants regularly accept a causative reciprocal verb stem with a meaning which is at once causative and reciprocal. Structurally, however, this form does seem unacceptable, as Mr. Shabani argues. For in tulichagulishana 'we caused each other to choose' (?), there is no object prefix standing as receiver of the causation and as actor of the primary action. Furthermore, tulichaguana 'we chose each other' (the simple reciprocal form) has 'each other' as the direct object (the receiver of the action). But in tulichagulishana nguo nzuri more is involved than just the addition of causation: now the direct object is nguo nzuri 'fine garments' and not 'each other'.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery specifically states that both interpretations given are possible for this sentence. The first may be considered an intensive form of the simple reciprocal with the meaning 'together' rather than 'each other'.

Base Form  
chagulisha

Stative  
chagulishika

chagulishika<sup>1</sup>

Mtoto huyu kakuweza kuchagulishika nguo kwa sababu hakupenda kuzinunua. (SM)<sup>2</sup>

This child was not able to be caused to choose clothes because he did not like to buy them.

Matatizo haya mawili hayawezi kuchagulishika kwa wepesi namma hiyo. (SylM)<sup>3</sup>

These two difficulties cannot be settled with agility of this sort.

Aliweza kuchagulishika kuendelea na masomo yake kwa ajili ya utii wake. (A)<sup>4</sup>

He was capable of being chosen to continue with his studies on account of his (academic) discipline.

Siwezi kuchagulishika kitu ambacho sikipendi. (R)<sup>5</sup>

I am not capable of being caused to choose a thing which I do not like.

<sup>1</sup>Note the lack of agreement on the meaning of this form. Mr. Shabani rejects it outright.

<sup>2</sup>There seems no alternative to understanding the verb form in this sentence and that of Mr. Rashidi as meaning 'a subject as receiver of the capability of being caused to choose'. This makes the subject the receiver of two actions: (1) the capability or state being entered into and (2) the causation. But he is also the actor of the primary action of choosing. This situation is a melange of the relationships between actor, receiver, and action existing with simple stative and simple causative verb forms; and it most closely approximates the relationship existing with the passive causative verb form. With the passive causative form, two actions exist (1) causation and (2) primary action. The subject is the receiver of the causation and the actor of the primary action.

Obviously the acceptability of this relationship is very limited, if it exists at all; the other informants consider the form, -chagulishik- as either possessing only those features of the simple stative relationship (Miss Mkwaya or Mr. Shabani) or of the simple passive relationship (Mr. Ashery).

<sup>3</sup>Miss Mkwaya has no feeling of a causative sense for this form; she calls it an intensive of sorts of -chagulik-.

<sup>4</sup>Mr. Ashery considers the form essentially passive and aligns it with -chaguliw-.

<sup>5</sup>Mr. Rashidi's sentence is more ambiguous than is Mr. Mannoro's. It would be possible to interpret this as 'I was not capable of being chosen (for)' but in that case, one would expect a prepositional extension.

Base Form  
chagulishia

Passive  
chagulishiwa

chagulishiwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilichagulishiwa mke wangu chua ili atengeze chakula kizuri.

(SM)

I was caused to pick out the chaff for my wife so that she might prepare fine food.

Hawawezi kuchagulishiwa nguo iwapo wenyewe hawapo hapa. (SylM)

They were not able to be caused to choose clothes seeing that they themselves were not here.

Alichagulishiwa mke asiyempenda. (A)

He was caused to choose a wife whom he did not like.

Nilichagulishiwa mtoto nguo na Ali wakati apokwenda dukani. (R)

I was caused to choose my child garments by Ali when he went to the store. (i.e., for my child)

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects the possibility of such a meaning and so he rejects all of these sentences as they stand. As it is, the form does not seem to make sense (with the possible exception of Mr. Mannoro's sentence) since one would expect a meaning 'be caused to choose for' for a prepositional passive extended form.

4.29 The Stem -pig- and Its Extended Forms

## 4.291 Points of Special Interest

(1) The usage of the simple stative shape -pigik- remains unclear. Several informants, including Mr. Shabani, specifically state that it can serve as an intensive of the simple passive as well as for the stative meaning. Since the distinction between the passive and the stative is generally clearly maintained (with the stative emphasizing the inherent state and the passive the agentive aspect of any action), this usage seems out of line. More important, it indicates the need for more study of the stative shape.

(2) Note the tendency of Mr. Shabani to use either the extended forms of -pig- for 'fight' as well as 'hit' in preference to most extended forms of -pigan- for 'fight'. (The simple reciprocal form, -pigan- means 'hit each other' or 'fight'.)

(3) Note the specialized meaning of the double prepositional form, -pigili- as 'pound in', when followed by the linking noun nsumari 'nail', etc.

(4) It seems relatively unusual for a reciprocal/associative form to serve as a base-form in its own right, probably because the number of semantic possibilities are limited by the 'each other' part of the standard reciprocal meaning. In the case of -pigan-, however, the 'each other' portion may drop; the form may mean 'hit each other', i.e., 'fight with each other' or 'fight' + an external object. The meaning 'fight' is associated with a proliferation of extended forms for -pigan-, all not unanimously accepted.

4.292 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -pig-

<u>BASE FORM</u>	<u>PASSIVE</u>	<u>PREPOSITIONAL</u>	<u>STATIVE</u>	<u>CAUSATIVE</u>	<u>RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE</u>
<u>piğa</u> 'hit', etc. (many extended meanings in <u>piğa</u> & noun construction)	<u>piğwa</u> 'be hit', etc.	<u>piğa</u> 'hit for', etc. possibly with negative aspect	<u>piğika</u> 1) 'possibility or state of being beaten' 2) intensive of the base form <u>-piğ-</u> of passive <u>-piğw-</u>	<u>piğisha</u> 1) 'cause to hit, beat' #2) intensive of base form <u>-piğ-</u>	<u>piğana</u> 'hit each other' and therefore 'fight'
<u>piğa</u>	<u>piğwa</u> 'be hit for', etc. in a place', etc.	<u>piğia</u> 1) 'pound in a nail or other object' 2) intensive of simple base or intensive with meaning of 'bother'	<u>piğiana</u> 1) 'beat for, call for each other' 2) 'call each other' ( <u>piğiana simu</u> )		
<u>piğika</u>	<u>piğikwa</u> 'possibility or state of being beaten' with emphasis on agent	<u>piğikia</u> stative idea plus <u>mahali</u> ('place') aspect			<u>#piğikana</u> 1) intensive of stative 2) intensive of stative with idea of <u>ovyo ovvo</u> ('without direction')
<u>piğisha</u>	<u>piğishwa</u> 1) 'be caused to be hit' 2) intensive of simple passive	<u>piğishia</u> 1) 'cause to hit for', etc. 2) intensive of simple base form with 'negative' aspect or <u>mahali</u> 'place' aspect	<u>#piğishika</u> 1) 'cause the possibility or state of being hit' 2) intensive of simple stative		
<u>piğana</u>	<u>#piğanwa</u> 'be fought' (used with <u>vita</u> 'war')	<u>piğania</u> 'fight for', etc.	<u>#piğanika</u> possibility or state of being fought, or beaten --intensive	<u>piğanişha</u> 'cause to fight'	

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

##pigiliana  
'pound in for each other'

##piganishana  
intensive of simple reciprocal -pigan-

CAUSATIVE

#pigilisha  
'cause to, pound in, etc.'

STATIVE

pigilika  
'possibility or state of being pounded in', etc.

##piganishika  
'possibility or state of causing to fight'

PREPOSITIONAL

pigiliwa  
'be pounded in, to', etc.

#piganishia  
'cause to fight with negative aspect'

PASSIVE

#piganishwa  
'be caused to fight'

piganikwa  
'possibility or state of fighting'-- with emphasis on agent

BASE FORM

pigilia

piganisha

piganika

piga

pigwa

REDUPLICATIVE

pigapiga  
'hit a great deal or number of times'

pigwapigwa  
'be hit a great deal or number of times'

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Prepositional</u>
piga	pigwa	pigia

piga Mary alipiga Steven kwa sababu ali(kw)enda kuiba. (SylM)  
Mary hit Steven because he went to steal.

Nilipiga kelele kwa sababu nilikuwa katika hatari. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
I shouted because I was in danger.

Alinipiga Kichwani kwa kutumia fimbo ya chuma. (A)  
He hit me on the head with a stick of iron.

<sup>1</sup> -pig-, it will be apparent, has a number of meanings, depending upon the composition of the set phrase of -pig- + noun.

pigwa Steven alipigwa sana alipo(kw)enda kuiba machungwa jikoni. (SylM)  
Steven was beaten a good deal when he went to steal oranges in the kitchen.

Nilipigwa na mwalimu kwa sababu nilichelewa kwenda shule. (SM)  
I was beaten by the teacher because I was late going to school.

Mtu kama anapigwa kichwani mara kwa mara, matokeo yake ni kwamba akili zake hazifanyi kazi vizuri. (R)  
If a man is beaten on the head often, the result is that his brain does not work well.

pigia Babu yao alizoea kupigia ngoma jioni baada ya kula. (SylM)<sup>1</sup>  
Their grandfather was accustomed to having a dance (with drums) in the evening after eating.

Alinipigia kelele kuniita. (SM)  
He shouted to me in order to call me.

Alinipigia makosa yangu. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
He beat me on account of my errors.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani rejects this usage of -pigi-. He would use -pig- in such a context.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashery says he could express the same meaning by using the base form followed by a kwa phrase: Alinipigia kwa ajili ya makosa yangu ('He beat me on account of my errors'). Mr. Shabani rejects this usage of the prepositional form and would only use a base form followed by a kwa phrase.



<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Causative</u>
piga	pigika	pigisha

pigika<sup>1</sup> Embe hili si zuri kwa sababu limepigika mno. (SylM)  
This mango is not good because it has been banged (about) too much.

Mtoto wangu hakuweza kupigika na mwalimu wake kwa sababu alikimbia. (SM)  
My child could not be beaten by his teacher because he ran away.

Kijana aliyeiba alipigika sana na askari. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
The youth who stole was beaten a good deal by the police.

Mlevi mmoja juzi huko Gateways alileta fujo sana lakini mwisho alipigika ajabu na wahuni. (R)  
One drunkard caused a great deal of commotion yesterday at the Gateways but the end was that he was thoroughly beaten by hooligans.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani states that -pigik- is considered less of a stative form than an intensive of the simple passive, -pigw-; in fact, he would substitute -pigwa pigwa for -pigik- in all of the above examples.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashery notes he uses -pigik- in two ways: (1) as an intensive of either the simple base form or of the passive (as in his example) or (2) as a usual stative to emphasize the inherent situation.

pigisha Alinipigisha ndugu yangu. (SM)  
He caused me to hit my brother.

Walipigisha ngoma za kufurahisha wakati wa sikukuu. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
They held a dance of celebration on the holiday.

Vile umesha niambia huna photo iliyotayari, basi tafadhali pigisha moja hapo Taifa Studio gharama yake nitalipa. (R)<sup>2</sup>  
As you have already told me there is no photo which is ready, well then please have one taken at the Taifa Studio-here (and) I will pay its cost.

Alitupigisha mbio ni mtu mbaya sana. (S)  
He caused us to run; he is a very bad man.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ashery specifically notes that this form is intensive, not causative, in this sentence; he adds the comment that an object prefix is needed if the form were to be causative. But Mr. Shabani accepts this sentence only in a causative sense--'someone was hired to put on a dance'. Indeed, Mr. Shabani accepts -pigish- only as a causative in all occurrences.

<sup>2</sup> Note that umesha niambia is an abbreviated form for umekwisha niambia. Note also that, as here, when the causative is used in the imperative no object prefix need appear.

Base FormRecipr/AssociativeReduplicative

piga

pigana

piga piga

pigana

Ana na Ali walipigana kwa kugombania mpira. (SylM)  
 Anna and Ali hit each other because of arguing over a ball  
 or Anna and Ali fought in arguing over a ball.

Nilipigana na Ali kwa sababu wote tulilewa pombe. (SM)  
 I fought with Ali because all of us were drunk on pombe.

Walipigana kwa sababu walilewa. (A)  
 They fought because they were drunk.

Jambo la kupigana pigana si jambo linaloonyesha ustaarabu hata  
 kidogo. (R)<sup>1</sup>  
 A situation of continual fighting is not a matter which shows  
 a civilized state at all.

<sup>1</sup>Note that, in fact, the form given here is the reduplicative of  
 the reciprocal/associative form. The meaning is intensive, with  
 the idea of repetition.

piga piga Juma alimpiga piga Ali mpaka Ali aliudhika sana. (DS)  
 Juma hit Ali a number of times until Ali became very annoyed.

Base Form

pigwa

Reduplicative

pigwa pigwa

pigwa pigwa

Juma alipigwa pigwa na watoto wakubwa kuliko yeye. (DS)  
Jume was hit a great deal by children bigger than he.

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Prepositional</u>
pigia	pigiwa	pigilia

Pigiwa Tulipigiwa ngoma kwa kuonywa kuwa tukae tayari adui wanakaribia.  
(SylM)

We were beat for a drum to be warned that we be ready; the enemies are approaching.

Nimepigiwa mtoto wangu bila sababu yo yote. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
I was hit for my child without any reason at all.

Hii ni nyumba aliyopigiwa Juma. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
This is the house where Juma was beaten.

Mimi huwa sipendelei sana kupigiwa pasi nguo zangu kwa vile sina imani kwamba dobe anapiga vizuri kama mimi mwenyewe. (R)  
I do not like very much to be ironed for my clothes because I have no faith that the laundry man irons as well as I do myself.

<sup>1</sup>This is an example of the use of the prepositional form to indicate displeasure. (In the active voice, this sentence would read: Alinipigia mtoto wangu... 'He hit my child...').

<sup>2</sup>Note the mahali ('place') aspect.

pigilia<sup>1</sup> Pigilia msumari huu kiwambazani. (SM)  
Pound this nail in the wall.

Nilimpigilia mbali kwa sababu aliniudhi. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
I hit him a great deal because he bothered me.

James alipigilia msumari kubani ili apate kubandika picha zake. (SylM)  
James pounded a nail in the wall so that he might attach his pictures.

Aliniazima nyundo yake ili nipigilie misumari. (A)  
He lent to me his hammer so that I might pound in nails.

<sup>1</sup>This form is essentially an intensive with either the general meaning of 'hit a great deal' or the transferred meaning of 'bother' or --most commonly--the specialized meaning of 'pound a nail'. Note also the mahali ('place') aspect involved with 'pounding'. Mr. Mannoro gives this additional sentence to illustrate the 'bother' meaning: Nilijaribu kukanā ya kwamba sikuiba lakini Ali alinipigilia sana 'I tried to deny that I had stole but Ali persecuted (i.e. bothered) me a great deal'.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani considers this usage sub-standard.

Base FormRecipr/Associative

pigia

pigiana

1  
pigiana

Tulipigiana ngoma kwa kusudi ya kupelekeana habari za vita. (SylM)  
We beat the drum for each other as a means of sending to each other news of war.

Tulipigiana simu ili kuelizana habari za kazini. (SM)  
We call each other on the telephone to explain to each other news about work.

Tulipigiana simu tukapatana kwenda dansini. (A)  
We called each other on the telephone and we agreed to go to the dance.

Tulipigiana simu wakati wo wote ambao mmoja wetu alipokosa nafasi.  
(A)  
We called on the telephone for each other at any time at all when one of us lacked the opportunity.

<sup>1</sup>Note that there are two meanings here: (1) 'call, etc. each other' and (2) 'beat, call, etc. for each other'. But note that the first meaning has a more limited range and usually is used only in the context of telephoning. That is, as Mr. Shabani points out, -pigiana simu can mean either 'call each other' or 'call for each other'; but Tulipigiana ngoma can mean only 'We played drums for each other'. 'We played drums together' will have to be expressed by Tulipiga ngoma pamoja.

Base Form

pigika

Passive

pigikwa

Prepositional

pigikia

pigikwa<sup>1</sup>

Juma alipigikwa sana ulevini. (SM)

Juma was in a complete state of drunkenness.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all other informants.pigikia<sup>1</sup>

Mtu asiyelewa ni vigumu kupigikia kilabuni. (SM)

It is difficult to hit a man who is not drunk in a club.

Ni mahali gani alipopigikia Juma? (A)<sup>2</sup>

It was in what place where Juma was hit?

Mr. Rashidi entirely rejects the form. Mr. Shabani tends to reject the form, but he will accept Mr. Ashery's sentence. He states there are special cases when a prepositional stative form is acceptable, but only a few. He gives -anguki- 'fall down' and says that, as such, it is an intensive referring to mahali ('place'). Mr. Shabani goes on to say that normally he would use an adverbial phrase to indicate any kind of special emphasis. For example, he would restate Mr. Ashery's sentence like this: Hapa ndipo mahali alipigika kweli kweli? (kweli kweli meaning 'really') 'Is here the place that he was hit?'

Both Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Ashery who consider this extension fully operative specifically mention the mahali ('place') aspect involved.

<sup>2</sup>Either word order, the one given or Ni mahali gani Juma alipopigikia? is given by Mr. Ashery.

Base Form

pigika

Recipr/Associative (Intensive)

pigikana

1  
igikana

Tulipigikana kwa sababu ya ukosefu wa zana za vita. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
We fought every which way because of the lack of munitions.

Vita hii haiwezi kupigikana kwa sababu hatuna wanajeshi wengi. (SM)<sup>3</sup>  
This war cannot be fought because we do not have enough soldiers.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected outright by Miss Mkwana, Mr. Rashidi and Mr. Shabani. Mr. Mannoro, characteristically, considers it a fully operative, if rare, intensive.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Mannoro says this usage means kupigaovyo bila ya taratibu yo yote 'to fight without direction without any organization at all'. This is the type of meaning he usually attaches to this form. Interestingly enough, in rejecting the form, Mr. Shabani also rejects the remotest possibility that the sentence could mean what Mr. Mannoro claims it does. If confronted with the sentence--out of a context--Mr. Shabani would say it means tulipigwa 'we were defeated' or tulipigika kweli kweli 'we were really beat'. It is this sort of disagreement which shows how completely inoperative certain theoretically possible extended forms must be (once beyond the 'basic' forms). And one must not consider Mr. Mannoro's sentence a chance error on his part since he regularly states he uses the -V<sup>\*</sup>kan- extension for a large number of verbs.

<sup>3</sup>In this sentence, Mr. Mannoro says the usage is intensive in reference to the potentiality of the situation only. Mr. Ashery accepts this usage, but he says he himself would be more likely to just use -pigān- (and thereby leave out the 'stative' idea entirely.)

Base FormPassive

pigisha

pigishwa

1  
pigishwa

Nilipigishwa kwa sababu ya uchochezi wa Juma. (SM)  
I was caused to be hit because of the quarrelsomeness of Juma.

Kwa ujinga wake Ana alipigishwa na marafiki zake. (SYM)  
On account of her stupidity Anna was caused to be hit by her friends.

Rafiki yangu alinifanya nipigishwe na mke wangu. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
My friend caused that I be hit by my wife.

Kwa kweli kama hutengani na huyo rafiki yako mwoyu utapigishwa naye kwa baba akigundua kwamba unatembea naye. (R)  
Certainly, if you do not break off from the aforementioned evil friend, you will be caused to be hit by him by father if he discovers that you are going about with him (the friend).

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani accepts the possibility of -pigishw- being operative; but he tends to reject it except in what he calls 'set expressions', such as alipigishwa ngoma.

<sup>2</sup>The context indicates Mr. Ashery considers -pigishw- an intensive of the simple passive and Mr. Shabani agrees that the meaning is certainly that of the simple passive; but since Mr. Shabani rejects -pigishw- as anything but a causative, he rejects this usage.



Base FormPrepositionalStative

pigisha

pigishia

pigishika

pigishia<sup>1</sup>

Simpendi Johni kwa sababu alinipigishia mtoto wangu. (SylM)  
I do not like John because he caused my child to be hit.

Alinipigishia mwanangu kwa babaye. (SM)  
He caused my child to be hit by his father.

Alinpomwana amechoka alikamata akampigishia kwenye mti. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
When he saw he was tired he caught him and hit him by the tree.

Nilimpigishia mtoto wake wakati alipokuwa mtundu. (A)<sup>3</sup>  
I hit his child when he was naughty.

Angalia sana Raphael hiyo desturi ya utani usije ukanipigishia  
mjomba yangu kwa maadui zake. (R)  
Watch out Raphael, lest your kidding about causes my uncle to be  
beaten by his enemies.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this form in general. He prefers a 'faoma  
construction' such as John alimfanya Juma anipigia mwanangu  
'John made Juma hit my child.'

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery specifically notes the mahali ('place') aspect here.

<sup>3</sup>Mr. Ashery specifically says that this sentence shows an intensive,  
not a causative-usage.

igishika Ni vigumu kupigishika watu wanaopendana. (SM)<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to cause people who like each other to fight.

Chupa ilipigishika na jiwe ikavunjika. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
The bottle was hit by the rock and it was broken.

<sup>1</sup>This sentence is rejected by all other informants, including  
Mr. Ashery. Mr. Shabani says he understands the sentence and  
considers the usage causative, but adds he would not use it  
himself.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery restricts the use of this form to such a context  
where the form is clearly an intensive of the stative. Mr.  
Shabani thinks the form is quite out of place in this context  
and he himself would use the simple passive, -pigw- + an adverb  
(the adverb indicating intensity).

Base Form

pigana

Passive

piganwa

Prepositional

pigania

piganwa<sup>1</sup>

Vita vya Kongo vinapiganwa na askari wananchi. (SM)  
The war of the Congo is being fought by citizen soldiers.

Vita ya pili ilipiganwa na mataifa yote yaliyo makubwa. (SylM)  
The Second World War was fought by all the nations which were big.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi as well as Mr. Shabani. Miss Mkwya indicates the form is very rare. In general, it is interesting that any extended forms at all (this and those that follow) of a recipr/associative form are allowed, but it seems that the reason is the meaning in this individual case rather than anything inherent in the recipr/associative form in general. That is, the meaning of the base recipr/associative form here is 'fight' (as well as the 'each other' meaning of 'hit each other') and it is easy to see how 'fight' could take extensions whereas a form encumbered with an 'each other' meaning could not.

Mr. Shabani's main objection to the form is the use of a passive form at all; he would make both sentences active and use -pigan-.

pigania<sup>1</sup>

Kila mtu duniani hupigania haki yake. (SylM)  
Every man in the world fights for his right(s).

Kupigania haki ni wajibu wa kila mtu. (SM)  
To fight for one's right(s) is the duty of every man.

Jumadari wetu alitupigania akashinda. (A)  
Our emperor spoke for us and won.

Ni juu yangu kujipigania, kama nataka kujikinga na hizo taabu za maisha yangu ya baadaye. (R)  
It is my responsibility to defend myself if I want to protect myself from those troubles of later life.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani considers this a fully operative form, but he notes that it has a more general meaning that just to 'fight for, etc.' in the sense of hitting.

Base FormStativeCausative

pigana

piganika

piganisha

piganika<sup>1</sup> Vijana wawili hawawezi kupiganika kwa sababu ya ushajaa wao.  
(SylM)

The two young men cannot be fought (or beaten) because of their  
bravery.

Vita havipiganika vizuri iwapo hakuna wanajeshi wengi. (SM)  
The war cannot be fought well since there are not many soldiers.

Watu wenye nguvu wanachukua muda mrefu kupiganika. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
People who are strong take a long time to be conquered.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani and Mr. Rashidi reject this form entirely. Mr. Shabani would replace it in the first two sentences with -pigik- (meaning either 'that which can be hit or fought') and in the third sentence with -pigw-. The informants who use the form consider it an intensive to some extent, but more as a stative of -pigan- with a meaning of 'fight', with the meaning 'hit' restricted to extension of -pig-.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashery considers the form very rare and would prefer -pigik- in general.

piganisha<sup>1</sup> Ana aliwapiganisha Ali na Juma kwa uwongo alisema. (SylM)  
Anna caused Ali and Juma to fight by the falsehoods which she said.

Juma alitupiganisha mimi na ndugu yangu kwa sababu alikuwa anataka  
kutuiba. (SM)

Juma caused my brother and I to fight because he was wanting to  
rob us.

Chuki yake ilimfanya apiganishe jamaa zake. (A)  
His bad temper caused him to cause his relatives to fight.

<sup>1</sup> All of the examples are clearly causative. Mr. Shabani accepts  
all sentences.

Base FormCausativeRecipr/Associative

pigilia

pigilisha

pigilishana

1  
pigilisha

Alipigilisha misumari yote ukutani. (SylM)

He had all the nails pounded in the wall.

or He pounded the nails...

Pigilisha msumari huu ili usichomoke. (SM)

Have this nail pounded in so that it does not stick (out).

or Pound this nail...

Alipigilisha chokaa nyumba yake. (A)

He had his house whitewashed.

or He whitewashed...Jamma wa P.W.D. walipigilisha vijiti hivi kando ya mtelemko huu  
kwa makusudi ya kuzikinga gari zinazotelemka kwa kushindwa  
kupanda mlima huu. (R)The Public Works Department people had these sticks pounded in  
the side of this slope with the intension of stopping the cars  
which slide down because of failing to climb this mountain.or They pounded in the sticks...

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects the form, although he understands the sentences with causative meanings. He would use another construction to convey the causative idea, however. Either a causative or intensive meaning could have been intended; and, since only one object is present (and there is no object prefix referring to the object of the causation), it would seem these forms are more clearly intensives than causatives.

1  
pigiliana

Tulipigiliana misumari viwambazani. (SM)

We pounded the nails for each other into the walls.

Walipigiliana misumari ya madirisha yao. (SylM)

They pounded the nails of their windows for each other.

Kwa vile hao George na Martin ni marafiki sana, wanapigiliana  
misumari... (R)Since those fellows George and Martin are good friends, they  
pound nails for each other.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery rejects this form as operative, though perhaps possible. Mr. Shabani rejects the form entirely, saying it would mean 'pound nails in each other'. The convey the idea of 'pound for each other' he would say tulisaidiana kupigilia misumari 'we helped each other by pounding nails'.

Base Form

piganisha

Passive

piganishwa

Prepositional

piganishia

piganishwa<sup>1</sup>

Tulipiganishwa ili tutazame nguvu zetu. (SM)

We were caused to fight so that our strength might be measured.

Adhabu waliopewa ilikuwa ni kupiganishwa na mafahari wa ng'ombe.  
(SylM)The punishment which they were given was to be caused to fight  
with bulls.

Kiburi chake kilimfanya apiganishwe na adui. (A)

His pride caused him to be caused to fight with (his) enemy.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani considers this form possible, but certainly rare.  
He would prefer another construction.piganishia Churchill aliwapiganishia waingereza vita vyao na Geremani. (SM)<sup>1</sup>

Churchill caused the English to fight their ward with the Germans.

Alinipiganishia mtoto wangu na wahuni ili waninyang'anye pesa zake.  
(SylM)<sup>2</sup>He caused my child to fight with hooligans so that they might steal  
his money.

Haikuwa sababu maalum ya kuwapiganishia vijana wema. (A)

There was no certain reason for causing the fine young men to fight.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this form. In this sentence he would use aliwapigisha 'he caused them to fight'. This sentence and that of Miss Mkwaya, however, seem to be examples of the use of the prepositional form to indicate something done more or less against the wishes of the person or persons indicated by the object prefix. Again, both Mr. Mannoro and Miss Mkwaya seem to prefer an extension of -pigan- for the idea of 'fight' while Mr. Shabani is willing to use either an extension of -pig- or pigan- for 'fight'.<sup>2</sup>In this sentence Mr. Shabani would use alimpiganishā 'He caused my child to fight'.peganishika<sup>1</sup>

Ni vigumu kupiganishika ikiwa wote ni ndugu wapendanao. (SM)

It is difficult to cause people to fight if all are brothers who  
like each other.<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by Mr. Rashidi and Mr. Shabani. Miss Mkwaya and Mr. Ashery accept Mr. Mannoro's sentence, but state that they themselves would not use the form.

Baee Form

piganisha

Recipr/Associative

piganishana

piganishana<sup>1</sup>

Tulipiganishana kwa sababu ya ulevi. (SM)  
We fought with each other because of drunkenness.

Nchi mbali mbali duniani zapiganishana kwa urahisi kama hazina  
uelewano thabiti kati ya viongozi kwa viongozi. (R)  
Different countries in the world fight with each other easily  
since they have no firm understanding between the leaders.

<sup>1</sup>This is considered an intensive by those who use it. Mr. Shabani  
specifically rejects it and would use -pigan- only in these  
sentences.

Base Form

piganika

Passive

piganikwa

piganikwa<sup>1</sup> Vita havikuweza kupiganikwa kwa sababu askari walikuwa wachache. (SM)

The war could not be fought because the soldiers were few.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants who would use -piganik- only. Mr. Shabani agrees and indicates that kupigana vita (and the extended forms from this base) is a set expression in his mind; otherwise he would use -pigik- for the idea of state or possibility of fighting.

Base FormPassiveStative

pigilia

pigiliwa

pigilika

pigiliwa<sup>1</sup> Msumari huu ulipigiliwa nami. (SM)

This nail was pounded in by me.

Msumari ilipigiliwa ukutani ili tupate kutundika picha. (SylM)  
The nail was pounded in the wall so that we might hang up the picture.

Alipigiliwa msalabani mpaka akafa. (A)  
He was nailed on the cross until he died.

Ni jambo la kushangaza sana kupigiliwa mbali kwa Liston na Casius Clay ambaye ni mtoto tu mbele yake. (R)  
It was a matter of some great surprise for Liston to be completely beaten by Casius Clay who is just a child in respect to Liston.

<sup>1</sup>Note that in general this form serves only as a passive for the specialized meaning of -pigili- 'pound a nail in a place'. But Mr. Rashidi's sentence indicates it can also function as intensive for the idea of 'hit' in general. Mr. Shabani accepts the form, although indicates it would rarely occur (as one would expect because it is a passive).

pigilika

Msumari huu hauwezi kupigilika katika kiwambaza kigumu kwa sababu ni mwembamba sana. (SM)

This nail cannot be pounded into a hard wall because it is very slender.

Msumari huu hauwezi kupigilika kwenye kuta kwa sababu ni ngumu. (SylM)

This nail cannot be pounded into the wall because it (the wall) is hard.

Chuma hiki hakiwezi kupigilika katika ukuta huu mpaka kwa kutumia nyundo ya chuma vile vile. (R)

This iron (nail) cannot be pounded into this wall until a hammer also of iron is used.



4.210 The Stem -pak- and Its Extended Forms

## 4.2101 Points of Special Interest

(1) It is left entirely open to question whether in fact -pak- 'apply' (usually coupled with rangi 'paint', etc.) and -paki- 'pack' (mzigo 'burden'), 'give a ride to'; -pakat- 'hold, especially on the lap'; and -paku- 'dish up', 'unload' are genetically related. But for our purposes here, establishing the presence or lack of such a relationship is not of the greatest importance, for it is not a relationship which effects any significant generalization for the total grammar. Therefore, it will suffice to consider -paki-, -pakat-, and -paku- as coordinate or sibling extended forms from a non-existent base \*-pak- and to treat -pak- 'apply' as a separate root.

(2) It is of some interest how infrequently the phonological shapes which serve for the extended forms of -pak- 'apply' coincide with those of -paki- 'pack'. This is due to the fact that one is a C# stem and the other a V# stem; therefore, extension suffixes are added by somewhat different assembly rules.

Another factor which keeps semantically different forms apart here (and elsewhere in Swahili also, possibly because many verb roots are not particularly phonologically distinct from one another) is the pattern of verb plus what is termed 'linking noun' upon which the actual realization of 'verbal' meaning depends. That is, -pak- alone (assuming it is inflected) is really without meaning; the patterns -pak- + rangi 'apply paint' or -pak- + chokaa 'whitewash', however, have meaning. Similarly, one must have the pattern -paki- + mizigo for the meaning 'pack burdens'.

Experience with native speakers encourages this view, although systematic investigation would be needed to validate it. Speakers seem to feel that many inflected verbs mean little (that is, a transitive very with an animate subject governing an action) until the pattern is closed by a linking noun. Consider the situation of -pig-, glossed as 'hit', but in practice usually appearing with a companion noun with a resultant meaning related to 'hit' but only inexactly: piga hodi 'say hello at the door', piga kura 'vote', pigã simu 'telephone', even piga dansi 'dance' and piga kis(i) 'kiss'.

Note in the case of -pak- 'apply' that the use of the reciprocal form, -pakan-, for the meaning 'apply paint to each other' is totally acceptable. The subcategorization feature of animateness and the limits it places on object occurrence in the reciprocal form has been noted in section 3.24. But in the case of -pakan- this restriction which demands the possibility of an animate object in the reciprocal form or produces a variant meaning, does not seem to apply. Why? Possibly, the reason is the consideration of -pak- + rangi 'apply point' as a unit. Therefore, tulipakana rangi 'we painted each other' follows. (It is true that other stems which do not have a linking noun specification do produce reciprocal forms with reciprocal meanings and an external object--such as tulivunjana miguu 'we broke (our) legs'--but these are only marginally acceptable; further, they are no doubt formed by analogy.

Further study might persuade one to consider such stems, on the semantic level, as morphophonemes are considered on a lower level: just as the morphophoneme is an abstraction which has reality only in a specified phonological environment, so the verb stem only has meaning in a specified semantic and syntactic environment.

4.2102 The Stem -pak-  
4.21021 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -pak-

ASSOCIATIVE/RECIPROCAL

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

<u>pakaa</u>	<u>paka</u>	<u>pakawa</u>	<u>pakazika</u>	<u>pakazisa</u>	<u>pakazana</u>
'apply, smear' (intensive of -pak-)		'be smeared'	'that which is capable of or in state of being painted or smeared'	intensive--of -paka-	'apply each other with something'
<u>pakaa</u>	<u>pakazika</u>	<u>pakazisa</u>	<u>pakika</u>	<u>pakiza,</u> <u>pakisha</u>	<u>pakana</u>
	'paint for, smear for'--with 'negative' aspect	'that which is capable of or in state of being painted or smeared'	'that which is capable of or in state of being applied or painted'	'cause to apply, paint'	'apply each other with' (see -pakaan-)
<u>pakaa</u>	<u>pakawa</u>	<u>pakwa</u>	<u>pakia</u>	<u>pakiana</u>	
	'be smeared'	'be painted'	'apply for'--mahali 'place' aspect, etc.	'apply for each other'	
<u>pakaa</u>					

<u>BASE FORM</u>	<u>PASSIVE</u>	<u>PREPOSITIONAL</u>	<u>STATIVE</u>	<u>CAUSATIVE</u>	<u>ASSOCIATIVE/RECIPROCAL</u>
<u>pakika</u>	## <u>pakikwa</u> intensive of <u>-pakik-</u> with emphasis on agentive aspect				## <u>pakikana</u> intensive of <u>-pakik-</u> with emphasis on 'complete' aspect
<u>pakana</u>	## <u>pakana</u> intensive-- of <u>-paka-</u>			## <u>pakani</u> intensive--of <u>-paka-</u>	
<u>pakaha</u>	<u>pakishwa</u> 'be caused to apply'	## <u>pakishia</u> 'cause to apply for'	## <u>pakishika</u> 1) that which is capable of being applied with something by order' 2) or as intensive of <u>-pakik-</u>		## <u>pakishana</u> intensive--of <u>-pakan-</u>
<u>*pakilia</u>			## <u>pakilika</u> intensive--of <u>-pakik-</u>		

## 4.21022 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

Base Form  
pakaa

Causative  
pakaza

pakaa Nilipakaa rangi kila kiwambaza. (SM)  
I painted every wall.

Nilipakaa rangi mwili. (DS)  
I painted (my) body.

1  
pakaza Alinipakaza rangi kichwani. (SM)  
He put paint on my head.

Alipakaza watoto wake poda kabla hawajaenda kulala. (SylM)<sup>2</sup>  
He smeared his children with powder before they went to sleep.

Walimpakaza mafuta mazuri kabla hajaenda dansini. (A)  
They put fine oil on him before he went to the dance.

Siku ya (h)arusi ya dada yangu nilipakaza kichwa changu jivu  
na nikavaa gauni kwa ishara ya furaha kubwa. (R)  
The day of the wedding of my sister I smeared ash on my head  
and I wore a gown as an indication of great joy.

<sup>1</sup> There is general agreement that the meaning is intensive, not causative. (Mr. Mannoro says specifically, tunapotaka iwe na maana ya kumfanya mtu mwingine apakaze, tunasema kupakazisha 'when we want to have the meaning of to make another person paint himself, we say 'to cause to paint'.) The meaning is 'apply a great deal', and in a rather disorderly way.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mannoro objects to this sentence for stylistic reasons; Mr. Ashery, however, accepts it, indicating that either aliwapakza or alipakaza (with or without the object prefix) is acceptable.

Base Form  
paka

Passive  
pakwa

paka<sup>1</sup>  
Paka rangi kiwambaza hiki. (SM)  
Paint this wall.

Alinipaka uchafu aliponishika kwa ghafla alipokuwa akikimbia  
papa. (SylM)  
He put dirt on me when he seized me suddenly when he was running  
away from here.

Paka chokaa chumba changu. (A)  
Put whitewash on my room. (on the walls)

Kazi hasa niliyo na ujuzi nayo ni ya kupaka rangi nyumba, makani  
na kadhalika. (R)  
The work which has (requires) knowledge is painting a house, a  
dwelling, and the like.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani comments that -pak- directly implies kutia rangi  
'put on paint'.

pakwa<sup>1</sup>  
Kiwambaza kimepakwa kwa rangi nyekundu. (SM)  
The wall was painted with red paint.

Alipakwa masizi uso mzima alipokamatwa akiiba chakula cha jikoni.  
(SylM)  
He was applied with soot on (his) whole face when he was caught  
stealing the food of the kitchen.

Alipakwa rangi usoni. (A)  
He was applied with paint on the face.

Je, unaweza kuniieleza kama gari lako limepakwa rangi yeyote  
zaidi ya ile ya zamani? (R)  
Can you explain to me how your car has been applied with any paint  
at all besides the old paint?

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro notes that na or 'nothing' could be used in the  
place of kwa. Mr. Shabani says that he considers 'nothing'  
the best choice.

Base Form

paka

Prepositional

paka

paka Nilimpakia rangi katika kiwambaza cha nyumba yake. (SM)  
I applied paint to the wall of his house for him.

Alipakia rangi kwa kutumia mkono wa kushoto. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
He put paint on by using his left hand.

Alinipakia rangi nisiyoitaka. (A)  
He put paint on (for me) which I did not want.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery stresses the mahali 'place' aspect involved in this usage. Note the 'negative' aspect in his other sentence.



Base Form  
paka

Stative  
pakika

Causative  
pakisha,  
pakiza

pakika Ukuta huu hauwezi kupakika chokaa kwa sababu ni laini sana. (SM)  
This wall cannot be applied with whitewash because it is too smooth.

Dawa haiwezi kupakika kule juu kwani kumejaa uvumbi. (SylM)  
Medicine cannot be applied thereabove because it is full of dust.

Gari haikuweza kupakika rangi kwa sababu rangi ilikuwa haba. (A)  
The car was not able to be applied with paint because the paint was scarce.

Hakikisha kwanza kama sakafu yenyewe inaweza kupakika hiyo rangi kabla hujamwajiri mtu kukufanyia hivyo. (R)  
Make sure first that the floor itself can be applied with this paint before you hire a man to do it for you.

pakisha, pakiza<sup>1</sup> Nilipakiza rangi nyumba yangu yote jana. (SM)  
I had my whole house painted yesterday.

Alinipakisha rangi wakati aliponisukuma. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
He caused me to paint when he was encouraging me.

Serikali ilinipakisha nyumba yangu rangi mpya kwa lazima. (SylM)  
The government caused me to apply new paint to my house by order.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shabani notes that -pakaz- is direct, but -pakish- is causative, but that it also can be direct and intensive. Note, however, that Dunstan would use -pakiz- only for 'to see someone off' or 'to pack', not for 'to paint'.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ashery definitely prefers -pakish- to -pakiz- as a form, as does Miss Mkwana. Mr. Ashery definitely distinguishes between -pakaz- and -pakish- but Miss Mkwana says she does not, although her sentences seem to indicate a distinction (-pakaz- as intensive, -pakish- as causative): Nilipakaza nyumba yangu rangi mpya. ('I had my house painted with new paint'. or 'I painted my house with new paint'.) but Serikali ilinipakisha nyumba yangu rangi mpya 'The government caused me to paint my house with new paint'. Mr. Mannoro says that -pakiz- has a stronger connotation than does -pakish-.

Base Form  
paka

Recipr/Associative  
pakana

pakana<sup>1</sup> Tulipakana tope wakati tulipopigana. (SM)  
We put mud on each other when we fought.

Tulipakana maji machafu. - (SylM)  
We put dirty water on each other.

Walipakana majivu usoni. (A)  
They put ashes on each other's faces.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to accept this form; but he would prefer a reciprocal/associative extended form of -paka-, that is, -pakaan- as in tulipakaana rangi kichwani 'we put paint on each other's heads'.

Base Form  
pakaza

Passive  
pakazia

Prepositional  
pakazia

pakazwa Alipokwenda kucheza nje alipakazwa uehafu na mwenzake. (SYM)  
When he went out to play he was smeared with dirt by his companion.

Alipakazwa tope na watoto. (SM)  
He was smeared with dirt by the children.

Alipakazwa rangi nyekundu kuwa kama kitambulisho chake. (A)  
He was smeared with red paint as his mark of identity.

Mama yangu alikasirika aliponiwa narudi kucheza ningali nimepakazwa uchafu katika nguo zangu. (R)  
My mother was angry when she saw me return from playing still covered with dirt on my clothes.

pakazia<sup>1</sup> Alinipakazia mtoto wangu uchafu. (SYM)  
He smeared my child with dirt.

Watoto walinipakazia nguo zangu matope. (SM)  
The children smeared my clothes with dirt.

Alinipakazia nguo zangu rangi nyeusi. (A)  
He put black paint on my clothes.

Walipakazia gari langu matope kwa sababu wao wote walikuwa wananichukia sana. (R)  
They put mud on my car because all of them disliked me very much.

<sup>1</sup>As the example sentences show and as Mr. Ashery specifically states, there is no causative meaning. Note, however, that neither is there any meaning of 'for' related to the object prefix except a negative one. Something is done not 'for' the person indicated by the object prefix, but to his displeasure.

Base Form  
pakaza

Stative  
pakazika

pakazika<sup>1</sup> Ukuta huu hauwezi kupakazika rangi una mafuta mengi. (SylM)  
This wall is not able to be painted; it has much oil (on it).

Watoto walipakazika matope kwa sababu walicheza mvuani. (S)  
The children were in a state of being covered with mud because they played in the rain.

Ukuta haukuweza kupakazika chokaa kwa sababu ulikuwa mrefu mno. (A)  
This wall cannot be painted with whitewash because it is too high.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rashidi rejects this form; Mr. Shabani prefers -pakik-; and Mr. Ashery notes that -pakik- has the same meaning as -pakazik- and is more commonly used.

Base Form  
pakaza

Causative  
pakazisha

Recipr/Associative  
pakazana

pakazana<sup>1</sup>

Watoto walipakazana matope wakati wa kucheza. (SM)  
The children smeared mud on each other when they were playing.

Walipakazana sabuni walipotaka kuoga. (A)  
They smeared each other with soap when they were about to wash.

Msipakazane uchafu nguo kwa sababu mnafakiwa muonane na dactari mngali safi leo jioni. (R)  
Do not smear with dirt (your) clothes because you are required that you see the doctor and still be clean this evening.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwaya says -pakazan- is possible, but she feels it is interchangeable with -pakaz- as in: watoto wamepakaza matope. Mr. Ashery says that -pakazan- is no different in meaning from -pakan- unless it is more intensive.

pakazisha<sup>1</sup>

Pakazisha rangi vizuri ili kiwambaza kipendezee. (SM)  
Put the paint on well so that the wall may be pleasing.

Alipakazisha mtoto wangu poda nyingi akaonekana kama kinyago. (SylM)  
He had much powder put on my child so that he appeared as an initiate.

Walipakazisha kuta zetu rangi ya uwoga. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
They had our walls painted with washable paint.

Pakazisha rangi kuta zote kisha walipe mshahara wao. (R)  
Have all the walls painted; then pay them their wages.

<sup>1</sup>This is clearly a causative form; all of the informants agree.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani notes that the presence of the object prefix is not always absolutely necessary with the causative form (note it is lacking here).

Base Form

pakia

Passive

pakiwa

Recipr/Associative

pakiana

pakiwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilipakiwa rangi kiwambaza changu na Juma. (SM)  
I was painted my wall by Juma.

Sitakubali kupakiwa nguo zangu uchafu na matope bila sababu. (R)  
I will not agree to be applied with dirt and mud to my clothes without cause.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani feels -pakiw- tends to be limited to being an extension of -paki- 'to pack'; Miss Mkwana and Mr. Ashery agree. However, they all consider the form operative here.

pakiana<sup>1</sup>

Tunapakiana rangi nyumba zetu ikiwa moja wapo ni chafu. (SM)  
We put paint on our houses for each other if one of them is dirty.

Tulipakiana rangi nyumba zetu. (DS)  
We painted our houses for each other.

<sup>1</sup>Note this shape is operative for both 'apply to or for each other' and 'give each other a ride'.

Both Saidi and B. Ashery state that pakiana can be applied to either mizigo (burdens) or rangi (paint); that is, that it can be an extension of two separate morphemes. But Dunstan is inclined to use pakiana only for mizigo, and pakiliana for rangi. This usage of Dunstan is interesting because the base form (the double prepositional) of pakiliana would have to be pakilia and this is rejected by all informants--including Dunstan himself, except as a rare form--as applicable to rangi; rather they use it as the simple prepositional form of the base (which is, of course, itself a prepositional shape, but with a basic meaning) pakia 'to pack' referring to mizigo 'burdens'.

Base Form

pakia

Prepositional

pakilia

(Note: Dunstan gives this sentence as an example of how pakilia might be used (and he states it is intensive), but he comments on its rare occurrence: amenipakilia rangi nyumba yangu 'he has painted my house for me', but he says he would be more likely to express the same meaning in either of these ways: amepakaa nyumba yangu rangi or amenitilia nyumba yangu rangi (tilia being the prepositional form of tia and pakaa being a simple base form).

pakiliaSee note under -pakian-.

Base Form  
pakika

Passive  
pakikwa

Récipr/Associative  
pakikana

pakikana<sup>1</sup>

Watoto wamepakikana tope kwa sababu walikuwa wanacheza mvuani. (SM)<sup>2</sup>

The children put much mud on each other because they were playing in the rain.

<sup>1</sup>This form is not accepted by other informants; Miss Mkwya and Mr. Ashery both say they would use -pakan- in the sentence.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Mannoro notes that the meaning here is intensive; the idea of 'all over' (note that this is consistent with the forms he gives for other verbs; therefore, -onekan- is the intensive of -onek-, etc.).

pakikwa<sup>1</sup>

Kiwambaza hiki hakiwezi kupakikwa rangi kwa sababu kinateleza. (S)  
This wall cannot be painted because it is slippery.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants who would use -pakik-. Mr. Mannoro defends this form and its usage because he says it stresses the agentive aspect of the action.



Base Form

pakisha

Passive

pakishwa

Prepositional

pakishia

pakishwa<sup>1</sup>

Watoto waliokwenda kwenye sikukuu walipakishwa rangi. (SylM)  
They sent their shoes to be polished (applied with paint).

Watoto waliokwenda kwenye sikukuu walipakishwa hina miguuni. (A)  
The children who went to the place of the holiday celebration  
were caused to apply red dye to the feet.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani notes that the meaning here is unclear--whether a  
causative meaning or an intensive is intended. In Miss Mkwana's  
sentence, it seems impossible to consider the form anything but  
an intensive--the shoes cannot 'be caused to apply'. But in  
Mr. Ashery's sentence there is a possibility either 'be caused to  
apply' or 'be applied with' was intended.

pakishia<sup>1</sup>

Alinipakishia rangi nyumba yangu. (SM)  
He had paint applied for me to my house.

Alinipakishia gari yangu rangi mpya. (SyIM)  
He had my car painted for me with new paint.

Huwezi kunieleza habari za kunipakishia gari langu rangi na  
gharama yake? (R)  
Are you not able to explain to me the business of having my car  
painted and the price?

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ashery rejects the form for his own usage, but he accepts  
the sentences given. He himself would use a fanya construction  
rather than a causative form to carry the same meaning; for example,  
Nilimpa pesa Ali ili ampe Juma anipakishia rangi gari yangu 'I paid  
Ali some money so that he would give it to Juma in order that he  
would paint my car'. Mr. Shabani rejects the form outright. As  
noted in chapter III, such an extended form--with the prepositional  
and causative extensions combined--creates problems of syntactic  
reference. For the prepositional form, the object prefix  
normally corresponds to the indirect object which directly  
follows the verb. But for the causative form, the object prefix  
corresponds to the direct object of the causation which also  
directly follows the verb. Therefore, confusion results as to  
whether the action is caused to be done by the object signaled  
by the object prefix, or whether the action is done for this  
object. It is not hard to see why the form is rare or rejected.

Base Form  
pakisha

Stative  
pakishika

pakishika<sup>1</sup> Ukuta huu hauwezi kupakishika rangi kwa sababu ni mchafu mno. (SylM)  
This wall cannot be applied with paint because it is too dirty.

Taa yangu haiwezi kupakishika rangi kwa sababu inavuja na kutoa hiyo rangi. (R)  
My lamp is not able to be applied with paint because it is beginning to lose its paint.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mannoro and Mr. Shabani reject this outright; Mr. Ashery and Mr. Shabani say they would use -paki- (the simple stative) for the same meaning, therefore implying that there is no causative sense involved. (Note the feeling that the stative and causative are incompatible as members of the same extended form.)

Base Form  
pakisha

Recipr/Associative  
pakishana

pakishana<sup>1</sup> Walipakishana vidole vyao rangi wakajichafua. (SylM)  
They put paint on each other's fingers and they made themselves  
dirty.

Tulipakishana tope wakati wa kucheza. (SM)  
We put dirt on each other when we were playing.

Kwa sababu walichafuliana kuta zao, hivyo walipakishana rangi  
kwa lazima siku hiyo hiyo. (R)  
Because they dirtied their walls, therefore they put paint (on it)  
by order on that very day.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ashery accepts these sentences, but says that -pakan- carries  
the same meaning and that its usage is preferred. Mr. Shabani  
rejects the form outright; what he objects to is the combination  
of the causative and reciprocal extensions in one stem. He  
says a form such as -pakazan- (no causative sense in -pakaz-)  
would be acceptable, but rare.

Note, however, that the usage here seems to be intensive and  
reciprocal and not causative at all.

Base Form  
pakana

Passive  
pakanwa

Causative  
pakanisha

pakanwa<sup>1</sup> Tulipakanwa matope na motokari ambayo ilitupitia karibu yetu wakati mvua ilipokuwa inanyesha. (S)<sup>2</sup>  
We were applied with mud by a car which passed close to us at the time it was raining.

<sup>1</sup> This form is rejected outright by all other informants; Mr. Ashery says that -pakaziw- is possible in the sentence given. Mr. Shabani also rejects it.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mannoro says the form is equal to -pakw-, but adds that -pakanw- is intensive.

pakanisha<sup>1</sup> Motokari yangu iliwapakanisha watu waliokuwa wakitembea kwa miguu matope ilipopita karibu nao. (SM)  
My car splashed mud on the people who were walking on foot when it passed near them.

<sup>1</sup> A rare form with an apparent intensive meaning and no reciprocal meaning. Mr. Shabani rejects the form completely. Miss-Mkwaya and Mr. Ashery, however, accept it as possible.

Base Form  
\*pakilia

Stative  
pakilika

pakilika<sup>1</sup> Rangi hii haiwezi kupakilika. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
This paint is not able to be applied.

<sup>1</sup> -pakilik- is thought, by all informants, to be only an extension of -paki- 'to carry'. Mr. Shabani also rejects the form and would accept only -pakik-.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mannoro says that -pakilik- is usually only considered an extension of -paki- 'to carry', but that it also can be an intensive stative with a meaning similar to -pakik- (but more intensified) as in this sentence: Rangi hii haiwezi kupakika.

4.2103 The Stem -pakat-  
 4.21031 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -pakat-

BASE FORM

\*pakat

PASSIVE

pakata

pakatwa

'be held'

pakatia

'hold for'

pakatika

'be holdable,  
state of being  
held'

pakatisha

'cause to hold'

pakatana

'hold each other (on  
lap)'

pakatia

pakatiwa

'be held for  
something by  
someone'

pakatika

##pakatiwa

'be holdable'  
(emphasis on  
agent)

##pakatika

'mahali' 'place'  
aspect of  
stative only

CONTACTIVE

pakata

'hold on lap' (especially  
child)

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

pakatiana

1) 'hold for each other'  
2) intensive of simple  
reciprocal/associative

##pakatiana

'cause someone to  
( 'complete' aspect)  
be capable of or  
in the state of  
holding'

##pakatikisha

## 4.21032 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

Base Form  
\*paka

Contactive  
pakata

pakata Alipakata mtoto wake mikononi huku akishona. (SylM)  
She held her child there in (her) arms while she sewed.

Alimpakata mtoto wangu miguuni. (SM)  
He held my child on the (his) legs.

Alipakata mtoto wake kifuani. (A)  
He held his child on (his) chest.

Kwa vile katika basi hiyo hakukuwa na nafasi, watu wengi iliwabidi kupakatana. (R)  
Because there was no space in the (aforementioned) bus, it was necessary for many people to sit on each other (on the laps).

Base Form  
pakata

Passive  
pakatwa

Prepositional  
pakatia

pakatwa Jeni alipokuwa mgonjwa alikuwa akishinda kutwa akipakatwa na bibi yake. (SylM)  
When Jane was ill she spent the whole day being held by her grandmother.

Mtoto amepakatwa na mama yake. (SM)  
The child is held by its mother.

Mtoto changa alipakatwa na mamaye. (A)  
The young child was held by its mother.

Nilipokuwa bado mtoto nilikuwa pakatwa kwa sababu sikuwa naweza kukaa peke yangu. (R)  
When I was still a child I was held because I could not sit alone.

pakatia<sup>1</sup> Watoto wadogo hupenda kupakatia watoto wao wa michezo wakati wote. (SylM)  
Little children like to hold their dolls at all times.

Alinipakatia mtoto wangu wakati mimi wenyewe nilipokuwa ninapika. (SM)  
He held my child for me at the time when I myself was cooking.

Nitakupakatia mtoto wake kama utakuwa tayari kunikoshea nguo zangu akinichafulia. (R)  
I will hold for you his child if you will be ready to clean my clothes if he soils me.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mkwaya states that -pakat- and -pakati- are equal in meaning (see her sentence which has no prepositional meaning). To her, -pakati- is an intensive form, but the other informants disagree.



Base Form  
pakata

Stative  
pakatika

pakatika Mtoto huyu ana matata sana hawezi kupakatika. (SM)  
This child is very difficult; he cannot be held.

Watu wanapakatika na ugonjwa wa tauni. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
The people are being stricken by the plague.

Majani makavu yalipakatika chini. (A)  
Dry leaves are held below.

Mtoto mbishi hakuweza kupakatika. (A)  
The troublesome child could not be held.

Mtoto wako ni mdogo sana hivyo hawezi kupakatika, hivi itanibidi  
nimlaze tu. (R)  
Your child is very small, therefore he is not able to be held;  
thus I should just make him lie down.

<sup>1</sup> specialized meaning.

Base Form  
pakata

Causative  
pakatisha

Recipr/Associative  
pakatana

pakatisha Nilimpakatisha mtoto ili amlishe maziwa. (SM)

I had him hold the child so that he might have him drink the milk.

Aliwapakatisha watoto wake mabegani. (A)

He had them hold their children on the shoulders.

pakatana Mary na Joni walikuwa wamepakatana walipokuja kutishwa na mbwa. (SyIM)  
Mary and John sat on each other when they were menaced by a dog.

Tulipakatana na mume wangu kwa sababu ya mapenzi. (SM)

Nilipakatana

I sat on my husband's lap because of affection.

Tulipakatana tulipokubaliana. (A)

We sat on each other (we embraced?) when we came to an agreement.

Base Form  
pakatia

Passive  
pakatiwa

Recipr/Associative  
pakatiana

pakatiwa Alipokwenda kufua alipakatiwa mtoto wake na Anna. (SylM)  
When she went to wash she was held for her child by Anna.

Nilipakatiwa mtoto wangu kwa sababu mimi mwenyewe nilikuwa ninapika.  
(SM)

I was held for my child because I myself was cooking.

Alipakatiwa na wazazi wake aliporudi safarini. (A)  
He was cared for by his parents when he returned from safari.

Nilipakatiwa rafiki yangu na baba kwa sababu alikuwa mgonjwa sana. (R)

I was cared for my friend by father because he was very ill.

(i.e., father cared for my friend)

pakatiana<sup>1</sup> Watoto wadogo hupenda kupakatiana wanapocheza. (SylM)  
Small children like to hold each other when they play.

Tunapakatiana watoto wetu iwapo mmoja kati yetu ana kazi nyingi. (SM)  
We hold our children for each other if one among us has much work.

Walipakatiana walipokutana kwa mara ya kwanza. (A)  
They held each other when they met for the first time.

Tulipakatiana watoto kwa sababu kila mmoja alimpendwa sana na mwenzake. (R)

We held the children for each other because each one is liked very much by his companion.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwya says that -pakatian- is no different in meaning from -pakatan- and Mr. Ashery says it is an intensive form; note, however, that in several of the above examples it is used in a prepositional way ('hold for each other, etc.'). Mr. Shabani will accept it only if used for the prepositional meaning 'hold for each other'. Note that Miss Mkwya attached no prepositional meaning to the simple prepositional shape -pakati-, but considered it an intensive form.

Base Form  
pakatika

Passive  
pakatikwa

Prepositional  
pakatikia

Causative  
pakatikisha

pakatikwa<sup>1</sup> Mtoto huyu hawezi kupatikwa na mtu yeyote isipokuwa mama yake. (S)  
This child is not able to be held by any person at all except his mother.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants: Miss Mkwaya would use -pakatw- in this sentence and Mr. Ashery would use -pakatik-. Mr. Mannoro, as he does in other cases of the passive stative, says the form emphasizes the agentive aspect involved in the verb.

pakatikia<sup>1</sup> Mapaja ndiyo sehemu mzuri pa kupatikia mtoto katika vyungu vya mwili vya mwanadamu. (SM)  
The lap is indeed a fine part for holding a child in the vessel of the body of a human.

Mikono iliyopakatikia mtoto ilikuwa michafu. (A)<sup>2</sup>  
The arms which were for carrying the child were dirty.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwaya rejects this form and would accept -pakati- only; Mr. Shabani agrees.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Ashery notes the mahali 'place' aspect.

pakatikisha<sup>1</sup> Nilimpakatikisha mtoto wake vizuri ili amlishe chakula. (SM)  
I had him (in the state of) hold his child well so that he might feed him food.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwaya rejects the form outright; Mr. Ashery says he rejects the form, but accepts the sentence as possible although he himself would use -pakatish-.

Base Form  
pakatika

Recipr/Associative  
pakatikana

pakatikana<sup>1</sup> Kwa ajili ya shughuli nyingi hata mtoto hakuweza kupakatikana na mama. (SM)  
Because of much business (i.e., activity) not even the child could be held by (his mother).

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro considers this form an intensive; but the other informants reject it outright. Miss Mkwya and Mr. Ashery would use -pakatw-. Mr. Shabani says the use of either -pakatw- or -pakatik- depends upon the emphasis intended. According to his view, hata mtoto hakupakatwa 'even the child was not being held' and hata mtoto hakupakatika 'even the child could not be held'. In either case, he considers the use of -wez- 'be able' redundant.

Other informants and Swahili authorities who were questioned about this sentence split about evenly between the use of -pakatw- or -pakatik-. However, since the form being replaced had a stative shape (-pakatikan-)--even if it was judged inoperative--one would have expected it to be replaced by another stative form. Responses such as these make it very difficult to differentiate conclusively between usage specifications of the stative and passive forms.

4.2104 The Stem \*-pak-  
 4.21041 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of \*-pak-

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

\*paka

pakia

- 1) 'pack'
- 2) 'give ride to'

pakiana

pakiza

pakilika

pakilia

- 1) 'be given a ride'
- #2) 'be packed'

pakia

'give each other a ride'

- 1) 'pack, give ride to'
- #2) 'cause to pack'

'capable of or in state of being given a ride to'

#pakiliiana

#pakiliza,  
pakilisha

pakiliwa

- 1) 'be packed'
- 2) 'be packed for'

pakilia

- 1) 'pack for each other'
- 2) 'give ride for each other'

pakizwa

- 1) 'be packed'
- 2) 'be given a ride'

pakiza

pakizika

'capable of or in state of being packed or being given a ride'

pakizana

'give each other a ride'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

#paklilishia  
intensive--of  
-pakili-

paklilisha

pakiziana

pakizia

- 1) 'load for each other'
- 2) 'give ride to for each other'

## 4.21042 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

Base FormPrepositional

\*paka

pakia

pakia<sup>1</sup> Alipakia watoto wote ndani ya gari yake kwenda kutembea. (SylM)  
He put all the children in his car to go for a ride.

Mara tu nikisha pakia mizigo yangu, nitaanza safari. (SM)  
The moment I finish packing my burdens, I will begin the safari.

Tulijipakia watu wanne garini. (A)  
We four people traveled by car.  
or We four people put ourselves in the car.

Natumaini sasa safari itakuwa tayari kama Juma amekwisha pakia  
mizigo ndani ya gari kama inavyotakiwa. (R)  
I expect the safari will be at hand (now) as Juma has finished  
packing the burdens in the car as is required.

Amepakia gari. (DS)  
He went by car.

<sup>1</sup> At first, Mr. Shabani said he would reject -paki- for the meaning 'pack' burdens and would use only -pakiz-; paki would be used only for 'give a ride to'. But he later entirely reversed this statement and said that -paki- and -pakiz- and their extensions are interchangeable for either 'pack burdens' or 'give a ride to'. He still, however, maintains a preference for -pakiz- for burdens and -paki- for 'giving a ride'. Mr. Mannoro, however, considers the use of -paki- for 'give ride to' or 'travel' as possible, but si kiswahili safi 'not proper Swahili'.



Base FormPassive

pakia

pakiwa, pakiliwa

pakiwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilipakiwa katika gari yako jana. (SM)  
I got a ride in your car yesterday.

Alikuwa mgonjwa sana hata ilimbidi apakiwe ndani ya gari aende kwao. (SylM)  
He was so very sick that he needed to be given a ride in the car so that he could go home.

Gari ilipakiwa sana nikashindwa kwenda. (A)  
The car was very crowded and so I missed going.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwaya and Mr. Ashery both state that -pakiw- and -pakiliw- are interchangeable (even though the example sentences split, with those for -pakiw- meaning 'be given a ride' and those for -pakiliw- 'be packed for' or 'be packed'). Finally note that both of these informants and Mr. Shabani tend to reject -pakiw- as an extended form for -pak- 'paint' meaning 'be painted for' and give no alternative. (Perhaps the rejection is made to avoid confusion of forms, but this is only conjecture.)

pakiliwa<sup>1</sup>

Nilipakiliwa mizigo kwa haraka mara nilipowaeleza watumishi kufanya hivyo. (SM)  
I was packed (for) my burdens quickly when I explained to the servants to do thusly.

Mizigo yote itapakiliwa mapema kabla ya safari. (SM)  
All the burdens will be packed early before the trip.

Mizigo yake ilipakiliwa na polisi kupeleka kwa wazazi wake. (SylM)  
His burdens were packed by the police to send to his parents.

Mizigo mizito hupakiliwa kwa kutumia winch. (A)  
Heavy burdens are packed by using a winch.

Sitapakiliwa mizigo yangu mpaka nipatane nao bei....(R)  
I will not be packed for my burdens until I agree with them on a price....

<sup>1</sup>Note that the shape -pakiliw- functions both as the form for the simple passive and the prepositional passive ('pack for, etc.').

Base Form

pakia

Prepositional

pakilia

Stative

pakilika

pakilia Ali alinipakilia mzigo wangu. (SM)

Ali packed my burden for me.

Alinipakilia stesheni. (SM)<sup>1</sup>  
He drove me to the station.Alinipakilia mizigo yangu yote melini bila ya kutoa hata senti moja.  
(SylM)  
He put all my burdens (for me) in the ship without the offering of  
even one cent.Alinipakilia mizigo yangu ndani ya gari lake. (A)  
He put my suitcases (for me) in his car.Nilipakilia gari moshi nikashukia Arusha. (A)  
I boarded the train and disembarked at Arusha.Nitakuwa tayari kupakilia mizigo yako mtumbwini mwangu kwa bei  
hiyo niliyokuambia. (R)  
I will be ready to carry your burdens in my canoe for the afore-  
mentioned price which I told you.<sup>1</sup>Mr. Mannoro definitely notes that the meaning here is Alinipa lift stesheni, 'he give me a lift to the station'; he also notes--and the responses of the other informants bear this out--that the form -pakili- has the two meanings of 'give a ride to' and 'pack for' (as does the base form have the two meanings 'ride' and 'pack' for all informants. Mr. Shabani prefers -pakiz- and its extended forms for 'pack burdens' but accepts forms of -paki- as well.pakilika Mizigo hii haiwezi kupakilika katika ndege kwani ni mizito mno. (SylM)

These burdens are not able to be packed in the airplane because they are too heavy.

Mizigo hii ni mingi haiwezi kupakilika na mtu mmoja. (SM)  
These burdens are many they cannot be carried by one man.Mizigo mizito haikuwezekana kupakilika kwa mikono tu. (A)  
The heavy burdens could not be carried by hand alone.Mizigo yangu haitapakilika kwa sababu ni mizito sana. (R)  
My burdens will not be able to be carried because they are very heavy.

Base Form

pakia

Causative

pakiza

Reciprocal/Associative

pakiana

pakiza<sup>1</sup>

Pakiza kwanza mizigo midogo kwani halafu ifuate hiyo mikubwa kwa pembeni yake. (R)  
Pack the little burdens first for then let the big ones follow for the corners.

Alipakiza mizigo mingi sana hata mwisho alichoka (DS)  
He packed very many burdens to the point that finally he was exhausted.

Alinipakiza mizigo kabla ya kuwa tayari kwa safari. (SM)  
He caused me to pack burdens before being ready for the safari.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani and Mr. Mannoro seem to have diametrically opposed views on the use and meaning of this form. To Mr. Shabani, it is the simple form for 'pack' with no causative meaning. To Mr. Mannoro, who accepts paki- as the simple form for 'pack', this form means 'cause someone to pack'. Unfortunately, Mr. Rashidi's sentence does not make it clear whether he intends the form as a simple form or a causative. For the meaning 'cause to pack' or 'cause to give a ride to', Mr. Shabani would use a fanya or lazimisha construction.

pakiana<sup>1</sup>

Walipakiana ndani ya skuta kwenda kupungua upepo pwani. (SylM)  
They put each other on the scooter to go to take the air at the beach. ('they gave each other a ride')

Walipakiana juu ya baiskeli zao. (A)  
They put each other on their bicycles.

Hawa niliwagundua kwamba ni marafiki kwa sababu niliwaona jana wamepakiana garini. (R)  
I discovered that those ones are friends because I saw them yesterday riding together in a car.

<sup>1</sup>Note that Mr. Shabani says that -pakian- has the meaning of saidiana 'to help each other' and applies to riding in or on some vehicle. He further notes that -pakizan- (a form not originally given by any of the other informants) has the same meaning.

<u>Base Form</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Prepositional</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Reciprocal/ Associative</u>
pakiza	pakizwa	pakizia	pakizika	pakizana

pakizwa<sup>1</sup> Alipakizwa garini. (DS)  
He was given a ride.

Mizigo ilipakizwa garini. (DS)  
The burdens were packed in the car.

pakizia Nilimpakizia mizigo garini. (DS)  
I packed burdens for-him in the car.

pakizika Mizigo haipakizi kwa sababu ni mikubwa mno. (DS)  
The burdens cannot be packed because they are too big.

Yule mtu hapakizi katika gari dogo hili kwa sababu ni mnene mno. (DS)  
The man cannot be given a ride in this little car because he is too fat.

pakizana Walipakizana katika gari zao. (DS)  
They gave each other rides in their cars.

<sup>1</sup>The informants in Tanzania were not questioned about these extended forms of -pakiz- but they generally considered -pakiz- as an intensive of -paki- and so no doubt would accept these forms. Notes, however, that they did not tend to distinguish between -paki- for 'give a ride to' and -pakiz- for 'pack' (burdens) as much as Mr. Shabani generally does.

Base Form

pakizia

Reciprocal/Associative

pakiziana

pakiziana

Juma na Ali walipakiziana mizigo yote. (DS)

Juma and Ali loaded all the burdens for each other.

Base Form

pakia

Causativepakiliza,  
pakilishapakiliza, pakilisha<sup>1</sup>

Nitapakiliza mizigo yangu kisha nitasafiri mimi mwenyewe. (SM)

I will pack my bags then I will travel myself.

or I will have my bags packed; then I will travel myself.

Tulipakilisha mizigo yetu garini tayari kwa safari. (SylM)

We packed our bags in the car ready for the trip.

or We had our bags packed.

Pakiliza mizigo yako haraka ili tuweze kuondoka mapema. (R)

Pack your bags quickly so that we can leave early.

or Have your bags packed....

<sup>1</sup> There is a fair amount of disagreement about the usage of this form. Mr. Ashery and Mr. Shabani reject it. For a non-causative meaning, Mr. Shabani would use -pakiz- and for a causative meaning, he would use the verb -ajiri- 'hire' plus -pakiz-. For a causative meaning, Mr. Ashery would use such a sentence: Nilimpa Juma ushuru wake ili anipakilie mizigo yangu 'I paid Juma his wages so that he packed my burdens for me'. None of the informants who claims to use the form says clearly that the form is either a causative or an intensive.

Base Form

pakilia

Reciprocal/Associative

pakiliána

pakiliana<sup>1</sup>

Walipakiliana mizigo yao kwa upesi ili wasiñthelewe gari.

(SylM)

They packed their burdens for each other quickly so that they would not delay the car.

Tunapakiliana mizigo yetu iwapo immoja wetu anachewewa. (SM)  
We pack our burdens for each other if one of us is late.

Tunapakiliana watoto wetu kwenye gari ili watangulie. (SylM)  
We put our children in the car so that they might go first.  
or We gave our children a ride in the car so that they might go first.

Walipakiliana mizigo yao kabla ya gari kuondoka. (A)  
They packed their burdens for each other before the car left.

Hawa wanasaidiana kwa mengi, ndiyo sababu data leo hivi  
wanapakiliana mizigo yao iwapokuwa mmoja wao ni mgonjwa. (B)  
These person aid each other in many things; that is the reason  
even today they pack burdens for each other if one of them is  
sick.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to reject this form as an extension of -paki-  
'pack' and uses it only as an extension of -paki- 'to paint'.  
He would use -pakiziana- for 'pack for each other'.

Base Form

pakilisha

Prepositional

pakilishia

pakilishia<sup>1</sup> Ni vagumu kumpakilishia mizigo yake kwa sababu ni mizito sana. (SM)

It is difficult to pack his burdens for me because they are very heavy.

or It is difficult to have his burdens packed for him..

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by the other informants.



4.2105 The Stem -paku-  
4.21051 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -paku-

BASE FORM

\* paka

PASSIVE

pakuliwa

- 1) 'be dished up, be unloaded'
- 2) 'be dished up for, be unloaded for'

PREPOSITIONAL

pakulia

- 1) 'dish up for, be unloaded for, by unloaded' means of', etc.

STATIVE

pakulika

- 'that which is capable of or in state of being dished up or unloaded'

CAUSATIVE

pakulisha

- 'cause to dish up, unload'

REVERSIVE

pakua

- 'dish up, unload'

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

## pakuana

- 'unload each other'

pakulia

pakuliana

- 'dish up, unload for each other'

pakulisha

pakulishwa

## pakulishia

- 'be caused to 1) 'cause to dish dish up, unload' up, unload for'
- 2) intensive--of -pakuli-

## pakulishisha

- 1) 'cause to cause 1) 'cause each other to dish up, to unload'
- 2) 'unload for each other
- pakulish-

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

## pakulishiana

'cause to have the burdens,  
etc. unloaded for each  
other'

CAUSATIVE

## pakulikisha

'cause someone to  
be in the state  
of dishing up,  
unloading, or  
intensive of -pakulish-

STATIVE

## pakulikika

intensive--of  
-pakulik-

PREPOSITIONAL

pakulishiwa

1) intensive--  
of -pakuliw-

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

pakulishia

pakulika

6

## 4.21052 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

Base FormReversive

\*paka

pakua

pakua Pakua chakula kingi kwani watoto wana njaa sana. (SylM)  
Dish up much food because the children are very hungry.

Pakua chakula kimekwisha kuwa tayari sasa. (SM)  
Dish up the food; it is already ready now.

Wafanyakazi wa pwani kupakua bidhaa toka melini (R)  
The shore workers unload goods from ships.

Pakua mizigo kwana garini halafu unifuata hotelini ili tupatane  
juu ya hiyo safari yako. (R)  
Unload the luggage first from the car then follow me into the hotel  
so that we can come to an agreement about this safari of yours.

Base Form

pakua

Passive

pakuliwa

Prepositional

pakulia

Stative

pakulika

pakuliwa Chakula hakiwezi kupakuliwa sasa hivi kwani hakiwaiva. (SylM)  
The food cannot be dished up now because it is not yet cooked.

Mizigo yangu ilipakuliwa na Juma. (SM)  
My burdens were unloaded by Juma.

Meli iliokwama ilibidi ipakuliwe. (A)  
The ship which ran aground must be unloaded.

Meli hiyo ilileta mizigo mingi sana, kwa hiyo ilipakuliwa kwa muda wa siku kumi na moja. (R)  
The aforementioned ship brought a great many packs, therefore it was unloaded for a period of eleven days.

pakulia Mpakulie mtoto chakula saa imefika. (SylM)

Dish up food for the child; it is time.

Juma alinipakulia mizigo yangu. (SM)  
Juma unloaded my burdens for me.

Mpakulie chakula refiki yangu kwa sababu ana njaa sana. (R)  
Dish up food for my friend because he is very hungry.

Tunatumia miko kupakulia chakula. (A)<sup>1</sup>  
We use wooden spoons to dish up food.

<sup>1</sup>Note the example of the prepositional form to carry the meaning of 'use for'.

pakulika Chakula hakiwezi kupakulika na mwiko huu mdogo. (SylM)

The food cannot be dished up with this little spoon.

Mizigo hakuweza kupakulika kwa sababu hapakuwa na watumishi wa kutosha. (SM)

The burdens cannot be unloaded because there are not enough servants here.

Matrekta yalikuwa ni mazito sana na hayakuweza kupakulika. (A)  
The tractors were very heavy and could not be unloaded.

Meli imesimama sana na kwa hiyo haiwezi kupakulika bila jahazi. (R)  
The ship has completely stopped and therefore cannot be unloaded without dhows (small boats).

Base Form

pakua

Causative

pakulisha

Reciprocal/Associative

pakuana

pakulisha Alinipakulisha chakula mapema bure kumbe hakufika wakati ule.  
(SylM)

He had me dish up the food early uselessly for he did not arrive at that time.

Nilipakulisha mizigo wakati motokari ilipofika. (SM)  
I had the burdens unloaded at the time when the car arrived.

Bwana mwenye mali aliwapakulisha wafanyakazi wake mizigo mingi. (A)  
The rich man had his workers unload many burdens.

Captain wa meli alipakulisha mizigo yote bila kuchelewa kwa sababu hakuwa na imani kwamba meli yake inaweza kuchukua mizigo hiyo yote. (R) (sic)

The captain of the ship had all the burdens unloaded without delay because he did not believe that his ship could carry all those burdens.

pakuana<sup>1</sup>

Tulipakuana kutoka katika meli kwa mashua. (SM)  
We unloaded ourselves from the ship in boats.

Tulipakuana miereka kugombea nafasi ya kukaa. (SM)<sup>2</sup>  
We sat on each other (in wrestling) in quarreling over a place to sit.

<sup>1</sup>This is rejected by the other informants who would use pakuliana. Mr. Shabani agrees. But the meaning of Mr. Mannoro's first sentence would then be 'we unloaded for each other' not 'unloaded each other!'] Mr. Mannoro maintains that -pakuan - is possible.

<sup>2</sup>Mr. Shabani considers such usage for this specialized meaning kiswahili cha mjini kabisa 'strictly city Swahili' and therefore too much 'of the streets' for his taste.

Base Form

pakulia

Reciprocal/Associative

pakuliana

pakuliana<sup>1</sup>

Walipakuliana mboga wakaonjeshana. (SylM)

They dished up the vegetables for each other and had each other taste (them).

Tulipakuliana chakula kwa ajili ya wageni wetu. (SM)  
We dished up the food for each other for our guests.

Makuli Walipakuliana bidhaa walipochoka. (A)

The wharf laborers unloaded the cargo for each other when they were tired.

Tulipakuliana chakula tulipotembelea na kwa sababu tulikuwa na njaa.

(R)

We dished up the food for each other when we were on a trip and because werwere hungry.

<sup>1</sup>The examples and the direct comment of Mr. Ashery that -pakuliana- carries the idea of saidiana 'to help' make the meaning of this form clear. It is interesting, then, that except for Mr. Mannoro, none of the informants apparently would use any extension of -paku- to convey the idea, which is certainly possible though rare, of 'to unload oneself'. Mr. Shabani accepts this form, but thinks that -paku- would suffice in most instances.

Base Form

pakulika

Stative

pakulikika

Causative

pakulikisha

pakulikika<sup>1</sup> Chakula hiki hakiwezi kupakulikika kwa sababu hatuna mwiko mzuri. (SylM)  
This food cannot possibly be dished up because there is no good spoon.

Chakula hakikuweza kupakulikika kaw sababu mama hakuwepo. (A)  
The food could not be dished up because mama was not here.

<sup>1</sup>This is rejected by the other informants including Mr. Shabani. Miss Mkwana and Mr. Ashery both state that it is decidedly a rare form. Both feel that it is an intensive, extending the emphasis of -pakulik-.

pakulikisha<sup>1</sup> Alinipakulikisha chakula kingi baadaya kikamshinda kula. (SylM)  
He had me dish up much food and then he could not eat it.

<sup>1</sup>This is rejected by the other informants including Mr. Shabani who will accept only -pakulish- in this context.

Base Form

pakulisha

Passive

pakulishwa

pakulishwa<sup>1</sup>

Alipakulishwa chakula bado kimoto kwa haraka. (SylM)  
He was made to dish up food still hot in a hurry.

Kwa kuwa kulikuwa na wageni tulipakulishwa chakula kingi lakini wageni wenyewe hawakupenda kula sana. (SylM)  
Because there were guests, they were caused to dish up much food, but the guests themselves did not want to eat much.

Mama alipakulishwa chakula na watoto zake wakati wa usiku. (A)  
Mama had to dish up food for her children at night.

Alipakulishwa mizigo yake toka melini kwa sababu hakulipa nauli yake. (R)  
He was made to unload his burdens from the ship because he did not pay his fare.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani considers this form possible--and definitely causative--but he himself would not use it. Rather he would say nilifanywa nipakue... 'I was made that I unload...' or nililazimishwa... 'I was required...'



Base Form

pakulisha

Prepositional

pakulishia

pakulishia<sup>1</sup>

Juma alimpakulishia mizigo yake Ali. (SM)  
 Juma had his bags unloaded for Ali. (Juma had Ali's bags unloaded).

Alinipakulishia mtoto wangu chakula kibichi. (Sylm)<sup>2</sup>  
 He dished up for my child uncooked food.

Simon alikuwa na njaa lakini aliona kaya kusema, lakini Juma alimpakulishia chakula kwa mama yake akampa akala. (R)  
 Simon was very hungry but he was shy to say so, but Juma had him dished up food by his mother and gave (it) to him and he ate.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani and Mr. Ashery both tend to reject the form. Mr. Shabani, however, considers it causative when used (and accepts, for example, Mr. Mannoro's sentence as quite possible). But Mr. Ashery sees it only as an intensive form. To convey the idea as Juma alimwajiri Ali anipakulie mizigo yangu 'Juma paid Ali so that he would unload my burdens for me'.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Mkwana specifically states that she intends no causative meaning. She says -pakulishi- may be considered an intensive of -pakuli-. Note the 'negative' aspect use of the prepositional extension here (something done to the displeasure of the person indicated by the object prefix).

Base Form

pakulisha

Causative

pakulishisha

pakulishisha<sup>1</sup>

Mama alimpakulishisha mtoto wake chakula kibichi. (SM)  
 Mama had him have his child dish up fresh food.  
 or Mama had her child dish up fresh food.

Alinipakulishisha chakula kingi na wali. (SylM)  
 He caused me to dish up much food and rice.

<sup>1</sup>The intended meaning is not clear and the form is rejected outright by the other informants. Miss Mkwana's sentence clearly must be interpreted as involving only two persons; therefore the form in her usage is an intensive causative. Mr. Mannoro's sentence, however, seems ambiguous, but still he specifically says the form is a double causative involving three people. In discussing the question of how he would indicate causation involving three people, Mr. Ashery gave this example: Mama alimwambia Mary ampakulishe Juma chakula ('Mama told Mary to have Juma dish up food').

The other informants and Swahili authorities consulted about the possibility of Mr. Mannoro's sentence and the form, made these comments:

- (a) Mr. Kuhanga: rejects the form and would use alimpakulisha
- (b) Mr. Hilal: rejects the sentence as meaningful and would use -pakulish- for the meaning 'mama caused the child to dish up'.
- (c) Mr. Johadhmy: rejects the form for his own usage, although he indicates the form as an intensive causative is possible.
- (d) Mr. Mhina and Mr. Mæde: both would use alimpakulia (it is unclear why they reject the causative sense entirely).
- (e) Mr. Shabani: rejects the form and would use mama alimfanya mtoto apakulie... 'mama made the child dish up...'

Therefore, it seems clear that a causative form involving three people (i.e. two animate objects of causation) is rejected in general.

Base FormReciprocal/Associative

pakulisha

pakulishana

pakulishana 1.

Tulipakulishana mizigo mara gari ilipofika. (SM)

- We had each other unload the burdens when the car arrived.  
 or We unloaded the burdens for each other when the car arrived.

Walipakulishana chakula kwa haraka kwa kuogopa kuchelewa safari yao. (SylM)

- They dished up the food for each other quickly for fear of delaying their safari.  
 or They had the food dished up quickly (for each other?).....

Watendakazi walipakulishana haraka mizigo ya tajiri yao. (A)

The workers quickly unloaded for each other the burdens of their employers.

Tulipakulishana mizigo kwa kutishiana kwamba hizo gari zilikuwa mbovu. (R)

- We had our burdens unloaded for each other from being warned that these cars were in bad condition.  
 or We unloaded our burdens.....

1 Again the meaning of the verb--causative or not--is in doubt.

Mr. Mannoro indicates that there is indeed a causative sense, but Mr. Ashery says definitely that there is no causative sense; instead, -pakulishan- is an intensive form of -pakulian-. Mr. Shabani rejects the -pakulishan- form entirely; he believes the causative and reciprocal extension meanings are incompatible. If one wants to say 'we were required to help each other unload' he would say tulisaidiana kwa kulazimishwa na baba.. 'we helped each other on being ordered (to do so) by father'.

Base FormPassiveReciprocal/Associative

pakulishia

pakulishiwa

pakulishiana

1  
pakulishiwa

Nilipakulishiwa mtoto wangu chakula kibichi. (SM)  
I was caused to dish up uncooked food for my child.  
or I was dished up for....

Walipakulishiwa chakula na mama yao mdogo. (SylM)  
They were dished up food by their aunt.

Sahani zilizopakulishiwa chakula zilivunjika. (A)  
The plates for having food dished up on were broken.

Nilipakulishiwa chakula nikala chote. (R)  
I was dished up for food and I ate it all.

<sup>1</sup>Here there seems to be total agreement among the informants who give examples that this is an intensive form and not a causative. Further, the examples given by Miss Mkwana and Mr. Rashid seem interpretable only with intensive, not causative, forms. Yet, Mr. Shabani considers the form only possible as a causative. He tends to consider it inoperative, but acceptable, meaning 'be caused to dish up for'. For the sentences cited here, he would use -pakuliw-.

1  
pakulishiana

Tulipakulishiana mizigo mara ty gari ilipofika. (SM)  
We had the burdens unloading for each other at the moment the car arrived.

Walipakulishiana watoto wao vyakula. (SylM)  
They had food dished up for their children.

Watapakulishiana mizigo yao kama hao wengine hawatarudi leo. (R)  
They will have their burdens unloading for each other if some one of theirs will not return today.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects the form outright and says there certainly is no causative sense involved. This is apparent in the substitute form he would give: pakuliana mizigo. Mr. Ashery rejects the form for his own usage, but accepts the sentences and the causative meaning. He would, however, use such a sentence as this to convey a causative meaning: Wazazi waliwafanya watumishi wapakue kwa ajili ya watoto. 'The parents had the servants dish up the food for the children.'

4.211 The Stem -sahau- and Its Extended Forms<sup>1</sup>

## 4.2111. Points of Special Interest

(1) -sahau- 'forget' is a loan from Arabic. But, along with -dharau- 'scorn', it exhibits a behavior in the suffixation of extensions distinctive from that of other Arabic loans. These verbs behave as Bantu root verb stems of the -V# pattern, but the final two vowels /au/ are considered as standing for the one vowel unit of -V#. Thus, extensions are suffixed to the entire stem and the final suffix 'A' is then attached to the entire assembly. The difference is that a Bantu -V# stem with extension suffixes or without never can be inflected without the addition of the final 'A' suffix, but Arabic loans of the shape -au# can so stand without extensions, as in nimesahau 'I have forgotten'. But, with an extension, the -au# shapes will take the final 'A' suffix, as in mtu huyu hakusahaulika 'This man could not be forgotten'. Arabic loan verb stems of other shapes, such as -jibu- 'answer' behave like -C# stem Bantu verbs in taking extension suffix rules. The final vowel in this instance drops in the assembly. For example, Nimi jibiwa juu ya mambo haya 'I was answered concerning these matters'. But where no extension suffixes are involved, the final vowel in an Arabic loan such as -jibu- functions in place of the final suffix 'A', as in nimejibu Juma... 'I have answered Juma..'

(2) Note the large number of compound extended forms which at least one informant (Mr. Mannoro) and often another (Mr. Ashery) can produce as at least theoretically possible. No doubt these forms are generally inoperative, but that they are even theoretically possible is important to note. (As in the case of most other compound extended forms, these seem to be considered primarily as intensive forms, if operative at all.)

(3) Note that -sahau- may be listed only as a 'suspicious' deep

structure stative stem, for it exhibits certain characteristic traits of the class (prepositional form with a variant meaning) but not others (such as a causative shape functioning for a non-stative counterpart, but not for a causative meaning).

Notes

- 1 Only one example sentence for each extended form is given for the sake of brevity.

4.2112 Grid Pattern for Extended Forms of -sahau-

RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

BASE FORM

sahau  
'forget'

PASSIVE

sahauliwa  
'be forgotten'

PREPOSITIONAL

sahaulia  
'forget for' --  
with 'negative'  
aspect or  
'forget' -- with  
mahali 'place'  
aspect

STATIVE

sahaulika  
'capable of or  
in state of  
being  
forgotten'

CAUSATIVE

sahaulisha  
'cause to  
forget'

sahauliana  
'forget each other'

sahaulika

## sahaulikwa  
'capable of  
or in state  
of being  
forgotten' --  
agentive  
aspect

# sahaulikia  
stative --  
mahali aspect

# sahaulikika  
intensive -- of  
-sahaulik-

## sahaulikisha  
'cause the  
possibility or  
state of something  
being forgotten'

sahaulisha

sahaulishwa  
'be caused to  
forget'

# sahaulishia  
'cause to forget' --  
with 'negative'  
aspect or mahali  
aspect

# sahaulishika

# sahaulishana

'cause each other to  
forget'

sahaulikia

## sahaulikiwa  
stative --  
emphasis on  
inherent quality  
and agent



RECIPROCAL/ASSOCIATIVE

CAUSATIVE

STATIVE

PREPOSITIONAL

PASSIVE

BASE FORM

## sahaulikishia

'cause someone to  
cause someone to be  
in the state or capable  
of forgetting'

## sahaulikishia

'cause someone to  
be in state or  
capable of forgetting  
'for' ('negative'  
aspect)

sahaulishiwa

'be caused to  
forget' --with  
mahali aspect

sahaulishia

## sahaulishikika

intensive--'be in 'cause the possibility  
state or capable or state of someone being  
of being caused to caused to forget'  
forget'

## sahaulishikika

## sahaulishikwa

'be in state or  
capable of being  
caused to forget'  
agentive aspect

sahaulishika

## 4.2113 Example Sentences for Extended Forms

Base Form Passive Prepositional Stative Causative Reciprocal/Associative  
 sahou sahaulwa sahaulia sahaulika sahaulisha sahauliana

sahau Nimesahau pochi yangu nyumbani. (SM)  
 I forgot my purse at home.

sahaulwa Tendo hilo jema ni vigumu sana kusahaulwa na mtu mstaarabu kama Ali. (SylM)  
 That fine deed is very difficult to be forgotten by a refined person (such) as Ali.

sahaulia<sup>1</sup> Nimemsahaulia mizigo yake sokoni. (SM)  
 I have forgotten his burdens at the market.

<sup>1</sup>Note the 'negative' aspect in this usage.

sahaulika Siku ya mapinduzi ya Unguja haiwezi kusahaulika. (SM)  
 The day of the revolution of Zanzibar cannot be forgotten.

sahaulisha Uvivu wake ulimsahaulisha kwenda kazini. (A)  
 His laziness caused him to forget to go to work.

sahauliana Tunasahauliana siku hizi kwa sababu hatuandikiana barua. (SM)  
 We are forgetting each other these days because we do not write letters to each other.

Base Form  
sahaulika

Passive  
sahaulikwa

Prepositional  
sahaulikia

Stative  
sahaulikika

sahaulikwa<sup>1</sup>

Deni hili haliwezi kusahaulikwa kwa sababu ni kubwa. (SM)  
This debt cannot be forgotten because it is big.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by Miss Mkwya and Mr. Shabani. Mr. Ashery and Mr. Rashidi consider it rare, but possible.

sahaulikia<sup>1</sup>

Alisafiri kwa muda mrefu akasahaulikia huko huko. (A)  
He traveled for a long time and he was forgotten in that place.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this form, although the other informants would use it. He would use -potele-.

sahaulikika<sup>1</sup>

Utumwa ni jambo lisilosahaulikiki. (SM)  
Slavery is a thing which cannot be forgotten.

<sup>1</sup>This form is considered rare, but operative, by all informants except Miss Mkwya. It is intensive.

Base Form  
sahaulika

Causative  
sahaulikisha

sahaulikisha<sup>1</sup>

Uhuru halisi unaweza kusahaulikisha taabu za utawaliwa. (SM)  
Complete national independence can cause the problems of being  
governed (i.e., probably ruled by an outside force) to be forgotten.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by Miss Mkwana, Mr. Rashidi, and Mr. Shabani.  
They would use the simple causative, -sahaulish-.

Base Form  
sahaulisha

Passive  
sahaulishwa

Prepositional  
sahaulishia

Stative  
sahaulishika

sahaulishwa Nilisahaulishwa majonzi yangu kwa muziki. (SM)  
I was caused to forget my sorrows by music.

sahaulishia<sup>1</sup> Alinisahaulishia mfuko wangu sokoni. (SM)  
He caused me to forget my purse in the market.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani tends to reject this form, but the other informants accept it. Note the mahali 'place' aspect in Mr. Mannoro's sentence.

sahaulishika<sup>1</sup> Mtumishi wangu hakuweza kusahaulishika vitu ambavyo  
nilimtuma akanunue. (SM)  
My servant could not be in a state of being caused to forget the  
things which I sent him for that he buy (them).

<sup>1</sup>The other informants tend to accept this form and give examples.  
Mr. Shabani prefers another construction, but considers this form possible. He, for one, however, has no feeling of a stative aspect being significant or even present.

Base Form  
sahaulisha

Reciprocal/Associative  
sahaulishana

sahaulishana<sup>1</sup>

Wafungwa husahaulishana ukiwa wao kwa kuimba nyimbo na kuongea. (R)

The prisoners cause each other to forget their desolate state by singing songs and chatting.

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Shabani rejects this form; the other informants tend to use it. Note that such 'causative reciprocal' forms are not true reciprocals in the sense that the direct object is not inherent in the form (as in pendana 'like each other' or sahauliana 'forget each other'). Such forms would better be considered specialized intensives.

Base Form  
sahaulikia

Passive  
sahaulikiwa

sahaulikiwa<sup>1</sup> Nilisahaulikiwa maombi yangu na kwa hiyo hayakuweza kufikiriwa.

(SM)

I was forgotten for my requests and therefore they could not be thought of.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mannoro considers there to be some force in this form emphasizing the stative aspect (inherent quality) of the forgetting rather than the agent. Mr. Ashery agrees, stating that -sahauliw- puts passive force on the agent while -sahaulikiw- puts the force on the act of forgetting and the thing forgotten. The other informants, however, including Mr. Shabani, reject the form outright and would use -sahauliw-.

Base Form  
sahaulikisha

Prepositional  
sahaulikishia

Causative  
sahaulikishisha

sahaulikishia<sup>1</sup>

Wahuni walinisahaulikishia mtumishi wangu vitu ambavyo nilimtuma akaninunue. (SM)

The holligans caused the state of my servant forgetting (for me) the things which I sent him that he might buy for me.

<sup>1</sup>Miss Mkwaya, Mr. Rashidi, and Mr. Shabani reject this form outright. Mr. Ashery accepts the sentence, but says he himself would tend to use -sahaulisifi-. Note the 'negative' aspect of the prepositional use.

sahaulikishisha<sup>1</sup>

Alimsahaulikishisha mtumishi wangu vitu sokoni. (SM)

He caused him to cause my servant to be in the state of forgetting the things at the market.

<sup>1</sup>This form is rejected by all the other informants, except Mr. Ashery. Both Mr. Ashery and Mr. Mannoro agree that the form is only theoretically operative and that the more usual way to say such a thing (if it ever would be said) would be: Juma alimfanya Ali ili Ali amsahaulishe mtumishi wangu... 'Juma made Ali so that Ali caused my servant....' (Note that this construction leaves out the stative aspect).



Base Form  
sahaulishia

Passive  
sahaulishiwa

sahaulishiwa<sup>1</sup>

Alisahaulishiwa nguo zake alipokuwa akiongea. (A)  
He was caused to forget his clothes when he was swimming.

<sup>1</sup>This form is accepted by all as possible, if rare. Mr. Shabani offers this sentence: mtumishi wangu alisahaulishiwa mambo yangu sokoni 'my servants was caused to forget my things at the market'. Note the essential mahali 'place'; it seems doubtful that the form could be operative at all with the meaning 'be caused to forget for', although it is theoretically possible.

Base Form  
sahaulishika

Passive  
sahaulishikwa

Stative  
sahaulishikika

Causative  
sahaulishikisha

sahaulishikwa<sup>1</sup>

Mtoto wangu hakuweza kusahaulishikwa mambo aliyojifunza shuleni. (SM)

My child could not be in a state of being caused to forget the things which he learned at school.

<sup>1</sup>All other informants reject this form outright. Mr. Mannoro notes, as usual, the agentive aspect he associates with this form.

sahaulishikika<sup>1</sup>

Mtumishi wangu hakuweza kusahaulishikika vitu sokoni. (SM)

My servant could not possibly be in a state of being caused to forget the things at the market.

<sup>1</sup>All other informants except Mr. Ashery reject this form outright. Mr. Ashery considers it a possible intensive, if rare.

sahaulishikisha<sup>1</sup>

Alinisahaulishikisha mawazo yangu. (SM)

He caused the possibility of my being caused to forget my ideas.

<sup>1</sup>All other informants except Mr. Ashery reject this form outright and would use sahaulish. Mr. Ashery accepts the sentence as it stands, but would not use the form himself.

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TITLE OF THESIS Aspects of the Swahili Extended Verb System with Special  
Reference to Some Deep Structure Syntactic and Semantic

Restrictions:

Full Name Carol Marie Myers-Scotton

Place and Date of Birth Harvey, North Dakota February 19, 1934

Elementary and Secondary Education Roosevelt Grade School, Jamestown, North Dakota;

Robert Fulton Grade School, Minneapolis, Minnesota;

Southwest High School, Minneapolis, Minnesota (Graduation: 1951)

Colleges and Universities: Years attended and degrees Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa,

A.B. 1955; Sorbonne, University of Paris, Certificate in French 1959;

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, M.A. 1961

Membership in Learned or Honorary Societies Linguistic Society of America,

African Studies Association

Publications 'Some Swahili Political Words,' Journal of Modern African Studies

Vol. 3,4 (1965), 527-41.

Major Department Linguistics

Minors English

Date September 7, 1966

Signed

*Valdis J. Zeig*

Professor in charge of thesis