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**FORMATIVES OF TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD AND NEGATION
IN THE VERBAL CONSTRUCTION
OF STANDARD SWAHILI**

by

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ABSTRACT

The study analyzes formatives which express the categories of tense, aspect, mood and negation (polarity) in the verbal construction of Standard Swahili (KiSwahili), a Bantu language belonging to the Sabaki group (G42). The formatives explored are the three negative markers *ha-*, *-si-* and *-to-*; tense/aspect/mood markers of the prefixal TAM position; the infinitive; the habitual marker; and finals *-i*, *-e* and *-a*. First analyzed individually, the sets of formatives are then discussed in relation to one another. The analysis is conducted from a morpho-semantic point of view within the theoretical framework of sign theory; specifically, Guillaumian theory is applied to the analysis of tense and aspect using the model of chronogenetic staging.

Standard Swahili, unlike many Bantu languages, has only one position, position 4, where tense and aspect are expressed. The formatives of that position are discussed individually, contrasting their semantics and co-occurrence patterns with other formatives of the same position in simple and compound verb forms. The study shows that tense is only marked once, and that there are three aspectual distinctions in affirmative forms, which include the formative *-ki-* ‘potential’, whose analysis provides an explanation of its many contextual meanings. The analysis also includes formatives of the prefixal position to the verb root that do not express tense or aspect (for example, the formative *-ka-* ‘consecutive’ and the hypothetical formatives *-nge-* and *-ngali-*). Application of Guillaumian theory to the data of tense and aspect in Swahili leads to a differentiation into

three chronogenetic stages.

Other sets of formatives are discussed: all three finals are distinguished by mood, and the negative markers, normally differentiated by their syntactic patterning, are here differentiated in meaning and function, according to their co-occurrence patterns with formatives of position 4 and finals. The negative formative *-si-*, one of the two major markers, expresses descriptive negation, and *ha-* expresses negation of the whole representation or the failure of the event over its temporal specification.

While the categories of negation in Standard Swahili are typical of distinctions in Bantu languages, fewer distinctions are made in the tense/aspect system than in many other Bantu languages.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Tables	xiv
List of Figures	xv
List of Abbreviations and Symbols used	xvii
List of Appendices	xix

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Goal of the Study	2
1.2 Basis for the Study	4
1.3 Terminology	6
1.4 Method	7
1.4.1 Assumptions Made	7
1.4.2 Method of Data Collection	9
1.5 Outline	10
1.6 Introduction to the Swahili Verbal Construction	10
1.7 Introduction to Some Grammars of Swahili	20
1.7.1 Sacleux's 'Grammaire des Dialectes Swahilis'	20

1.7.2 Ashton's 'Swahili Grammar'	26
1.7.2.1 Formatives of the Tense/Aspect/Mood Position	26
1.7.2.2 Verbal Construction with 'Compound Tenses'	29
1.7.2.3 Forms with Final -e	32
1.7.2.4 Forms with Negative Markers	32
1.7.2.5 Concluding Remarks	33
1.7.3 Loogman's 'Swahili Grammar and Syntax'	33
1.7.4 Polomé's 'Swahili Language Handbook'	34
1.7.5 Brauner & Herms's 'Lehrbuch des Modernen Swahili'	35
1.8 Conclusion	37
 CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	
2.0 Introduction	39
2.1 Notes on Tense and Aspect	40
2.2 Aspect	40
2.2.1 Aspectual Categories	41
2.2.2 Ascending Time and Descending Time	42
2.3 Tense	45
2.4 Aktionsart	46
2.5 Perception of Time	47
2.6 Sign-based Theory	49
2.7 Guillaumian Theory	52

2.7.1	General Considerations of a Guillaumian Approach	52
2.7.2	The Laws of the Sign System	52
2.7.3	Verbal Systems	53
2.7.4	Guillaumian Theory with Respect to Tense and Aspect	55
2.7.4.1	Tense and Aspect as Elements of a Stratified Structure	55
2.7.4.2	Descending and Ascending Time in Guillaumian Theory	55
2.8	Chronogenesis	58
2.8.1	General Introduction	58
2.8.2	The Stages of the Chronogenesis with Illustrations from English	59
2.8.2.1	Stage One: The Quasi-nominal Mood or Event Time	59
2.8.2.2	Stage Two: The Representation of Universe Time	61
2.8.2.3	Stage Three: Indicative Stage	62
2.9	Summary of a Guillaumian Approach	63
2.10	Remarks on Mood	63
2.11	Remarks on Negation	65
2.12	Contini-Morava's Approach to the Swahili Verbal Construction	66
2.13	Conclusion	67

CHAPTER THREE: FORMATIVES OF THE TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD POSITION IN

AFFIRMATIVE SIMPLE VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.0	Introduction	68
3.1	Outline of Chapter Three	74

3.2 Remarks on Terminology	76
3.2.1 The Use of 'Retrospective' Instead of 'Perfect' in Aspectual Distinctions	76
3.2.2 The Term 'Compound' Verbal Constructions	77
3.3 Aspect in Simple Verbal Constructions: Formatives in Swahili	78
3.3.1 -me-	78
3.3.1.1 Examples of -me- in Simple Verbal Constructions	78
3.3.1.2 Retrospective	79
3.3.1.3 Resultatives	80
3.3.1.4 Temporal Meaning of -me-	90
3.3.2 +sha-	91
3.3.2.1 -me+sha-	92
3.3.2.2 -li+sha-	95
3.3.3 -na-	96
3.3.3.1 Examples with Simple Verb Forms	97
3.3.3.2 -na- in Relative Clauses	99
3.3.4 -a-	100
3.3.5 -ki-	102
3.3.5.1 Examples of the Different Functions	102
3.3.5.2 Initial Discussion of Properties of -ki-	106
3.3.5.3 A Brief Comparison of -ki- and -na-	106

3.3.5.4 Further Discussions of the Properties of -ki-	110
3.4 hu-	118
3.4.1 Examples with Simple Verbal Constructions	118
3.4.1.1 'Habitual'	120
3.4.1.2 ni-+ku- > hu-	122
3.5 Tense in Simple Verbal Constructions	124
3.5.1 -li- in Simple Verbal Constructions	124
3.5.2 -ta- in Simple Verbal Constructions	125
3.6 -ka- in Simple Verbal Constructions	127
3.6.1 Co-occurrence Restrictions	127
3.7 Discussion of the Formatives -nge- and -ngali-	133
3.8 The Difference between -nge- and -ngali-	137
3.9 Conclusion	138
CHAPTER FOUR: TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD MARKERS IN COMPOUND FORMS	
4.0 Introduction	140
4.1 Formatives of Position 4 in Compound Forms	140
4.1.1 -li- in Compound Forms	142
4.1.2 -ta- in Compound Forms	144
4.1.3 -me- in Compound Forms	145
4.1.4 -mesha- in Compound Forms	149
4.1.5 -na- in Compound Verb Forms	150

4.1.6 -ki- in Compound Forms	154
4.1.7 hu- in Compound Forms	158
4.1.8 -ka- in Compound Forms	162
4.1.9 -nge- and -ngali- in Compound Forms	166
4.2 The Systematic Analysis of the Tense/Aspect Markers in a Guillaumian	
Framework	169
4.2.1 Distinctions among Formatives of Position 4	170
4.2.2 The Chronogenesis of Tense/Aspect Markers in Swahili	171
4.3 Conclusion	178
CHAPTER FIVE: DIFFERENCES IN MOOD IN THE FINALS	
5.0 Introduction	179
5.1 Outline	179
5.2 Remarks on Terminology	180
5.3 The Finals -a, -e and -i	182
5.4 The Final -a	184
5.4.1 Co-occurrences of Final -a with other Markers Discussed	
in this Study	184
5.4.2 Discussion of some Formatives in Relation to -a	188
5.4.2.1 -ta-	188
5.4.2.2 -ki-	189
5.4.2.3 -nge-/ngali-	189

5.4.3 Summary of Final -a	192
5.5 The Final -e	192
5.5.1 Occurrences of Final -e	193
5.5.2 Discussion of Final -e	196
5.6 Discussion of -a Versus -e	197
5.7 The Final -i	200
5.7.1 Co-occurrence with Final -i	201
5.7.2 Discussion of Final -i	202
5.7.2.1 -i Associated with Vowel Harmony in other Dialects	
within Sabaki	203
5.7.2.2 Reconstruction of -i in Proto-Bantu	206
5.7.2.3 Semantic Descriptions in Modern Swahili	208
5.8 Comparison of Finals	210
CHAPTER SIX: THE NEGATIVE MARKERS	
6.0 Introduction	212
6.1 The Negative Markers ha-, -si- and -to-	213
6.2 Remarks on the Diachrony of the Negative Markers	216
6.3 The Formative -to-	216
6.4 The Formative ha-	219
6.4.1 General Occurrence Restrictions	219
6.4.2 ha-...-ta-...-a, ha-...-nge-...-a and ha-...-ngali-...-a	222

6.4.3	ha-...-ku-...-a and ha-...-ja-...-a	223
6.4.4	Comparison of the Formatives: Memory Versus Imagination	226
6.4.5	ha-...-Ø-...-i	227
6.4.6	Summary of Co-occurrence Patterns with <i>ha-</i> in Simple Verbal	
	Constructions	229
6.4.7	Co-occurrence in Two Verb Constructions	231
6.5	The Formative (-)si(-)	241
6.5.1	General Occurrence	242
6.5.2	Co-occurrence with Markers in the Tense/Aspect/Mood Position	245
	6.5.2.1 Negation with ...-si-+-nge-/-ngali-	246
	6.5.2.2 ...-si-Ø...	246
6.6	Comparison of the Meaning of <i>ha-</i> and <i>-si-</i>	251
	6.6.1 Comparison of patterns	251
	6.6.2 Different Types of Negation	252
6.7	Co-occurrence of Formatives	256
6.8	Conclusion	257
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION		
THE SYSTEMIC RELATION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS		
7.0	Introduction	258
7.1	Summary of Individual Subsystems	258
	7.1.1 The Affirmative Subsystem	259

7.1.2 Further Development of Chronogenetic Staging	261
7.2 The Subsystems Expressed in the Finals	271
7.3 The Negative Subsystem	272
7.4 General Observations: Combination of Subsystems	275
7.5 Summary of Results	278
7.6 Other Observations	280
7.7 Further Exploration	281
References	286
Appendix A: Co-occurrence Patterns of Formatives in the Verbal Construction .	297
Appendix B: Comparison of Terminology	299
Appendix C: List of Selected Terminology	302

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>page</u>
Table 4.1 Co-occurrence of Forms of -kuwa with Aspectual Markers	171
Table 7.1 Co-occurrence Patterns of Formatives of Position 4 in the Verbal	
Construction with Negative Markers and Finals	276
Table Appendix A: Co-occurrence Patterns of Formatives in the Verbal	
Construction	297
Table Appendix B: Comparison of Terminology	299

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>page</u>
Figure 2.1 Aspectual Distinctions	42
Figure 2.2 A Major Aspectual Distinction Between Descending Time and Ascending Time	45
Figure 2.3 The Three Contrastive Aspects of the Quasi-Nominal Mood (in English)	60
Figure 2.4 Representation of Event Time Contained in Universe Time (in a System of Ascending Time)	61
Figure 2.5 Representation of Tenses (Past Versus Non-Past) in English	62
Figure 3.1 Retrospective Aspect	79
Figure 3.2 Description of 'already'	94
Figure 3.3 Potential Aspect	112
Figure 3.4 Imperfective Aspect	113
Figure 4.1 Stage Two of the Chronogenesis	173
Figure 4.2 Graphical Representation of 'Performative'	174
Figure 4.3 Stage Three of the Chronogenesis	174
Figure 4.4 Stage Two and Stage Three of the Chronogenesis	177
Figure 6.1 Negation of Actualized Events Versus Non-Actualized Events	229
Figure 6.2 Negation with ha- in Simple Verbal Constructions	230
Figure 7.1 Stages of the Chronogenesis	270

Figure 7.2	Negation with ha-	273
Figure 7.3	Formatives of Verbal Categories	284

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1S	1 st person singular	1P	1 st person plural
2S	2 nd person singular	2P	2 nd person plural
3S	3 rd person singular	3P	3 rd person plural
AP	Applicative	PA	Past
AS	Associative	PB	Proto-Bantu
COP	Copula	PC	Plural Clitic
CS	Causative	PF	Postfinal
E	Extension	PNEG	Past Negative
F	Final	PREP	Preposition
FU	Future	PROG	Progressive
HAB	Habitual	R	Relative
IMP	Imperative	RC	Reciprocal
INF	Infinitive	RE	Reversive
LO	Locative	RETRO	Retrospective
LR	Locative Relative	RF	Reflexive
NEG	Negative	SC	Subject Concord
OC	Object Concord	ST	Stem Marker
P	Passive	STA	Stative

TA Tense/Aspect Marker

TAM Tense/Aspect/Mood Marker

TEN Tenacious

VB Verbal Base

VH Vowel Harmony

VN Verbal Noun/Infinitive

Sw Swahili

*** Examples that are unacceptable.**

= Indicates two or more words are used in one language to represent one word in another language.

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Co-occurrence Patterns of Formatives in the Verbal Construction .	297
Appendix B: Comparison of Terminology	299
Appendix C: List of Selected Terminology	302

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Swahili is a Bantu language spoken in the coastal area of eastern Africa (Somalia to Mozambique) as a first language and as a lingua franca in a much larger area (from parts of Somalia in the north, to Uganda and eastern Zaire in the west, and to the Comorians and the extreme northern part of Madagascar in the south (Möhlig 1981:83)). Swahili¹, a language with agglutinating tendencies, is one of several hundred Bantu languages and belongs to the Sabaki subgroup.² The earliest texts for Swahili can be traced back to approximately 1700 AD (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:335). Within the Swahili language there is a great deal of variation; some of the major variations exist between the northern dialects and the southern dialects³. The standardized form of Swahili which emerged in the 1920s is based on one of the southern dialects spoken on Zanzibar, Unguja. According to Maw (1985) this is the most widely understood dialect of the language.

Various grammars of Swahili are available, and various articles on specific points

1

The language is referred to with the anglicized form 'Swahili', although 'Kiswahili' would refer more precisely to the language.

2

Sabaki is categorized as a subgroup of the group North-East Coast (NEC) Nurse (1999).

3

For a history of the Swahili people see Nurse & Spear (1985).

of the language exist in the literature. The analysis in this thesis presents a synchronic analysis of several components of the verbal construction in Standard Swahili and has as its goal to lead to new insights on the systemic level of the language.

1.1 Goal of the Study

This study analyzes components of the verbal construction of Standard Swahili. It presents a morpho-semantic analysis of morphemes dealing with the major verbal categories of tense and aspect, mood, and negation. In the study, a theoretical framework, Guillaumes's chronogenesis, that has largely, although not exclusively, been applied to Indo-European languages, is applied to Swahili. The application of this framework to the elements of the verbal construction and their interaction sheds new light on the internal systemic representation of Standard Swahili.

The study deals with not only one, but several components of the verbal construction, in particular the formatives of negation, tense/aspect/mood (position 4, see section 1.6), and mood as expressed in the finals. The goal is to present a morpho-semantic analysis of the formatives in these categories that reveals the systemic relationship between formatives in each category and the systemic relationships among categories, which is achieved not only by discussing each of the formatives separately, but also by analyzing the interrelationship of the sets of formatives, which reveals the systemic interrelationship of the categories expressed by the co-occurrence patterns of morphemes. Thus, the analysis contributes to a comprehensive picture of those categories that are

members of the verbal elements within the verbal construction.

Studies often deal with questions of 'what?' or 'how?'. Here the attempt is made to answer the question of 'why?'. For example, why are there three finals in Swahili? Do the often used descriptions of 'indicative', subjunctive' and 'negative' describe them adequately, and why is it then that the latter is used only in certain negative forms? Why do only certain formatives of the tense/aspect/mood position occur in the second verb of compound forms? Why are there several negative markers and what, if any, is the difference between them? etc. Answers to these and other questions lead to a semantic analysis of the formatives and reveal their systemic relationship.

The analysis considers the Swahili categories from a morpho-semantic point of view. That is, morphemes are linked to their semantic contents while being described in form, position, and function. The morphemes have semantic content (possibly in variant degrees). Analyzing their semantic contrasts and their positions in oppositions in the language allows insights into the conceptual system of the language and its contrasts.

The analysis begins with the morphological evidence within the verbal construction. This does not imply, however, that syntactic aspects are completely excluded. Where appropriate and necessary, syntactic information has also been considered.

The first two chapters are introductory chapters: Chapter One gives an introduction to the methods and assumptions made as well as background to the verbal construction of Standard Swahili, and Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework on

which the analysis is based.

1.2 Basis for the Study

The morphemes expressing tense/aspect and mood as well as negation in the verbal construction of Standard Swahili will be examined in this study. Contini-Morava (1989) also dealt with these categories. The question may be raised why another study of the verbal construction is warranted. The approach that is taken here is similar, and at the same time different from the approach taken by Contini-Morava. This study shares with the earlier study that the theory of meaning is based on Saussure who proposed systemic contrasts in a system. In that sense the study is similar. However, there are differences between the Columbia school, which Contini-Morava represents, and a Guillaumian approach. (For details see Contini-Morava & Sussman Goldberg (1995).) Guillaume's theory (see Chapter Two) is applied as part of the theoretical framework especially to tense and aspect.

There is also a difference in the approach to the morphemes. This study pays attention to the position of the morpheme in the string which represents the verbal construction. That is, finals and prefixes are given a different status. The different finals are treated in paradigmatic relation to each other; prefixes are considered in conjunction with finals, and not in paradigmatic relation to the finals. This does not mean that the meaning of each morpheme is not considered in contrast to the meaning of every other morpheme; it is, but it also means that the position of the affix in the verbal construction is

taken into consideration, and that the meaning of the verbal construction is reflected in the combinatory possibilities of prefixes and finals.

Furthermore, while Contini-Morava's study provided the starting point, the re-analysis of morphemes, the expansion of areas and the inclusion of new areas led to results that, while complementary in some areas, allow us to present an analysis that differs considerably. It differs in detail and in the degree of generalization that can be made: the analysis, based on a different theoretical approach, presents a systemic treatment of the formatives that is simpler than other analyses available.

Since this study covers the verbal categories of tense/aspect, mood and negation, the study may also be of interest to scholars working with these categories in other theoretical frameworks. The general theoretical approach is based on the Saussurian (1915) concept that a difference in form is associated with a difference in meaning. (For more details see Chapter Two.) It is assumed that if two morphemes have a different form, position and function, they represent a difference in meaning⁴. Furthermore, the assumption is made that besides the morphemes themselves, the position they fill reveals systemic differences in the language. (Similarly, in the Saussurian game of chess, while a piece can be replaced by something else (of appropriate size), the rules that govern the pieces of the chess game are not affected.) Therefore, the position of the morphemes in the verbal construction is also of importance and leads to conclusions about the associated

⁴

The possibility that suppletion has occurred has obviously to be taken into consideration.

meaning and function.

1.3 Terminology

In studying tense and aspect, terminology can easily become close to a nightmare since the same term may be used to label different usages as, for example, Kortmann (1991) describes for the term ‘aspect’. As a further example, the term ‘perfective’ may be used as an umbrella term contrasting with ‘imperfective’ (for example, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994), but the term is also used for a specific aspectual category. Moreover, ‘perfective’ is easily confused with ‘perfect’. In order to avoid confusion, terms will be defined or described as to their use in this study wherever possible (see also Appendix C for a list of selected terminology). When a definition is taken from a particular source, it does not necessarily imply that the theoretical framework is also carried over into this study.

In addition, the theoretical framework makes aspectual distinctions that are not included in the same way in other tense/aspect theories. For example, it distinguishes between ‘perfective’ and ‘performative’. Here ‘performative’ describes an aspectual category (see Chapter Two) and, therefore, is used in a different sense from the definition of the Aktionsart category given by Crystal in the following:

A type of sentence or verb where an action is performed by virtue of the sentence having been uttered.

(Crystal 1992:294)

Although it may have been desirable to replace the term with another, a further addition to the ‘terminological swamp’ seemed unwarranted. An effort is made to describe or define terms clearly in order to keep the nightmarish qualities of terminology to a minimum.

1.4 Method

1.4.1 Assumptions Made

The analysis is guided by the Swahili data whenever and wherever possible. While this statement might be considered self-evident, certain assumptions are made on its basis which are sketched below. The principle of being guided by the information based on morphemes in Swahili (and their meanings) is adhered to as strictly as possible. This means that if morphemes appear to lead the analysis in one direction, while the gloss in whatever language appears to be in conflict with the item in Swahili, the discrepancy will be reexamined, but the guiding principle is that data in Swahili has to be taken as the basis and will be followed to its own coherent conclusion. To illustrate this principle, two of the negation markers provide an example. When examining grammars, *ha-* and *(-)si(-)* are both described as markers of negation. While in the majority of contexts one or the other occurs, there are contexts in which both can occur, but not at the same time. Some grammars, however, provide the same translation for verbal constructions with either form. Based on the different position in the verbal construction, the different co-occurrence restrictions in most cases and other such information (for details see Chapter

Six), the analysis presented is based on the assumption that the two morphemes are different in form, position, function and meaning which was not revealed in all cases by the glosses. Chapter Six presents an analysis of negation markers and their difference in meaning.

A synchronic study can be considered a 'snapshot' taken at one instance in time. Close scrutiny of a 'snapshot' can reveal the relation among the elements of the picture; it can also reveal to a certain extent their past and allow the observer to make deductions as to how the particular 'snapshot' was arrived at. In addition, it may allow for projections and predictions about future development. But the awareness remains that a 'snapshot' captures the situation at one particular time – what Bybee et al. (1994:4) calls 'a synchronic slice' – which means ongoing changes on the systemic level of the language which might be in progress may cause 'a not so tidy picture' on the level of data and may not allow for a conclusive analysis of certain elements.

The morphological forms are considered representations of underlying systemic distinctions that speakers of Swahili make on a cognitive level. The forms at the morphological level express the representation of underlying contrasts. Therefore, those morphological forms, while themselves certainly of interest and the basis for the analysis, are nevertheless secondary in the sense that they are representations of systemic differences in the language.

1.4.2 Method of Data Collection

The data presented is based on reference grammars which were consulted, and on additional questions that were presented to two competent speakers of Swahili, Balla Masele (BM), age 40, and Henry Muzale (HM), age 39. Balla Masele is from the Shinyanga region of Tanzania and Henry Muzale is from Bukoba, Tanzania. Both consultants learned Swahili as children in school and have been speaking it ever since. If discrepancies surfaced that could not be resolved, electronic mail was the means of checking data with native speakers, especially Adam O. H. Korogoto and Joseph Cosam (done by one of the consultants). Bybee et al. (1994) discuss some of the pros and cons of using reference grammars versus using questionnaires. In this particular case, reference grammars were largely used as the basis. The information on verbal constructions was compiled from a number of reference grammars and grammar sketches, for example, Sacleux (1909), Ashton ([1944] 1993), Loogman (1965), Polomé (1967), Brauner & Herms (1979), Maw (1985), Schadeberg (1984, 1992), Möhlig & Heine (1995).

However, certain gaps were observed, especially with reference to unacceptable forms. Grammars generally state what is acceptable and not what is not acceptable. In order to delineate the meaning and use of a form, it is just as important to know what is unacceptable with respect to a certain form. Also, grammars often state the most salient usages, but not necessarily most or all of them. For these reasons, questions which were presented to the consultants were devised to fill the gaps. Bybee et al. observed that questionnaires are only as good as the information that goes into them (1994:34). That is

probably generally true. In this case, however, besides being competent speakers of Swahili, the consultants were also linguists, which meant that other, related data to the data actually requested would be provided and discussed.

1.5 Outline

In order to provide some background on tense and aspect, mood, and negation in Swahili, several grammars of Swahili which span a time frame of close to 100 years will be synthesized in this chapter with respect to the categories under discussion. Theoretical considerations will be discussed in Chapter Two. In the next four chapters the different morphemes of the components in the verbal construction will be analyzed: tense and aspect in Chapters Three and Four, mood and the finals in Chapter Five, and negation markers in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven will consider the sets of formatives of each category and the interrelation of the different categories, describing what the analysis reveals about the systemic structure of the verbal construction in Swahili as a whole.

1.6 Introduction to the Swahili Verbal Construction

This portion provides a brief background on verbal constructions in Swahili. Only those aspects that pertain to the following discussion are included. Since Swahili has agglutinating properties, the verbal string may consist of a number of morphemes (see template, p. 12 below).

The verbal construction, finite or non-finite, consists of a minimum of three

morphemes, with the exception of imperative forms which consist of two morphemes – the verbal root and the final *-a* – unless the addressed party is plural (see position 11, p.12 below).

The lexical element of the verbal construction is the verbal root, which is crucial. Therefore, the positions of the other morphemes are described in reference to the position of the lexeme.

As mentioned above, the minimal verbal construction is the imperative which can consist of the verbal root and the final *-a*. Therefore, the second element that is essential in terms of the verbal construction is the final. The subject concord referring pronominally to an item is also essential for finite verb forms. These three elements are the minimally required elements for a finite simple verbal construction in Swahili. Schematically they can be described as:



(see also Güldemann 1996a:17)

Elements occurring in a position to the left of the initial are described as pre-initial; elements, mostly enclitics, occurring to the right of the final are considered as post-final. Morphemes occurring in positions between the initial and the radical, or verbal root, may include different affixes: negative markers, TAM markers, relative marker, stem marker, or object concord; the positions between the verbal root and the final can be filled for

instance by extensions, i.e. causative, applicative, etc. The sequence of morphemes in simple verbal constructions is given below (except for *-lo-* negative). The template includes the potential positions in verbal constructions, although the different positions cannot all be filled in any one verbal construction. The terminology is in part taken from Schadeberg (1992). In the following template of the verbal construction the different ‘slots’ are numbered for convenience. The term *verbal base* (VB) is used for the verbal root.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11										
NEG ₁	-	SC	-	NEG ₂	-	TAM	-	R	-	OC	-	ST	-	VB	-	E	-	F	-	PF
INF											HAB									

The abbreviations indicate:

1. Preinitial negative marker (NEG₁): *ha-*^{3,4}

³

For the 1st person singular pronoun the form is *si-*, which is a different morpheme from the negative marker in position 3.

⁴

The Preinitial negative marker can be traced diachronically describing the grammaticalization path as ‘illocutionary particle + finite dependent verb form > preinitial’ (Güldemann 1999:547).

2. Initial, Subject concord (SC): Subject concord Class marker; also *KU-* (infinitive) or *hu-* ('habitual').
3. Postinitial negative marker (NEG₂): *-si-*
4. Tense/aspect/mood markers (TAM): Ø, *-a-*, *-na-*, *-li-*⁵, *-ku-*, *-ta-*, *-me-*⁵, *-ka-*, *-ki-*, *-ja-*, *-nge-*, *ngali*, *-nga-*⁶ and *-japo-*⁷.
5. In a relative construction, the relative marker of the appropriate class (R) would occur in this position after the TAM formatives *-na-*, *-li-* or *-taka-* (in the relative), or *-si-* only, otherwise the relative marker is cliticized after the final to the verbal construction.
6. Object marker, object concord (OC): object marker in the class of the object.
7. Stem marker (ST): *-KU-* is morphologically the same as the infinitive. It is obligatory with verbs where the verbal base consist of a single consonant, and with vowel-initial

5

The formatives *-li-* and *-me-* can co-occur with *-sha*, completive.

6

The morpheme *-nga-* is not included in the study, since it is not widely used except for the impersonal form with *-i*.

7

-japo- 'although', as well as *-napo-* 'when' and *-lipo-* 'where', are forms that include a relative locative. They are also used syntactically in subordinate sentences and do not relate to tense/aspect contrasts which is why they were not included in this study.

verbs *-enda* 'go', and *-isha* 'finish'. When the verb form contains an object marker, the stem marker is deleted.⁸

8. Verbal base (VB): This is the root of the verb.
9. Extension (E): A number of extensions can occur after the verbal base, for example, applicative, causative, stative, passive, etc. Some can co-occur. Except the stative formatives, extensions are not described in detail since they are not being dealt with.
10. Final (F): *-a*, *-e* and *-i*. They indicate differences in mood and the 'traditional' terminology is *-a* 'indicative', *-e* 'subjunctive', *-i* 'negative'.
11. Postfinal (PF): *-ini* or its allomorphs indicate the plurality of the addressed party:

(1) pl: Som-*eni* Kiswahili!

read-PC Swahili

'Study (you pl.) Swahili!'

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:174)

⁸

-KU- can be retained in some forms other than the above mentioned type of verbs, although it is not very common.

Some of the formatives, for example *KU-*, *hu-* and *-to-*, are attributed to a variety of positions in the literature. The affirmative forms *KU-* and *hu-*, for example, only co-occur with object markers among the prefixes. Since the TAM position is not filled, the formatives *KU-* and *hu-* are at times listed under the tense/aspect/mood category, although forms with these formatives do not include subject concords.

The formative *-to-*, negative, is also at times listed under the TAM category (see Schadeberg 1992). However, evidence from the northern dialects, since there the formative *-to-* co-occurs with TAM *-ki-*, indicates that its position is to the right of the TAM category, as Contini-Morava (1989) has indicated. Thus, the three negative markers *ha-*, *-si-* and *-to-* have each a different position in the verbal construction.

As in many languages, the construction with the fewest number of formatives is the imperative, which consists of verbal base and final:

VB-F: Imperative:

(2) Som-a Kiswahili!

read-F Swahili

‘Study Swahili!’

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:174)

Besides the imperatives, verbal constructions consist at the minimum of three morphemes. Finite verbs include a subject concord. If the finite verb form ends in the

final $-\alpha^9$, an overt tense/aspect/mood marker is included.

In simple verb forms there are many co-occurrence restrictions. For example, the formative in position 1 does not co-occur with certain formatives in position 4 (i.e. *-me-*, *-na-*, *-ki-*, *-li-*, *-ka-*, *-mesha-*), as can be seen from examples (4) to (7); formatives listed in position 2 cannot co-occur; the formative in position 3 cannot co-occur with the formative in position 1, as example (3) illustrates; formatives in position 4 cannot occur within the same verb form, and formatives in position 10 cannot co-occur. (For examples of co-occurrence patterns see Appendix A. For further details see Contini-Morava 1989, Schadeberg 1992, Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993.)

The following examples illustrate some of the co-occurrence restrictions:

(3) a. Ha-tu-ta-zi-imb-a.

NEG₁-1P-FU-3P-sing-F

‘We will not sing them.’

b. *Ha-tu-si-ta-zi-imb-a

NEG-1P-NEG₂-FU-3P-sing-F

9

In Standard Swahili verbs that are borrowings retain their original final and may have a different final from the final *-a*.

- (4) a. Tu-me-imb-a.
1P-ME-sing-F
‘We have sung.’
- b. *ha-tu-me-imb-a/-e/-i
NEG₁-1P-ME-sing-F
- c. *tu-si-me-imb-a/-e/-i
1P-NEG₂-ME-sing-F
- d. *tu-to-me-imb-a/-e/-i
1P-NEG₃-ME-sing-F
- (5) a. Tu-li-imb-a.
1P-PA-sing-F
‘We sang.’
- b. *ha-tu-li-imb-a/-e/-i
NEG₁-1P-PA-sing-F
- (6) a. Tu-na-imb-a.
1P-NA-sing-F
‘We sing, we are singing.’
- b. *ha-tu-na-imb-a/-e/-i
NEG₁-1P-NA-sing-F
- (7) a. Tu-ki-imb-a.
1P-KI-sing-F
‘We are singing.’ or
‘If we sing, are singing.’
- b. *ha-tu-ki-imb-a/-e/-i
NEG₁-1P-KI-sing-F

The following are examples of forms with three morphemes which are not finite

forms:

(8) Mimi **hu-som-a** saa mbili asubuhi.

I HU-read-F hour two morning

'I **usually study** at 8:00 a.m.'

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:139)

(9) a. **ku-som-a**

VN-read-F

'to read'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:123)

b. **Ku-lekez-a** si **ku-fum-a**.

VN-aim-F NEG₂ VN-hit-F

'Aiming is not hitting. To aim is not to hit.'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:124)

Example (10) also illustrates a non-finite form:

(10) **ku-to-som-a**

VB-NEG₃-read-F

'not to read, not reading'

Verb forms including subject concords can vary in length, depending on inclusion

of the number of formatives.

Besides simple verbal forms, there are also compound forms, consisting of an auxiliary and the lexical verb, which differ in meaning from the simple verbal forms.

(11) a. Tu-li-ku-w-a tu-ki-lal-a hapa.

1P-PA-ST-be-F 1P-KI-sleep-F here

‘We used to sleep here.’

b. Tu-li-ku-w-a tu-ki-imb-a siku nzima.

1P-PA-ST-be-F 1P-KI-sing-F day all

‘We were singing all day long.’

(12) a. Ha-ku-w-a a-ki-fany-a kazi.’

NEG₁3S-PNEG-be-F 3S-KI-make-F work

‘Er machte längere Zeit keine bestimmte Arbeit.’

[‘He didn’t do any particular work over a longer period of time.’ CB-L]

b. Ha-ku-w-a a-na-fany-a kazi.

NEG₁3S-PNEG-be-F 3S-NA-make-F work

‘Er war arbeitslos.’ [‘He was unemployed.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:242)

Only certain tense/aspect/mood markers can occur in the lexical verb form (for a discussion see Chapter Four).

1.7 Introduction to Some Grammars of Swahili

This section of Chapter One presents short discussions of several grammars of Swahili often referred to. The grammars cover the treatment of Swahili over a 100 year period. In this overview only the verbal constructions are included and, in order to avoid repetition, only those aspects are presented that pertain to the discussion in the paper.

1.7.1 Sacleux's 'Grammaire des Dialectes Swahilis'

The *Grammaire des Dialectes Swahilis* by the Father Sacleux was published in 1909. The grammar is of interest, since it describes the Swahili of roughly 100 years ago. This means that the grammar includes what is now historical information, and it provides the opportunity to trace some language development. The notation used in the grammar is an example. At times, forms that are now written as one word are written as two (e.g. Sacleux 1909:176-177). Sacleux uses the term 'auxiliaires' for tense/aspect markers which are now described as affixes. One of his basic distinctions is whether the 'auxiliaires' can take the relative marker or whether they cannot take it directly. He provides for each of the 'auxiliaires' the original full form from which they have been derived, which provides some information on the process of grammaticalization. The terminology of the grammar is based on a Latin-type grammar analysis. Levels of

distinctions are made which are not made to the same extent in Swahili now. Also, this grammar includes participles. In what follows the different tense/aspect markers will be described according to Sacleux.

Sacleux (1909:169) describes six 'modes': infinitive, imperative, indicative, participial, conditional and subjunctive. 'Temps' is described as referring to past, present, future and what Sacleux considers 'Indéfini' or 'Indéterminé', forms which do not specify the precise moment. As mentioned earlier, Sacleux uses the term 'auxiliaire' for some of the morphemes which are today treated as affixes. He distinguishes between 'auxiliaire' and 'caractéristique', whereby the latter is not of verbal origin and is 'sans emploi séparé comme sans signification indépendante' [without separate use, without independent meaning CB-L] (Sacleux 1909:175). According to Sacleux, *KU-*, *-ki-*, *ku-* and *-i*, *-e* are of the latter type.

The 'auxiliaires' are subdivided into three groups depending on whether the morphemes can be followed by the relative morpheme or not, and whether their origin is transparent and traceable. The 'independent auxiliaries' which can take the relative particle consist of *-na-*, *-li-*, *-si-*, *-taka-* and *-dya-* (in conjunction with *-po*). In modern Swahili *-dya-* corresponds to *-ja-*.

These are the morphemes which, in Sacleux's notation, are written as part of the auxiliary which is a separate word followed by the verb, while in modern Swahili they are

written as affixes. The second group consists of *-nge*¹⁰, *-ngali*-, *-to*- and *-dya*- in the negative, whose origin is still apparent to Sacleux, while the following morphemes are not as transparent: *-a*-, *-ka*-, *-me*¹⁰ and *-ta*-. The morphemes will be discussed in order.

(i.) *-na*-, is derived from a preposition and expresses the ‘présent actuel’ of the verb.

(ii.) *-li*-, the root of ‘be’, expresses the past. Sacleux states that the morpheme represents the ‘passé absolu simple et relatif’. The French glosses are given in the ‘imparfait’, ‘passé simple’, and also in the ‘passé composé’ (Sacleux 1909:176). The same morpheme is also identified as part of *-ngali*- which is described as past conditional. For the dialects Amu and Ngunja he states that *-ngali*- is the only form of the conditional, however, and expresses both present and past conditional (Sacleux 1909:179).

(iii.) The negation marker *-si*- is included in the first group, since it occurs with the relative particle (with a word boundary following the particle). It is described as ‘indicatif indéfini’ [lit.: indefinite indicative].

(iv.) *-taka*- in the relative expresses the future¹¹.

(v.) *-dya*- is mentioned in conjunction with *-po*- as expressing the conditional. *-dya*- also occurs within the system of negation, expressing something that has not been done at the moment of speaking.

¹⁰

In the original a grave accent was included to show the phonetic quality of the vowel.

¹¹

The literature generally gives *-taka*- ‘want’ as the root for both *-taka*- ‘Future Relative’ and *-ta*- ‘Future’.

Formatives to which the relative particle cannot be attached, but which can be traced to verbs are the formatives: *-dya-*, *-nge-*, *-ngali-* and *-to-*. The third group are those formatives ‘auxiliaires à sens oblitéré’, *-a-*, *-ka-*, *-me-*, *-ta-*, for which the origin as a verb cannot be traced easily. Nevertheless, Sacleux attempts to derive the formatives from verbs.¹² As mentioned earlier, the formatives *-ki-*, *hu-*, and also *KU-*, the infinitive marker, are not considered as ‘auxiliaires’ but rather as ‘caractéristiques’ which do not have a verbal origin. Now, of the three described markers, *hu-* is generally described as ‘habitual’, an aspectual marker. (But see the discussion in Chapter Three.) The formative *-ki-* is identified as aspectual in this study. The formative *(-)KU-*, the infinitive marker, is discussed in Chapter Seven.

Sacleux distinguishes between simple forms which do not include overt markers in the tense/aspect/mood position and those ‘compound’ forms which do. As an old form which is hardly used, he includes forms with no overt marker in the affirmative and in the negative. (Modern Swahili has only *ha-...-Ø-...-i-*.) These are ‘indéfini’ and can in the negative express the meaning of the present and the recent past. In general, Sacleux makes the distinctions as follows, whereby the relative forms, which Sacleux also

¹²

According to Sacleux, *-a-* is derived from the verb *kuwa*, *-ka-* seems to be a contracted form from *kukaa* ‘demeurer’ [‘to live, stay’]. Botne (1999:474) deals with *-ka-* in detail. Citing also later sources, he refers to Meinhof ([1910] 1932), who reconstructs *-ka* ‘go’. According to Sacleux *-me-* comes from the verb *kumea* or *kumaa* ‘to swallow’ in the figurative sense of ‘to finish’. The consensus in the literature is that the meaning of the verb is ‘to finish’. Sacleux considers *-ta-* an abridged form of *enda* ‘to go’ (but see footnote 11).

describes have been omitted:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Indéfini	0	Ha0-...-i
Présent indéfini	-a-	Ha0-....-i
Présent actuel	-na-	sina kwenda? ^{13, 14} (only in 1P: 'ne vais-je pas?') [Don't I go? CB-L]
Aoriste et passé indéfini	-me- ¹⁴	simesema? ¹⁴ 'n'ai-je pas dit?' [Haven't I said it? CB-L]
Aoriste 2 nd	-e [only in certain dialects]	si-fungi-e 'je ne lie pas'
Passé indéterminé		-ku-
Passé inaccompli		-dya-
Passé narratif	-ka-	

¹³

Negative forms in the 1P, except for questions, are rarely or not used at all, according to Sacleux. In Standard Swahili today these are not part of the language or are very uncommon.

¹⁴

Diacritics are omitted.

<u>Category (cont.)</u>	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Passé absolu: 1 st	-li-	sili sema? ¹⁴ ‘ne disais-je pas?’ (only in 1P) [didn’t I say it? CB-L]
2 nd (Plus-que-parfait)	-a-li-	
Futur simple	-ta-	Negative with <i>ha-</i>
Conditionnel indéfini	-nge- ¹⁴	
Conditionnel passé	-ngali-	
Participial	-ki-	-sipo also: nikitoa

As can be observed from the list above the term *indéfini* occurs several times in this classification. Sacleux characterizes ‘indéfini’ or ‘indéterminé’ as ‘qui ne précise pas le moment’ [‘which does not specify the moment’ CB-L] (Sacleux 1909:169).

Except for the forms in *-a-li-*, the formatives in the affirmative are found in Modern Swahili. The *-e* (‘Aoriste 2nd’ given for certain dialects only) as a form of *-ile* does not exist in modern Standard Swahili. However, it does exist in some of the other dialects. The negative of *-ki-* as *kito* is described by Miehe (1979) for the northern dialects.

Sacleux derives the form *-ngali-* from *-nga-+-li-* ‘be’.

Sacleux distinguishes from these ‘auxiliaires’, markers such as *hu-*, *-KU-* and *-ki-* which are not derived from verbal forms and do not have an independent meaning. Some of these are now considered tense/aspect markers. A large portion of the section on verbs deals with usages of *kuwa* and the expression of the verb ‘be’. In contrast to later grammars, in the portion on *kuwa*, ‘compound’ forms as they are going to be explored in Chapter Four are not dealt with.

Sacleux’s grammar deals with different dialects and provides detailed information. It also provides insights into the path of grammaticalization.

1.7.2 Ashton’s ‘Swahili Grammar’

The grammar entitled *Swahili Grammar* by Ethel O. Ashton has been widely used as a reference grammar for Swahili. The first edition was published in 1944. References in this study are based on the reprinted edition of 1993. The following will describe and analyze sections that pertain to tense/aspect, mood, and negation.

1.7.2.1 Formatives of the Tense/Aspect/Mood Position

In Chapter 8, *Verbs and Their Tenses* (p.35ff), where Ashton deals initially with categories such as tense and aspect (although verbal forms are mentioned in earlier chapters), Ashton notes in her introduction:

Except for a few *time* tenses it is a mistake to equate any one Swahili tense with any one particular tense in English for several reasons:

(i) Some tenses do not refer specifically to time, but merely to some aspect of the state or action -e.g. whether the action is completed or going on, or whether it takes place before another action or after another action.

(Ashton [1944] 1993:35)

This quotation indicates that Ashton's term 'tense' is applied to both tense and aspect. Nevertheless, her description of the morphemes often clarifies whether a particular morpheme should be considered as a representation of tense or as a representation of aspect. It appears, especially from part II of the grammar, that Ashton tends to use 'time' in the sense of *tense* as a deictic category and 'tense' in a wider sense. The '*verbs and their tenses*' are dealt with in different chapters throughout the grammar (Chapters 8, 13, 23, 30, 33, 36, 37, 38 and 40).

Ashton begins with what she considers the 'primary tenses' (Ashton [1944] 1993:36): *-li-*, *-ta-*, *-na-*, *-a-*, *-me-* and *-hu-*.¹⁵ These are described as:

- i. *-me-* expresses completion of action and/or resultant state.
- ii. *-li-* expresses verbal activity in the past.
- iii. *-ta-* expresses verbal activity in the future.
- iv. *-na-* refers to an action taking place within a period or at a point in time. It refers to the present as most frequent usage.

¹⁵

In the reference table it is interesting to note that *-li-* and *-ta-* are arranged following each other at the top of the list while the other four morphemes follow. As is discussed in Chapters Three and Four, *-li-* and *-ta-* are here contrasted with the other morphemes.

v. *-a-* is used to state facts and ask questions without relation to any particular time, and is described as “Indefinite Time Tense”.

vi. *hu-* occurs in contexts which imply habitual or recurrent action, apart from time.

Ashton often provides contrastive information; for the ‘primary tenses’, for example, she provides contrastive information on *-a-* and *hu-*, and *-a-* and *-na-* in order to clarify their functions and meanings¹⁶.

Chapters 23 and 30 deal with further formatives of the TAM position. The formatives *-ka-*, *-ki-* and *-sipo-* are addressed in one chapter (Chapter 23), and later *-nga-*, *-japo-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-* (Chapter 30).

Chapter 23 deals with *-ka-*, *-ki-* and negative formatives. The negative subjunctive is given as representing the negative form ‘corresponding’ to affirmative forms with *-ka-*. Other grammars often do not relate a negative form to an affirmative form with *-ka-*. For forms with *-ki-*, two negative forms are mentioned: negation of the pattern *kama ha...-i* and forms containing the negative marker: *-sipo-* ‘unless’.

Chapter 30 deals with further markers in the tense/aspect/mood position, the markers *-nga-*, *-japo-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-*; and a further explanation of the use of some of the ‘primary tenses’, i.e. *-la-*, *-na-*, *-me-*; and also *-ki-*. Ashton does not, as some other grammars have done, describe the distinction between *-nge-* and *-ngali-* as one of tense, but deals with it in terms of possibility of realization and notes in a footnote that there is

¹⁶

Wald (1997) comments on the *-a-/na-* distinction as not quite sufficient.

‘... considerable laxity in the use of *-nge-* and *-ngali-*.’ (Ashton [1944] 1993:187 fn). This will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

With respect to *-ta-*, she describes sentences where it is used in forms that are future to the time expressed in the context, which does not necessarily translate into a future form in English. ‘*Mwanzo tulidhani kama “___” Team itashinda* ‘at first we thought that the “___” team *would* win’.’ (Ashton [1944] 1993:189, ital. CB-L). For *-na-*, *-ki-* and *-me-* examples are cited where their aspectual qualities become apparent.

1.7.2.2 Verbal Construction with ‘Compound Tenses’

In Ashton’s *Part Two* (Chapter 34 ff), verbal constructions which consist of two verbal forms (two-verb constructions) are extensively dealt with. In ‘compound tenses’ she deals with the constructions that consist of two verbal forms expressing one time, i.e. tense. Ashton’s term ‘time’ seems to correspond to tense, and ‘aspect’, although not defined, seems generally to agree with the usage of ‘aspect’ in this study. In *Part Two* she makes clear distinctions between ‘time’, i.e. tense, and ‘aspect’. While she identifies *-li-* and *-ta-* as referring to ‘past and future time’ respectively, i.e. tense, for some other morphemes, such as *-na-*, *-a-* and *-me-* she describes them as being able to have ‘time and aspect’, others in the position are identified as aspectual. Thus, some of the morphemes can be used as aspect or tense, according to Ashton. The analysis in this study reveals those morphemes as aspectual markers.

In Chapters 36, 37, 38 and 39 ‘compound forms’ are described in detail.

Compound tenses are described as a combination of verbs functioning as auxiliaries and main verbs whereby subject agreement is expressed on both. Ashton uses the combinations ‘time in relation to aspect’ (Chapter 36), ‘aspect in relation to aspect’ (Chapter 37), and ‘aspect in relation to time’ (also Chapter 37) to distinguish three different groups. The first group deals with a combination of tense marker in the first verb and aspectual marker in the second verb. The second group discusses other markers in the first verb which Ashton had identified as aspect markers, and aspectual markers in the second verb. The third group deals with complex sentences where a form with an aspectual marker (for example *ikiwa* ‘if’) precedes a clause with a tense marker. Except for one case, the subjects of the “auxiliary” and the main verb do not agree, as the following example illustrates:

- (13) I-ki-w-a tu-ta-potez-a wakati wetu wote kwa ku-uliz-a
 3S-KI-be-F 1P-FU-waste-F time our all PREP VN-ask-F
 ‘If we are going to waste all our time in asking
 masawali kama hayo,
 questions like these,
 questions like these,’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:261)

Thus, these cases are different from what is presented in Chapter 36 and most of the rest of Chapter 37. Within Chapter 36 and 37, each marker is introduced by schemata that describe co-occurrences between the first verb and the second verb. The examples then illustrate some of those cases. In Chapter 37, the difference, however, between ‘compound verb forms’ and compound or complex sentences is not always maintained so that for some of the patterns complex sentences are also used to illustrate a ‘compound form’. In Chapter 36, for *-na-* it is striking that the given patterns do not coincide with the given examples, as shown below:

Pattern: **-nakuwa -na-**

(14) Kitoto=cha=kuku ki-**na-po**-ku-w-a ki-**na**-ku-a,

chicken SC-NA-LR-ST-be-F SC-NA-grow-F,

‘While a chicken is growing,’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:252)

The schemata are not only provided for affirmative forms, but also for negative forms for which some, although fewer, examples are provided. If we consider Ashton’s ‘time’ as tense and Ashton’s tense as ‘time’ or at least a wider category, these patterns reflect patterns in other grammars. The last part of Chapter 37 (aspect and time) can be explained in that the examples consist of complex sentences. Basically these chapters reveal that tense is expressed in the first verb, while aspectual forms are expressed in the

second verb of compound forms. This will be explored further in this study.

1.7.2.3 Forms with Final -e

So far the subjunctive forms have not been mentioned. They are first treated in Chapter 7 (preceding the chapter on the main tenses in the verbs), then in Chapters 20 and 38. Chapters 7 and 20 cover the subjunctive and its relation to the imperative, while Chapter 38 deals with compound forms of the subjunctive, where the first verb consists of a verb in the subjunctive.

Ashton notes (Ashton [1944] 1993:268) that to express concepts such as ‘almost to do’ or ‘just to do’ which may be expressed in other Bantu languages by auxiliaries followed by forms in the subjunctive, these are expressed in Swahili by lexical words or phrases which are then followed by a verb with a subjunctive ending.

1.7.2.4 Forms with Negative Markers

Concerning the negative, Chapter 13 (p.71ff) describes the use of the negative markers *ha-* and *(-)si(-)* in connection with affirmative forms that correspond to the negative forms. Ashton notes, however, that there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between affirmative and negated forms. The other negation marker *-to-* is treated independently from *ha-* and *(-)si(-)*, towards the end of the grammar.

1.7.2.5 Concluding Remarks

On the whole, Ashton provides examples, exercises (with answers) and proverbs which at times reveal older forms which are highlighted for the reader. Several appendices provide the reader with a variety of charts that clarify the forms given in the text.

Ashton's grammar is to my mind thorough and insightful. It comes as no surprise that it has been used extensively as a reference grammar in the literature.

1.7.3 Loogman's 'Swahili Grammar and Syntax'

Loogman's *Swahili Grammar and Syntax* (1965) was published two years before Polomé's grammar. The grammar is extensive and includes statements on syntax. Quite frequently there are statements comparing English or more generally Indo-European languages to Swahili, pointing out the different usage in Swahili. In contrast to the grammars cited so far, Loogman uses in part Swahili terminology. The basic meanings of the markers to be discussed here are given in Chapter 4 (Loogman 1965: 115):

- a- simple present form
- na- progressive-present form
- li- past form
- me- perfect form
- ki- participial form
- nge- contrary-to-fact present form
- ngali- contrary-to-fact past form

Repeatedly it is pointed out that ‘the function of a particular affix in a verb-form is ultimately determined by the context’ (Loogman 1965:116). Chapter 7, *Use of Verb-Forms*, deals with the different morphemes in detail, beginning with the infinitive, continuing through the imperative, *-a-*, *-na-*, *-ka-* to the final *-e*, which is treated extensively, including affirmative and negative forms. Loogman continues with *-me-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-*. While Loogman does not use terms like ‘tense’ or ‘aspect’ in his book, his description of *-me-*, for example, illustrates the aspectual quality:

The [-]*me*-form in itself, then is a timeless present referring to a completed action. But when depending on another verb-form, the [-]*me*-form refers to an action completed at the time of the leading verb and must be translated accordingly.

(Loogman 1965:395)

With respect to *-nge-* and *-ngali-*, Loogman describes *-li-* as ‘past’ and considers *-ngali-* as contrary-to-fact in the past. He also points out that while in modern Swahili, if two clauses are involved, the formatives occur in both clauses, this was not the case in older texts where these formatives occurred in only one of the clauses.

Overall, the grammar is extensive, includes a lot of data, and tries to convey the concepts as they occur to a Swahili speaker.

1.7.4 Polomé’s ‘Swahili Language Handbook’

Polomé’s grammar *Swahili Language Handbook* was published in 1967. As indicated in the preface, the grammar is meant as an introduction to Swahili for the non-

specialist and emphasizes the salient features of Swahili rather than being an exhaustive structural description. Since the interest lies here with verbal morphology, only those aspects that have not been mentioned earlier and that pertain to the topic will be addressed.

Polomé describes as tense markers *-na-* “‘actual’ present”, *-li-* ‘past’, and *-ta-* ‘future’; *-a-* ‘indefinite present’ is used in the indicative if tense is unmarked. To distinguish the perfective and imperfective, the aspect markers *-me-* ‘perfective/resultative’ and *-ki-* ‘imperfective/continuous’ are given, similarly *-ku-* and *-ja-* in the negative. For the different types of conditions, we find *-nga-* ‘actual concessive’, *-japo-* “‘suppositional’ concessive”, *-nge-* ‘present conditional’ and *-ngali-* ‘past conditional’. *-ka-* is characterized as ‘subsecutive’. Besides some of the examples, what is of special interest is the treatment of ‘compound’ forms. For compound forms Polomé includes examples and tables of co-occurrence restrictions which generally corroborate, but also clarify and adjust what Ashton says about compound forms.

1.7.5 Brauner & Herms’s ‘Lehrbuch des Modernen Swahili’

Brauner & Herms’s (1979) *Lehrbuch des Modernen Swahili* is described as as grammar for a ‘Grundkurs’, a basic course, and updates and replaces another grammar (Brauner & Bantu 1967). It gives an introduction to the distribution of Swahili and its sociolinguistic function.

The discussion of those verbal morphemes which are of interest here is distributed

over a number of lessons (Lessons 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 26, 29 and 34). Since this is a grammar for a basic course, much has already been said and will not be repeated. In terms of terminology, the grammar actually describes forms with the final *-e* as such and places the term *Konjunktiv* ‘subjunctive’ in brackets. Some of the examples are interesting, especially those illustrating the different meanings of the negatives in ‘compound’ forms (p.242), since they illustrate fine meaning differences that are usually not given in grammars: for ‘er arbeitete nicht’ [‘he didn’t work’ CB-L] several variants in meaning are possible:

(15) a. Ha-ku-fany-a kazi

NEG₁3S-PNEG-make-F work

(allgemeine Feststellung) [general statement CB-L]

b. Ha-ku-w-a a-ki-fany-a kazi.’

NEG₁3S-PNEG-be-F 3S-KI-make-F work

‘Er machte längere Zeit keine bestimmte Arbeit.’

[‘He didn’t do any particular work for a longer period of time.’ CB-L]

c. Ha-ku-w-a a-na-fany-a kazi.

NEG₁3S-PNEG-be-F 3S-NA-make-F work

‘Er war arbeitslos.’

[‘He was unemployed.’ CB-L]

e. A-li-ku-w-a ha-ku-fany-a kazi.

3S-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁3S-PNEG-make-F work

‘Als einziger von mehreren hat er nicht gearbeitet.’

[‘As the only one of several he didn’t work.’ CB-L]

f. A-li-ku-w-a ha-fany-i kazi.

3S-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁3S-make-F work

‘Trotz Möglichkeit hat er nicht gearbeitet.’

[‘Although having the possibility, he did not work/has not worked.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:242)

These examples highlight that there is a difference in meaning between different combinations of negative forms. This issue will be explored in this study.

1.8 Conclusion

Comparing the grammars and considering the time span that these grammars cover, some points can be highlighted. The direction of grammaticalization can be followed starting with Sacleux’s grammar up to modern Swahili. What Sacleux still recognizes as the two elements of auxiliaries and lexical verbs has become one verbal construction.

In Standard Swahili, in comparison to some of the other dialects and many of the other Bantu languages, the aspectual position that existed towards the right verb boundary

of a verbal construction has disappeared. Similarly the zero-marked forms in the affirmative with final *-a* for the present, consisting of subject concord, verbal root, and final, – forms that Sacleux still mentions – are not found in modern Swahili, except for the relative and a few exceptions. From comments in Sacleux's grammar it seems that negative forms had existed for tense/aspect markers for which in modern Swahili only affirmative forms exist.

'Compound forms', that is forms consisting of two verb forms, are extensively treated in the grammars except for Sacleux's grammar. That in itself indicates the direction of grammaticalization. The shades of meaning provided for negative compound forms in Brauner & Herms's grammar show that some of the earlier grammars treat these forms to a lesser degree based on semantic criteria than it may be required.

The treatment of *-ngali-* shows what can also be observed elsewhere in the literature, that opinions appear to vary with respect to the etymology of the formative.

The comparison with respect to terminology reveals similarities that cover all the grammars, but also differences that center in particular on certain morphemes. (See Appendix B for a comparative list of terminology.)

Further grammars and textbooks provide information on Swahili, for example, Maw (1985, 1999), Schadeberg's sketch (1992) and Möhlig & Heine (1995). Data from these and others are found throughout the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.0 Introduction

The study analyzes formatives of Swahili verb forms, discussing tense and aspect, mood, and negation. This chapter discusses the theoretical framework of tense and aspect in general, sign-based theory, and, in particular, Guillaumian theory which has been applied here especially with respect to tense and aspect. The chapter also deals with, but less extensively, other theoretical considerations that have contributed to the analysis, as for example, mood and negation.

From a theoretical point of view, the analysis pertains in a broader sense to sign-based theory and, for tense and aspect, more specifically to Guillaumian theory as outlined in Guillaume ([1929] 1965, [1964] 1969), Hirtle (1967, 1975), Korrel (1991), Duffley (1992), Hewson (1995, 1997a, 1997b) and Hewson & Bubenik (1997).

In addition, further, though less extensive, remarks will be made concerning other areas where a theoretical discussion seems to be necessary and appropriate to elucidate for the reader the theoretical basis of the study. Mood, negation, and specific topics that relate more directly to the formatives of the verbal construction in Swahili are discussed. This will provide the reader with an understanding of the theoretical ‘point of departure’ for the analysis presented in Chapters Three to Six.

2.1 Notes on Tense and Aspect

The study of tense and aspect has a long history, and the literature on tense and aspect is extensive (for example, Jespersen (1924), Reichenbach (1947), Vendler (1967), Forsyth (1970), Chatterjee (1975), Comrie (1976, 1985), Bache (1985), Dahl (1985), Tenny (1987), Brinton (1988), Binnick (1991), Sasse (1991), Durst-Andersen (1992), Tobin (1993), Bybee et al. (1994) and Hewson & Bubenik (1997)). In the literature, aspect and tense are approached from various theoretical directions, and the terms have been defined in a variety of ways, sometimes influenced by the language or languages discussed. This is especially true for ‘aspect’. Kortmann notes:

It has almost become a commonplace in studies on members of the triad “tense-aspect-aktionsart”..., especially in those on aspect, to begin with statements deploring the terminological confusion and the uncertainty about definitions, subdivisions and delimitations in this area.
(Kortmann 1991:9)

2.2 Aspect

The confusion with respect to the term *aspect* goes at least partially back to its first appearance around 1830, when it was used to translate Russian *vid'* ‘appearance,

¹ Bubenik comments on earlier treatments of ‘aspect’:

Thus strictly speaking neither the Pāṇinīyas nor the Stoics discovered aspect That happened as late as 17th c. when the different Slavic verbs were described with the Greek term *eidos* “aspect” (corresponding etymologically to the Slavic term *vid*: Greek *eidos* < PIE *weid-os*).

(Hewson & Bubenik 1997:64)

view, form, shape' in a French translation of Grec's Russian grammar. The Russian term 'stood both for the signalling of imperfective/perfective action and action with respect to its beginning, duration or end by means of verb morphology' (Kortmann 1991:11). Since then definitions have emphasized the former part or the latter part of its original meaning, or have reflected one or the other.

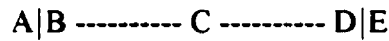
Concerning 'aspect' Comrie (1976:5) points out 'Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; ...'.

Comrie (1976:5) then comments on aspect and its relation to tense: 'one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).' Similar concepts are expressed in Guillaume's description (1933 reprinted 1964/9:47-48) of the *temps impliqué* [lit: 'the in-folded time', time internal to the event CB-L] and the *temps expliqué* [lit: 'the out-folded time', time external to the event CB-L]. As Guillaume states, *temps impliqué* relates to aspect, and *temps expliqué* relates to tense. Valin (1975:134) describes the same concepts as 'the time that is contained in the event' versus 'the time that contains the event' respectively, and uses the terms 'event time' versus 'universe time' (which will also be adopted here, but will be capitalized to express the mental representation).

2.2.1 Aspectual Categories

When considering aspectual distinctions, the 'internal temporal constituency' of an

event² can be described further. The following diagram can be drawn of common aspectual distinctions (there are many others):



(Diagram based on Hewson & Bubenik 1997:14)

Figure 2.1: Aspectual distinctions

The bar lines represent the boundaries of the event: the bar line following A marks the beginning of the event, that preceding E marks the end of the event. The different positions represent different aspectual representations: A represents prospective aspect, B represents inceptive (or inchoative) aspect, C represents progressive aspect or imperfective aspect, D represents perfective aspect (or aorist) and E represents retrospective aspect (or perfect). Since 'aspect' expresses the event-internal time, forms with aspectual distinctions are not restricted to a particular tense, but are free to combine with different tenses. This property of aspect will be explored for Swahili in Chapter Four.

2.2.2 Ascending Time and Descending Time

The two components of the original use of 'aspect' mentioned above, that is, the

²

'Event' is used here for action, process and state (Kemmer 1993), similar to Comrie's 'situation'.

distinction of imperfective versus perfective, and the distinction of the different aspectual descriptions are made explicit in Guillaumian theory. A different terminology is applied for the contrast between ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ when used as umbrella terms: the morphologically and semantically unmarked³ form in *descending time* is normally a form representing an incomplete event, while the unmarked form in *ascending time* is normally a form representing a complete event. The terms *descending time* and *ascending time* are used to describe two viewpoints from which to visualize the time image of an event or events, the former dealing with each event or each moment of one event as it occurs, the latter dealing with an event or events globally as a whole (see section 2.7.4.2 for a further explanation of the italicized terms). Within both of these ways of viewing the time image of an event, further aspectual distinctions may be made. Those of which the terminology may need an explanation are highlighted here.

Since in Descending Time an event is viewed moment by moment, where each moment has a ‘before’ and ‘after’, it is an internal view of an event, and, therefore, the unmarked form usually represents an incomplete event, an imperfective. The term ‘perfective’ is used to describe a specific aspectual position, the position of D in the above figure, in Descending Time: it describes an inherently imperfective event pushed to the point of completion. The ‘perfective’ form is a marked form in a binary contrast in which

3

To be able to distinguish morphological marking from semantic marking, the use of the German term ‘markiert’ and ‘merkmalhaft’ for morphologically marked versus semantically marked forms may be a solution (Bubenik: personal communication).

the unmarked form represents an incomplete event.

On the other hand, an unmarked form representing an event in Ascending Time is viewed as a whole, presenting an event as complete.⁴ To describe that event the term 'performative' has been used (Hewson & Bubenik 1997). 'Performative' indicates an event that is a complete performance, viewed from an exterior viewpoint.⁵ Examples where the complete event is represented in the non-past tense in English are stage directions, for example, such as the following from *The Glass Menagerie* by Tennessee Williams: 'Tom enters, dressed as a merchant sailor, and strolls across to the fire escape. There he stops and lights a cigarette' (McMahan, Day & Funk 1999:695). The verb forms are expressing a performative aspect in the non-past tense in English.

Forms representing events in Ascending Time may also express incomplete events. English, for example, distinguishes *I am running*, a progressive, from the performative *I run*.

Thus, both Descending Time and Ascending Time represent different views with respect to the representation of the event, and that allows us to make further aspectual distinctions. The distinction between an imperfective and a performative aspect is

4

Much in the same way that a count noun is considered a unit, representing the entity as a whole from an external point of view, while a mass noun is viewed from an internal point of view, representing a continuity rather than a unit.

5

The term here is used for a grammatical meaning, and is not to be confused with Austin's (1962) use of the term to indicate the lexical meaning of certain verbs.

graphically illustrated below where the rectangular shape is used to indicate the exterior view of the event:

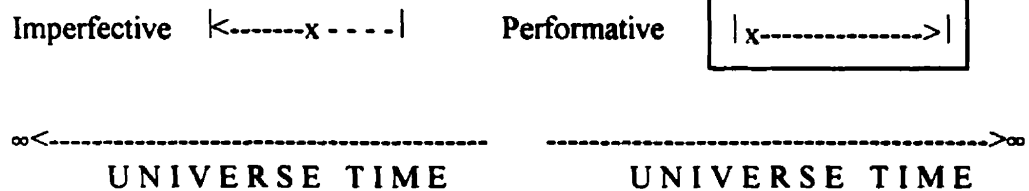


Figure 2.2: A Major Aspectual Distinction Between Descending Time and Ascending Time

2.3 Tense

In contrast to aspect, tense is a deictic category ‘... locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations.’ (Comrie 1976:5). Partee (1973) notes the deictic property of tense. This notion is also taken up in Dahl (1985). ‘... tenses are typically deictic categories, in that they relate time points to the moment of speech.’ (Dahl 1985:25).

Some languages of the Sabaki group have at least two positions within the verbal constructions for tense and/or aspect formatives, as did older forms of Swahili.

Mwiini:

(1) a. Imperfective /-či/: ši-či-teka 'we laughing', 'if we laugh'

b. Perfect⁶ /-i+e/: š-Ø-~~teš~~-e+é 'we have laughed'

(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:692)

In contrast, in Standard Swahili, there is only one position for tense/aspect/mood formatives, i.e. the pre-verbal base position in simple verbal constructions. Combinatory differences in compound forms show clearly that a distinction between aspect and tense (see Chapter Four) may be made.

The deictic quality of tense is based upon the speaker's time point of speech, which positions the speaker's consciousness in time, and serves generally as the reference point to which an expression of tense relates. In this study, 'locus of orientation' (Botne 1989) is used when the time of speaking is the time point to which the tense or aspect relates directly. Botne suggests that in some Bantu languages there is a secondary 'locus of orientation' expressed in compound forms (see Chapter Four). This does not apply to Swahili.

2.4 Aktionsart

Besides being contrasted with tense, 'aspect' may also be differentiated into

⁶

Nurse & Hinnebusch's terminology has been maintained here.

different types of aspect, such as grammatical aspect and lexical aspect. The latter, the lexical aspect or *Aktionsart*, in contrast to grammatical aspect, is expressed by the lexical meaning of the verb and its inherent temporal character. The distinctions that are made in terms of *Aktionsart* in one language may be made by means of grammatical aspect in another. Thus, grammatical aspect and lexical aspect, i.e. *Aktionsart*, are the opposing endpoints of a continuum. *Aktionsart* will consequently be the term used for the temporal distinctions lexically inherent in verbal bases, and the term *aspect*, when referring to the pre-verbal base position in Standard Swahili will indicate grammatical aspect. In short, aspectual distinctions among verbal roots or bases are referred to as *Aktionsart(en)*, differences in pre-verbal base formatives are referred to as distinctions in (grammatical) aspect, where appropriate.

2.5 Perception of Time

Quite independently from linguistic theory in general, the directional motion of time is generally represented graphically by arrows. That time is represented as motion with direction (the arrow of time) finds justification in the world of physics. Hawking and Penrose (1996) point out that the 'arrow of time' can be explained through the boundary conditions on the universe. They clearly support the directionality of time:

There is a very clear distinction between the forward and the backward directions of time in our region of the universe. One only has to watch a film being run backward to see the difference. Instead of cups falling off the tables and get broken, they would mend themselves and jump back on the table. If only real life were like that.

(Hawking & Penrose 1996:64)⁷

This quotation illustrates that time may be (at least for some) associated with directionality. In terms of everyday perception, memory, sensory experience, and imagination can be used as cognitive basis to describe the perception of time. The starting point of our perception is the sensory experience. It is recorded in the (immediate) memory and is used to visualize the immediate future in the imagination.

Graphically, these three aspects of consciousness can be presented as:

memory<-----sensory perception----->imagination

(Hewson & Bubenik 1997:3)

Sensory perception is processed and then stored in short term or working memory.

Gray describes this process by analogy to the image of a moving train:

The flow of thought through short-term memory is not unlike the flow of a scenery past the window of a moving train.

(Gray 1994:331)

⁷

For various views on the asymmetry of time see Halliwell, Pérez-Mercader & Zurek (1994).

2.6 Sign-based Theory

Guillaumian theory can be categorized as a sign-based theory, being fundamentally based on the Saussurian view of the linguistic sign. The theoretical unit of the linguistic sign is motivated by its function:

... the postulation of the linguistic sign as a theoretical unit is motivated by the communicative function of language: communication requires a set of perceptible signals each of which is associated with some conceptional content.

(Contini-Morava 1995:2)

Thus, signs are necessarily meaningful. A distinction is made between the '... underlying, abstract, invariant meaning of a sign, which is a unit of *langue*, and the open-ended set of specific interpretations it can have in particular contexts of use, which belong to *parole*' (Contini-Morava 1995:9). At the abstract level the relations among the signs form a system which can be inferred from the specific interpretations in particular contexts. Systemic relationships are reflected in the regularities in the paradigm. But paradigmatic irregularities may occur, as, for example, in irregular plural forms of English such as 'feet', 'teeth', 'geese', etc., compared to the regular plural morpheme {z}.

The analysis of the formatives of the verbal categories discussed is therefore based on the Guillaumian and Jakobsonian view that a language is a system of systems (Guillaume [1952] 1964/1969:220-240, Jakobson 1990:15). This means for this study that while each of the formatives discussed is analyzed on an individual basis and (the trace of) its semantic content is analyzed, more importantly each formative is part of a

system. The system is revealed through the contrasts expressed by the different members where each member has a position in the system. A particular position could be filled by another appropriate formative, if for whatever reason the original formative is no longer available, but the position itself remains until changes in language affect the systemic level. As was mentioned in Chapter One, an appropriate analogy is Saussure's famous game of chess, in which a chess piece can be replaced by something else of suitable size without affecting the rules of the game. Thus, the analysis is based on the Saussurian concept (Saussure [1915] 1976:43) that meaningful grammatical elements (*valeurs*) represent contrastive positions within the system⁸.

This approach leads to the investigation of the different verbal formatives in relation to each other so that their underlying systemic contrasts can be examined. The formatives under discussion may be used to refer to events in the real world themselves, but are mental *representations* that are language specific. At the level of representation, they are also elements of an underlying level of systemic contrasts which itself has organizational constraints.

8

As an aside, it is interesting to note that one of the pragmatic principles children apply in lexical acquisition appears to be contrast (Clark 1993:90ff). 'Contrast predicts that children will assume that differences in form mark differences in meaning.' (Clark 1993:91). Where two forms do not contrast in meaning, children will eventually establish the absence of a contrast. However, this 'should usually take a long time.' (Clark 1993:107). But, according to Clark, contrast provides a mechanism to eliminate errors which are not corrected: 'children who assume contrast have available a means for getting rid of over-regularizations of every type.' (Clark 1993:107).

Deacon (1997), dealing with the symbolic nature of language, describes the systemic nature of language succinctly in the following:

... symbols cannot be understood as an unstructured collection of tokens that map to a collection of referents because symbols don't just represent things in the world, they also represent each other. Because symbols do not directly refer to things in the world, but indirectly refer to them by virtue of referring to other symbols, they are implicitly combinatorial entities whose referential powers are derived by virtue of occupying determinate positions in an organized system of other symbols. Both their initial acquisition and their later use requires a combinatorial analysis. The structure of the whole system has a definite semantic topology that determines the ways symbols modify each other's referential functions in different combination. Because of this systematic relational basis of symbolic reference, no collection of signs can function symbolically unless the entire collection conforms to certain overall principles of organization.
(Deacon 1997:99)

Adopting this perspective, we shall examine closed sets of 'verbal categories' (in contrast to nominal categories, such as subject and object concords, for example) with the goal of revealing the underlying systemic differences among the formatives. The sets examined in the following sections are formatives of the tense/aspect/mood position, formatives expressing negation, and finals expressing mood distinctions within the verbal construction. For each set of formatives one or several subsystems can be revealed which are part of the overall system which, in turn, can be inferred by the combinatorial interaction of the different subsystems.

2.7 Guillaumian Theory

The theoretical approach exemplified first by Guillaume in 1929 shows an affinity, in today's terms, to cognitive grammar. In his introduction to the *Foundation of Cognitive Grammar*, Langacker refers to the natural affinity between cognitive grammar and several contemporary schools of research. Langacker (1987:4) specifically mentions the 'Columbia school', a school representing a sign-based theory (see Contini-Morava & Sussman Goldberg 1995), as one of the examples, and the Guillaumian approach, as a similar sign-based theory, can also be included.

2.7.1 General Considerations of a Guillaumian Approach

A Guillaumian approach distinguishes between the different entities *langue* and *discours*. *Langue* and *discours* '... are not analytic abstractions, they are different mental moments in the activity of language.' (Hewson 1997b:8). Language is the whole, 'in which *discours* is created from the underlying potentiality of *langue*' (Hewson 1981:163 quoted from Contini-Morava 1995:21). In terms of cognitive realization, *langue* comes before *discours*, and in that sense a Guillaumian approach considers language dynamic.

2.7.2 The Laws of the Sign System

The *langue* of a language is not directly accessible, but is indirectly accessible through its usage, through the discourse that is produced by speakers. At the level of *langue* the different elements relate in a systematic and rigorous way in terms of meaning

(Guillaume's *loi de cohérence* (1971:70)). A subsystem of grammatical elements would be a closed set of meaningful contrasts and would be consequently totally coherent in terms of meaning. On the level of morphemes that are in paradigmatic relations, it is nevertheless possible to find irregularities:

La sémiologie anormale s'explique par le maintien de formes héritées qui perdure aussi longtemps que la variation phonétique n'aura pas fourni de signe ou de paradigme convenant mieux à l'expression du représenté.
(Douay & Roulland 1990:111)

When we consider sets of grammatical elements, we normally find irregularities. The English sets with irregular plural forms such as *goose* (sg), *geese* (pl); *foot*, *feet*; *tooth*, *teeth*, etc. are such examples. While *geese*, *feet*, *teeth* are irregular formations in comparison to the regular plural {z} in English, they are nevertheless recognized as plural since the irregularities affect a small number of nouns. Irregularities on the paradigmatic level can be expected: at the level of paradigmatic distinctions, the systematic distinctions are simply made to the extent necessary so that the underlying systemic contrasts are recoverable (Guillaume's *loi de simple suffisance* (1971:71)).

Systematic distinctions occur not only in *langue*, but also on the level of *discours*, as Guillaume points out (1984:73-74). For example, the allomorphic variations of the plural {z} on plural nouns in English are systematically distributed.

2.7.3 Verbal Systems

Guillaume analyzed the verbal system of French in a systemic way as far back as

1929. He was especially interested in tense/aspect systems. He also proposed analyses of the tense-aspect systems of Latin ([1929] 1965:77ff) and Classical Greek ([1929] 1965:90ff), German ([1929] 1965:103ff) and Russian ([1929] 1965:105ff). His theory has been adapted (Hirtle 1967, 1975, Hewson 1997a, 1997b) and applied to other languages (Korrel 1991, Hewson & Bubenik 1997). For African languages, it has been applied, for example, to Kirundi (Nkanira 1984).

In what follows, the Guillaumian view of tense and aspect will be discussed in detail. Its key concepts will be illustrated with examples of English, followed by an analysis of Standard Swahili in Chapter Four.

This approach is different from an approach based on Reichenbach (1947) in several points. First and foremost, it deals with formatives as mental representations rather than direct referential items; second, it amplifies the category of aspect where Reichenbach's approach deals to a larger extent with tense reference and with aspect in such a way that some of the distinctions made in a Guillaumian theory cannot be readily made. For example, the difference in the examples, *In 1981, when he was there, he was reading the book.* and *In 1981, when he was there, he read the book several times.* cannot be readily made.

Bantu languages are often described in terms of their many tenses (e.g., Wilson (1970)), but a closer look has identified some of these "tenses" as aspects (Johnson (1980, 1981) for Kikuyu, Drolc (1992) for *-me-* in Swahili, for example). Since these aspectual distinctions need further investigation, it is appropriate to use a theoretical approach that

can easily deal with aspectual distinctions.

2.7.4 Guillaumian Theory with Respect to Tense and Aspect

2.7.4.1 Tense and Aspect as Elements of a Stratified Structure

Tense and aspect are treated here as stratified structures in the sense of Jakobson, who concluded (for phonological systems) that ‘Every phonological system is a stratified structure, that is to say, is formed of superimposed layers’ (Jakobson 1990:299). Similarly Guillaume’s theory proposes a development of the verbal time image which increases in complexity successively through a stratified organization with different stages, the stages of the *chronogenesis*. *Chronogenesis* is a model that relates the different grammatical elements in the verbal system that deal with time, and represents the temporal grammatical representation in a verbal system as increasing in complexity and specificity in time delineation. Each stage represents a subsystem in the development of the temporal grammatical system. Each stage builds on the previous one and, therefore, increases the complexity of the temporal grammatical representation. In English, for example, the development of the time image is described as consisting of three stages which are described in section 2.8.2.

2.7.4.2 Descending and Ascending Time in Guillaumian Theory

Movement is associated with time. Guillaume used the expressions *l’esprit qui marche dans le temps* ‘the mind which works in time’ and *le temps qui marche dans*

l'esprit 'the time which works in the mind' to denote two different views of the perception of time. Hewson (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:3-4) refers to the analogy of a film running through a cine camera. As a portion of film is exposed, the film that was previously exposed recedes from the point of exposure in the camera. Exposing a further section of film will make the film that had been originally exposed recede further from the point of exposure. The analogy indicates that as events are automatically recorded in working memory, they recede further and further from the moment of perception. This process evokes Guillaume's *le temps qui marche dans l'esprit*, or *descending time* (Guillaume 1985:28-29), where the course of an event is observed with respect to each moment being observed consecutively, all of which is automatically recorded in the memory.

In addition to Descending Time, it is also possible to represent the perception of time from the point of view of Ascending Time, Guillaume's *l'esprit qui marche dans le temps*. This is the experience of time where 'the event that is already recorded in the memory as having begun eventually comes to completion at some point that is now in the future' (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:4). That is, conscious beings can use their imagination to visualize an event and carry it to its completion at some point in the future, relying on imaginative mental activity.

The two ways of perceiving motion and time are similarly observed in Lakoff & Johnson (1980):

What we have here are two subcases of TIME PASSES US: in one case we are moving and time is standing still [Ascending Time CB-L]; in the other, time is moving and we are standing still [Descending Time CB-L]. What is in common is relative motion with respect to us, with the future in front and the past behind.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980:44)

With respect to time and events, Chung & Timberlake describe a similar notion of the internal materiality of Descending Time versus the event regarded as a whole in Ascending Time, but in a different framework:

... there are two possibilities: either the frame is internal to the event (the predicate goes on before, during, and after the frame), or the frame includes the event (the predicate only occurs within the frame). A given language will choose to define one of these two possibilities in relatively narrow terms, in the sense that it will impose additional semantic restrictions; the opposite possibility will be defined in broad terms, and will be expressed with the same morphology used for other aspectual values.
(Chung & Timberlake 1985:239)

Thus, while the terms ‘Descending Time’ and ‘Ascending Time’ may be specific to a Guillaumian approach, the concepts thereby described are more widely found. Dealing with tense and aspect in this way allows us to capture the observation – revealed in the above quote by Chung & Timberlake – that one perspective may be taken as the basis for tense and aspect distinctions in a given language, being broadly applied, while the other perspective may be taken as expressing more semantically restricted concepts. This may lead to generalizations about the tense and aspect system of a particular language or languages. For example, the morphological analysis of tense/aspect systems of Indo-European languages (Hewson & Bubenik 1997) in a Guillaumian framework has revealed

that some languages base their tense/aspect systems on Descending Time (i.e. Classical Greek), others base it on Ascending Time (i.e. English), while others base it on both Descending Time and Ascending Time (i.e. Latin).

2.8 Chronogenesis

2.8.1 General Introduction

Guillaume proposed the notion of *chronogenesis* as a tool for the analysis of linguistic representations of tense and aspect. As has already been described, *chronogenesis* is created by a staged and stratified approach to tense and aspect, resulting in stages of different complexity and specificity with respect to the delineation in the time image represented by grammatical forms. For French, where it was first used, this model consists of three stages (Guillaume [1929] 1965). The stages will be illustrated with examples from English in section 2.8.2. However, the theory does not preclude the possibility that languages may have more stages, or that some speakers do not linguistically realize all stages. For example, Latin could be argued to have a more complex system involving four stages: (i) participles, (ii) infinitives, (iii) subjunctives, and (iv) indicatives (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:24). Also, not all stages may be realized by all speakers of a language. For example, not all English speakers use subjunctives, which have been analyzed as a representation at Stage Two.

2.8.2 The Stages of the *Chronogenesis* with Illustrations from English

The chronogenetic stages are exemplified in the following with reference to English. An analysis of Swahili tense/aspect distinctions will be presented in Chapter Four and Chapter Seven.

2.8.2.1 Stage One: The Quasi-nominal Mood or Event Time

The first stage, the quasi-nominal mood (Guillaume [1964]/1969:186), represents what Guillaume called *le temps impliqué* (lit: ‘the in-folded time’), the time inside the event, or ‘event time’ in Valin’s terminology (Valin 1975) and also *le temps expliqué* (lit: ‘the out-folded time’) or universe time in Valin’s terminology. This has been the tradition followed by others, eg., Hirtle (1967, 1975). Hewson, however, suggests that at this stage ‘the events ... represented are relevant only to the time of mental functioning ...’ (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:7). In this view of aspectual representations Event Time is represented at this level without any reference to Universe Time. That is, in this view the early representations of aspect are tenseless; tense is introduced at a later chronogenetic level, in the so-called finite forms.

In English, the first stage of chronogenesis has three aspectual distinctions based on the threefold representation of events in sensory experience, in memory, and in imagination. The following quotation illustrates these three linguistic representations, using the forms of ‘*sing*’:

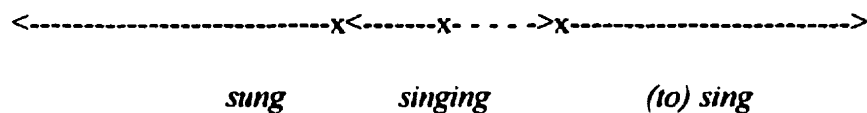
in the infinitive *(to) sing*, the event is represented as the kind of event that is conceived by the imagination, a complete whole

in the present participle *singing*, the event is represented as the kind of activity that takes place in immediate sensory experience

in the past participle *sung*, the event is represented as the kind of event that is recorded in the immediate memory, just completed.

(Hewson & Bubenik 1997:5)

The three elements can be represented in a graphic way, whereby *sung* is represented as an arrow to the left, indicating an event in immediate memory, *(to) sing* as an arrow to the right, indicating an event in imagination, and *singing*, the present participle, partaking in both with the threshold representing immediate sensory experience.



(Hewson & Bubenik 1997:6)

Figure 2.3: The Three Contrastive Aspects of the Quasi-Nominal Mood (in English)

Here *sung* represents an element of memory, *singing* an element of perception, and *(to) sing* an element of imagination. As Hewson points out:

These three fundamental representations are the basis for the development of the systems of tense, aspect, mood and voice in the verbal system of English.

(Hewson & Bubenik 1997:7)

In English, these forms are morphologically non-finite and do not express predication to a nominative subject. In Swahili there are non-finite forms which may belong to this level (see Chapter Seven). Other aspectual distinctions are expressed in finite forms and they include representations of Universe Time.

2.8.2.2 Stage Two: The Representation of Universe Time

The second stage of *chronogenesis* in English goes beyond Stage One, the representation of simple Event Time. The complexity of the time image increases in that the event-internal time can be related to the time outside the event, Guillaume's *le temps expliqué* or Universe Time. As speakers represent one event in relation to another, event-internal time can be represented in relation to the event-external time. For English, the following figure serves as an illustration:

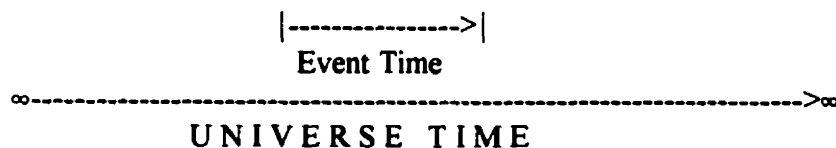
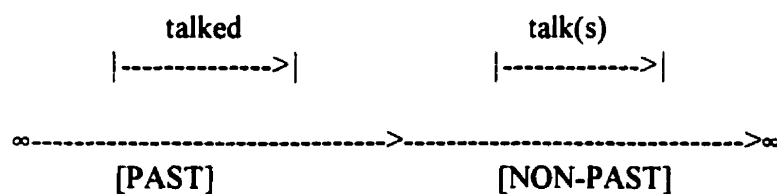


Figure 2.4: Representation of Event Time Contained in Universe Time (in a System of Ascending Time)

Universe Time becomes represented as ‘a vast present running to an infinity in the past and to an infinity in the future’ (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:7). At this stage time zones are not bound or contrasted as is the case in the third stage. The greater vagueness, compared to the third stage, allows forms at this level to express possibility, potentiality, and uncertainty. The second stage is expressed by the subjunctive in English (e.g., I move that the meeting *be* adjourned. (Hewson 1997b:24)).

2.8.2.3 Stage Three: Indicative Stage

A further increase in the complexity of the time image is represented in the third stage, where the specification of time zones in Universe Time results in bounded, contrasted time zones. This time image is represented linguistically in English as the indicative with its tenses, i.e. past and non-past, the past representing time that is in the memory, and the non-past representing non-memorial time.



(Hewson & Bubenik 1997:10)

Figure 2.5: Representation of Tenses (Past Versus Non-Past) in English

These are the stages for English. Stages for Swahili are initially discussed in

Chapter Four and reevaluated in Chapter Seven.

2.9 Summary of a Guillaumian Approach

This approach, built on a sign-based theory, and specifically the Guillaumian approach to tense and aspect, allows a description which captures characteristics of ‘verbal’ linguistic forms, i.e. (i) that they are representations (of events marked for tense and aspect) which are in a systemic relation to one another, (ii) that cognitive principles are involved, such as memory operations, which are the basis for such representations as Ascending Time and Descending Time, which Guillaume describes in terms of ‘movement’, and (iii) that a hierarchical organization may be involved, i.e. a ‘layered’ approach which can reveal the relationship between tense and aspect in a language or in language groups.

2.10 Remarks on Mood

Having dealt with key concepts of tense and aspect, *mood* and its definition is considered. Two of the three finals of the Swahili verb have been traditionally identified with ‘mood’: *-a* ‘indicative’ and *-e* ‘subjunctive’ mood. The term needs to be defined: mood can be broadly defined as ‘a marker on the verb that signals how the speaker chooses to put the proposition into the discourse context’ (Bybee 1985:165) or more specifically as:

Mood ... refers to a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signalled by alternative paradigms of the verb, e.g. indicative (the unmarked form), subjunctive, imperative. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of his [or her [CB-L]] utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility. Syntactically, these contrasts may be signalled by alternative inflectional forms of a verb, or by using auxiliaries.

(Crystal 1980:230)

The speaker's attitude toward the actualization⁹ of the content of the utterance is expressed, for example, by the choice of the final *-a* versus *-e* in the verbal construction in Swahili.

Mood relates to modality. Modality is the wider term, includes mood, and can be defined as:

Modality in language is, then, concerned with the subjective characteristics of an utterance, and it could even be further argued that subjectivity is an essential criterion for modality. Modality could, that is to say, be defined as the grammaticalization of speakers' (subjective) attitudes and opinions.

(Palmer 1986:16)

The scope of this study is limited to the verbal construction, dealing with formatives in the pre-verbal base position and the finals. Due to its scope, areas of modality as expressed through verbal roots or syntactic elements are not discussed in the study. But the study deals specifically in terms of mood with the finals and the pre-verbal base markers *-nge-* and *-ngali-*, since they have been analyzed as mood markers.

9

The term actualization is used here in a general sense of 'making actual, being realizable'.

2.11 Remarks on Negation

The topic of negation also raises theoretical questions. Negation in this study is not restricted to expressing the logical parameters of truth value p versus $\sim p$ (for further discussion see Contini-Morava 1989, Horn 1989). This raises the question whether to regard negative markers only in relation to affirmative markers, that is establishing affirmative markers and then analyzing negative markers in correspondence to affirmative markers only, or to analyze negative markers independently from the affirmative markers. In this study negative forms are not considered as corresponding in a one to one relationship to affirmative forms. The tense/aspect/mood markers in negative forms and tense/aspect/mood markers in affirmative forms do not correspond one to one (Ashton [1944] 1993, Kamba Muzenga 1981, Contini-Morava 1989). Therefore, the negative markers are treated independently from affirmative forms, and are discussed in the context of their form, position, function and meaning, since they form a subsystem. They are also discussed in correlation to tense/aspect/mood markers. For example, the negation marker *ha-* is discussed in the context of co-occurrence restrictions with tense/aspect/mood markers which leads to an analysis of the tense/aspect/mood markers into different subsets that are semantically motivated.

Whether negative forms are necessarily based on affirmative forms is a question that will be set aside, since there have been discussions for centuries on this subject (see Horn 1989: Chapter 1). From a linguistic point of view, it seems clear that since negative forms exist, they can be investigated in their own right. Hence, as mentioned above, the

negative markers are first analyzed independently; nevertheless, subsequently they are analyzed in relation to affirmative forms, and correspondences are mentioned which are meant as ‘loose correspondences’, that is, they may not be strictly one to one. From the semantic analysis it becomes clear what governs the possible correspondence of affirmative forms and negative forms, and it becomes clear that depending on the desired semantics in some cases there are several choices.

2.12 Contini-Morava’s Approach to the Swahili Verbal Construction

Contini-Morava (1989) considers “traditional” analyses of the Swahili verbal construction and points out some of the problems she perceives with the traditional analyses. As a result, she proposes her own grammatical system to analyze the formatives of the verbal construction: the system of occurrence in Swahili. Within this system Contini-Morava deals with the tense/aspect/mood formatives that cannot co-occur with the negative markers, and she deals with the negative formatives in the tense/aspect/mood position. Other formatives, for example, *-nge-* and *-ngali-*, and the negative marker *-si-*, are not treated in detail. This analysis follows Contini-Morava’s analysis in some areas, for example with respect to the distinction between *-ku-* and *-ja-*, but it revises her analysis in other areas and also expands it. Contini-Morava’s analysis provided the initial impetus for further questions and for a search to answers to questions that she had left unanswered, which led to a rethinking of the analysis. The results of this process are summarised in Chapter Seven.

2.13 Conclusion

This chapter has described the theoretical departure points for the study. Swahili, an agglutinating language, includes in the verbal construction formatives that may be expressed outside the verbal construction in a language like English, for example. Each of these formatives is meaningful and besides its meaning and function, its position within the verbal construction is significant. The position is one indicator of the systematic relation that exists between all of the elements expressed in the verbal construction and, therefore, has to be taken into consideration in establishing the systemic properties of the formatives. As was described in this chapter, sign theory provides a framework that can address this point.

From the viewpoint of Guillaumian theory, the formatives expressing notions of tense or aspect show regularities that reveal elements of their systematic relationship. Tense and aspect formatives are discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

CHAPTER THREE

FORMATIVES OF THE TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD POSITION IN AFFIRMATIVE SIMPLE VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.0 Introduction

Standard Swahili, as was pointed out earlier, has one pre-verbal base 'slot' where tense/aspect markers and other formatives are positioned. In contrast, many other Bantu languages in East Africa, e.g., Kikuyu, Ruhaya, and Kisukuma have two or more positions, and older forms of Swahili also had more than one position, e.g.: *wali w-as-ie dini* 'they have/had abandoned religion' (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:394). *-ile>-ie* is not retained in Standard Swahili, but has been replaced by *-me-*, a pre-verbal base aspect marker.

In Chapters Three and Four an analysis of the markers that occur in the tense/aspect/mood position will be provided. While generally all of the formatives of position 4 are described as tense/aspect markers, not all of them express tense or aspect corresponding to the definitions given in Chapter Two; other functions are also fulfilled by some of the formatives in this position, for example, *-ka-* will be analyzed as expressing neither tense nor aspect. In regards to tense and aspect, how then can one distinguish between both elements? In simple verbal constructions, meanings and contrasts between formatives provide evidence, but this is not always straightforward, and further evidence for the distinctions comes from compound forms. When forms of aspectual nature are

considered applicable to several tenses since these forms represent an expression of the event's internal temporal constituency, they appear to be the ones that can occur in the lexical verb of compound forms. The co-occurrence patterns of formatives in the auxiliary and the lexical verb provide some indicators of tense versus aspect. Chapters Three and Four will discuss function and meanings of formatives in position 4, first in simple verbal construction, then in compound forms.

The markers dealt with are the following: *-na-/a-*, *-ki-*, *-me-*, *-(me)sha*¹, *-li-*, *-(li)sha-*, *-ta-*, *-nge-*, *-ngali-*, *hu-* and *-ka-*. [*-ku-* and *-ja-* are considered in Chapter Six.]

Although the formative *hu-* does not occur in that position, it is included in the discussion. This is because it is generally described as a habitual aspect marker. However, its analysis will demonstrate that it is not a marker of aspect in the same way that *-me-*, for example, is a marker of aspect. Another formative, *KU*², is often considered in context with verbal constructions. This formative, used with verbal bases to express a verbal noun or infinitive, is described here as in position 2 (see Chapter One), therefore, not being included in the discussion of tense/aspect/mood marking, but is addressed in Chapter Seven.

1

'*+sha*' is preceded by *-me-* or *-li-*. While, strictly speaking, it is not in Position 4, the process of grammaticalization is underway.

2

The verbal noun marker *KU-* is capitalized here to distinguish it from *-ku-*, used in negative forms as a past marker. Both markers come etymologically from the same source. They are considered homonymous today.

The following examples are given as an introductory illustration of the different markers dealt with in Chapters Three to Four:

(1) a. Ng'ombe hu-l-a chakula gani? **Hu-l-a** nyasi.

Cows HU-eat-F food what HU-eat-F grass³

'What sort of food do cows eat as their staple food⁴? They eat grass.'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:38)

b. n-a-ka-a Nairobi.

I S-A-live,dwell-F *Nairobi*

"I live in Nairobi." i.e. my permanent home'

(Maw 1985:187)

c. Tu-na-som-a.

I P-NA-read-F

'We are reading, we read.'

³

The morpheme by morpheme analysis is usually not included in the source cited, but provided by the author of this study.

⁴

'as their staple food' is given by Ashton to express the meaning of *hula*.

d. Ayubu a-ki-fik-a ni-ta-ku-ambi-a.

Ayubu 3S-KI-arrive-F 1S-FU-2S-tell-F

'If Ayubu arrives I will tell you.'

(Moshi 1988:11 with slight adaptation in morpheme analysis)

e. Ni-li-m-kut-a mamangu a-ki-pik-a chakula cha jio-ni.

1S-PA-3S-find-F mother=my⁵ 3S-KI-cook-F food of evening-LO

'I found my mother cooking the evening meal.'

(Maw 1985:169)

f. A-me-chok-a.

3S-ME-be=tired-F

'He is tired.'

g. Wa-mesha-fik-a.

3P-ME-SHA-arrive-F

'Sie sind schon angekommen.'

['They have already arrived.' CB-L]

(Schadeberg 1990:1)

⁵

'=' indicates that both elements in one language are represented by one word or morpheme in the other.

h. A-lisha-imb-a.

3S-LI-SHA-sing-F

‘S/he had already sung (and was no longer there).’

i. Wa-li-som-a.

3P-PA-read-F

‘They read. [rɛd]’

j. Wa-ta-som-a.

3P-FU-read-F

‘They will read.’

k. I-nge-ku-w-a ha-wa-ku-ugu-a wakati ule wa-nge-ku-j-a hapa?

3S-NGE-ST-be-F NEG-3P-ST-sick-F time that 3P-NGE-ST-come-F here

‘If they had not been ill at that moment, would they have come here?’

(Polomé 1967:153)

l. Mti huu u-nge-anguk-a, u-nge-ni-u-a.

tree this 3S-NGE-fall-F, 3S-NGE-1S-kill-F

‘If this tree should fall, it would kill me.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:187)

m. Mti huu u-**ngali**-anguk-a u-**ngali**-ni-u-a.

tree this 3S-NGALI-fall-F 3S-NGALI-1S-kill-F

‘If this tree had fallen, it would have killed me.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:187)

n. Ni-**li**-kw-end-a soko-ni, ni-**ka**-nunu-a ndizi sita, ni-**ka**-la tatu,

1S-PA-ST-go-F market-LO 1S-KA-buy-F bananas six 1S-KA-eat-F three

ni-**ka**-m-p-a mwenzangu tatu.

1S-KA-3S-give-F companion=my three

‘I went to the market, and bought six bananas;

I ate three and three I gave to my companion.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:133)

o. I-chuku-e barua hii u-ka-m-p-e Bwana Hamisi.

3S-take-F letter this 2S-KA-3S-give-F Bwana *Hamisi*

‘Nimm diesen Brief and gib ihn Bwana Hamisi.’

[‘Take this letter and give it to Mr. Hamisi.’ CB-L]

(Schicho 1995:151)

Chapter Three discusses formatives of the tense/aspect/mood position in affirmative simple verbal constructions; Chapter Four deals with those markers and their combinatory possibilities in compound verb forms. The discussion will be largely restricted to main clauses. At the end of Chapter Four, formatives are considered in the theoretical framework, presenting a systemic analysis of the tense/aspect markers.

The chapter on negation, Chapter Six, will refer to some of the elements under discussion in Chapters Three and Four, since Chapter Six deals with the co-occurrence of the formatives in the tense/aspect/mood position and negation markers.

3.1 Outline of Chapter Three

This chapter discusses the tense/aspect markers *-me*, *-(me)sha-*, *-(li)sha-*, *-na-*, *-a-*, *-ki-*, *-li-* and *-ta-* in simple verbal constructions in affirmative sentences. The markers *hu-*, *-ka-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-* will also be addressed. The *hu-* formative is usually described as expressing aspect in the literature; *-ka-* has had a variety of labels attached to it, for example, *ka-* tense (Ashton ([1944] 1993), Maw (1885)); subsecutive (Polomé (1967); Schadeberg (1992)); occurrence questioned (Leonard (1980)). *-ka-* is the only formative of the position for tense/aspect/mood formatives that can occur in forms ending in the final *-e* besides occurring in forms ending in the final *-a*. All other formatives discussed in this chapter occur in forms ending with the final *-a*. The meaning of the finals in Swahili is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

The markers *-me-*, *-mesha-*, *-na-*, *-a-* and *-ki-* will be described as markers of aspect based on their semantics and their distributional patterns, whereby *-na-* is given special consideration. As example (1e) illustrates, *-ki-* typically occurs in subordinate clauses or in contextually dependent expressions. *-ka-* is also used in forms that are context dependent.

The formatives *-li-* and *-ta-* will be considered as tense markers. While *-li-* is

unequivocally a past marker in the literature, *-ta-* has also been described as a marker with reference to probability, for instance, '[OCCURRENCE, not affirmed, specified for probability, HIGHLY PROBABLE]' (Contini-Morava 1989:45). Following Schicho who notes that: 'Ähnlich wie Formen mit {ka} legt Futurum einer Interpretation mit modaler Bedeutung nichts in den Weg.' (Schicho 1995:155) ['Similar to forms with *-ka-*, 'future' does not prevent an interpretation with modal meaning.' CB-L], the formative *-ta-* is considered a future, while acknowledging that modal interpretations are possible in translation where an event projected as to be completed, expressed by the formative *-ta-*, relates to a past event. This is illustrated by the following example:

(2) Ni-li-dhani kuwa mshtakiwa a-ki-on-a kuwa bidii yake i-li-ku-w-a
 1S-PA-think-F that accused 3S-KI-see-F that effort his 3S-PA-ST-be-F
 kazi ya bure, a-ta-kom-a mwenyewe kuyadhihaki mamlaka ya serikali.
 work of for=nothing, 3S-FU-cease-F himself mock authority of government
 'Ich dachte, daß der Angeklagte, wenn er sieht, daß seine Anstrengungen
 umsonst waren, von selbst aufgeben würde, die Autorität der Regierung zu
 verhöhnen.'

['I thought that the accused, if and when he sees [saw CB-L] that his
 efforts were for nothing, would (will) cease on his own accord to mock the
 authority of the government.' CB-L]

(Göbelmann 1995:114-115)

Due to theoretical considerations the chapter begins with a discussion of the aspect markers and then proceeds to a discussion of tense markers.

3.2 Remarks on Terminology

Before we begin the analysis, two terms need to be clarified: the use of 'retrospective' instead of 'perfect', and the use of 'compound' verbal constructions in Swahili.

3.2.1 The Use of 'Retrospective' Instead of 'Perfect' in Aspectual Distinctions

When considering aspectual distinctions, different positions in terms of the temporal constituency of the event are possible, as we have seen in Chapter Two. The literature offers several terms for what is often called 'perfect'. It represents position E in Figure 2.1. In this study it is called 'retrospective'.

With reference to Swahili, Drolc (1992), for example, uses the term 'perfect' for what is termed 'retrospective' here. Although the term 'perfect' is quite commonly used, it is replaced with the term 'retrospective' to avoid any possible confusion between 'perfective' and 'perfect'. For a similar reason Bybee et al. (1994) used the term 'anterior' for 'perfect' and described it in the following way:

... an anterior signals that the situation occurs prior to reference time and is relevant to the situation at reference time. Anteriors are typically translated with the English perfect

(Bybee et al. 1994:54)

3.2.2 The Term ‘Compound’ Verbal Constructions

There are constructions in Swahili that consist of ‘compound’ verbal forms, e.g. *tulikuwa tumelala*. ‘We were asleep.’ These verbal constructions consist of two verb forms, the first of which is, for example in Ashton, termed auxiliary. The second verb form is often termed the ‘lexical’ verb. For ease of reference the terms auxiliary and lexical verb are maintained. Using the term ‘lexical verb’ for the second verb form is not meant to imply that *-(ku)wa* ‘be’, is not meaningful, however.

The compound form, as in the example given above, does not indicate a different tense from the simple verbal construction with the same tense marker, but may indicate different shades of meaning. Contini-Morava (1989:123, note 15), does not perceive a need to set up a special class of ‘compound tenses’ as distinct from simple tenses.

‘Compound’ forms describe more precisely the details about the locus of orientation that the speaker wants to express and may provide more information for the addressee. The auxiliary and lexical verb of a compound form generally agree in subject concord marking. For the second form in a ‘compound’ form there are only certain forms possible. The issue of co-occurrence will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Ashton deals with ‘compound’ forms in three separate chapters. The forms given in the last of these can be analyzed as complex or compound sentences, since the forms given do not agree in subject concord. Whether all forms should be analyzed as syntactically biclausal is an issue that needs further study. For practical purposes the single quotation marks around the term ‘compound’ will be deleted in what follows.

In terms of terminology, a compound verbal construction or compound form as illustrated above is differentiated from bi-clausal or multi-clausal sentences, that is compound sentences or complex sentences.

3.3 Aspect in Simple Verbal Constructions: Formatives in Swahili

The discussion of the tense and aspect markers begins with an analysis of formatives expressing aspect in simple verbal constructions of the pattern SC+TAM+(OC)+VB+(E)+F.

3.3.1 -me-

The formative *-me-* is at times considered as a tense in the literature. *-me-* has also been considered as an aspectual category (e.g. Polomé 1967), in particular a perfect (Droic 1992). We will categorize *-me-* as aspectual and provide arguments in this chapter why in Swahili *-me-* represents an aspectual form, a retrospective, which was defined in section 3.2.1.

3.3.1.1 Examples of -me- in Simple Verbal Constructions

The formative *-me-* can be illustrated by the following examples:

(3) U-me-andik-a barua?

2S-ME-write-F letter

‘Have you written the letter?’

(Polomé 1967:116)

(4) Msafiri a-me-fik-a.

traveller 3S-ME-arrive-F

‘The traveller has arrived (he is here now).’

(Polomé 1967:116)

The formative *-me-* occurs in affirmative sentences and cannot occur with a negative marker, i.e. **ha-me-andik-a*. How the negative may be expressed is discussed in Chapter Six.

3.3.1.2 Retrospective

As an aspectual morpheme *-me-* does not normally refer to an absolute locus of orientation. Rather, a form with *-me-* represents the event from a point of view exterior to the event just after its completion. This can graphically be represented as:

←-----|x x = point of orientation

Figure 3.1: Retrospective Aspect

The arrow indicates that the direction of the speaker's view is from a position just after the completion of the represented event back to the beginning of the event represented (see examples (3) and (4)). It is an exterior point of view. The speaker's interest lies with the relevance of the represented event to the time of speaking, the contextually defined time, or to the locus of orientation (in compound forms).

The event can either receive a temporal interpretation or a resultative one depending on the meaning in context and Aktionsart of the verb.

3.3.1.3 Resultatives

Resultatives in general are described by Bybee et al. (1994:54). The authors state: 'Resultatives signal that a state exists as a result of a past action'. The authors give examples from English to illustrate the difference between resultatives and 'anterior', i.e. retrospectives (1994:63). In English that distinction is expressed in the following example by the choice of the auxiliary:

(5) resultative: He is gone.

(6) retrospective: He has gone.

In English, in the affirmative, resultatives can co-occur with 'still', while retrospectives cannot, i.e. 'He is still gone.'; *he has still gone' ('still' has a different sense). Let us add the following example:

- (7) resultative: **He is dead.**
- (8) retrospective: **He has died.**

Swahili *amekufa*, for example, can be translated as **both** ‘he has died’ or ‘he is dead’ depending on the context. Therefore, forms with *-me-* may include a resultative or a retrospective interpretation depending on the Aktionsart of the verb and the context. As Carey (1996) discusses in general, and Drolc (1992) points out for Swahili, some verbs, for example, *-kaa* ‘sit down’, *-lala* ‘lie down’, *-simama* ‘stand up’, *-pata* ‘receive’, *-shinda* ‘win’ may have a resultative/stative interpretation, (i.e. ‘sit’, ‘lie’, ‘stand’, ‘have’, ‘be better than’, respectively). Verbs like the ones given above express a change of state, a change of conditions.⁶

The following examples illustrate the resultative meaning expressed:

- (9) a. A-me-fik-a. ‘He has arrived.’ [i.e. ‘he is here now’ CB-L]
 3S-ME-arrive-F
- b. A-me-simam-a. ‘He is standing.’
 3S-ME-stand=up-F

6

Different terminology is found in the literature; for a detailed discussion of inchoative verbs in Kinyarwanda see Botne (1983); Wald (1973) called these verbs quasi-stative verbs.

c. A-me-siki-a. 'He understands, i.e. he has heard.'

3S-ME-hear-F

d. A-me-chok-a. 'He is tired.'

3S-ME-be=tired-F

(Ashton [1944] 1993:37)

e. U-me-chelew-a 'You are late (you have become late).'

2S-ME-be=late-F

(Wilson 1970:109)

f. Mtoto a-me-pote-a. 'The child is lost (has become lost).'

child 3S-ME-be=lost-F

(Wilson 1970:109)

The forms show the resultative meaning and its relevance in the present. Wilson (1970) comments on verbs as in examples (9d, e, f):

The verbs whose meanings are stative without having to be put in the stative form, however, may NEVER be used with the present tense ..., except in very rare cases

(Wilson 1970:110)

The 'stative form' in the above quote refers to the suffixation of a stative marker, also called neutro-passive (Schadeberg 1992), to the verb stem or root of verbs that are not inherently stative by Aktionsart. The stative marker has several allomorphs due to the application of vowel harmony to the root or stem, i.e. *-ik-*, *-ek-*, *-(l)ik-*, *-(l)ek-* or *-k*. It

can be added to the root, and its meaning is described as expressing a state without agency, and potentiality (see Ashton [1944] 1993:226ff). The stative form *-vunjika* from the verb *kuvunja* ‘break’ is illustrated in the following example:

(10) Kikombe ki-**me**-vunj-**ik**-a.

cup SC-ME-break-STA-F

‘The cup is broken.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:227)

This form finds its equivalence in many languages. Within generative theory, the term ‘antipassive marker’ would be applied to the stative marker, especially in ergative languages.⁷ For example, in Inuktitut, the antipassive marker reduces the valency of the verb, just as the stative marker does in Swahili in examples like *-vunjika*. In Swahili the stative marker expresses properties that correspond semantically to notions expressed by middle voice. Kemmer (1993) suggests a continuum where middle voice is one of the intermediates between events involving two participants and events involving one participant. Middle voice is described semantically with reference to two properties:

⁷

For a discussion of antipassive markers in Labrador Inuttut see Beaudoin-Lietz (1982).

1. Initiator as affected entity (Endpoint),

2. low degree of elaboration of event.

The first property ... is subsumed by the second one ...

(Kemmer 1993:238).

Now compare to the form in example (10), the form with the verb *-la* 'eat':

(11) a. Chakula ki-me-l-ik-a.

food SC-ME-eat-STA-F

'The food has been eaten.'

b. Chakula ki-na-l-ik-a

food SC-NA-eat-STA-F

'The food is edible.'

(HM)

In the form with *-na-*, example (11b), the translation reflects that the food can be eaten. Where the stative form expresses this possibility, it describes the intrinsic property or the ability to undergo a process.

Certain verbs appear to have a resultative meaning without a stative marker, and one might suggest that these forms cannot occur with the stative marker. That appears to be true for some verbs. For the last three verbs of example (9) above, Johnson ([1939] 1969) does not list a stative marker:

kuchoka 'become tired, get weary, be fatigued (worn out, overdone), be in need of a change' (no stative listed) (Johnson [1939] 1969:58)

kuchelewa 'to be late' (no stative according to Johnson, already derived from *-cha*) (Johnson [1939] 1969:45)

kupotea derived from pota 'twist' with the meaning 'get lost, fall way, deteriorate, be scarce' (stative only with *-pota*: *-potoka* 'be crooked, twisted, spoiled, perverted' (Johnson [1939] 1969:386))

There are other verbs where no stative morpheme is listed, for example:

kuiva 'become ripe, get ripe, mature, become cooked', as in *Nyama imeiva* 'The meat is cooked.' (Johnson [1939] 1969:145) (no stative listed)

kujaa 'become full (of), fill up a given space, be plentiful, abound, swarm' as in *Mtungi umejaa maji*. 'The pitcher is full of water.' (Johnson [1939] 1969:146) (no stative listed)

kushiba 'be satisfied (food)' (Johnson [1939] 1969:419) (no stative listed)

Concerning *kuiva* and *kujaa*, they are both described as +Patient (and not Agent) in terms of semantic roles (Khamisi (1972)).

For verbs such as those in examples (9a, b, c), a stative morpheme may occur, the meaning then, however, does not reflect the resultative meaning, but a possibility or some other meaning. For example, for a verb such as *kukaa*, 'sit down, dwell, live, stay' a form with a morphological stative marker exists, but the meaning is then different, indicating 'facilitative', for example, *-kalika* 'hospitable, habitable':

(12) Hapa pa-na-kal-ik-a.

here SC-NA-sit-STA-F

'Here (this place) is hospitable, can be sat on.'

(HM)

Some of the verbs are listed below with information on the existence of a stative morpheme (from Johnson ([1939] 1969)).

kufika 'arrive' (stative, potential: *-fikika* 'be accessible, be approachable, be hospitable' (Johnson [1939] 1969:95))

kukaa 'sit down, remain, dwell, continue, last' (stative, potential *-kalika* 'be habitable' (Johnson [1939] 1969:162))

kulala 'lie down, go to bed, sleep, settle down, fall, collapse, lie flat'

(*kulalika* 'be fit (or possible) for sleeping in' (Johnson [1939] 1969:240))

kusikia 'hear, understand' (stative, potential *-sikika* 'be audible'

(Johnson [1939] 1969:429))

kusimama 'stand up' (*kusimika* [from *-sima?* which is not used in a non-derived

form] stative, potential: 'stand, be set up, be erect, cause to stand, cause

to prosper, appoint' (Johnson [1939] 1969:430-431))

kuvaa 'put on, dress in, clothe oneself, dress', as in: *Amevaa nguo nzuri*. 'He is

wearing fine clothing.' (Stative *kuvika* 'clothe, cause to wear, dress (in)'

(Johnson [1939] 1969:512))⁸

Thus, verbs like the ones given above may have a similar meaning in the form with

8

Schadeberg (1992:9) lists {*Ik*} 'neutro-passive' (a term that may not be appropriate) which includes the meaning of potential, and for examples like *kuvaa* he lists a second morpheme {*Ik*} 'active positional'. The latter is described as non-productive. Generally, whether there is one morpheme or two does not appear totally clear. Ashton ([1944] 1993) lists one morpheme, Khamisi (1972), on the other hand, suggests two morphemes: one 'stative', one 'potential'. Polomé (1967) comments that Guthrie also listed two.

-me- as verbs like *-vunja* ‘break’ have in the form with *-me-* and the stative marker⁹. In examples (13) and (14) below the forms with and without the stative marker are compared.

<i>-me-...-ST-</i>	<i>-me-...+-ST-</i>
(13) a. Mtungi a- me -ja-a maji	(14) a. Kikombe ki- me -vunj-ik-a
pitcher 3S-ME-full-F water	cup SC-ME-break-STA-F
‘The pitcher is full of water.’	‘The cup is broken.’
b. A- me -lal-a.	b. Chakula ki- me -l-ik-a.
3S-ME-asleep-F	food SC-ME-eat-STA-F
‘S/he is asleep/has fallen asleep.’	‘The food has been eaten.’

The following examples are the corresponding forms with *-na-* and the stative marker to the lexical verbs in examples (13b) and (14b):

(15) Kitanda hiki ki- na -lal-ik-a.	(16) Chakula ki- na -l-ik-a.
bed this SC-NA-sleep-STA-F	food SC-NA-eat-STA-F
‘This bed can be slept on.’	‘The food is edible.’

⁹

Accordingly, Wald noted for Mombasa Swahili that ‘It makes no sense, in terms of Swahili, to distinguish semantically inchoative verbs from semantically stative verbs’ (Wald 1973:253).

In examples with the stative markers, (15) and (16) above, the meaning is similar, expressing the possibility, a facilitative form. One might think that *-na-* does not at all occur with verbs like *kujaa* or *kuiva*. But as Contini-Morava shows, forms with *-na-* also exist:

(17) Chumba ki-**na**-ja-a watu.

room SC-NA-fill-F people

‘The room is filling, usually fills, is usually full of people.’

(18) Maembe ya-**na**-iv-a.

Mangos SC-NA-ripen-F

‘The mangos are ripening/mangos ripen.’

(Contini-Morava 1989:88 [bold CB-L])

The question has to be raised why verbs like ‘arrive’, ‘sit’, ‘stand’, etc. are marked differently from verbs like *vunja* ‘break’, etc. Kemmer provides an explanation: for those verbs the action ‘is performed on the self and the verb is unmarked, without any overt indication of the [differentiated] Endpoint entity’ (Kemmer 1993:59). These verbs are fundamentally intransitive.

In the examples (17) and (18) the process is described whereby both *chumba* and *maembe* are undergoing the process.

Thus, there are verbs which do not have a stative form and may have a resultative

meaning in the form with *-me-*; there are verbs which may have a resultative meaning in the form with *-me-*, but have a stative form (non-resultative); and there are verbs like *-vunja*. Further exploration of the co-occurrence of the stative marker with the aspect marker *-me-* and *-na-* and also its co-occurrence with the Aktionsart of the verbal root is necessary.

3.3.1.4 Temporal Meaning of *-me-*

The resultative/stative is not the only use of *-me-*. Temporal meanings also exist that correspond to the definition of ‘anterior’ given above. Since *-me-* is considered an aspectual morpheme, these temporal meanings can co-occur with different tenses (see Chapter Four). When *-me-* is used in simple verbal constructions and the context does not provide any other locus of orientation, the ‘default’ locus of orientation that the event refers to is the present, as the following examples illustrate:

(19) a. A-me-ful-i-a sabuni ghali.

3S-ME-wash-AP-F soap expensive

‘She has been washing (clothes) with expensive soap.’

(Loogman 1965:160)

b. Kwa=nini a-me-kw-end-a jiko-ni?

why 3S-ME-ST-go-F kitchen-LO

‘Why has he gone to the kitchen?’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:75)

Forms with *-me-* can also be used as simple preterits. In Swahili, forms with *-me-* depending on the Aktionsart of the verb can be translated with a past tense.¹⁰

(20) Tu-me-ku-p-a shilingi tano.

1P-ME-2S-give-F shilling five

‘We gave you five shillings.’

(Loogman 1965:87)

‘This ambivalent usage of Retrospectives stems from the fact that the subject, represented as being in a position after the event (or sometimes after a portion of the event), necessarily has an involvement in the event itself.’ (Hewson & Nurse 1999:26).

3.3.2 +sha-

The following sections deal with the aspect marker *-sha-* which occurs as *-mesha-* and *-lisha-* in forms marked for experienced events. *-sha-* (as might be expected) does not appear to occur with *-na-* or *-ta-*:

*tunashaimba *tunashalala

*tutashaimba

¹⁰

In Latin the retrospective can ‘functionally’ operate as a preterite. For example, *mortus est* can be translated into English as ‘he is dead’ or ‘he died’ (see Hewson & Bubenik 1997:196).

3.3.2.1 -me+sha-

A form that includes *-mesha-* has often as part of its translation into English ‘already’. As Schadeberg (1990) points out, the *-mesha-* form is one of the latest grammaticalized verbal forms. The verbal base *-isha* has the meaning of ‘end, come to an end, bring to an end, make an end of, finish, close, complete’ (Johnson [1939] 1969:143). The form *-mesha-* includes the older form *-me-*, grammaticalized from a lexical verb with the meaning ‘finish’, and the more recently grammaticalized *-sha-* from *-isha*.

The path of grammaticalization can be illustrated in the following with *kulima* ‘plant’: wame(kw)isha kulima > wame(kw)isha-lima > wameshalima. The following examples illustrate its use:

(21) A-me(kwi)sha-ku-f-a.

3S-ME-SHA-ST-die-F

‘He has already died.’ or ‘He is already dead.’

(BM)

(22) Wa-mesha-fik-a.

3P-ME-SHA-arrive-F

‘Sie sind schon angekommen.’

[‘They have already arrived.’ CB-L]

(Schadeberg 1990:1)

(23) Wa-mesha-imb-a.

3P-ME-SHA-sing-F

‘Sie haben schon gesungen.’ [‘They have already sung.’ CB-L]

(Schadeberg 1990:11)

(24) A-mesha-imb-a.

3S-ME-SHA-sing-F

‘S/he already sang (today and is unlikely to sing again).’

(25) A-mesha-end-a.¹¹

3S-ME-SHA-go-F

‘He has already gone.’

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:124)

(26) Tu-mesha-chelew-a.

1P-ME-SHA-be late-F

‘We are already late. (i.e. There is no need to hurry.)’

(HM)

In *wameshafika* ‘they have already arrived’ the ‘arriving’ is completed and the process is completely finished; it is not open to be repeated immediately. This meaning also becomes clear from examples (23) and (24) involving ‘singing’.

¹¹

The form can be *-enda* or *-kwenda*, of which the latter is standard.

The difference between *-me-* and *-mesha-* can be exemplified. Consultant HM described the following situation: He is going somewhere in the car and is anxious to arrive at his destination. The driver says *tumefika*; that is the persons are just about to arrive at the destination (a few more seconds). *Tumeshafika* implies that the persons have arrived and that the engine has been turned off. In English, in response to the question, 'Are we there yet?' the translation would include 'already': 'We have already arrived'.

As the question with 'yet' in English illustrates, forms like 'already' and 'yet' appear to relate systemically. So Schadeberg (1990) compares *-mesha-* and *-ja-* to corresponding German forms 'schon' ['already' CB-L] and 'noch' ['still' CB-L]. His label for *-mesha-* is 'unexpected perfective' (Schadeberg 1992:38) and indicates the actual completion of the event before its anticipated completion.

Hirtle (1977) analyzes 'already', 'still' and 'yet' in English as contrastive members of a ternary system. Some of the remarks by Hirtle can also be applied to *-mesha-* in Swahili. Hirtle describes 'already' as a position after the event: 'already depicts its [the event's] existence as a result, an aftermath.' (Hirtle 1977:30). Graphically this is depicted as:

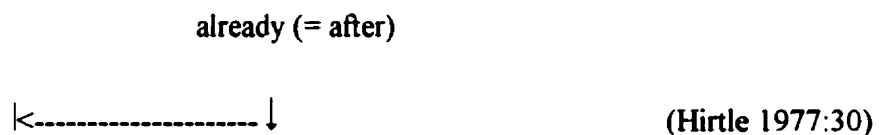


Figure 3.2: Description of 'already'

The term ‘already’ represents the position after the event in the sense that the existence of the event provides a reference point to which the position after relates. It is interesting to note that Hirtle sees a connection between ‘*already*’ and inchoatives in English: ‘*already* implies some change of state; e.g., *John already floats* means not that John is floating, but that he can float and there was a time when he couldn’t’ (Hirtle 1977:35). There is also a connection between this observation in English and the resultatives we have seen in *-me-* forms in Swahili. Schadeberg refers to the unexpected, surprisingly early finish with forms with *-mesha-*. Hirtle, for English, comments:

The suggestion of surprise arises with the use of *already* precisely because the speaker has had some hint that the event has come into existence sooner than anticipated.

(Hirtle 1977:34)

While *-sha-* can occur with *-me-*, that is not the only morpheme *-sha-* can occur with: as is discussed below, it can also occur with *-li-*.

3.3.2.2 *-li+sha-*

There are not only forms with *-mesha-*, but also forms with *-lisha-* as the following examples illustrate:

(27) A-li-sha-imb-a. ‘S/he had already sung (and was no longer there).’

3S-PA-SHA-sing-F

(28) Tu-li-sha-som-a.

1P-PA-SHA-read-F

‘We have/had already read.’

[‘We were done reading.’ CB-L]

(29) Maria alipofika tu-li-sha-som-a kitabu na ku-ki-u-maliz-a.

Mary arrive 1P-PA-SHA-read-F book and VN-3P-R-finish-F

‘When Mary arrived we had already finished reading the book.’

(HM)

In this section *-sha-* is added to forms with the past marker;¹² in the previous section the formative is added to retrospective forms to indicate that in the speakers’ view the event had been completed (unexpectedly for Schadeberg) before the expected time. Bybee et al. (1994) use the term ‘completive’ for concepts that are represented by *-sha-* in Swahili. Both *-mesha-* and *-lisha-* differ in the length of time from the completion. *-lisha-* represents a longer time from the completion of the event than *-mesha-*.

3.3.3 -na-

The formative *-na-* is often described as a progressive or as present tense or both

¹²

Since forms with *-li+sha-* are less common and not as far along on the path of grammaticalization (for example, they are not included in Ashton ([1944] 1993)), *-li+sha-* is omitted from further discussion.

(for the latter see Möhlig & Heine (1995)). Here *-na-* is subsumed under aspect, but is given special consideration.

3.3.3.1 Examples with Simple Verb Forms

The following are examples of verbal constructions with *-na-*:

(30) Tu-na-nunu-a mahindi.

1P-NA-buy-F maize

‘We are buying maize.’

(Maw 1985:79)

(31) Ali a-na-andik-a barua.

Ali 3S-NA-write-F letter

‘Ali schreibt gerade einen Brief.’

[‘Ali is (in the process of) writing a letter.’ CB-L]

(Möhlig & Heine 1995:82)

The formative *-na-* is restricted to affirmative sentences. Although it has been described as ‘present’, its occurrence is not restricted to the present tense. In compound forms it can occur following verbs in the future and the past: describing *-na-* as a present tense marker does not capture all of its usages. When it is used in simple forms and no overt tense is provided morphologically or through context, the tense is ‘present’. Otherwise another tensed form or the context provides the locus of orientation in which

forms with *-na-* then apply, as the following examples from Ashton indicate:

- (32) Manyani wa-li-tambu-a ya kuwa safari i-na-ondok-a.
apes 3P-PA-recognise-F of that travel/caravan 3S-NA-leave-F
'The apes realized that the caravan was leaving.'

- (33) Simba a-li-nyamaz-a kimya kwa kuwa mkono u-na-mw-um-a.
lion 3S-PA-quiet-F silent PREP that paw 3S-NA-3S-hurt-F
'The lion kept quiet, for his paw was paining him.'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:190)

In examples (32) and (33) above the past marker on *walitambua* and *alinyamaza* indicate the locus to orientation in which the forms with the *-na-* formative apply.

Ashton ([1944] 1993:190) describes *-na-* as required if the action is taking place at a 'definite time' as in the following example:

- (34) Hata siku moja a-me-ka-a a-na-tazama mto wa maji, a-ka-mw-on-a
that day one 3S-ME-sit-F 3S-NA-look river of water 3S-KA-3S-see-F
mtu a-na-kuj-a.
man 3S-NA-come-F
'Now one day he sat looking at the river, and he saw a man coming.'

Ashton ([1944] 1993:190)

Wald (1997) proposes that *-na-* was a member of a constituent focus system in which *-na-* indicated ‘that the verb was included in the maximal focus of the clause’ (Wald 1997:63). He claims that this focus system has declined and the ‘pragmatic aspectual focus effect’ remains, indicating high focus on the verb’s time orientation indicated by *-na-*.

In the theoretical framework that will be used to provide a systematic analysis of the tense/aspect markers, it will be shown, at the end of the Chapter Four, that the present in which *-na-* operates in simple verbal constructions is represented in Swahili as imperfective. If *-na-* were only to express imperfectivity (as opposed to perfectivity), it could consequently be regarded as redundant. We would, therefore, expect that *-na-* expresses something other than imperfectivity, and in that sense *-na-* is a ‘secondary’¹³ aspect marker. *-na-* will be included under the heading of tense/aspect.

3.3.3.2 *-na-* in Relative Clauses

The formative *-na-* can also occur in verb forms in relative clauses. The possible relative forms without *amba* are cited as follows:

¹³

‘Secondary’ in the sense that *-na-* is marking high focus on the verb’s time orientation, not imperfectivity.

(35) a. Watu wa-na-o-som-a.

people 3P-NA-R-read-F

‘People who are reading.’

b. Watu wa-som-a-o.

people 3P-read-F-R

‘People who read.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:111)

The last phrase includes a zero tense marker (Wald 1997:fn1). Therefore, we have a clear contrast between forms with *-na-* and forms with a zero marker. This highlights again that the form with *-na-* expresses something other than imperfectivity: Wald claims that it is a high focus on the verb’s time orientation.

3.3.4 -a-

The formative *-a-*, in terms of its co-occurrence, does not co-occur with negative markers, but can only occur in affirmative sentences similar to forms with *-li-*, *-na-*, *-ki-*, *-me-* and *hu-*. It is often described as ‘present’ or ‘present indefinite’ marker. The formatives *-a-* and *-na-* are often compared in their usage, since both can refer to the present time frame, for example Ashton ([1944] 1993:37-38):

(36) a. Mpishi a-sem-a a-tak-a¹⁴ sukari.

cook 3S-say-F 3S-want-F sugar

‘The cook says he wants some sugar.’

b. Mpishi a-sem-a a-na-tak-a sukari.

cook 3S-say-F 3S-NA-want-F sugar

‘The cook says he wants some sugar.’

As Ashton explains, in the first sentence both verbs state facts without relation to any particular time, while in the second sentence the cook needs sugar immediately.

The status of the formative *-a-* is controversial in modern Swahili and probably changing. For *-a-* I will follow Wald (1997) who notes ‘The standard has already evolved varieties in which [-]a[-] is no longer at all active ...’ (Wald 1997:79). For many speakers of Standard Swahili forms with *-na-* subsume the range of forms with *-a-*. Therefore, in compound forms, forms with *-a-* are not included in this study. The question of what the status is of *-na-* and *-a-* in varieties in which both are found will be put aside, and the reader is referred to the discussions in Contini-Morava (1989), Wald (1997) and Hewson & Nurse (1999).

¹⁴

a-tak-a consist of a-a-tak-a
3S-A-want-F

3.3.5 -ki-

The formative *-ki-* is the morpheme about which grammarians disagree the most as Contini-Morava (1989:105) has pointed out. Some consider it a complementizer (cf. Mukama (1985)); for others it is an aspect or a tense marker. Contini-Morava describes it as a device that is used for ‘backgrounding’; Loogman (1965:241) describes it as a participle form. Moshi (1988) considers the marker in the tense/aspect ‘slot’ as an aspectual marker. When it is considered an aspect marker, labels vary for the aspectual category. For example, Ashton ([1944] 1993): imperfect, continuous or incomplete; Möhlig & Heine (1995): Gleichzeitigkeit [simultaneity]; Polomé (1967): imperfective/continuous; Schadeberg (1992): situative. Others use the label ‘tense’, for example Maw (1985), although she acknowledges that aspect may be appropriate, and Wilson (1970): participle tense.

3.3.5.1 Examples of the Different Functions

As will be shown below, *-ki-* is not a tense, but an aspect. The formative *-ki-* expresses several contextual meanings:

(37) Wiki hii nzima ni-me-ku-w-a ni-ki-tak-a ku-ku-on-a.

week this all 1S-ME-ST-be-F 1S-KI-want-F VB-2S-see-F

‘All this week I have been wanting to see you.’

(Maw 1985:169)

(38) Tu-li-m-siki-a a-ki-sem-a maneno haya.

1P-PA-3S-hear-F 3S-KI-say-F word these

'We heard him saying these words.'¹⁵

(Polomé 1967:121)

(39) Wazee wa-ta-wa-tazam-a watoto wa-ki-chez-a ngoma.

elders 3P-FU-3P-look-F children 3P-KI-play-F dance

'The elders will look at the children dancing.'

(Moshi 1988:7)

(40) A-ki-ni-cheze-a ni-ta-m-pig-a.

3S-KI-1S-play-F 1S-FU-3S-beat-F

'If he plays tricks on me I shall beat him.'

(Mukama 1985:49)

(41) Siku zi-ki-pit-a Sungura a-ka-j-a kwa Jogoo, wa-ka-amki-an-a.

days SC-KI-pass-F rabbit 3S-KA-come-F PREP rooster 3P-KA-greet-RC-F

kwa namna zote, wa-ka-ka-a, wa-ka-zungumz-a sana.

PREP sort all, 3P-KA-sit=down-F, 3P-KA-talk-F very

'[Some] days having passed, the Rabbit came to see the Rooster's [house],

and they greeted each other warmly, and they sat down, and they talked a lot.'

(Contini-Morava 1989:104)

¹⁵

The translation 'say' may also be possible.

(42) A-li-ku-w-a a-ki-fany-a kazi usiku kucha hata a-ka-w-a
 3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-make-F work all night until 3S-KA-be-F
 a-na-lal-a meza-ni.
 3S-NA-sleep-F the=table-LO
 ‘He used to work all night until he fell asleep on the table.’

(Polomé 1967:152)

(43) Kila tu-ki-ku-tan-a nawe mji-ni hu-w-a u-na-ondok-a
 whenever 1P-KI-2S-meet-F and in=town-LO HU-be-F 2S-NA-leave-F
 kw-end-a bara.
 VN-go-F mainland
 ‘Whenever we meet you in town, you are always about to leave for the
 mainland.’

(Polomé 1967:152)

(44) Tembo wa-wili wa-ki-pig-an-a nyasi hu-um-i-a.
 elephants SC-two 3P-KI-fight-RC-F grass HU-hurt-AP-F
 ‘When two elephants fight it is the grass that gets hurt.’

(Moshi 1988:14)

(45) A-li-ku-w-a a-ki-som-a sana.
 3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-read-F very
 ‘He used to read a great deal.’

(46) A-ki-w-a mwanafunzi a-li-ongoz-a chama cha wanafunzi.

3S-KI-be-F student 3S-PA-lead-F association of students

‘As a student he led the student’s [sic] union.’

(Moshi 1988:9)

(47) Mtoto a-ki-li-a u-m-let-e.

child 3S-KI-cry-F 2S-3S-bring-F

‘If the child cries bring him/her.’

(HM)

Several contextual interpretations and functions of *-ki-* in the tense/aspect ‘slot’ are usually distinguished; for example, Moshi (1988:16) cites four contextual interpretations which Moshi terms: progressive aspect, stative aspect, conditional aspect, and what she terms ‘unspecific semantic function, may be a conjunction’.

These functions (using Moshi’s terminology) and others are illustrated above, for instance: conditional in examples (40) and (47); progressive (38), and (39); stative: (46); function as conjunction: (43) and (44). Besides, *-ki-* seems to translate as a habitual in examples (42) and (45); and possibly as simultaneous in (37), for example.

Although there are many contextual interpretations, we are dealing with the same morpheme *-ki-* in these cases (Moshi 1988). Consequently, the analysis of the formative *-ki-* in this study proposes that an underlying meaning exists. This will be addressed in sections 3.3.5.2 to 3.3.5.4, and an explanation is presented.

3.3.5.2 Initial Discussion of Properties of *-ki-*

That *-ki-* expresses simultaneity [Gleichzeitigkeit] is noted by Möhlig & Heine (1995) and Contini-Morava (1989), Maw (1985) explicitly, and by Moshi (1988) implicitly, for example. Clauses with *-ki-* are also described as subordinate (Maw 1969, Moshi 1988) or at least as dependent on the main clause or the contextual situation. This study suggests that the combination of aspectual properties with the element just mentioned can provide an explanation for the various contextual interpretations of *-ki-*. The analysis will be provided in the following sections.

3.3.5.3 A Brief Comparison of *-ki-* and *-na-*

A brief comparison with *-na-* is used in the following to highlight the properties of *-ki-*. While there are cases where either *-na-* or *-ki-* can be used (according to my consultants with a slight difference in meaning, for instance, in examples (45) and (46), see Contini-Morava (1989) for other examples), this is not always the case. The form with *-ki-* cannot be replaced with a form of the same verbal root with *-na-* e.g. in examples (37), (40) and (43), for example. This suggests some overlap of meaning between *-ki-* and *-na-*; nevertheless, they are clearly distinct.¹⁶

Furthermore, in combination with other tense/aspect markers in compound forms,

¹⁶

Contini-Morava (1989) describes the difference as one of backgrounding for *-ki-* versus no particular specifications for *-na-*, citing the higher rate of distribution of *-ki-* in comparison to *-na-* in relative clauses with compound verb forms where either *-ki-* or *-na-* is on the lexical verb form while the relative pronoun is on the auxiliary verb form.

-ki- can be used in more combinatory possibilities than *-na-* as the following forms illustrate (forms are mostly with *-soma* 'read'):

(48) a. *tu-me-ku-w-a tu-na-som-a

b. ni-me-ku-w-a ni-ki-tak-a

1S-ME-ST-be-F 1S-KI-want-F

'I have been wanting ...' (see (37))

c. a-li-ku-w-a a-na-som-a

3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-NA-read-F

'he was reading'

d. a-li-ku-w-a a-ki-som-a

3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-read-F

'he was reading'

e. A-na-ku-w-a a-ki-chek-a kila a-na-po-ni-on-a.

3S-NA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-laugh-F every=time 3S-NA-LR-1P-see-F

'Er lacht jedesmal, wenn er mich sieht.'

['He laughs every time he sees me.' CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:239)

f. A-ki-w-a a-na-ku-j-a, fuat-an-a naye.

3S-KI-be-F 3S-NA-ST-come-F IMP=follow-AS-F with=him

‘If he is coming, go along with him.’

(Schadeberg 1992:35)

g. *tu-na-ku-w-a tu-na-som-a

h. tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-ki-som-a

1P-FU-ST-be-F 1P KI-read-F

‘we will be reading’

i. tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-na-som-a

1P-FU-ST-be-F 1P-NA-read-F

‘we will read’

Both forms with *-ki-* and forms with *-na-* can occur in compound forms of the past as in examples (48c and d) above, or of the future as in examples (48h and i) (see also Chapter Four). Forms with *-ki-* may include the translation ‘if’ or ‘when’ when followed by a verbal construction in the future or ‘present’, i.e. example (48f). A form with *-na-*, in contrast, does not acquire the meaning of ‘if’, but represents a main clause. While forms with *-ki-* may be translated with ‘if’, the formative is not used for a conditional of low probability of fulfilment or counterfactual (there is another formative for this case: see *-nge-/ngali-* in section 3.7).

As was mentioned above, forms with *-ki-* may occur in subordinate clauses or depend on the context for temporal reference. In complex sentences, clauses with *-ki-* are dependent for time specifications on the main clause and ‘the subordinate clause infers its time reference from the main clause’ (Moshi 1988:7). Thus, in the clause with *-ki-*, the deictic tense is not established, rather the form or clause with *-ki-* infers the time from the main clause or another verbal form or the context. In that sense it behaves like an aspect morpheme in comparison with other morphemes which have been described as aspectual in this study. This necessarily leads to the conclusion that *-ki-* is not a tense morpheme. It appears to be more dependent on another form with the overt tense marker or the contextual establishment of the tense than other aspectual markers which can occur in independent clauses.

The syntactic difference can be illustrated by the following contrasting sentences:

(49) a. Mtoto a-ki-li-a (u)m-let-e.

child 3S-KI-cry-F 2S-3S-bring-F

‘If the child cries, bring it [him/her]..’

(S/he is not crying at the moment)

b. Mtoto a-na-li-a; m-let-e.

child 3S-NA-cry-F; 3S-bring-F

‘The child is crying (now); bring it [him/her].’

c. Mtoto a-na-po-li-a m-let-e.

child 3S-NA-LR-cry-F 3S-bring-F

‘When(ever) the child cries, bring him/her.’

(HM)

While the form with *-ki-* is dependent on *umlete*, a subjunctive, in the first sentence, the form with *-na-* in the second example constitutes an independent clause. In the third sentence, *mtoto anapolia* is a dependent clause and shows a clearer temporal reference than example (49a).

3.3.5.4 Further Discussions of the Properties of *-ki-*

The discussion above has highlighted some of the properties of forms with *-ki-*: forms with *-ki-* are dependent on the main verb or context for the provision of tense, and forms with *-ki-* express simultaneity. Consider the following example:

(50) Ayubu a-ki-fik-a ni-ta-ku-ambi-a.

Ayubu he-KI-arrive-F 1S-FU-2S-tell-F

‘If Ayubu arrives I will tell you.’

(Moshi 1988:11, with slight adaptation in morpheme analysis)

In example (50) the possibility of the arrival exists and the person is expected to arrive. The distinction between the possibility in a form with *-ki-* and a temporal ‘when’ in

the form with *-po-* is shown in the following examples:

(51) a. Tu-ki-mw-on-a tu-ta-m-salim-i-a.

1P-KI-3S-see-F 1P-FU-3S-greet-AP-F

‘If we see him/her, we’ll greet him/her.’

b. Tu-taka-po-mw-on-a tu-ta-m-salim-i-a.

1P-TAKA-LR-3S-see-F 1P-FU-3S-greet-AP-F

‘When we see him/her, we’ll greet him/her.’

(BM)

In example (51a), whether the event of seeing takes place is an open question, but there is a good chance that the speaker will actually see the third person, while in example (51b) the speaker appears to know that the event of seeing the third person will take place, and it is a question of when. This interpretation of (51a) perceived as almost modal is noted in Schicho (1995). Schicho notes:

Wie bei {ka} und {ta} gilt, daß finite Formen mit {ki} ... zwar keine Realisierung von Modalität darstellen, daß aber Satzkomplexe, die Situativsätze mit {ki} enthalten, häufig eine modalisierende Interpretation erfahren, wenn sie Vorgänge darstellen deren Realisierung (noch) ansteht bzw. wenn die beiden Teile der Proposition über die Bedeutung durch ein [sic] “Ursache-Wirkung” Beziehung verknüpft sind.

(Schicho 1995:157)

As with {ka} and {ta}, the finite form with {ki} ... does not represent a realization of modality, but complex sentences which contain situative sentences with {ki} often yield an interpretation that is modal, for example if the sentences present events of which the realization is (still) to be completed or if both parts of the proposition are linked by a cause-effect relation in their meaning. [CB-L]

Adding forms with *-ki-* that occur with the tense/aspect marker for future as the main verb following the verb with *-ki-* (example (40)) or subjunctive (example (49a)), leads to a clearer understanding of *-ki-* and to an analysis that provides an explanation for the contextual interpretations of *-ki-*.

The analysis begins with one of the properties of *-ki-*: that it expresses simultaneity. Since the form with *-ki-* is aspectual, it infers its time reference from the verb indicating the tense specification. An event that is simultaneous to a future event or a potential event is necessarily not yet in any portion complete. Thus no portion of the event is completed; the form with *-ki-* expresses an event without any completed portion, a possibility when it co-occurs with a verb with *-ta-*. This case has been termed 'potential' in Hewson & Bubenik (1997:158-162) and may be diagrammed as follows:



Figure 3.3: Potential Aspect

The above examples highlight the difference from *-na-*, which is imperfective, where a portion of the event is necessarily temporally complete, graphically illustrated below:

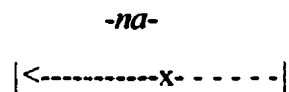


Figure 3.4: Imperfective Aspect

The same principle can be applied to other examples. Where the form with *-ki-* is the second verb in a compound verb (e.g. examples (42) and (45)), the auxiliary verb establishes the time frame of the event by expressing tense, in the above examples *-li-*, while the form with *-ki-* expresses that the event occurs simultaneously or concurrently to the locus of orientation expressed by the first verbal form. The concurrent event represented by *-ki-* may have been ongoing, is unbounded and may express a longer continuity compared to a form with *-na-*.

While the principle is the same, the results in terms of translation can be different. Consider the following examples:

(52) A-ki-imb-a ni-ta-mw-on-a.

2S-KI-sing-F 1S-FU-3S-see-F

‘If s/he sings, I’ll see her/him.’

(53) Ni-ta-mw-on-a a-ki-imb-a.

1S-FU-3S-see-F 3S-KI-sing-F

‘I’ll see him/her singing.’

In example (53), *-ta-* establishes first the locus of orientation as being future. Within that time frame the form with *-ki-* expresses the event as concurrent to the time expressed in the first verb form. Therefore, in English the translation is given as a present participle. While the principle applies in the same way in the first sentence, the resulting translation is different. In example (52), the time frame is not established in the first part of the complex sentence, thus the form with *-ki-* represents an event notionally linked with reference to the future – expressed in the second verb – that is not yet complete, but projected to be completed. As was proposed above, the verb with *-ki-* expresses in this case a possibility and is therefore often translated with *if*. In example (46) the form with *-ki-* occurs in the first part of the complex sentence, not in relation to a future event in the second verb, but to a past event, since the verb form in the main clause includes *-li-* ‘past’.

Moshi’s translation correspondingly does not include *if* but *as*, since due to the past event in the main clause, the event is established as having taken place and having

been experienced.

A form with *-ki-* often co-occurs with verbs of perception (Contini-Morava 1989), since those verbs establish the speaker's initial moment of perception of the concurrent event with *-ki-*. This does not mean, however, that it was the actual first moment of the concurrent event. Therefore Moshi notes:

The beginning or the duration of both actions does not seem to be important here because the focus of attention is on the continuity nature of the situation being described.

(Moshi 1988:8)

Loogman makes an observation that concurs with what has been said above:

'[In] *Nilimkuta akiwa mgonjwa*. 'I found him ailing.' ... the use of *akiwa* in the ... sentence excludes consideration of what was true or what was not true before the moment when I found him.' (Loogman 1965:235).

When used with *-kuwa*, the meaning involves continuity (Maw 1985), as in example (45), or repetition, that is iterativity (example (54)). In *alikuwa akisoma sana* 'he was reading, he used to read a great deal', the auxiliary is in the past, indicated by *-li-*. The verbal base is the verb *-wa* 'be' which is durative by Aktionsart¹⁷. The root *-wa* can also have the meaning of 'become'. As in the previous cases, the form with *-ki-* expresses the concurrence of the event, in this case to a form with a past locus of orientation. As

¹⁷

Botne (1986) emphasises that in eastern Bantu forms of the verb 'be' *-ba* and *-li-* are not 'empty place holders'. This can also be said for *-wa* in Swahili.

will be shown, forms with *-li-* represent the event as complete, while forms with *-ki-* represent the event as incomplete. Thus, for the complete event expressed by the locus of orientation, *-ki-* describes the internal continuity of the event. Note that those examples for which Contini-Morava states native speakers at times report no difference between forms with *-ki-* or *-na-* all have the first verb form of *-likuwa*. The following example illustrates iterativity:

- (54) Wiki hii nzima ni-me-ku-w-a ni-ki-tak-a ku-ku-on-a.
 week this all 1S-ME-ST-be-F 1S-KI-want-F VN-2S-see-F
 ‘All this week I’ve been wanting to see you.’

(Maw 1985:169)

Moshi’s examples with an ‘unspecified semantic function’ are all examples which have a form with *-ki-* in the subordinate clause followed by a form with *hu-*. The following is one of four examples:

- (55) Tembo wawili wa-ki-pig-an-a nyasi hu-um-i-a.
 elephants two 3P-KI-fight-RC-F grass HU-hurt-AP-F
 ‘When two elephants fight it is the grass that gets hurt.’

(Moshi 1988:14)

While Moshi describes the function of *-ki-* in these cases as a conjunction, the

same principle as described earlier can be applied here: the form with *-ki-* takes its temporal reference from the verb form with *hu-*. A form with *hu-* describes an extended time, but not being limited to the here and now. The extension including the future, being indefinite, allows for hypothetical readings in the form with *-ki-*, since that form again is concurrent to the form with *hu-*.

Thus, a form with *-ki-* may have several functions on the surface resulting in a wide variety of translations. The underlying principle, however, is the same in all cases: the form with *-ki-* is an aspectual form that expresses an event which either has not started, i.e., is only a potentiality, or started at some undetermined, unimportant, or distant point before the moment referred to, but is in all cases concurrent to the tense or aspect expressed in the main verb, and ‘it takes its clue, so to speak’ for its duration and boundedness from the tense/aspect and the Aktionsart – the lexical aspect of the verb – of the form in the tensed verb, or otherwise the general context. Therefore, it can be used for ‘backgrounding’ as discussed by Contini-Morava. We will use the graph of Figure 3.3 highlighting the “open” quality of *-ki-* in contexts with future or hypothetical to describe the formative in the analysis at the end of Chapter Four.¹⁸

¹⁸

Concurrence is nevertheless part of the aspectual description of the formative.

3.4 *hu-*

The formative *hu-* has generally been described in grammars as ‘habitual’. This is an aspectual description.

3.4.1 Examples with Simple Verbal Constructions

Forms with *hu-* have the following structure: *hu-*+(OC)+VB+F. Since there is no overt subject concord, *hu-* occurs in initial position similar to *KU-*. Tense/aspect markers generally do not occur in initial position; nevertheless, forms with *hu-* have been described in the literature as expressing the aspectual meaning of ‘habitual’ or ‘recurrent’ and are included for this reason. In the following examples the form with *hu-* is often rendered by ‘usually’ or ‘normally’:

(56) *Hu-ku-waz-a*.

HU-2S-dream-F

‘I dream of you (all the time).’

(Maw 1985:204)

(57) *Mayai hu-pat-ik-an-a soko-ni?*

eggs *HU-get-ST-AS-F* market-LO

‘Are eggs usually to be got in the market?’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:38)

(58) Ng'ombe hu-l-a chakula gani? Hu-l-a nyasi.

Cows HU-eat-F food what HU-eat-F grass

'What sort of food do cows eat as their staple food? They eat grass.'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:38)

(59) Mimi hu-som-a saa mbili asubuhi.

I HU-read-F hour two morning

'I usually study at 8:00 a.m.'

(60) Ninyi hu-end-a sinema ijumaa?

You HU-go-F cinema Friday

'Do you usually go to the movies on Friday?'

(61) Sisi hu-pend-a ku-ka-a hapa.

We HU-like-F VN-dwell-F here¹⁹

'We like to stay here.'

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:139)

¹⁹

'We like living here.' CB-L

(62) Baba hu-w-a baharia.

father HU-be-F sailor

‘Father is at times a sailor.’

((McWhorther 1992:32 fn), originally Closs et al. (1967:6))

Forms with *hu-* do not occur with a negative marker, i.e. **ha-hu-la*. For ‘corresponding’ negative forms of forms with *hu-*, forms of the structure *ha*-+SC+Ø+VB+*-i* are used.²⁰

3.4.1.1 ‘Habitual’

Forms with the formative *hu-* are described as a habitual action or an iterative (Ashton [1944] 1993). Maw describes these as representing a ‘characteristic action’. The actions are not continuous, but each is a complete event. However, the fact that they occur on a habitual basis and can be translated with ‘usually’, etc, shows that they ‘are not viewed as an incidental property of the moment’ (Comrie 1976). He states in his description of a habitual:

The feature that is common to all habituals, whether or not they are also iterative, is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.

(Comrie 1976:27-28)

²⁰

There is not a strict correspondence between affirmative and negative formatives, see Chapter Six.

Forms with *hu-* represent an extended period which is not restricted to the past or future. They can be used for actions that have always taken place, are taking place and will take place, and are therefore often used in proverbs, as Ashton ([1944] 1993) or Maw (1985) illustrate. Consequently, forms with *hu-* in simple verbal constructions cannot be used for actions that occurred in the past, but do not occur any more (in English this can be expressed by the habitual ‘used to’, as in *I used to smoke.*), or actions that occurred in the past, occur now, but will not occur in the future, or some point in the future (‘from now on we will regularly ...’). Ashton indirectly refers to this property of *hu-* when she states:²¹

recurrent action in the past or future is not expressed by *huwa*. The auxiliary takes the time particle and the recurrent concept is expressed by *-ki-* ... *Zamani tulikuwa tukilima*. ‘At one time we used to cultivate a great deal.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:257)

Thus, forms with *hu-* in simple verbal constructions express events that range from the past to the future (and therefore hypotheticalness) expressing imperfectivity. The literature assigns an aspectual property to the forms with *hu-*. One may object that *hu-* does not have subject marking as do other forms with aspectual marking. While the diachrony of the form (see below) serves as an explanation for the marking, the co-occurrence restrictions of forms with *hu-* cast doubt on its description as just an aspectual

²¹

See also Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993:707)

marker.

3.4.1.2 *ni-+ku- > hu-*

As Ashton ([1944] 1993), among others, has pointed out, the morpheme *hu-* comes from *ni-+ku-*, thus '*nikula > hula*' (Ashton [1944] 1993:38, see also Nurse (1989)). Forms of the shape *niku*VB+F can be found in dialects and within the Sabaki group, for example, in Chifundi, Vumba, Mtang'ata, Mijikenda (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:Appendix 5, 692-723). In Standard Swahili these forms have resulted in *hu*+(OC)+VB+F. *ni-* itself has been analyzed as a focus particle being recruited as a presentative morpheme with roughly the meaning of 'it is' which then evolved into the copula *ni-* (McWhorter 1992). For *ni-*, McWhorter (1992:23) proposes that in early modern Swahili it is 'often used to lend semantic weight to the complement it precedes' as in the following:

(63) Rahayi ni shida na taabu ...

handmill COP distress and trouble

'This treadmill is distress and trouble ...'

(McWhorter 1992:23, quoting from Knappert (1969:10))

It was also used in sentences filling 'the syntactic place at the head of an otherwise verbless clause' (McWhorter 1992:24), as in the following:

(64) Ni mamoja kwangu.

it=is the=same to=me

‘It’s all the same to me.’

(McWhorter 1992:24 who quotes Perrott (1951:120))

For sentences with *ni* and an expressed subject McWhorter proposes that at one time the sentence was biclausal: *Rahayi, ni shida na taabu*. with a rendering of ‘What the treadmill is, is distress and trouble’. According to McWhorter, this biclausal form was eventually incorporated under one intonational contour, became monoclausal, and *ni*- changed to a copula. This explanation can only be totally satisfactory if it can be shown that this change would have to have occurred in dozens of languages since the copula *ni*- is widely used in Bantu.²² However, the starting point, i.e. that there was a focus particle *ni*-, provides an explanation for the change *ni*-+*ku*- > *hu*- by means of the incorporation of a pronominal form resulting in the lack of overt subject marking in the forms with *hu*-. This analysis supports the comparison of the use of *hu*- in *huwa* with the French *voici*, *voilà* (Hewson & Nurse 1999:31), which are also clausal focus particles.

The formative *hu*- generally occurs with a preceding overt subject (Keach 1995)

²²

Harris & Campbell (1995:166) argue that highlighting constructions which are monoclausal often originally start as biclausal structures whereby the changes during the process of development to monoclausal structures can be described by three stages as observed here for *ni*.

(or the subject is clear from the context).²³ The formative will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

3.5 Tense in Simple Verbal Constructions

The following sections (3.5.1 and 3.5.2) discuss *-li-* and *-ta-* in simple verbal constructions.

3.5.1 *-li-* in Simple Verbal Constructions

The formative *-li-* is one morpheme that the literature appears to clearly agree upon: it expresses the past as the following examples illustrate:

(65) a. Wa-li-imb-a.

3P-PA-sing-F

‘They sang.’

b. Tu-li-rud-i mwezi (wa) jana.

1P-PA-comeback-F month last

‘We came back last month.’

(Polomé 1967:147)

²³

A structure that may be somewhat similar to the English ‘Me, do such a thing?’ or the French ‘Moi, faire pareille chose?’.

In modern Swahili *-li-* has the function of a past marker in most cases. It still functions as ‘be, in the present’ in relative forms²⁴.

The formative *-li-* does not occur in negative forms and the negation of forms with *-li-* is discussed in Chapter Six.

3.5.2 *-ta-* in Simple Verbal Constructions

The formative *-ta-*²⁵ occurs in affirmative sentences and is considered a future marker. The following example illustrates the formative:

(66) Ni-ta-som-a kesho.

1S-FU-read-F tomorrow

‘I shall read to-morrow.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:37)

As a future, the event is not yet actualized. Chung & Timberlake (1985:243) observe that ‘Situations in the future are inherently uncertain as to actuality....’.

²⁴

Diachronically *-li-* was the verb ‘to be’ and it survives in some cases. It was preceded by a past tense marker, resulting in *-a-li-*. This became a unit indicating past with the introduction of *-kuwa-* ‘be’, then *-ali-* was reduced to *-li-*. Thus, *tulikuwapo* ‘we were here’ < *tw-a-li-kuwa-po* < *tw-a-li-po* [example Wald 1997:55].

²⁵

This is a grammaticalized form of *-taka* ‘want’. *-taka* exists as a lexeme and also as a grammatical morpheme in relative clauses. The path of grammaticalization can be traced since *-taka-* ‘Future Relative’, and not *-ta-*, occurs in relative clauses.

Nevertheless, it appears the speaker expresses a high degree of probability with respect to the completion of the event. As mentioned earlier, while forms with *-ta-* may at times be translated with modal forms (for examples in German see Schicho (1995)), a property addressed by Contini-Morava (1989) and Saloné (1983), *-ta-* in Swahili can also be described as expressing an event that is imagined as to be completed and realizable (see Chapter Four and Chapter Five). In compound forms the co-occurrence restrictions of forms with *-ta-* are similar to forms with *-li-* in that the formative *-ta-* does not occur on the lexical verb.

The marker *-ta-* is one of the few formatives in the tense/aspect/mood position that can co-occur with the negative *ha-*. Thus, the affirmative and the negative form of the verb are identical except for the added negative marker:

(67) a. wa-ta-imb-a

3S-SC-FU-sing-F

‘They will sing’

b. ha-wa-ta-imb-a

NEG₁-3P-FU-sing-F

‘They will not sing’

3.6 -ka- in Simple Verbal Constructions

In the literature *-ka-* is predominantly discussed as a formative in the context of narration, associated with the past, and it is also discussed following the imperative where it is used in forms with final *-e*, e.g., *Nenda sokoni ukamunue ndizi*. ‘Go to the market and buy some bananas.’ (Ashton [1944] 1993:134). The formative *-ka-* also occurs in forms where the first clause contains forms with other formatives than *-li-*, for example, forms with *-ta-*, *-na-*, and the subjunctive. *-ka-* is the only formative that can occur on forms that end in the final *-a* or the final *-e*, as the example above illustrates. The formative cannot co-occur with a negative marker on the same form.

3.6.1 Co-occurrence Restrictions

As the following examples illustrate, the past time frame is not the only possibility with respect to the use of forms with *-ka-*:

(68) Ni-li-kw-end-a soko-ni, ni-ka-nunu-a ndizi sita, ni-ka-la

1S-PA-ST-go-F market-LO 1S-KA-buy-F bananas six, 1S-KA-eat-F

tatu, ni-ka-m-p-a mwenzangu tatu.

three, 1S-KA-3S-give-F my=companion three

‘I went to the market and bought six bananas; I ate three and three I gave to my companion’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:133)

(69) Ni-ta-kw-end-a soko-ni, ni-ka-nunu-e ndizi.

1S-FU-ST-go-F market-LO 1S-KA-buy-F bananas

‘I shall go to the market and buy some bananas.’ (Ashton [1944] 1993:134)

‘I will go to the market to buy bananas.’ (BM)

(70) M-na-wez-a m-ka-ondok-a.

2P-NA-can-F 2P-KA-leave-F

‘Ihr könnt gehen.’ [‘You pl. can go’ CB-L]

(Bertoncini-Zúbková 1995:121)

(71) Ni-me-sem-a kuwa tajiri a-na-wez-a a-ka-w-a mpenda Ujamaa

1S-ME-say-F to=be rich 3S-NA-can-F 3S-KA-be-F adherent socialism

‘I have said that a rich man can *be* one who embraces socialism.’

(Leonard 1980:218, with slight adjustment in morpheme analysis)

(72) Wewe hu-ya-ju-i, Tenga, ndiyo u-ka-sem-a hivyo. (Abdulla)

you NEG₁2S-OC-know-F Tenga it=is=so 2S-KA-speak-F this

‘Tenga, du kennst sie nicht, deswegen sprichst du so.’

[‘Tenga, you don’t know her, that is why you speak in such a way.’ CB-L]

(Bertoncini-Zúbková 1995:121)

(73) I-ngali-ku-a [sic] bora u-**ka**-ni-ach-a.

3S-NGALI-be-F better 2S-KA-1S-leave-F

‘It might be better if you were to leave me.’

(Leonard 1980:219)

(74) Ni-nge-nunu-a mbuzi, ni-**ka**-jeng-a nyumba na (kisha) ku-nunu-a gari.

1S-NGE-buy-F goats, 1S-KA-build-F house and (then) VN-buy-F car

‘I would buy goats, build a house and (then) buy a car.’

(HM)

(75) A-ki-j-a a-**ka**-ka-a hapa, ni-ta-m-won-a.

3S-KI-come-F 3S-KA-sit,dwell-F here, 1S-FU-3S-see-F

‘If she comes and sits here, I’ll see her.’

(HM)

Conventionally the description of forms with *-ka-* refers to forms being used in the context of narrations. There they generally do not occur in the first verbal construction, but when the time frame is indicated, a form with *-ka-* may follow as the second and subsequent. In example (68) the past is indicated in the first verb, the second verb is characterized as subsequent in the past by the use of *-ka-*. Both events have taken place in the past; therefore the final *-a* is used to indicate that the events are actualized. *-ka-* has, therefore, been described in the literature as, for example, subsecutive, consecutive, sequential or contingent. Here the term ‘consecutive’ will be used (see Hyman & Watters

1984).²⁶

The time frame is established either through context or through a direct statement in a verb. The second and following verbs then may include the formative *-ka-* in place of the the tense/aspect marker of the first verbal construction. With the past, the final on the form with *-ka-* is *-a*, since these are forms which represent actualized events.

In example (69), on the other hand, the events have not (yet) taken place. The first event is, nevertheless, perceived as probable and therefore the final *-a* is used. The second event, since the first event is represented as non-actualized due to the use of the future marker, is temporally (and spatially) further removed. This is represented by *-ka-...-e*.

Along the same lines, in the first example *nikamunue* cannot replace *nikamunua*:

**nilikwenda sokoni nikanunue ndizi.*

The formative *-ka-* also occurs in the ensuing verb after a verb in the present (examples (70) and (71)) or future (example (69)). These different functions are different expressions of the same morpheme *-ka-*. The final may change to *-e* as the example (69) above and the example (76) below illustrates:

²⁶

Hyman & Watters (1984:258) make a distinction between 'consecutive clauses' and 'sequential clauses'. 'Consecutive clauses' are used for clauses with *-ka-* which have the same subject as the main clause, while the latter term is used where clauses with *-ka-* forms have different subjects from the main clause. Since in Swahili forms with *-ka-* can occur in both cases, the term 'consecutive' is used in a wider sense than in Hyman & Watters.

(76) Ni-na-kw-end-a soko-ni ni-ka-nunu-e ndizi.

1S-NA-ST-go-F market-LO 1S-KA-buy-F bananas

‘I am going to the market to buy bananas.’

The clause may contain *-ka-...-a* as in example (70) or *-ka-...-e*, as in the following examples (77) and (78):

(77) Heri tu-~~ka~~-u-to-e kabla ha-u-ja-haribu maji yote ya

it=is=best 1P-KA-SC-take=out-F before NEG₁-SC-JA-soils water any of

mto-ni, watu wa-ka-kos-a mahali pa kuoga.

river-LO people 3P-KA-lack-F place of bathing

‘Wir sollten es herausnehmen, ehe es das ganze Flußwasser verunreinigt,

anderenfalls wird den Menschen hernach ein Badeplatz fehlen.’

[‘We should take it out before it soils all of the river water, otherwise the

people are going to lack a bathing place after this.’ CB-L]

(Bertoncini-Zúbková 1995:121)

(78) Wa-ni-rudi-sh-e nyumba-ni ni-~~ka~~-mw-on-e mama watoto

3P-1S-send=back-CS-F house-LO 1S-KA-3S-see-F mother children

maana bila shaka ana wasiwasi mkubwa.

because without doubt have worry great

‘Sie mögen mich nur nach Hause bringen. Ich sollte mich längst bei

meiner Alten melden, die sich sicher schon große Sorgen macht.’

[‘They may as well take me home. I should {have} contacted my old lady

long ago, who probably is already terribly worried.’ CB-L]

(Schicho 1995:151)

(79) Nend-a soko-ni u-~~ka~~-nunu-e ndizi.

IMP-F market-LO 2S-KA-buy-F bananas

‘Go to the market and buy some bananas.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:134)

Following the imperative, *-ka-* may be used in the ensuing verbal construction; the final is *-e* (see example (79)). The examples illustrating the co-occurrence of *-ka-* with the finals lead to the co-occurrence restrictions:

past		present	(Preceded by) future
...-ka-...	-a	-a/-e	-e

As the following example illustrates, forms with *-ka-* can also occur in contexts

with forms with final *-e*. The form with *-ka-* and a final *-a* follows a form with the final *-e* in example (80) below:

(80) Nend-a sasa, u-si-kawi-e, u-si-j-e u-ka-chelew-a.
 go-F now 2S-NEG₂-delay-F, 2S-NEG₂-come-F 2S-KA-be=late-F

‘Go quickly and do not delay, lest you be late.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:274)

The question of the properties of *-ka-* will be addressed in the next chapter after further examples and compound forms are discussed.

3.7 Discussion of the Formatives *-nge-* and *-ngali-*

The formatives *-nge-*, and *-ngali-* are usually subsumed under tense/aspect markers. But they do not neatly fit into an analysis of tense and aspect.

The following are examples of the use with *-nge-* or *-ngali-*:

(81) A-nge-ku-w-a mgonjwa, a-si-nge-ku-j-a mji-ni kwa miguu.
 3S-NGE-ST-be-F invalid 3S-NEG₂-NGE-ST-come-F town-LO PREP foot

‘If he were an invalid, he would not come to town on foot.’

(82) Laiti ni-**ngali**-fuat-a shauri lako, mambo haya yote

if=only 1S-NGALI-follow-F advice your things these all

ya-si-**ngali**-toke-a.

SC-NEG₂-NGALI-come=out-F

‘If only I had followed your advice, these things would not have happened.’

(83) Hao Wa-arabu wa-li-ju-a kwa hakika kama hiyo manowari

those 3P-arabs 3P-PA-know-F PREP certainty if there man-of-war

i-**ngali**-ku-wa-ko, ha-ya-**ngali**-tend-ek-a haya.

3S-NGALI-ST-be-LR NEG₁-SC-NGALI-do-ST-F this

‘These Arabs knew for certain that if the man-of-war had been there, such things could not have been done.’

(84) Wa-toto hao kama wa-**ngali**-ku-w-a wa-ki-ka-a sana,

3P-children these had 3P-NGALI-ST-be-F 3P-KI-stay-F too=long

ha-wa-**ngali**-wez-a ku-pand-a ku-rud-i kwao katika Nchi ya Mawingu.

NEG₁-3P-NGALI-able-F ST-go=up-F ST-return-F PREP to land of clouds

‘If these children had made a habit of staying too long, they would have been unable to go up again to their homeland in Cloudland’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

(85) Mti huu u-**ngali**-anguk-a u-**ngali**-ni-u-a
 tree this 3S-NGALI-fall-F 3S-NGALI-1S-kill-F
 ‘This tree, if it had fallen, it would have killed me.’

(86) I-**nge**-ku-w-a ha-wa-ku-ugu-a wakati ule
 3S-NGE-ST-be-F NEG₁-3P-PN-ill-F point=of=time that
 wa-**nge**-ku-j-a hapa?
 3P-NGE-ST-be-F here
 ‘If they had not been ill at that moment, would they have come here?’

(Polomé 1967:153)

In examples (81) to (86) above, the formatives *-nge-* and *-ngali-* express a conditional sense and occur in both clauses of the sentence, the clause stating the condition (protasis) and the one stating the consequence (apodosis). This is, however, not the only use of forms with *-nge-* and *-ngali-*. Forms with *-nge-/ngali-* exist which can have different meanings as the following examples illustrate:

(87) Mwisho ni-**nge**-pend-a ku-wa-shukuru wale wote ambao

finally 1S-NGE-like-F VN-3P-thank those all who

kwa njia moja au ny-ngine wa-li-fanik-ish-a uandishi

PREP way one or another 3P-PA-success-C-F writing

wa kitabu hiki.

happen book this

‘Finally I **would like** to thank all those who in one way or another

made the writing of this book a success.’²⁷

(Mukama 1985:33)

(88) I-**ngali**-ku-a [sic] bora u-**ka**-ni-ach-a.

3S-NGALI-be-F better 2S-KA-1S-leave-F

‘It might be better if you were to leave me.’

(Leonard 1980:219)

For further examples and other shades of meaning see Mukama (1985). Clearly, forms with *-nge-* and *-ngali-* do not occur only in conditional clauses, as examples (87) and (88) illustrate. There are two negative markers which are possible with these formatives: *ha-* or *-si-* (examples (81) to (84)). The negative forms will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

²⁷

This may be a case of a hidden protasis ‘If you will allow me ...’.

3.8 The Difference between *-nge-* and *-ngali-*

Forms with *-nge-* and *-ngali-* are generally translated with conditionals in English, as in examples (81) to (84). Traditionally and as a normative statement, *-nge-* has been considered the present conditional and *-ngali-* the past conditional. The distinction between *-nge-* and *-ngali-* does not appear to be clearly maintained. For example, while Contini-Morava (1989) distinguishes *-nge-* and *-ngali-* in terms of probability (*-nge-* being somewhat remote, while *-ngali-* has more remote probability), Miede states, ‘Tatsächlich variieren heute beide [*-nge-* and *-ngali-*] frei im Standard Swahili.’ [‘in fact both are in free variation today in Standard Swahili’ CB-L.] (Miede 1979:246). Also, for some speakers, *-nge-* can occur as a reduced variant of a dialect variant of *-ngali-*: *-ngeli-* (both forms go back to the same form (Miede 1979)), the phonological reduction would be the following: (a) *-ngali-* > (e) *-ngeli-* > *-nge-* (for further details see Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993:403-5)).

Saloné (1983) discusses the forms *-nge-* and *-ngali-* in detail. The formative *-nge-* is considered the ‘unmarked’ marker that can carry a hypothetical meaning and a contrary-to-fact meaning and has a wider distribution than *-ngali-*. The formative *-ngali-* is considered more restricted in meaning to a marker of contrary-to-fact or low likelihood of fulfillment where the contrary-to-fact meaning tends to be associated with a past meaning.

Similar to Saloné, Contini-Morava (1989) and Möhlig & Heine (1995) argue that the difference between forms with *-nge-* and *-ngali-* does not express a tense distinction, but deals with whether a possibility exists for the stated conditions to be fulfilled or not.

Thus, the two forms may differ in the possibility of fulfilling the conditions and the possibility of realizing the event based on the fulfilment of the conditions in the view of the speaker.²⁸

Nevertheless, several factors interact so that the picture is not totally transparent. Besides the above mentioned issues, there is also the issue of language change. Bybee (1995) noted for past modals in English, i.e. *would* and *should*, a ‘gradual development of the hypothetical and present senses of past modals and their loss of the past meaning’ (Bybee 1995:513). Whether that also applies to Swahili needs further investigation, but it would add a further level of complexity to an issue that is already complex.

What is important for this discussion is that it is doubtful that the forms with *-nge-* and *-ngali-* in modern Swahili express a clear tense distinction. They may be in free variation, for some speakers. For speakers who distinguish forms with these formatives, the speakers’ attitude towards the result of the event is reflected. Also, these formatives are not aspectual in terms of co-occurrence patterns in compound forms as will be shown in the next chapter. That is why these formatives are considered as expressing mood.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed markers *-na/-a-*, *-ki-*, *-me-*, *-mesha-*, *-li-*, *-lisha-*, *-ta-*, *-nge-*, *-ngali-*, *hu-* and *-ka-* of position 4. In particular it discussed markers that have

²⁸

This distinction may not exist for all speakers. For example, one of my consultants used *-nge-* and *-ngali-* interchangeably, while the other made distinctions between them.

properties of tense/aspect or that are generally regarded as tense or aspect markers. The analysis is not complete since the next chapter (Chapter Four) will discuss compound forms, and these forms are revealing when it comes to distinctions of tense and aspect. Co-occurrence restrictions and co-occurrence possibilities will play a significant role in delimiting tense and aspect from other markers which may be in the same position in the verbal construction. The following chapter deals with compound forms, consisting of an auxiliary and a lexical verb. All the markers discussed in this chapter will be re-examined.

CHAPTER FOUR

TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD MARKERS IN COMPOUND FORMS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of the tense/aspect/mood markers in affirmative sentences. Chapter Four deals with structures such as SC₁-TAM-(OC)-kuwa SC₁-TAM-(OC)-VB-(E)-F which are described as compound forms. They consist of the first verb, in the examples in this study a form with *-kuwa*, the auxiliary, and the second verb, the lexical verb. Both forms show the same subject agreement. Grammars cite to varying extents certain patterns of combination, but provide little information on the systematic principle that governs the combination which is the issue in this study.

4.1 Formatives of Position 4 in Compound Forms

In affirmative compound verbal construction, e.g., *Tulikiwa tumelala* 'We were asleep', each verb contains one tense/aspect/mood marker.¹ Different combinations of tense/aspect markers are possible. However, not all possible variations are acceptable. The distribution of tense/aspect markers within compound forms is based on a general principle which has several facets.

The combinatory possibilities of tense/aspect markers in compound forms are

¹
Except for *-mesha-* and *-lisha-*.

constrained by the principle that in the auxiliary the locus of orientation is specified to which the aspectual properties apply. In *Tulikuwa tumelala* ‘We were asleep’, for example, the two verb forms express different facets of the event. The auxiliary indicates the time specification of the event (past in this case); the aspectual marker in the lexical verb form expresses the representation of the internal temporal structure of the event, the aspectual expression. The formatives *-me-*, *-mesha-*, *-na-/-a-* and *-ki-* in lexical verbs combine with different tenses and other formatives in the auxiliaries. The formatives that occur in lexical verbs cannot be tenses because they are restricted to a particular time zone, but are aspectual formatives. The reasons are as follows.

In contrast to those aspectual formatives, several formatives of position 4, including *-li-* and *-ta-*, occur only in the auxiliary verb and do not occur in the lexical verb in compound forms. Aspectual descriptions in lexical verbs in compound forms themselves can theoretically apply anywhere in time. In order to narrow down and specify whether the aspectual forms apply to the present, past, future, etc., the auxiliary verb form, therefore, expresses the locus of orientation of the event if it is marked as distinct from the unmarked present. Thus, the markers *-li-* ‘past’, and *-ta-* ‘future’ represent bound time zones in which aspectual forms then express the internal temporal structure of the event. The Swahili/Bantu specific principle is that the portion of time to which the aspectual description applies has to be specified first – in the above example *tulikuwa* as past.

Another facet of this principle is that the locus of orientation given in the auxiliary

also constrains the aspectual form in that it delineates the boundaries in which the form with the aspectual marker applies.

Not all formatives of position 4 can be subsumed under tense or aspect. The other formatives that are discussed, that is *-ka-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-*, also occur only on the auxiliary. These formatives are not treated as markers of tense or aspect, due to their meanings and other morphological properties.

Chapter Four discusses first the formatives *-li-*, *-ta-*, *-me-*, *-na-* and *-ki-*. Subsequently, the formatives *hu-*, *-ka-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-* are discussed. The formative *hu-* is included in the discussion, because it is generally considered an aspectual marker.

This chapter reverses the order of presentation from the previous chapter and will begin with *-li-* and *-ta-*, followed by *-me-*, *-mesha-*, *-na-* and *-ki-*.

4.1.1 *-li-* in Compound Forms

The formative *-li-* occurs only in the auxiliary of compound forms. The patterns are described schematically in the following:

-likuwa ...-me-...

-likuwa ...-mesha-...

-likuwa ...-na-...

-likuwa ...-ki-...

*-likuwa hu-...

*-likuwa ...-ka-...

*-likuwa ...-nge-...

*-likuwa ...-ngali-...

The starred patterns were not accepted by the consultants. The following examples illustrate the first four patterns:

(1) a. A-li-ku-w-a a-me-lal-a.

3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-ME-sleep-F

‘He was asleep.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:249)

b. Tu-li-ku-w-a tu-mesha-lal-a.

1P-PA-ST-be-F 1P-MESHA-sleep-F

‘We had already gone to bed/slept/fallen asleep.’

(HM)

c. Tom a-li-ku-w-a a-na-bish-a sana siki moja.

Tom 3S-LI-ST-be-F 3S-NA-naughty-F very day one

‘An einem Tag war Tom sehr ungezogen.’

[‘One day Tom was very naughty.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:241)

d. A-li-ku-w-a a-ki-fany-a kazi sana.

3S-LI-ST-be-F 3S-KI-do/make-F work very

‘Er hatte sehr viel gearbeitet.’

[‘He had been working a lot.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:238)

4.1.2 -ta- in Compound Forms

The formative *-ta-*, which expresses the future, also occurs in compound forms only in the auxiliary. Similar to *-li-*, it does not occur in the lexical verb of compound forms. *-me-*, *-mesha-*, *-na-* and *-ki-* may occur in the lexical verb just as they did with *-li-*.

The patterns are as follows:

-takuwa ...-me-...

-takuwa ...-mesha-...

-takuwa ...-na-...

-takuwa ...-ki-...

*-takuwa hu-...

*-takuwa ...-li-...

*-takuwa ...-ka-...

*-takuwa ...-nge-...

*-takuwa ...-ngali-...

The following examples illustrate the patterns:

(2) Ni-**ta**-ku-w-a ni-**me**-lal-a.

1S-FU-ST-be-F 1S-ME-sleep-F

‘I shall be asleep.’

(Schadeberg 1984:22)

(3) Tu-**ta**-ku-w-a tu-**mesha**-lal-a.

1P-F-ST-be-F 1P-ME-SHA-sleep-F

‘We will have gone to bed/slept.’

(4) Serikali i-**ta**-ku-w-a i-**na**-jaribu ku-wa-hudumi-a watu.

government SC-FU-ST-be-F SC-NA-try VB-3P-serve-F people

‘Die Regierung wird sich bemühen, den Menschen zu dienen.’

[‘The government will be trying to serve the people.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:241)

(5) Tu-**ta**-ku-w-a tu-**ki**-som-a.’

1P-TA-ST-be-F 1P-KI-read-F

‘We will be reading.’

4.1.3 -me- in Compound Forms

The formative *-me-* can also occur in compound forms. It occurs in the lexical

verb, as the following patterns indicate:

-likuwa ...-me-...

-takuwa ...-me-...

-kiwa ...-me-...

-nakuwa ...-me-... (see discussion under -na-)

huwa ...-me-...

-ngekuwa ...-me-...

-ngalikuwa ...-me-...

-kawa ...-me-...

The locus of orientation is indicated in the first verb form as the following examples illustrate:

(6) Wavulana watatu wa-li-ku-w-a wa-me-ji-tup-a sebule-ni mwake.

bachelors three 3P-PA-ST-be-F 3P-ME-RF-throw-F reception=room-LO his

‘Three bachelors had burst (literally, ‘thrown themselves’) into his reception-room.’

(Polomé 1967:150)

(7) A-li-ku-w-a a-me-chok-a sana.

3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-ME-be=tired-F very

‘Sie war sehr müde.’

[‘[He or] She was very tired.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:239)

(8) Ni-ta-ku-w-a ni-me-lal-a.

1S-TA-ST-be-F 1S-ME-sleep-F

‘I shall be asleep.’

(Schadeberg 1984:22)

(9) A-ki-w-a a-me-umi-w-a, m-pelek-e hospitali.

3S-KI-be-F 3S-ME-hurt-P-F 3S-take-F hospital

‘If she is hurt, take her to the hospital.’

(Schadeberg 1992:35)

(10) A-na-ku-w-a a-me-lal-a.

3S-NA-ST-be-F 3S-ME-sleep-F

‘He is sleeping right now.’

(Loogman 1965:209)

(11) Hu-w-a a-me-lal-a saa hii.

HU-be-F 3S-ME-sleep-F hour this

‘He is generally asleep at this hour.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:256)

(12) A-si-**nge**-ku-w-a a-**me**-chok-a, a-nge-rudi sasa hivi.

3S-NEG₂-NGE-ST-be-F 3S-ME-be=tired-F 3S-NGE-return at once

‘If he were not tired, he would return at once.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

(13) Si-**ngali**-ku-w-a ni-**me**-chok-a ni-ngali-tembe-a mji-ni.

NEG₁1S-NGALI-ST-be-F 1S-ME-be=tired-F 1S-NGALI-stroll-F town-LO

‘If I had not been tired, I would have taken a stroll in town.’

(Polomé 1967:152)

(14) A-li-kimbi-a hata a-**ka**-w-a a-**me**-chok-a.

3S-PA-run-F until 3S-KA-be-F 3S-ME-be=tired-F

‘He ran on until at length he became tired.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:255)

The formative *-me-* can also occur in the auxiliary of a compound form, as example (15) illustrates. The formative in the lexical verb is *-ki-* in example (15). Consultants rated forms of the type ...-mekuwa ...-na-... as unacceptable.

(15) Tangu siku hiyo watu wengi wa-**me**-ku-w-a wa-**ki**-li-tafut-a shimo hilo, ...

since/from day that people many 3P-ME-ST-be-F 3P-KI-3S-see-F pit this

‘From that day onwards many people have been seeking for this pit, ...’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:254)

4.1.4 -mesha- in Compound Forms

Forms with *-mesha-* can also occur in compound forms. They can occur on the lexical verb. The following patterns are illustrated by the examples below:

-likuwa ...-mesha-

-takuwa ...-mesha-

huwa ...-mesha-

(16) Tu-li-ku-w-a tu-mesha-lal-a.

1P-PA-ST-be-F 1P-ME-SHA-sleep-F

‘We had already gone to bed/slept/fallen asleep.’

(17) Tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-mesha-lal-a.

1P-FU-ST-be-F 1P-ME-SHA-sleep-F

‘We will have gone to bed/slept.’

(18) Kila a-na-po-rud-i . hu-w-a tu-mesha-lal-a.

every 3S-NA-LR-come=back-F HU-be-F 1P-ME-SHA-sleep-F

‘Every time s/he comes back (s/he finds that) we have already gone to bed.’

(HM)

The auxiliary verb form expresses the locus of orientation while the lexical verb

form relates the aspectual description of the event to the locus described.

4.1.5 -na- in Compound Verb Forms

Similarly to forms with *-me-*, forms with *-na-* can occur in the lexical verb following forms of *-kuwa* with *-li-* or *-ta-*. The patterns are listed below followed by examples:

-likuwa ...-na-...

-takuwa ...-na-...

-kiwa ...-na-...

?-mekuwa ...-na-...

huwa ...-na-...

-ngekuwa ...-na-...

-ngalikuwa ...-na-...

-kawa ...-na-...

(19) A-li-ku-w-a a-na-kimbi-a.

3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-NA-run-F

‘He was running (at a particular time).’

(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:707)

(20) Mara nduguze wake wote wa-taka-po-ku-w-a wa tayari,

immediately sister his all 3P-TAKA-LR-ST-be-F are ready,

a-ta-ku-w-a a-na-ku-j-a.

3S-TA-ST-be-F 3S-NA-ST-come-F

‘As soon as all his sisters are ready, he will be on his way.’

(Polomé 1967:155)

(21) A-ki-w-a a-na-ku-j-a, fuatana naye.

3S-KI-be-F 3S-NA-ST-come-F IMP=with him

‘If he is coming, go along with him.’

(Schadeberg 1992:35)

(22) Kila ni-ki-mw-on-a, hu-w-a a-na-maliz-a kazi yake.

every=time 1S-KI-3S-see-F HU-be-F 3S-NA-finish-F work his

‘Every time I see him, he is always on the point of finishing his work.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:256)

(23) U-me-tu-adhibu ku-chelew-a. Sasa tayari tu-nge-ku-w-a

2S-ME-1P-punish VN-be=late-F now ready 1P-NGE-ST-be-F

tu-na-ji-pigi-a matindi raha =mustarehe.

1P-NA-RF-drink-F halfgrown=maize in=perfect=comfort

‘You have punished us by being late. We would by now be drinking away regardlessly.’

(Mukama 1985:42-43)

(24) Kibibi wa Tumbatu a-li-staajabu ku-siki-a neno lile,

young=lady at *Tumbatu* 3S-PA-surprise VN-hear-AP-F word this

a-~~ka~~-w-a a-na-li-tamk-a na ku-li-tamk-a tena.

3S-KA-be-F 3S-NA-3S-say-F and VN-PA-say-F again

‘The lady at Tumbatu was surprised at hearing this word,

and then began saying it again and again.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:254)

Forms with *-nakuwa* in the auxiliary appear to be rare. Ashton ([1944] 1993:252) describes a pattern *-nakuwa ...-na-*. However, the examples given actually reflect a different pattern: *-napokuwa ...-na-*, which is syntactically a different construction. The following forms are listed in Loogman (1965:209):

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (25) a. Anakuwa anasoma. | ‘He is busy reading.’ |
| b. Anakuwa amelala. | ‘He is sleeping right now.’ |
| c. Anakuwa akitia raugi. | ‘He is occupied with painting.’ |

Although Loogman lists forms with *-nakuwa ...-na-*..., native speakers rejected **anakuwa analima*. Wilson (1970) notes that forms with *-nakuwa* are rare, since they mean ‘becoming’.

- (26) a-na-ku-w-a a-ki-lim-a
 3S-NA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-plant-F
 ['He is (busy) planting.' CB-L]

The example in (26) was considered by native speakers as rarely heard, but acceptable. *Anakuwa amelala* was considered acceptable² by informants.

The following example of the pattern *-nakuwa ...-ki...* is from a grammar:

- (27) A-na-ku-w-a a-ki-chek-a kila a-na-po-ni-on-a.
 3S-NA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-laugh-F every=time 3S-NA-LR-1P-see-F
 'Er lacht jedesmal, wenn er mich sieht.'
 ['He laughs every time (when) he sees me.' CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:239)

As Bearth (1995:232) notes, *-nakuwa* expresses the present occurrence and continuing of the situation.³

The formative *-na-* occurs in the lexical verb also where the auxiliary contains other formatives than the ones discussed so far:

²

One of the informants considered the forms questionable.

³

Sentences where *-nakuwa*, *-mekuwa*, *-takuwa*, etc. as auxiliaries which are followed by uninflected 'si' or 'ni' are also possible.

(28) U-me-tu-adhibu ku-chelew-a. Sasa tayari tu-nge-ku-w-a

2S-ME-1P-punish VN-be=late-F now ready 1P-NGE-ST-be-F

tu-na-ji-pigi-a matindi raha=mustarehe.

1P-NA-RF-drink-F halfgrown=maize in=perfect=comfort

'You have punished us by being late. We would by now be drinking away
regardlessly.'

(Mukama 1985:42-43)

4.1.6 -ki- in Compound Forms

Similar to *-na-* and *-me-*, *-ki-* can occur in the lexical verb preceded by a form with *-kuwa*.

Thus we find the following patterns:

-likuwa ...-ki-...

-takuwa ...-ki-...

-mekuwa ...-ki-...

-nakuwa ...-ki-... (rare?)

-kawa ...-ki-...

huwa ...-ki-...

ngekuwa ...-ki-...

ngalikuwa ...-ki-...

The following examples illustrate the above patterns:

(29) A-li-ku-w-a a-ki-lal-a.

3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-sleep-F

‘He was asleep.’

(30) A-li-ku-w-a a-ki-som-a sana.

S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-read-F very

‘He used to read a great deal.’

(31) Mwaka ujao tu-ta-kuw-a tu-ki-ka-a katika nyumba yetu mpya.

next year 1P-TA-ST-be-F 1P-KI-sit/dwell-F in=time house our new

‘Next year we shall be living in our new house.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:251)

(32) Wiki hii nzima ni-me-ku-w-a ni-ki-tak-a ku-ku-on-a.

week this all 1S-ME-ST-be-F 1S-KI-want-F VN-2S-see-F

‘All this week I’ve been wanting to see you.’

(Maw 1985:169)

(33) A-na-ku-w-a a-ki-chek-a kila a-na-po-ni-on-a.

3S-NA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-laugh-F every=time 3S-NA-LR-1P-see-F

‘Er lacht jedesmal, wenn er mich sieht.’

[‘He laughs everytime when he sees me.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:239)

(34) Tu-ka-w-a tu-ki-angali-a

1P-KA-be-F 1P-KI-look=at-F

‘We were looking’

(Loogman 1965:210)

(35) Hu-w-a a-ki-j-a hapa baadhi ya siku.

HU-be-F 3S-KI-VB-F here a=portion of days

‘He generally comes here on certain days.’

(36) A-nge-ku-w-a mvivu a-si-nge-ku-w-a a-ki-som-a.

3S-NGE-ST-be-F idle 3S-NEG₂-NGE-ST-be-F 3S-KI-read-F

‘If he were an idle fellow, he would not be continuing with his studies.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

(37) Wa-toto hao ... kama wa-ngali-ku-w-a wa-ki-ka-a sana,
 3P-children these if 3P-NGALI-ST-be-F 3P-KI-stay-F very(long)
 ha-wa-ngali-wez-a ku-pand-a ku-rud-i kwao katika Nchi ya Mawingu.
 NEG₁-3P-NGALI-able-F ST-go=up-F ST-return-F PREP to land of clouds
 'If these children had made a habit of staying too long, they would have
 been unable to go up again to their homeland in Cloudland'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

Thus, *-ki-* may occur in the lexical verb. It may also occur on the auxiliary where it may be translated with 'if', as in examples (38) and (40). Some of the patterns are illustrated below:⁴

(38) A-ki-w-a a-na-ku-j-a, fuatana naye.
 3S-KI-be-F 3S-NA-ST-come-F IMP=with him
 'If he is coming, go along with him.'

(Schadeberg 1992:35)

(39) Tu-li-m-kut-a a-ki-w-a a-na-som-a.
 1P-PA-3S-find-F 3S-KI-be-F 3S-NA-read-F
 'We found her reading, doing the reading, in the process of reading.'

(HM)

⁴

Patterns of the type *ikiwa* SC-TAM-VB-F are not part of the analysis since in that case there is no subject agreement. *ikiwa* is usually considered as functioning as a conjunction 'if'.

(40) A-**ki**-w-a a-**me**-umi-w-a, m-pelek-e hospitali.

3S-KI-be-F 3S-ME-hurt-P-F 3S-take-F hospital

‘If she is hurt, take her to the hospital.’

(Schadeberg 1992:35)

The following examples show the use of *-na-* and *-ki-* in minimal pairs:

(41) Wa-li-ku-w-a wa-**na**-fany-a kazi.

3P-PA-ST-be-F 3P-NA-make-F work

‘They were working (then, at the time we saw them).’

(42) Wa-li-ku-w-a wa-**ki**-fany-a kazi siku nzima.

3P-PA-ST-be-F 3P-KI-make-F work day all

‘They were working. They used to work all day.’

As we have seen under *-na-*, Wald’s explanation of focus on the verb itself provides some argumentation why the time period in the form with *-na-* would be considered shorter. In example (42), the aspectual marker *-ki-* encompasses the period of work which is given as ‘all day’.

4.1.7 *hu-* in Compound Forms

The formative *hu-* has been included since it is generally treated as an aspectual

form. As we have seen in Chapter Three, the structure of forms with *hu-* differs from forms with other aspectual markers. Forms with *hu-* occur in the auxiliary of the compound forms, schematically as *hu-*+VB+*-a* SC+TA+(ST)+VB+(E)+F.

Again, only certain patterns occur:

huwa ...-ki-...-a

huwa ...-na-...-a

huwa ...-me-...-a

huwa ...-mesha-...-a

(43) **Hu-w-a a-ki-j-a** hapa baadhi ya siku.

HU-be-F 3S-KI-come-F here some=of the days

‘He generally comes here on certain days.’

(44) Kila ni-ki-mw-on-a, **hu-w-a a-na-maliz-a** kazi yake.

every=time 1S-KI-3S-see-F HU-be-F 3S-NA-finish-F work his

‘Every time I see him, he is always on the point of finishing his work.’

(45) Hu-w-a **a-me-lal-a** saa hii.

HU-be-F 3S-ME-sleep-F hour this

‘He is generally asleep at this hour.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:256)

(46) Kila a-na-po-rud-i hu-w-a tu-mesha-lal-a.

every=time 3S-NA-LR-arrive-F HU-be-F 1P-MESHA-sleep-F

‘Every time s/he comes back (s/he finds that) we have already gone to
bed/slept.’

(HM)

Forms with *hu-* do not occur in the lexical verb form, but only in the auxiliary.

This is illustrated by the following co-occurrence patterns and examples; the patterns below are illustrated with the verb *-soma* ‘read’ for most forms and *-lala* ‘lie down’ for forms with *-me-*.

(47) a. *tulikuwa husoma

b. *tunakuwa husoma

c. *tutakuwa husoma

d. *tume kuwa hulala

e. *tumesakuwa husoma

f. *tukawa husoma

If we follow the principle discussed in the beginning of the chapter, that is, that the verb form of the lexical verb applies within the parameters established by the auxiliary, we would not expect *hu-* to be able to co-occur as a second verb form with, for example, a past locus of orientation since forms with *hu-* do not function as past habitual. Forms with

hu- do not deal with the internal temporal structure of any single event. However, there are other possible explanations.

Syntactically compound forms consist of two verbs which both show the same subject agreement. In the starred forms above, the lexical verb, the one with *hu-*, does not show any subject agreement with the auxiliary verb.

Furthermore, although forms with *hu-* have generally been described as aspectual, the position is different from the markers of position 4. That in itself is not necessarily an indicator that it cannot be an aspect marker, since there are Bantu languages that have several positions for aspectual distinctions. But aspectual marking in older Swahili, for example, occurred also at the right hand boundary of the verbal construction.

In the following example the formative *hu-* expresses the natural consequence:

(48) Tembo wawili wa-ki-pig-an-a nyasi hu-um-i-a.

elephants two 3P-KI-fight-RC-F grass HU-hurt-AP-F

‘When two elephants fight it is the grass that gets hurt.’

(Moshi 1988:14)

The meaning of a form with *hu-* includes ‘a natural, inevitable event that is expected, and known to the speaker and hearer as universal or ordinary’ (Moshi 1988). As such it does not refer to the representation of any particular implied event or its temporal composition. Its aspectual description as a habitual is probably due to the expression of repetition.

The patterns illustrated are similar to patterns that are found in compound forms with, for example, *-li-*, *-ta-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-* (for the latter two formatives see below), formatives which are not described as aspect markers. In terms of distributional patterning, forms with *hu-* pattern like a tense or deictic marker rather than an aspectual marker, for instance, *-me-*. Nevertheless, to describe *hu-* as a tense marker does not appear appropriate, since it does not refer to a specific time, and it may not be used with subject markers. The label ‘habitual’ will be retained in the following, but it has to be kept in mind that *hu-* does not represent simply aspectual marking, but rather includes deictic properties.⁵

4.1.8 *-ka-* in Compound Forms

As we have seen earlier, one of the criteria for the distinction between tense and aspect in Swahili is the position of the marker in compound verb forms. If there is one, the first verb carries the tense marker, that defines the locus of orientation compared to the time of speaking, and the second verb form describes the aspectual properties of the event.

The formatives *-ki-*, *-na-*, *-me-*, *-mesha-*, etc., can occur on the lexical verb in compound verb forms, while tenses, i.e., *-li-* and *-ta-* cannot occur in this position. The formative *-ka-* cannot occur in this position either (see also Bertoncini-Zúbková

⁵

The status of *hu-* could not be determined completely, and, therefore, the formative was omitted from the theoretical analysis.

1995:122); *-ka-* does occur in the first part of two-verb combinations as the examples from Ashton show:

- (49) Kibibi wa Tumbatu a-li-staajabu ku-siki-a neno lile,
 young=lady at *Tumbatu* 3S-PA-surprise VN-hear-F word this
 a-ka-w-a a-na-li-tamk-a na ku-li-tamk-a tena.
 3S-KA-be-F 3S-NA-3S-say-F and VN-PA-say-F again
 ‘The lady at Tumbatu was surprised at hearing this word,
 and then began saying it again and again.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:254)

- (50) a. Mbwa a-ka-zid-i ku-m-fuati-a yule mnyama, na kadhalika
 dog 3S-KA-become=more-F VN-3S-follow-F that animal and likewise
 Mpobe a-ka-w-a a-ki-end-a.
 Mpobe 3S-KA-be-F 3S-KI-go-F
 ‘The dog continued to follow the animal, and Mpobe likewise kept on
 going.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:254)

- b. Ni-ka-w-a ni-ki-sem-a naye kwa Kiswahili.
 1S-KA-be-F 1S-KI-say-F with=him in *Kiswahili*
 ‘I was speaking with him in Kiswahili.’

(Moshi 1988:7 with slight adaptation in morpheme analysis)

(51) A-li-kimbi-a hata a-ka-w-a a-me-chok-a.

3S-PA-run-F until 3S-KA-be-F 3S-ME-be=tired-F

‘He ran on until at length he became tired.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:255)

Just considering the last point, it may seem as if *-ka-* were a tense marker.

However, as was shown in Chapter Three, it can occur in forms in a complex sentence following a time frame given as the past, the present (which may be implied in the use of *-na-*), the imperative, the future, or the subjunctive, or by *huwa*, or forms with *-nge-* *-ngali-*. This does not indicate a tense marker. In comparison to a tense marker, for example the past marker, a form with *-ka-* is contingent on the initial establishment of the locus of orientation.

This may appear to suggest aspect as the description for the formative. However, the use of *-ka-* does not refer to the internal structure of the event, and, furthermore, as we have seen, it does not occur in compound forms on the lexical verb in contrast to the other markers described as aspectual. Moreover, the possibility of co-occurring with finals *-a* or *-e* for forms with *-ka-* distinguishes the formative from all other formatives in the tense/aspect/mood position.

As mentioned earlier, *-ka-* can occur on the second and subsequent elements in a series, whereby these may be of temporal nature or of another nature of contingency (i.e. cause and effect). The time lapse between events in a series depends on the type of events, logic and the context in the real world. The formative *-ka-* relates events.

The formative *-ka-* does not demonstrate tense itself, but when *-ka* occurs after a tense in the initial verb in a series, the locus of orientation presented in the first verb is assumed to be continued or copied (see also Loogman 1965) and the subsequent completion of the second event which is generally at a distance from the first is contingent on the completion of the initial verb (Leonard 1980). This goes along with the dependency of the form with *-ka-* on the previous form or the context.

Besides this formative, *-ka-*, Bertoncini-Zúbková also distinguishes a second *ka-* morpheme, which is used only in the 3rd person singular after nouns which are animate. She attributes the property of expressing foregrounding to this second *ka-*. This second *ka-* is part of an alternative set of positive subject markers for 1S, 2S, and 3S: *si-*, *ku*, and *ka-* respectively, found in Southern Swahili and adjacent Bantu languages, called “Southern *ka-*”.

It is a different morpheme from the *-ka-* under discussion. As Bertoncini-Zúbková points out the formative *-ka-* can co-occur with the “Southern *ka-*”:

(52) Zuberi a-**ka**-w-a **ka**-po-a mle ukumbi-ni (Mohamed).

Zuberi 3S-KA-be-F 3S-be=well-F within hall-LO

‘Zuberi wurde erst in der Halle ruhig.’

[‘Zuberi became quiet in the hall.’ CB-L]

(Bertoncini-Zúbková 1995:123)

In this study *-ka-* is described as ‘consecutive’.⁶ ⁷ Botne (1999) uses the term ‘distal’. Mithun (1995) points out that most languages have a morpheme to express seriation of a temporal nature or of other types; for Swahili *-ka-* fulfills this role.

4.1.9 *-nge-* and *-ngali-* in Compound Forms

The formatives *-nge-* and *-ngali-* can occur on the auxiliary verb in compound verb form, as the following examples illustrate:

-ngekuwa ...-me-...

-ngekuwa ...-na-...

-ngekuwa ...-ki-...

-ngalikuwa ...-me-...

-ngalikuwa ...-ki-...

⁶

Schicho (1995) points out that the analysis given by Leonard (1980) does not contradict the “traditional” description of ‘consecutive’.

⁷

See footnote 26 in Chapter Three.

(53) Wa-si-nge-ku-w-a wa-me-lal-a tu-nge-wez-a ku-chez-a

3P-NEG₂-NGE-ST-be-F 3P-ME-sleep-F 1P-NGE-be=able-F VN-play-F

karata pamo ja nao.

card together with them

‘If they were not asleep we could play cards with them.’

(Polomé 1967:152)

(54) U-me-tu-adhibu ku-chelew-a. Sasa tayari tu-nge-ku-w-a

2S-ME-1P-punish VN-be=late-F now ready 1P-NGE-ST-be-F

tu-na-ji-pigi-a matindi raha=mustarehe.

1P-NA-RF-drink-F halfgrown=maize in=perfect=comfort

‘You have punished us by being late. We would by now be drinking away
regardlessly.’

(Mukama 1985:42-43)

(55) A-nge-ku-w-a mwivu, a-si-nge-ku-w-a a-ki-som-a

3S-NGE-ST-be-F idle 3S-NEG₂-NGE-ST-be-F 3S-KI-read-F

‘If he were an idle fellow, he would not be continuing with his studies.’

(Schadeberg 1992:35)

(56) Si-ngali-ku-w-a ni-me-chok-a ni-ngali-tembe-a mji-ni.

NEG₂-NGALI-ST-be-F 1S-ME-be=tired-F 1S-NGALI-stroll-F town-LO

‘If I had not been tired, I would have taken a stroll in town.’

(Polomé 1967:152)

(57) Wa-toto hao kama wa-ngali-ku-w-a wa-ki-ka-a sana,
 3P-children these had 3P-NGALI-ST-be-F 3P-KI-stay-F too=long
 ha-wa-ngali-wez-a ku-pand-a ku-rud-i kwao katika Nchi ya Mawingu.
 NEG₁-3P-NGALI-able-F ST-go=up-F ST-return-F PREP to land of clouds
 'If these children had made a habit of staying too long, they would have
 been unable to go up again to their homeland in Cloudland'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

As with some other morphemes of position 4, forms of the following structure are unacceptable:

*-mekuwa ... -nge/-ngali-...

*-likuwa ... -nge/-ngali-...

*-nakuwa ... -nge/-ngali-...

*-takuwa ... -nge/-ngali-...

Comparing these two formatives with the other formatives of this position, the co-occurrence restrictions are similar to the ones of *-li-*, *-ta-* and *-ka-* (and also *hu-*) and differ from the formatives that have been described as aspectual. These formatives are not aspectual markers. The question is whether these formatives express tense distinctions. As the discussion in the previous chapter indicated, it is doubtful that there is simply a clear tense distinction between these forms. Rather the speaker's attitude towards the

likelihood of the fulfilment of the conditions appears to be expressed. I follow Mukama (1985) who considers these formatives not aspect markers, but markers of mood. These formatives appear to carry a modal load.

Bybee describes modal verbs in English whose description appears to be applicable to the forms with the formatives in Swahili:

Modal verbs ... have in common the semantic property that they do not imply the completion of the action or event expressed by the infinitive with which they occur [for English. CB-L]

(Bybee 1995:505)

The above examples illustrate this point. Certain conditions have to be met before the completion of the event can take place. The (degree of the) hypothetical fulfilment of the conditions is expressed by *-nge-*/*-ngali-*, which means they carry a modal load. Counterfactuals in general, as Givón (1994:320) observes, are already a ‘modal blend’ since they express a past event which didn’t occur, but which is possible hypothetically.

The status of *-nge-* and *-ngali-* is complex and the issue will be left here. The markers will not be included in the following analysis since more than tense or aspect is involved.

4.2 The Systematic Analysis of the Tense/Aspect Markers in a Guillaumian Framework

As we have seen, the forms that occur in the lexical verb in compound forms in contrast to those that cannot are *-me-*, *-mesha-*, *-na-* and *-ki-*. That is one reason why in

the presentation of the *chronogenesis* the formatives above are assigned to a different level from the other formatives.

4.2.1 Distinctions among Formatives of Position 4

Based on meaning, contrasts and co-occurrence patterns examined in this chapter, only *-me-*, *-na-*, *-ki-* and *-mesha-* are established as being aspectual.

Among the formatives *-li-*, *-ta-*, *-ka-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-* analyzed, the formatives *-li-* and *-ta-* represent distinctions that have been assigned the label 'tense'. The formative *-li-* denotes the expression of past, while *-ta-* denotes the expression of the non-past tense, representing the future. In position 4, other formatives were identified as expressing other concepts than tense or aspect. The formative *-ka-* 'consecutive' has been identified as denoting neither tense nor aspect. The formatives *-nge-* and *-ngali-* have been described as carrying a modal load.

Morphologically the last three markers and *hu-* differ from aspectual markers by their restrictions on occurrence in the lexical verb in compound forms.

They also differ morphologically from the tense markers in various ways. Forms with *-hu-* do not include subject marking and the formative occurs in a different position. Forms with *hu-* may include a deictic quality depicting the represented event as universal, or ordinary, therefore, assuming prior knowledge or a shared universal knowledge by speaker and hearer. As such, the representation of the event is not allocated to a particular time zone in Universe Time.

Forms with *-ka-* may occur with either the final *-a* or the final *-e*. (As was observed earlier, this is the only formative of position 4 that may occur with final *-e*.)

Forms with *-nge-* and *-ngali-* are the only formatives that can co-occur with the negative marker *-si-*.

4.2.2 The Chronogenesis of Tense/Aspect Markers in Swahili

In this section an analysis, in a Guillaumian framework, will be applied to the tense and aspect markers. As we have seen *-ki-*, *-na-*, *-me-* and *-mesha-* can be used to express aspectual distinctions and can combine as formatives in lexical verbs with the auxiliary form of *-kuwa*.

For the formatives the following table can be given:

Table 4.1: Co-occurrence of Forms of *-kuwa* with Aspectual Markers

Auxiliary	Lexical Verb			
-likuwa	-ki-	-na-	-me-	-mesha-
-takuwa	-ki-	-na-	-me-	-mesha-
-huwa	-ki-	-na-	-me-	-mesha-
-kawa	-ki-	-na-	-me-	-mesha-
-nakuwa	-ki-	*	-me-	-mesha-
-mekuwa	-ki-	*	*	??
-kiwa	*	-na-	-me-	see Note 1
-nge-/ngali-	-ki-	-na-	-me-	-mesha-

Note 1: The meaning would be different.

Thus, forms with *-ki-*, *-na-*, *-me-* and *-mesha-* behave differently in terms of co-occurrence restrictions from the other markers. The combinatory possibility with formatives expressing past and future, and other formatives has led to their description as aspectual, since aspectual distinctions can apply theoretically anywhere in time. In Swahili the aspectual distinctions are represented in forms that are finite, i.e. in forms representing Universe Time.

The chronogenetic model was illustrated by forms of English in Chapter Two where tense and aspect were presented in stratified stages in which the representation of the time image increases in complexity.

In Swahili different levels of specificity of the representation can also be identified. These different levels are the different stages of the *chronogenesis*. Three different stages are proposed. Based on the discussion in Chapters Three and Four, the distinction of two different stages can be made. An aspectual level, called Stage Two, will be proposed, and a further stage, Stage Three, which represents tense distinctions, can also be included. The initial level of *chronogenesis*, Stage One, represented by *KU-*, will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

The aspectual level, Stage Two, is described as necessarily belonging to Descending Time. As was shown in Chapter Two, the 'normal' (often unmarked) representation in Descending Time is imperfective. Describing Stage Two as Descending

Time allows us to explain the imperfectivity of forms with *-na-/-a-* and *-ki-*. When languages have a chronogenetic level in Descending Time, they often also include forms expressing completion. These are marked forms in Descending Time. In Swahili *-me-* and *-mesha-* are formatives that represent completed events. Thus, the formatives *-na-/-a-* and *-ki-* are imperfective, while forms with *-me-* and *-mesha-* express retrospective and completive (see Bybee et al.(1994)) aspects. Graphically the affirmative aspectual markers can be described as:

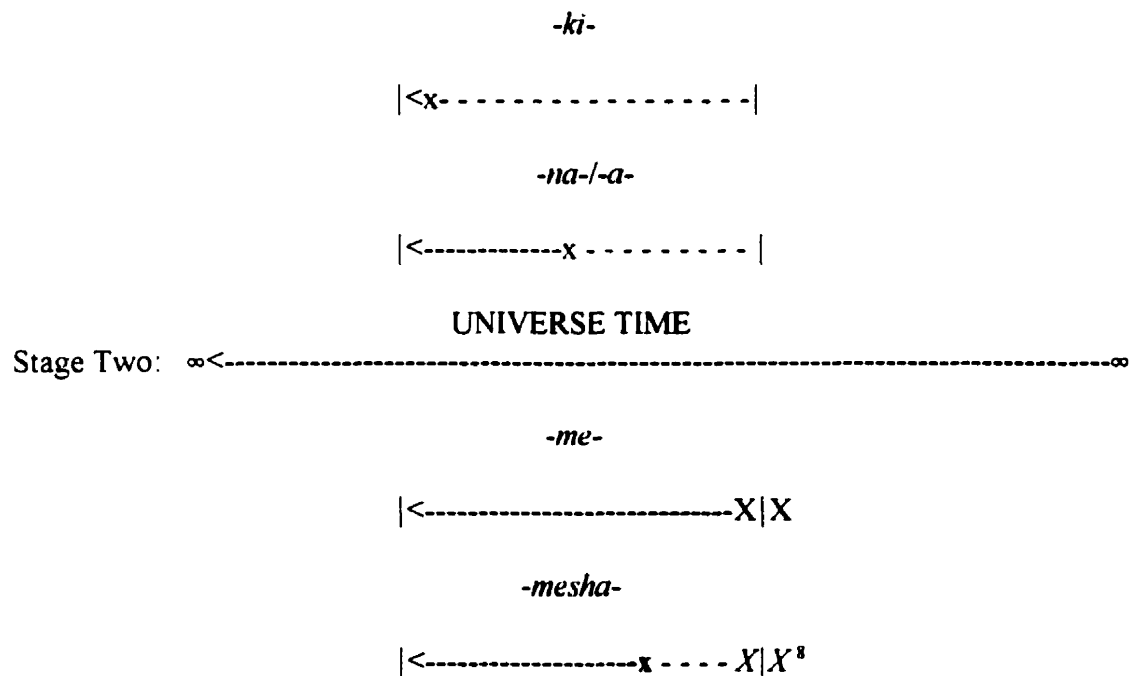


Figure 4.1: Stage Two of the Chronogenesis

8

To indicate 'completive' in contrast to 'retrospective' the original 'projected' completion of the event is given in italics.

Forms with formatives *-li-* and *-ta-* represent complete events or events to be completed in the imagination. The formatives *-li-* and *-ta-* represent delineated time zones and represent Stage Three of the *chronogenesis*. They represent an expression of Ascending Time, expressing events as a whole. In contrast to an imperfective, which expresses the materiality of the event, the event is represented as imagined to its completion, as a whole, which is expressed as ‘Performative’. It can be graphically represented as:



Figure 4.2: Graphical Representation of ‘Performative’

Graphically Stage Three of the chronogenesis can be represented as:

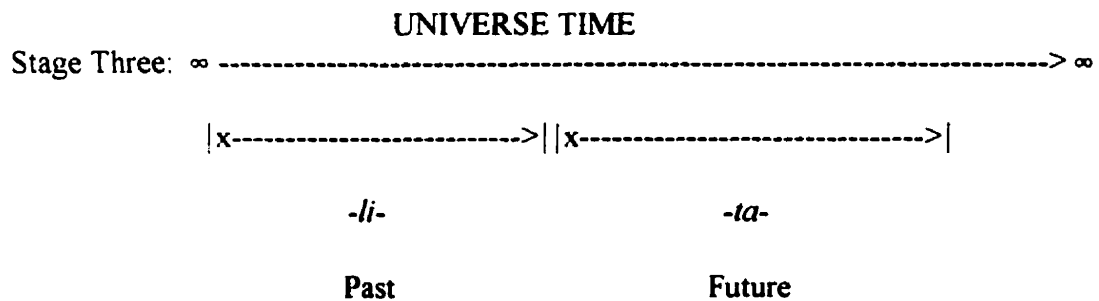


Figure 4.3: Stage Three of the Chronogenesis

In simple verbal constructions we have, therefore, a contrast between the Vast Present on the one hand, and the past and the future on the other. The forms of Stage Two are aspectual and, therefore, can occur in simple verbal constructions, or with other tense forms in compound forms. A morphologically or contextually provided locus of orientation then provides the specification, which may differ from the present, to which the event represented by the aspectual form relates. When, however, no other locus of orientation is provided these forms refer to the 'default' locus of orientation, the Vast Present.

In contrast, *-li-*, for example, is not a relative form, it cannot occur on the lexical verb in compound forms. Furthermore, no ordering of an event is perceived with respect to the time of the context (Contini-Morava 1989:94-95). For *-ta-* the same arguments can also be made.

As the chart above illustrates, there may also be, although fewer, forms with *-nakuwa* or *-mekuwa* in the auxiliary. In these cases the locus of orientation may be indicated earlier (see example (58)), or the 'default' locus of orientation of the present is implied.

(58) Tu-li-mw-on-a a-na-ku-w-a a-ki-pumziki-a.

1P-PA-3S-see-F 3S-NA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-rest-F

'We saw him resting.'

In cases of the latter two forms, the formatives *-na-* and *-me-* may refer in terms of locus of orientation to the ‘default’ tense, the time of speaking, i.e. the present, which is unmarked, unless otherwise specified contextually. As we have seen earlier, Bearth (1995:232) notes, *-nakuwa* expresses the presently occurring and continuing of the situation. Schadeberg (1992:34) lists compound forms with *-mekuwa* in the auxiliary as a separate group and describes the meaning of the auxiliary with ‘have become’.⁹ Clearly the aspectual meaning of the formatives remains when they are used in the auxiliary.

Aspectual forms in Swahili are situated in Universe Time. As was discussed in Chapter Two, Universe Time becomes represented as a ‘Vast Present’ where there are no tense distinctions. The forms with aspectual markers operate within this tense which is termed the Vast Present and is morphologically unmarked. Since the different aspectual markers operate within the Vast Present, they can combine so that it is possible to have forms of the schema: Stage Two (simple constructions) or Stage Two + Stage Two (compound forms).

As we have seen, when the third Stage is included, combinations of the schema Stage Three + Stage Two are possible. In these combinations the aspectual distinctions operate on and within the tense specified. The occurrence of possible combinations of Stage Three + Stage Two and the unacceptability of the reverse, that is forms of the

⁹

Schadeberg considers *-mekuwa* as ‘perfective inceptive’ and lists it as a separate group. Since *-wa* as a stative can also have an inchoative quality and can also mean ‘become’, the meaning of *-mekuwa* follows in this study from the analysis.

schema Stage Two + Stage Three, follow directly from the theoretical framework applied: formatives of Stage Three express a higher degree of specificity in terms of time in comparison to forms of Stage Two. In a compound form including formatives of Stage Three + Stage Two, the higher level of specificity is expressed only once, and in relation to the lower level first. This means that forms with *-li-* or *-ta-* cannot occur on the lexical verb form and results in tense being expressed only once. It also means that the higher level of specificity is expressed first.

The following graph shows the formatives of Stage Three together with the formatives of Stage Two:

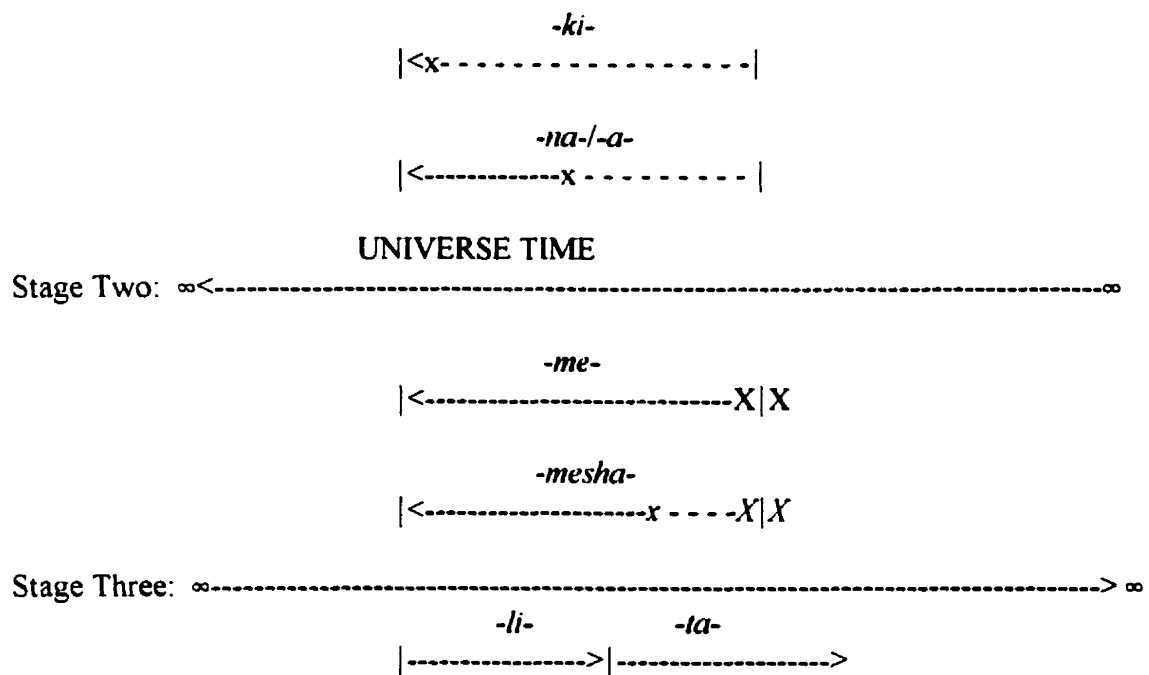


Figure 4.4: Stage Two and Stage Three of the Chronogenesis

4.3 Conclusion

The analysis concludes that position 4, the only position for tense/aspect/mood markers in Swahili (except +*sha*), includes formatives with other properties than tense and aspect. Not all the affirmative markers of position 4 are tense/aspect markers. The formative *-ka-* *consecutive* is considered a marker of seriation which is contingent on the initial locus of orientation, and *-nge-* and *-ngali-* are considered as expressing the speakers' attitude towards the hypothetical fulfilment of conditions that lead to the result of the event, rather than (simply) a direct temporal relation.

For those markers that are identified as tense or aspect, two different stages of *chronogenesis* are described. The differentiation into two stages captures a fundamental difference between the 'Vast Present' on the one hand, and the past and the future on the other hand. This is a distinction that can be substantiated through the analysis of properties of syntactic co-occurrences of tense/aspect markers.

The analysis of the syntactic co-occurrence of the formatives, as well as other evidence, such as the meanings and context of verb forms and the contrast produced by TAM markers, support this distinction.

Aspectual distinctions of Stage Two can apply to the speaker's locus of orientation or the contextually defined locus of orientation, while tenses of Stage Three express deictic properties. Thus, 'tense' exists but is unmarked at Stage Two, but morphologically specified at Stage Three.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFERENCES IN MOOD IN THE FINALS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the three different finals of Swahili, *-a*, *-e* and *-i*. While pre-verbal base morphemes and extensions tend to be discussed more extensively, finals tend to be glossed over quickly in grammars.¹ In the literature, at times, one or the other final is discussed in relation to pre-verbal base morphemes, but the three finals are rarely comparatively described. This chapter discusses the finals and attempts to show the systemic relationship of the semantics of the finals. Accordingly, the finals are considered from a morphological and semantic point of view. They are dealt with in a separate chapter because their meanings create co-occurrence restrictions with the negative markers and with tense/aspect/mood markers.

5.1 Outline

The difference between *-a* and *-e* is generally described as a distinction in mood: the final *-e* has been characterized in the literature as expressing the 'subjunctive' mood, while the final *-a* has been considered as expressing the 'indicative' mood, or, as was described in Chapter Three, as being the default form termed 'neutral' or 'occurrence'.

¹

For an analysis of finals in affirmative forms of central Bantu see Grégoire (1979).

The final *-i* is generally described as ‘negative’. The semantics of the finals or how they relate to the tense/aspect/mood markers and negative markers that are in positions before the verbal base is seldom addressed.

Like the tense/aspect/mood markers and the negative markers, the finals are in a paradigmatic relation to one another; they cannot co-occur on the same form. From a diachronic perspective, the finals represent a system that is older than most of the pre-verbal base tense/aspect/mood markers in Swahili, which are, as we have seen, mostly grammaticalized from verbs, some quite recently.

The ternary set of paradigmatic contrasts is an indication that the finals express systemic meaningful contrasts. These contrasts will be described in this chapter.

Presenting the underlying system of contrasts allows us to explain the co-occurrence restrictions with the pre-verbal base tense/aspect markers and negative markers (see Chapter Six).

Therefore, the structure of this chapter is as follows: first the finals *-a*, *-e* and *-i* are discussed individually, then they are discussed in the context of some of the tense/aspect/mood markers, especially those that can highlight the semantic differences of the finals. Finally, the systemic differences of the finals are addressed.

5.2 Remarks on Terminology

Since two of the finals are generally described in terms of ‘mood’, this term needs to be defined: mood can be broadly defined as ‘a marker on the verb that signals how the

speaker chooses to put the proposition into the discourse context' (Bybee 1985:165) or more specifically:

Mood refers to a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signalled by alternative paradigms of the verb, e.g. indicative (the unmarked form), subjunctive, imperative. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of his [her] utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility. Syntactically, these contrasts may be signalled by alternative inflectional forms of a verb, or by using auxiliaries.

(Crystal 1980:230, with omission of capitalization)

In Swahili, the contrasts in the finals reflect a difference in mood: the speaker's attitude toward the actualization of the content of the utterance is expressed by the choice of the final.

Besides a definition of 'mood', a definition of 'subjunctive' is needed. Its definition may include a reference to subordination, as, for example, in the following definition:

It refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types used in the expression of many kinds of subordinate clause, for a range of attitudes including tentativeness, vagueness, uncertainty.

(Crystal 1980:338, with omission of capitalization)

Forms with final *-e* occur in main clauses, but may imply dependency on the speakers' attitude (e.g., I am saying, you may go to the market).

Mood as a grammatical category relates to modality, which being a wider term includes mood, as we have seen in Chapter Two (section 2.10).

Since this chapter deals with mood distinctions expressed in the finals and their interaction with some of the markers of position 4 to the finals, other areas of modality are not considered in this study.

5.3 The Finals -a, -e and -i

Among the finals, the final *-a* has the widest distribution, since the final *-a* occurs on finite forms and non-finite verbal forms. All verbs occur with the final *-a* unless they are borrowed, in which case they may retain a different final.² Forms with *KU-* in example (1a) and *kushona* in example (1b) illustrate non-finite forms, while *unapenda* in example (1b), and *tunasoma* in example (1c) illustrate finite forms:

(1) a. **Ku-lekez-a si ku-fum-a.**

VN-aim-F NEG₂ VN-strike-F

‘Aiming is not hitting. To aim is not to hit.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:124)

b. **U-na-pend-a ku-shon-a?**

2S-NA-like-F VN-sew-F

‘Do you like to sew?’

(Polomé 1967:148)

²

In Standard Swahili, but not in e.g., Mwiini, borrowed verbs tend to retain their original final and may not show the distinctions described here.

c. **Tu-na-som-a.**

1P-NA-read-F

‘We are reading, we read.’

Of the three finals *-a*, *-e* and *-i* in Swahili, *-a* is the final that is used as default; for example, in dictionary entries roots are cited with this final; and it has been termed ‘neutral’ (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993) or ‘occurrence’ (Contini-Morava 1989). As the discussion will show, *-a* is termed ‘actualization’ in this study.

The affirmative imperative, expressing a command, is the form with the least number of morphemes. It consists of the verbal base and the final,³ occurring with final *-a*, as the following examples illustrate:

(2) a. sg: Som-a Kiswahili! ‘Study Swahili!’

read-F Swahili

b. pl: Som-eni Kiswahili! ‘Study (you pl.) Swahili!’

read-PC Swahili

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:174)

³

Some verbs are exceptions, e.g., *-enda* ‘go’, *-ja* ‘come’, *-leta* ‘bring’. Monosyllabic verbs retain *KU-*, e.g., from the VB *-la* ‘eat’, the imperative is *kula* ‘eat!’.

In example (2b) the clitic is *-ini* 'pl. addressees' which results in the surface form *-eni* due to the contraction of vowels (*-a+-ini > -eni*).⁴ The imperative with final *-a* does not occur with object marking.

Both *-e* and *-i* only occur on forms with subject marking (*-e* also occurs, however, on the negative imperative; but more commonly the negative subjunctive is used). Both *-a* and *-e* occur on affirmative and negative forms. In contrast, the final *-i* is limited to occurring with one of the negative formatives, i.e. it occurs only when the negative form is introduced by *ha-* and only when the form is not marked overtly by a tense/aspect/mood marker. In short, the distribution of the final *-i* is much more restricted.

5.4 The Final *-a*

5.4.1 Co-occurrences of Final *-a* with other Markers Discussed in this Study

Any verb, finite or non-finite, which does not have a different final because it is a borrowing, can take *-a*; it is the default form. The following examples illustrate the verbal forms showing final *-a* with markers of the tense/aspect/mood position that will be discussed in this section. Further examples have been given in previous chapters.

⁴

There is also the allomorph *-ni* if the verb does not end on final *-a*.

e.g., *rudi!* > *rudini!* 'kehrt zurück!' ['come back!' CB-L]

(Möhlig & Heine 1995:162)

(3) Mtoto a-ki-li-a u-m-let-e.

child 3S-KI-cry-F 2S-3S-bring-F

‘If the child cries, bring him/her.’

(HM)

(4) A-ki-j-a a-ka-ka-a hapa, ni-ta-mw-on-a.

3S-KI-come-F 3S-KA-sit-F here 1S-FU-3S-see-F

‘If she comes and sits here, I’ll see her.’

(HM)

(5) Wa-ta-imb-a.

3P-FU-sing-F

‘They will sing.’

(6) A-nge-ku-w-a mgonjwa, a-si-nge-ku-j-a mji-ni kwa miguu.

3S-NGE-ST-be-F sick 3S-NEG₂-NGE-ST-come-F town-LO of foot

‘If he were an invalid, he would not come to town on foot.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

(7) Laiti ni-**ngali-fuat-a** shauri lako, mambo haya yote

if=only 1S-NGALI-follow-F advice your things all these

ya-si-**ngali-toke-a**.

SC-NEG₂-NGALI-occur-F

‘If only I had followed your advice, these things would not have happened.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

(8) **Ha-tu-ku-imb-a**.

NEG₁-1P-PNEG-sing-F

‘We did not sing.’

(9) **Ha-tu-ja-som-a**.

NEG₁-1P-JA-read-F

‘We did not yet read.’ and/or

‘We have not read yet.’

Examples (8) and (9) exemplify the final *-a* in negative forms with the formative *ha-*. Example (7) includes an example with the negative marker *-si-* and the final *-a*.

Forms with final *-a* can include the negative markers *ha-*, *-to-* or *-si-*, whereas neither *ha-* nor *-to-* can occur in forms with the final *-e* (see Chapter Six).

Forms with final *-a* not only occur in main clauses, but also in subordinate clauses,

for example, examples with *-ki-* in Chapters Three and Four and the following examples with relative clauses.

(10) a. Watu wa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-na-} \\ \text{-li-} \\ \text{-taka-} \end{array} \right\}$ o-som-a.

people 3P $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-NA-} \\ \text{-LI-} \\ \text{-TAKA-} \end{array} \right\}$ R-read-F

‘People who $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are reading.} \\ \text{read.} \\ \text{will read.} \end{array} \right\}$ ’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:111)

b. Mtu a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-na-} \\ \text{-li-} \\ \text{-taka-} \end{array} \right\}$ ye-som-a.

man 3S $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-NA-} \\ \text{-LI-} \\ \text{-TAKA-} \end{array} \right\}$ R-read-F

‘A person who $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is reading.} \\ \text{read.} \\ \text{will read.} \end{array} \right\}$ ’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:110)

Thus, the final *-a* is the ‘default’ form.

5.4.2 Discussion of some Formatives in Relation to -a

Forms with tense/aspect/mood markers are restricted to forms with final *-a*, except for forms with the formative *-ka-*. In this section special consideration is given to those formatives with which one might expect the occurrence of final *-e*. These are the formatives *-ta-*, *-ki-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-*. These are the formatives which represent non-actualized events, (for *-ki-* in some cases) hypothetical, or counter-factual events, respectively.

However, none of these formatives can co-occur in the same form with final *-e*, but can only co-occur with final *-a* as the following discussion highlights.

5.4.2.1 *-ta-*

In forms with *-ta-* 'Future' the events so represented necessarily remain not realized. However, the speaker conceives them as being not only realizable but to be expected, and consequently asserts the event with more certainty than as if the subjunctive mood were used. Chung & Timberlake (1985) observe:

Situations in the future are inherently uncertain as to actuality The future is thus a semantic category where tense and mood merge Where a difference is made, the future tense is used for events that are presumed to be certain to occur, and the irrealis [i.e., subjunctive CB-L] mood for events that are potentially possible but not presumed to be certain.

Chung & Timberlake (1985:243)

The future may be described as non-actualized but at the same time conceived by

the speaker as intended to be realized. Consequently, forms with the future marker end in the final *-a*.

5.4.2.2 *-ki-*

Another morpheme that is sometimes discussed in connection with modality, since it can at times be translated with 'if', is *-ki-*, as examples in the previous chapter have illustrated. As we have seen in Chapter Three, even in these cases the final on forms with *-ki-* is *-a*:

(11) Ayubu a-**ki**-fik-a ni-ta-ku-ambi-a.

Ayubu 3S-KI-arrive-F 1S-FU-2S-tell-F

'If Ayubu arrives I will tell you. (i.e. Ayubu is expected to arrive.)'

(Moshi 1988:11)

Moshi notes that the speaker is fairly certain that Ayubu will arrive. In this case the speaker expects what is expressed in the form with *-ki-* to be realized, although it is not yet actualized since the main verb is in the future form. The potential realization is asserted and that is represented by the final *-a*.

5.4.2.3 *-nge-/ngali-*

Forms with *-nge-/ngali-* also have final *-a*. In fact, final *-e* is not acceptable on those forms, (although one might expect the final *-e*) since forms with *-nge-/ngali-*

themselves express conditions and results that are hypothetical or counter-factual. However, while the conditions and the results are hypothetical or counter-factual, the speaker does not express uncertainty with respect to what the conditions are. Thus, in a sentence with *-nge-/ngali-* what is expressed by the verb is hypothetical (or an unfulfilled possibility), but it is not presented as uncertain in its modality with respect to the result; therefore, the final *-a* is used, and final *-e* is unacceptable.⁵ The division of counterfactual versus subjunctive is also found in other languages, as the following comments on Attic Greek show:

... Potential conditions appear in an irrealis mood, while counterfactual conditions appear in a realis mood⁶ – a reversal of what one might expect. One possible way of rationalizing this distribution is to suggest that the irrealis moods in Greek (subjunctive and optative) are used for events with uncertain modality; since counterfactual events are definitely not actual (but only hypothetically possible), they are definite in their modality, and – in Greek – expressed in the realis.

(Chung & Timberlake 1985:255)

Comparing forms with *-ki-* as in the sentence below and forms with *-nge-/ngali-*, it becomes apparent how sentences with these forms relate.

5

In English, the expression of conditions can include the subjunctive form (although this is not common):

‘If this be so ...’ = ‘I don’t believe it to be so ...’

‘If this is so ...’ = ‘And I suspect it is so ...’

6

They appear in the realis, with a modal particle to be more specific.

(12) Ayubu a-**ki**-fik-a ni-**ta**-ku-ambi-a.

Ayubu he-KI-arrive-F 1S-FU-2S-tell-F

‘If Ayubu arrives I will tell you.’ (i.e. Ayubu is expected to arrive)

(Moshi 1988:11)

(13) Wa-si-**nge**-ku-w-a wa-**me**-lal-a tu-nge-weza ku-chez-a

3P-NEG₂-NGE-ST-be-F 3P-ME-sleep-F 1P-NGE-be=able-F VN-play-F

karata pamo ja nao.

card together with them

‘If they were not asleep we could play cards with them.’

(Polomé 1967:152)

(14) Laiti ni-**ngali**-fuat-a shauri lako, mambo haya yote

if=only 1S-NGALI-follow-F advice your things all these

ya-si-**ngali**-toke-a.

SC-NEG₂-NGALI-occur-F

‘If only I had followed your advice, these things would not have happened.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

Forms with *-ki-* as in the sentence above, express a possible event that is expected to be fulfilled. In comparison, *-nge-* in example (13) expresses the condition upon whose possible fulfilment the event can occur, while *-ngali-* in example (14) expresses the condition upon whose (though impossible or very unlikely) fulfilment the event would

occur. For some speakers there may not be a difference between the last two forms.

Givón (1994) reports for Bemba a split of the modal range between what he terms ‘epistemic “subjunctive of uncertainty”’, in Bemba forms with *-inga-*, which is a pre-verbal base marker, and ‘deontic “subjunctive of manipulation”’, forms in final *-e*. The Swahili equivalent for the former are forms with *-nge-* or *-ngali-*, for the latter forms in final *-e*. As in Swahili, the forms with the marker *-inga-* in Bemba co-occur in the given examples with the final *-a*.

5.4.3 Summary of Final *-a*

Forms with final *-a* are the default forms, may be used to name an event, to represent an actual event, one that is likely to be realized or one that would have been realized if conditions (which may not be fulfillable) were fulfilled. There is more certainty involved than with forms with final *-e* which have a potential for actualization that may or may not be realized. Final *-e* will be discussed in the next section.

5.5 The Final *-e*

Forms with final *-e*⁷ express an enquiry, a jussive form of an adhortative, a wish, or a purpose. Forms with final *-e* show no overt marking in the TAM position (except for *-ka-*). Also, forms with final *-e* do not include *KU-* in monosyllabic forms.

7

As was mentioned earlier, verbs that are borrowings and end in a final different from *-a*, retain their final and do not have final *-e*.

5.5.1 Occurrences of Final -e

The examples below illustrate forms with the final *-e*. In example (15) an enquiry is expressed. Example (16a) shows an adhortative in the negative. Example (17) expresses a wish and example (18) shows the purpose. On example (20) Ashton comments that concepts like ‘to just do’ may be expressed with verbs in final *-e*. In example (21) final *-e* is expressed on a form with *-ka-*. Examples (22) and (23) show forms with final *-e* in compound forms.

(15) a. Ni-som-e?

‘Shall I read?’

1S-read-F

(Ashton [1944] 1993:118)

b. Ni-end-e karamu-ni?

‘May I go to the feast?’

1S-go-F feast-LO

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:175)

(16) a. Tu-si-pik-e.

‘Let’s not cook.’

1P-NEG₂-cook-F

(Maw 1985:72)

b. *ha-tu-pik-e

NEG₁-1P-cook-F

c. A-pike! 'Let him cook!'

3S-cook-F

(Maw 1985:72)

(17) a. U-fik-e salama

2S-arrive-F safely

'May you arrive in safety.'

(Maw 1985:72)

b. Tu-na-tak-a wa-anz-e kazi.

1P-NA-want-F 3P-begin-F work

'Wir wollen, daß sie die Arbeit beginnen.'

['We want you to begin the work.' CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:145)

(18) A-ta-kw-end-a duka-ni a-nunu-e ndizi.

3S-FU-ST-go-F store-LO 3S-buy-F bananas

'He will go to the store so that he may buy/with the express purpose of
buying bananas.'

(Leonard 1980:224)

(19) Watu ambao ni lazima wa-j-e.

people who is necessary 3P-come-F

'People who must come.'

(Keach 1980:29)

(20) A-ka-mkut-a mchinja=nyama, ndio kwanza a-chinj-e ng'ombe.

3S-KA-meet-F butcher it=is=him first/begin 3S-slaughter-F ox

'He met a butcher, who had just then slaughtered an ox.'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:269)

Forms with *-ka-*:

(21) Ni-ta-kw-end-a soko-ni, ni-ka-nunu-e ndizi.

1S-FU-ST-go-F market-LO 1S-KA-buy-F bananas

'I shall go to the market and buy some bananas.' (Ashton [1944] 1993:134)

'I will go to the market to buy bananas.' (BM)

Compound forms:

(22) Amri i-ka-tok-a hapo Kisauni ya ku-sem-a watu wa-w-e

order 3S-KA-emit-F of=place *Kisauni* of VN-say-F people 3P-be-F

wa-ki-lal-a mapema.

3P-KI-sleep-F early

'An order went forth at Kisauni saying that people were to go to bed early.'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:267)

(23) **Ha-rud-i** **mpaka a-w-e a-me-wa-u-a wote.**

NEG₁3S-return-F until 3S-be-F 3S-ME-3P-kill-F all

‘He would not return until he had killed them all.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:268)

The final *-e* is found in prohibitive, adhortative and similar forms, as several examples at the beginning of section 5.5.1 indicate. Forms with final *-e* also occur in relative clauses, and final *-e* also occurs in sentences that express a purpose. Often final *-e* is associated with subordination.

5.5.2 Discussion of Final -e

Where the meaning of final *-e* is described in the literature, the descriptions vary somewhat. Leonard (1980) describes the final *-e* as high probability, but as expressing less certainty than forms with final *-a*. Conversations with informants indicate a range in terms of the degree of probability or possibility. Consequently, this analysis concurs with Contini-Morava who does not specify the degree of probability. Givón (1994) dealing with realis and irrealis, likewise notes that, in general, modal forms cover the ‘middle range’ in a range from realis to negative. This appears to be also true for Swahili.

While the form with final *-e* can relate to a form with a past locus of orientation, for example, the form with final *-e* does not express the past locus itself, but expresses the concept as not experienced at the indicated locus of orientation. Example (24) serves as an illustration:

(24) Simba a-ka-mw-amb-i-a punda a-gaw-e mawindo.

lion 3S-KA-3S-say-AP-F donkey 3S-divide-F kill

‘Da sagte der Löwe zum Esel, er soll die Beute teilen.’

[‘Then the lion said to the donkey he should/shall divide the kill.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:145)

Forms with final *-e* are negated by the inclusion of *-si-*. Those forms are discussed in Chapter Six.

5.6 Discussion of *-a* Versus *-e*

The formative *-ka-* is the only marker discussed in Chapter Three that can occur on forms with either final *-a* or final *-e*. Therefore, the discussion of forms with *-ka-*, especially, where possible, in minimal pairs can illuminate the semantic difference between those two finals. The following examples show forms of final *-a*, versus forms with final *-e*:

(25) Ni-li-kw-end-a soko-ni, ni-ka-nunu-a ndizi sita, ni-ka-la

1S-PA-ST-go-F market-LO 1S-KA-buy-F bananas six 1S-KA-eat-F

tatu, ni-ka-m-p-a mwenzangu tatu.

three 1S-KA-3S-give-F companion=my three

‘I went to the market, and bought six bananas;

I ate three and three I gave to my companion.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:133)

(26) a. Ni-ta-kw-end-a soko-ni, ni-ka-nunu-e ndizi.

1S-FU-ST-go-F market-LO 1S-KA-buy-F bananas

'I shall go to the market and buy some bananas.' (Ashton [1944] 1993:134)

'I will go to the market to buy bananas.' (BM)

b. A-ta-kw-end-a duka-ni a-nunu-e ndizi.

3S-FU-ST-go-F store-LO 3S-buy-F bananas

'He will go to the store so that he may buy/with the express purpose of
buying bananas.'

(Leonard 1980:224)

The first example, example (25), is in the past and refers to a series of events of which the second and third are represented by the use of *-ka-* (see Chapter Three). All of these events have taken place in the past; therefore the final *-a* is used to indicate that the events are actualized. The events expressed with *-ka-* are dependent on the fulfilment of the first event; nevertheless 'the hearer infers that the prior condition has indeed been met, and that the action of the verb with *-ka-*, contingent upon it, also has actually occurred.' (Leonard 1980:222).

In example (26), on the other hand, the first event is marked by *-ta-*, the second by *-ka-...-e*. As was discussed in Chapter Three, the second event is contingent on the realization of the first event, and since the first event is not actualized although realizable, the speaker expresses a lower degree of certainty with respect to the second event in

comparison to the first event. As a result the final *-e* occurs on the second verb.

With the combination of both morphemes *-ka-* and *-e*, the event is represented as of less certainty than if the event is represented by *-e* alone (Leonard 1980), as in example (27):

(27) A-ta-kw-end-a duka-ni a-nunu-e ndizi.

3S-FU-ST-go-F store-LO 3S-buy-F bananas

‘He will go to the store so that he may buy/with the express purpose of buying bananas.’

(Leonard 1980:224)

The explanation is consistent with what has been said above. In *Nitakwenda sokoni nikanunue ndizi.*, the final *-e* expresses the idea that the event is already represented as less than 100% certain, thus the formative *-ka-*, expressing the contingency on an event that is not yet realized, and also expressing a location away from the speaker, decreases the amount of certainty with which the speaker can assert the event.

The next set of examples differs in the final:

-

(28) a. Lazima u-m-saidi-e mamako.

it=is=necessary 2S-3S-help-F mother=your

‘You must help your mother [because I (or some other outside agency) will make you do so.]’

b. Lazima u-ta-to-a.

it=is=necessary 2S-FU-pay=out-F

‘You’ll have to pay up.’

(Maw 1985:228)

(29) Lazima a-ta-kw-end-a

it=is=necessary 3S-FU-ST-go-F

‘He will have to (must) go.’

(HM)

Lazima ‘necessity, obligation’ is at times described as only being followed by a form with final *-e* as in the first sentence above. However, it also can be followed by a form with final *-a* as in example (28b). Again it is the certainty with which the speaker asserts the (future) actualization of the event that contributes to its choice.

5.7 The Final *-i*

The final *-i* is sometimes described in grammars as a negative since it only occurs in negative sentences. This description immediately raises questions. For instance, why does it not occur with the negative formative *-si-*, since it occurs in certain cases with the negative formative *ha-*? How does it differ, if it does, from the negative formatives *ha-* and *-si-*? Why does it occur in paradigmatic relationship with the other finals? How does it relate to the pre-verbal base formatives *-ja-* and *-ku-* which also occur in negative

forms?⁸ The following sections will provide answers or discussion with respect to most of these questions; further discussion occurs in Chapter Six.

5.7.1 Co-occurrence with Final -i

Forms with final *-i* only occur in negative forms, and only in certain negative forms in Swahili. The final *-i* occurs neither with the negative *-to-* nor with the negative *-si-*.

The final *-i* always occurs with the negative formative *ha-*:

(30) a. Ha-wa-imb-i.

NEG₁-3P-sing-F

‘They are not singing; they do not sing (habitually).’

b. *Ha-wa-imb-a

NEG₁-3P-sing-F

(31) a. A-si-ngali-som-a

b. *A-si-ngali-som-i

3S-NEG₂-NGALI-read-F

‘S/he would not have read’

8

Contini-Morava discusses *-i* in opposition to *-ja-* and *-ku-*, the pre-verbal base formatives. Contrasts among the finals are very briefly discussed in general terms. In contrast, in this study, after a discussion of the individual final, the finals are analyzed with respect to a systemic semantic contrast expressed by the paradigmatic relationship among the finals themselves.

(32) a. ku-to-som-a

b. *ku-to-som-i

VN-NEG₃-read-F

‘Not to read’

Furthermore, the final *-i* only occurs in forms with *ha-* when there is no overt tense/aspect/mood marker (for a discussion of other negative formatives, i.e. *ha-...-ku-...-a*, and *ha-...-ja-...-a* see Chapter Six; for a form with a TAM marker see example (33b)).

Forms with final *-i* are associated with a zero marker in the tense/aspect/mood ‘position’, i.e. schematically *ha-...-Ø-...-i*. For forms with *ha-* it applies that whenever the tense/aspect/mood ‘position’ is filled, final *-i* is not a possibility, but final *-a* occurs instead, e.g., *ha-...-ta-...-a*, *ha-...-nge-/-ngali-...-a*, *ha-...-ku-...-a*, *ha-...-ja-...-a*, as well as *kuto-...-a*. Thus, final *-i* is not simply restricted to the negative in modern Swahili, but to forms that also have a zero marker in the tense/aspect/mood position.

5.7.2 Discussion of Final *-i*

The formative *-i* is typically described as ‘negative’ or ‘negated’. However, since *ha-* is the negative marker in these forms, the final may actually not be a negative, or its meaning may include further information. For Swahili this is difficult to sort out since the final does not occur without the pre-initial morpheme *ha-*. *ha-*, on the other hand, does occur in verbal constructions where the difference in meaning between the affirmative and

interest. It has been suggested that final *-i* is the remnant of a system of vowel harmony that is found in some other dialects and related languages within the Sabaki group (Nurse: personal communication). In those related dialects and languages of Swahili, finals include vowel harmony for what is usually described as the ‘present negative’ and the past/perfect positive⁹ (listed as one entry with subdivisions or as two in Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993) Appendix 5:692-723). While one set is considered non-past (negative), the other is past or related to completion, i.e. perfect. The non-past forms are described as negatives; however, they co-occur with negative markers (even in cases where these are not listed in the appendix (Nurse: personal communication)), opening up the possibility that the final *-i* does not simply include a negative component in its meaning, but that in conjunction with a negative marker the meaning results in a negative meaning.

⁹

In general there are several cases in which final *-i* may occur in Bantu, for example: (i) as reduction of *-ile*, with the attested phonological reduction *-ile* > *-ie* > *-i*; (ii) as one element of vowel harmony; (iii) as a marker with the meaning of stative (Miehe (1989: 118) for some Bantu languages); (iv) as final vowel raising in, for example, Pogoro; and (v) as part of the negative in, for example, Standard Swahili and Mwiini. Whether the final *-i* of (v) comes diachronically from the same source as (i), (ii) and (iii) is a question of a diachronic dimension that needs further exploration and cannot be addressed in this study. To speculate, this is not inconceivable, however. Considering that forms with *-ile* may have a resultative meaning and that these, as we have seen, relate to stative forms. As Bybee et al. (1994) point out, habituals differ little from statives. In Mwiini, the form of *ha-...Ø...-i* expresses a habitual. However, at this point it is speculation that needs further investigation.

For the dialects and languages with final *-i* ‘present negative’¹⁰ or languages with vowel harmony as a form of non-past and associated with the negative (as in Nurse & Hinnebusch’s (1993) appendix), it can be noted that the final *-i* always occurs with zero-marking in the tense/aspect/mood position (see Mwiini [*ha.....i* = neg.habitual], Tikuu [*ha.....i* = neg. present] Jomvu [*ha.....i* = neg. present (formerly *-a*)], Vumba [VH = neg. present (*-i* after monosyllabics)] Mtang’ata [VH = neg. present (*-i* with some monosyllabics)], Pemba [VH or *-i* = neg. present], Tumbatu and Makunduchi [VH = neg. present], Comorian [VH = neg. (present) habitual], Lower Pokomo [*-i* or *-e* = non-past neg. (to express future and habitual)]). It covers meanings from habitual through present to future, while at times the present progressive has a different form. If *-i* or VH does not exist in the language, the present negative seems to have the final *-a*.

In Mwiini a contrast between the following forms can be observed:

Negative

- (34) Progressive: nt^ha-ċi-nax-~~ɲ~~ek-a
 NEG-1P-PROG-laugh-F
 ‘we are not laughing’

(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:692)

¹⁰

The terminology from Nurse & Hinnebusch’s (1993) appendix has been used here.

(35) Habitual: si ha-š-Ø-tek-i
 we NEG-1P-laugh-F
 ‘we don’t/never laugh’

(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:693)

The progressive is seen here as contrasting with the -Ø- habitual which is marked by final -i. Note the translation of ‘never’ in example (35). It will be argued in section 5.7.2.3 that *ha-.....-i* has the meaning of something like ‘not at all’.

5.7.2.2 Reconstruction of -i in Proto-Bantu

Kamba Muzenga (1981) reconstructs for the ‘indicatif présent négatif’ in Proto-Bantu ‘*nkà-H-Ø-R-*/á (finale *i si -R- et *á si -R- ou -R...-.)’ (Kamba Muzenga 1981:279) (R = radical). The negative marker *ha-* in modern Swahili corresponds to *nkà; Proto-Bantu finals -i and -a are distinguished based on phonological properties of the base. For Proto-Bantu as in modern Bantu *i is associated with zero in the tense/aspect/mood ‘slot’. Kamba Muzenga notes the following:

La majorité des langues bantoues n’ont pas de formatif au négatif ni à l’affirmatif, on peut donc supposer que le formatif était absent, en protobantou, non seulement au négatif, mais également à l’affirmatif, du moins lorsque la forme était suivie d’un complément.

Kamba Muzenga (1981:279)

The majority of Bantu Languages do not have a formative [tense/aspect/mood marker CB-L] either in negative or in the affirmative; we can infer, therefore, that the formative was absent in Proto-Bantu not only in the negative, but also in the affirmative, at least when followed by a complement. [CB-L]

Forms with the final *-i*, therefore, include a zero marker in the tense/aspect/mood position, and forms that are monosyllabic do not include *-ku-* as part of the structure, for example *haji* from *-ja-* ‘come’.

Remnants of a zero marker in position 4 are also found in affirmative forms, for example, in some relative constructions in modern Swahili, and it seems likely that forms with a zero marker in affirmative forms existed diachronically.

Concerning final *-i*, Meinhof provides an illuminating insight. While describing the distribution of final *-i* in Swahili as occurring in the present negative (Meinhof [1906] 1948:98), he comments in a footnote on ‘his error’ of considering *-i* as negative. In fact, Meinhof refers for Pogoro to traces of final *-i* in affirmative forms (Meinhof [1906] 1948:98).¹¹ Using Herero as an example to clarify the general meaning of final *-i*, he comments on its meaning as ‘Nicht-Vollendung’ [‘incompleteness’ CB-L] (Meinhof [1906] 1948:98-99).

¹¹

This could be, however, a different *-i*, since Pogoro has final vowel raising so that *-ile* > *-ili*.

5.7.2.3 Semantic Descriptions in Modern Swahili

In forms with the structure *ha-...-Ø-...-i* as compared to forms with *ha-...-ku-...* or *ha-...-ja-...* (see Chapter Six), the negation is not specified as bounded in its duration by the expression of an overt tense/aspect/mood marker; instead, forms of this schema point to a persisting negative event unbounded in time.

Descriptions of the properties of *-i* concur with this analysis:

... the neutral *-i* is reserved for situations where neither opportunity nor negation is limited, that is cases where the negative state is expected to continue indefinitely.

(Contini-Morava 1989:138)

Ashton ([1944] 1993:71) notes for *ha-...-Ø-...-i* that ‘the function of this form is to express the *fact* of negation without reference to time. It is not merely the negative of the present tense’. Since, in Ashton’s words, *ha-...-Ø-...-i* expresses the fact of negation, it is used as a negative corresponding to affirmatives with such forms as *-na-*, *-a-*, *-ki-* (in some cases). These affirmatives forms express incomplete events and have been analyzed as belonging to a level that expresses imperfectivity.

If an event is represented as in the process of being completed, it is possible to negate the completed portion of the event or the entire represented event. Examples (33) and (34) illustrate the difference. The final *-i* in conjunction with *ha-* indicates that the event is negated in its entirety, resulting in a total denial which persists. Thus, Ashton’s description of *ha-...-i* as ‘general negative’ applies. Note that Ashton is careful to include the pre-initial *ha-* in her description.

As will be discussed in Chapter Six on the negatives in more detail, it is suggested that forms of the pattern *ha-...-Ø-...-i* express a negative meaning which corresponds to something like ‘not at any time’, that is ‘not at all’, and that the actualization of the event in its entirety is denied.

Statistics illustrating that a much lower rate of affirmative expectancy is associated with forms with the final *-i* compared to forms with the pre-verbal base negation markers *-ja-* and *-ku* (Contini-Morava 1989) would concur with the provided explanation.

Knowing its semantics, it becomes clear why forms with final *-i* may correspond to other formatives in the affirmative system than the ones mentioned above. Contini-Morava gives an example where *ha-...-Ø-...-i* is used in context of a past tense:

Kingo a-LI-fahamu kwamba ile kazi ya kutembeza bidhaa magazetini na kusaidia uuzaji wa vitu kwa kutumia uzuri wa sura, nayo pia ni kazi na ina pato kubwa. Lakini h-a-fahamu vipi mtu kama Joe, ambaye ni mtu tu, hana uzuri wote, anaweza kupata kazi kama hiyo.

Kingo *understood* (LI) that the job of advertising merchandise in newspapers and helping to sell things by using (one’s) good looks, is also work and has a big income. But he *didn’t understand* (-I) how a person like Joe, who was just a person, (who) didn’t have any good looks at all, could get a job like that.

(Contini-Morava 1989:24-25)

The above provided explanation can also accommodate this example. Presumably his non-understanding encompassed the entire event and persisted and in English the modal ‘could not’ expresses the concept (‘He could not understand ...’).

5.8 Comparison of Finals

After the discussion of each final, it is now possible to compare their meanings. We can see that all three finals are part of a system and express interrelated concepts, but that nevertheless within this system they are complementary. In general terms the description would be for the affirmative:

-a actualization, the default category

-e potential actualization

-i does not occur in the affirmative

Final *-a* is the default form specifying occurrence, and in verb forms the speaker conceives of the forms as actualized or able to be actualized, that is, the event is asserted as realized, realizable or probable.

In contrast, *-e* specifies the form as conceived as having potential for actualization. The event is asserted with less certainty than an event with final *-a* is asserted and can cover a range of probabilities and possibilities.

In the negative the description would be as listed below:

ha-.....-a -negation of actualization with non-event duration specified

ha-.....-i -negation of actualization that persists

...-si-....-e negation of potential actualization

Since *-i* occurs in the negative, the meaning is negative: for *ha-...-i* ‘failure of actualization that persists’, that is no actualization.

In terms of actualization there is a gradient from *-a* through *-e* to *(ha-)-i*. On the other hand, *-a* and *-i* deal with reality of the represented event, while *-e* as the potential reality covers the ‘middle ground’. The major division is between forms with *-a* and *-e*. This division is also reflected syntactically.

While the finals express the major categories in reference to mood, the semantic nuances of what is represented by the finals occurs in the pre-verbal base position where the tense/aspect/mood markers are located. The formatives of position 4 specify the properties of the event within the constraints of the semantics expressed by the finals.

More generally, a systematic approach reveals that the two positions interact with each other and both need to be taken into consideration. The next chapter will deal with the negative markers and will show how negative markers interact with tense/aspect/mood markers and finals.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NEGATIVE MARKERS

6.0 Introduction

This section deals with the negation markers in Swahili. The number of morphemes to be considered is small. Three negative morphemes are generally discussed as the basic markers of negation within the verbal construction in Swahili, i.e., *ha-*, *-si-* and *-to-*; the discussion will focus on these three markers. In addition, other morphemes within the verbal construction which are typically used with negatives, such as the final *-i* and the morphemes *-ja-* and *-ku-*, will also be discussed. This chapter will not deal with lexical verbs that express negation such as Swahili *kukana* 'deny', for example. As with tense/aspect distinctions, the emphasis will be on morphemes within the verbal construction.

The topic of negation raises significant theoretical questions. In this study negative forms are not considered as corresponding in a one-to-one relationship to affirmative forms. The system of negative markers and tense/aspect/mood markers in the affirmative do not correspond one to one (Contini-Morava 1989). The negative markers are, therefore, treated independently from affirmative forms first and are discussed in the context of their form, position, function and meaning. They are also discussed in the context of the most salient correspondences. Whether negative forms, as was mentioned earlier, presuppose affirmative forms is a question that is going to be set aside, since there

are discussions ongoing on this subject (see Horn (1989:Ch.1)). As was discussed in Chapter Two, it seems clear that since negative forms exist, they can be investigated in their own right. In this chapter the negative markers are analyzed first independently with respect to their form, position and function; then they are analyzed in relation to affirmative forms, and correspondences are mentioned which are meant as 'loose correspondences', that is not strictly one to one, since, for example, *-me-* may have several 'corresponding forms'. The term 'corresponding' is in single quotation marks above to indicate the 'loose correspondence'.

In this chapter the negative markers will be discussed each from a morphological point of view and a semantic point of view. This is followed by a comparison of the markers and their meanings.

6.1 The Negative Markers *ha-*, *-si-* and *-to-*

The three negation markers are distinguished in the verbal construction by a number of properties:

1. The formatives *ha-* and *-to-* can only occur as bound morphemes, while a morpheme of the same scope and meaning as *-si-* also occurs as a free morpheme.
2. These formatives cannot co-occur in the same simple verbal construction. Not one of the three markers can co-occur with either of the other two in the same verbal construction.

3. They occur with different types of verbal constructions and occur in different positions in the verbal construction: the formative *-to-* occurs in conjunction with *KU-* only, that is, it occurs in non-finite forms and does not normally occur in finite forms. The formative *-to-* contrasts with the other two negative markers since the formative only occurs in verbal nouns (where *ha-* and *-si-* do not occur). In comparison to *ha-* and *-si-*, it plays a more restricted role.

In contrast, both *ha-* and *-si-* occur only in finite forms. The formative *ha-* occurs in pre-initial position, i.e. before the subject concord, the formative *-si-* occurs after the subject concord, and the formative *-to-* occurs after the tense/aspect/mood position, as forms of the northern dialects of Swahili indicate.

4. They occur in part with different finals.
5. *ha-* and *-si-* both can occur with tense/aspect/mood markers, but *ha-* occurs with many more markers than *-si-*.
6. The range of syntactic environment in which they can occur varies from one to the other: there is a tendency for *ha-* to occur in main clauses and *-si-* in subordinate clauses, although *ha-* can also occur in subordinate clauses (for example, in relative clauses¹) and a form with *-si-* may be the main verb of a sentence.

Considering the points given above, one would expect that the meaning of the

¹

Forms with *ha-* can occur in relative clauses where the relative marker is attached to *amba* which results in terms of the form with *ha-* in a main clause construction.

formatives and their function would have been extensively analyzed. However, this does not appear to be the case. Güldemann (1996a, 1999) indicates that the type of negation found in *ha-* and *-si-* existed for Bantu in general diachronically. Contini-Morava deals with *-to-*, and to some degree with *ku-* and *-ja-* in comparison to the final *-i*, but does not address, except very briefly, the difference between *ha-* and *-si-*.² Grammars give forms that illustrate the above mentioned co-occurrence restrictions, but do not address the meaning of these negation markers. This study addresses the meaning difference of the negation markers and shows that negation markers *ha-* and *-si-* represent different types of negation in Swahili.

Since the distribution patterns of *-to-* are limited, the emphasis will be placed on the other two negative markers. Nevertheless, for each marker its occurrence and co-occurrence restrictions will be described. From the morphological information it will be shown that each marker has a different function and meaning.

This chapter, therefore, discusses, after dealing briefly with *-to-*, forms with *ha-* in simple and compound forms, and forms with *-si-*, to highlight their function and meaning. Furthermore, it discusses *ku-* and *-ja-*, the pre-verbal base formatives that occur with the negative marker *ha-*, and also final *-i* which, as was discussed in Chapter Five, in conjunction with *ha-* is also associated with negation.

²

For an initial discussion of the semantic difference between *ha-* and *-si-* in Swahili see Beaudoin-Lietz (1996/97).

6.2 Remarks on the Diachrony of the Negative Markers

Two of the three negative markers have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu: PB **nka* > Sw. *ha-* and PB **tj-* > Sw. *-si-* (Kamba Muzenga 1981). The third is described as being derived from the verb *-toa* for which a variety of translations have been suggested, for example ‘remove’ (Contini-Morava 1989), ‘lack, not have’ (Polomé 1967:190), ‘herausgeben, abziehen, subtrahieren’ [‘give out, subtract’ CB-L], (Möhlig & Heine 1995:295) and is a later addition.

6.3 The Formative *-to-*

Forms with *-to-* occur with the final *-a*, but not with either the final *-e* or with the final *-i*. In terms of finals the forms that include this negative marker show the least variety in co-occurrence, since both of the other negative markers can each co-occur with two out of the three finals (*ha-* with *-a* and *-i*, *-si-* with *-e* and *-a* respectively).

The marker *-to-* also has the most restricted co-occurrence patterns in terms of variety of morphological contexts: it normally occurs only in conjunction with the infinitive/verbal noun *(-)KU-* (but see example (3) below) and only as a bound morpheme. The following examples illustrate forms with *-to-*:

(1) Ku-fik-a upesi, ku-**to**-fik-a upesi ni mamoja, ...

VN-arrive-F quick, VN-NEG₃-arrive-F quick it=is identical

‘Whether we arrive soon or whether we don’t, it’s all the same, ...’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:279)

(2) Minazi si aghalabu ku-to-ku-za-a.

coconut=trees NEG₂³ usually VN-NEG₃-ST-bear=fruit-F

‘It is unusual for coconut trees not to bear fruit.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:280)

As Contini-Morava points out (1989:56), the formative *-to-* ‘only has the ‘verbal noun’ interpretation and does not occur in the full range of contexts in which *ku*₂ [VN/INF] alone occurs’. Generally, however, *-to-* co-occurs with *KU-*. Contini-Morava states that *-to-* marks ‘the absence or lack of some occurrence but [it] does not *assert* that it fails to occur’.

In contrast to the other two negative markers *-to-* does not express the *negation* of an event. It, therefore, differs from the other two negative markers. The difference in meaning does not become obvious from the translation into English, since the translation is generally given with ‘not’. Following Contini-Morava’s statement, it is suggested that *-to-* expresses the lack of occurrence of what is expressed in the lexeme.

Although *-to-* is generally restricted to co-occurring with *KU-*, Ashton ([1944] 1993:280) mentions an example with *-ki-*, and Mische (1979) mentions similar forms for the northern dialects. Polomé (1967) also refers to the occasional occurrence of *-to-*, as in the following example, where the affirmative form is contrasted with the negative form:

³

For reason of simplicity *si* is described as NEG₂ in the morpheme analysis whether it represents a copula or not.

(3) A-ki-fik-a au a-ki-to-fik-a ni-ta-pand-a

3S-KI-arrive-F or 3S-KI-NEG₃-arrive-F 1S-FU-ride=upon-F

gari=la=moshi kesho.

train tomorrow

‘Whether he arrives or not, I will take the train tomorrow.’

(Polomé 1967:190, fn89)

The examples with the aspect marker *-ki-* provide some evidence to the structure of the verbal construction. Schadeberg (1992) includes *-to-* in the position 4 of the tense/aspect/mood markers which also includes *-ki-*. Generally tense/aspect/mood markers of the same position do not co-occur in the verbal construction, since they are in paradigmatic relationship. The formative *-to-*⁴, therefore, occurs to the right of the tense/aspect/mood position as the list in Contini-Morava (1989:15) illustrates (see also Creider (1998)), which means all three negative markers differ in position in the verbal construction.

The question why *-ki-* should be a candidate for possible co-occurrence with *-to-* may now be addressed. Since *-ki-* is described as ‘potential’ aspect (Hewson & Nurse 1999), that is an aspect where the process of completion may not have yet started, the event could be considered as possibly not occurring and, therefore, the co-occurrence with *-to-* would seem to be a logical possibility, in contrast to other aspect markers in Swahili

⁴

In the northern dialects of Bajuni, Pate and Siu, there is a *-to-* which occurs in conjunction with the negative marker in the negative future (see Nurse 1982:101-102).

which express a minimum of a partial completion of the event.

6.4 The Formative *ha-*

6.4.1 General Occurrence Restrictions

The formative *ha-* occurs as a bound morpheme. In class 1 some forms are contracted with the following subject concord markers, for example, *hu-* 2S class 1 (from *ha-+u*), and *ha* 3S class 1 (from *ha+a*). For the first person singular class 1 the formative is *si-*. However, this is not to be confused with the postinitial negative *-si-*. Kamba Muzenga (1981:190), for example, proposes different Proto-Bantu forms for this *si-* compared to the postinitial negative *-si-*, the formative *si-* (1S) coming from **i/j* via **(n)ka+i > *(n)k-j* which ended up in Swahili as *si-*.

The formative *ha-* co-occurs with final *-a* and *-i*. In fact, *ha-* is the only marker of negation that co-occurs with the final *-i*. That final has already been discussed in the last chapter, but it will also be considered in this chapter. The formative *ha-* does not co-occur with the final *-e*.

Co-occurrence restrictions exist in terms of co-occurrence with tense/aspect/mood markers in the verbal construction. For simple verbal constructions, patterns can schematically be described as:

**ha-...-KU-(VN)...-a*

**ha-...-me-...-a*

*ha-...-a-...-a

*ha-...-na-...-a

*ha-...-ki-...-a (for simple verbal constructions)

*ha-...-mesha-...-a

*ha-...-hu-...-a

*ha-...-li-...-a

*ha-...-e

ha-...-ta-...-a '3 will not (likely) ...'

ha-...-nge-...-a '3 would not/would not have ...'

ha-...-ngali-...-a '3 would not have ...'⁵

ha-...-ja-...-a '3 has not (yet) ...'

ha-...-ku-(PNEG)...-a '3 didn't ..., hasn't ...'

ha-...-Ø-...-i '3 is not at all -ing ... doesn't, didn't, won't ...'

A larger number of tense/aspect markers (in comparison to those which can) cannot occur with the negative marker and only occur in affirmative forms. The formatives were discussed in Chapters Three and Four, for example:

⁵

The negation marker *-si-* is more common with *-nge-* and *-ngali-*, see under *-si-*.

(4) a. Tu-me-imb-a.

1P-ME-sing-F

‘We have sung.’

b. *ha-tu-me-imb-a/-e/-i

NEG₁-1P-ME-sing-F

(5) a. Tu-li-imb-a.

1P-PA-sing-F

‘We sang.’

b. *ha-tu-li-imb-a/-e/-i

NEG₁-1P-PA-sing-F

As is clear from the above, the distinctions made in the negative with respect to the pre-verbal base tense/aspect/mood distinctions are fewer than in the affirmative forms.

The different co-occurrence restrictions are not haphazard, but represent systemic differences. Co-occurrence patterns of *ha-* with tense/aspect/mood markers that can co-occur with the negative marker in the same form are revealing. At first glance, the distribution may seem to be somewhat haphazard: the tense/aspect/mood markers *-Ø-*, *-ku-*, *-ja-*, *-ta-*, *-ngali-*, *-nge-* co-occur in forms with the negative formative *ha-*; some of these, i.e. *-ta-*, *-ngali-* and *-nge-* may also occur in affirmative forms, while others only occur in negative ones, i.e. *-ku-* and *-ja-*. The final may also be either *-a* or, with *-Ø-*, *-i*. Other tense/aspect/mood markers that occur in the affirmative do not co-occur with the negative marker. Each of these points will be addressed in the sections that follow, and it will be shown that the co-occurrence patterns reveal systematic differences.

6.4.2 *ha-...-ta-...-a*, *ha-...-nge-...-a* and *ha-...-ngali-...-a*

When considering the negative marker *ha-* in its combination with tense/aspect/mood markers, it is striking that it can combine directly with *-ta-* and *-nge-/-ngali-*, whereby the structure in the affirmative form is the same (except for *ha-*) as in the negative form, while the other tense/aspect markers that occur in affirmative forms do not co-occur with the negative *ha-*. The pattern in which the affirmative form and the negative form are distinguished by the addition of *ha-* is illustrated below:

(6) a. Tu-ta-imb-a. 'We will sing.'

1P-FU-sing-F

b. Ha-tu-ta-imb-a. 'We will not sing.'

NEG₁-1P-FU-sing-F

(7) a. Mti huu u-nge-anguk-a ha-u-nge-ni-u-a.

tree this SC-NGE-fall-F NEG₁-SC-NGE-1S-kill-F

'If this tree happened to fall, it *wouldn't* kill me.'

Examples with *...-ta-...-a* and *...-nge-/-ngali-...-a* refer to events that are represented as imaginary or hypothetical. In either case the event that is represented has not (yet) taken place and its occurrence varies in probability. Thus, these events are non-

actualized. The negation marker can be added to the affirmative form, resulting in *ha-...-ta-...-a* and *ha-...-nge-/ngali-...-a*. This is possible since these forms do not express a real event that is being denied, but the denial of a non-actualized or hypothetical event.

Generally, grammars cite forms of the negative markers *-si-* with *-nge-* and *-ngali-* and describe these forms as more common. They also state that the beginner should use those rather than forms with *ha-*. Contini-Morava speculates that *ha-+nge-/ngali-* forms state more often irrealis consequences rather than conditions (see also section 6.5.2.1).

6.4.3 *ha-...-ku-...-a* and *ha-...-ja-...-a*

There are other tense/aspect markers that are used with the negative marker.

These formatives do not occur in affirmative forms:

(8) a. *Tu-ja-imb-a.

b. *Tu-ku-imb-a.

c. **Ha-tu-ja-imb-a.** ‘We have not yet sung.’

NEG₁-1P-JA-sing-F

d. **Ha-tu-ku-imb-a.** ‘We did not sing.’

NEG₁-1P-PNEG-sing-F

Events represented as actualized cannot be directly negated by adding *ha-* to the affirmative form. Actualized events, in contrast to events represented as non-actualized, show different marking in terms of tense/aspect for affirmative and negative forms. Negative forms which correspond to actualized events have the schema *ha-...-ku-...-a* or *ha-...-ja-...-a*. Both negative forms deal with the failure of the represented event to occur. *-ku-* expresses that the time frame of the event represented as negated is completed in the past, whereby in those forms it is not specified when in the past the event did not occur. At the point of speaking the failure of the event to occur is complete.

In forms of the schema *ha-...-ja-...-a*, in contrast, the speaker expresses that the representation of the event has, within the speaker's experience, failed to occur.

(9) a. Tu-li-imb-a. 'We sang.'

1P-PA-sing-F

b. *ha-tu-li-imb-a/-e/-i

NEG₁-1P-PA-sing-F

d. Ha-tu-ku-imb-a. 'We did not sing.'

NEG₁-1P-PNEG-sing-F

There are at least two negative forms that can correspond to *-me-*: *ha-...-ja-...-a*

and *ha-...-ku-...-a*, as examples (10) and (11) illustrate:

(10) a. Tu-me-tak-a. 'We have wanted.'

IP-ME-want-F

b. Ha-tu-ja-tak-a. 'We have not yet wanted.'

NEG₁-IP-JA-want-F

(11) a. Tu-me-tak-a. 'We have wanted.'

IP-ME-want-F

b. Ha-tu-ku-tak-a. 'We did not want.'

NEG₁-IP-PNEG-want-F

(Ashton [1944] 1993:36 and Ashton [1944] 1993:71)

Contini-Morava describes the difference between *-ku-* and *-ja-* succinctly:

... a negated occurrence can be temporally bounded either because its opportunity to occur is limited in time, so the question of its actual occurrence would not come up after the relevant time period, [*-ku-* CB-L] or because its failure to occur is limited in time, so that it could begin occurring at any moment [*-ja-* CB-L].

(Contini-Morava 1989:129)

Schadeberg draws the comparison to the German *noch nicht* 'not yet'. Thus at the time of speaking the event expressed in the lexical verb has not been completed. Contini-

Morava comments that the chances of the event being completed is higher with *-ja-* than with *-ku-*. This seems logical considering the difference in meaning between *-ku-* and *-ja-*.

With respect to the applied framework, by using forms with *ha-...-ja-...-a*, a speaker considers the event in Universe Time, from the moment of speaking to the beginning of the event retrospectively. *ha-...-ja-...-a* expresses that in the time allocated to the event the action has not taken place. The speaker is negating the portion of the event that is within his experience, or his memory in relation to his projected expectation.

Schadeberg (1992) and Göbelsmann (1995) describe *-ja-* as a 'counterexpective'. Nevertheless, *-ja-* is also discussed (e.g. Maw 1985) as a negative corresponding to *-me-*, a retrospective aspectual marker. In this analysis the two views do not seem to contradict each other.

6.4.4 Comparison of the Formatives: Memory Versus Imagination

The failure of the represented event to occur for a certain time period that has been experienced by the speaker is expressed in forms with *-ku-* and *-ja-*. That is different from forms with *-ta-*, *-nge-* and *-ngali-*, where in affirmative forms no part of the event is represented as already actualized. Therefore, in Swahili the possibility of adding *ha-* to the affirmative form exists when the event represented in the affirmative form is not experienced, but to be completed within the specified probability for its completion. With events that are experienced, the same tense/aspect marker cannot be used in affirmative and negative sentences. It is not possible to add simply *ha-* 'not' to the affirmative form,

which would mean that the experience of the event is negated. This strategy may not be used in these cases⁶. Consequently, forms of the schema **ha-...-li-...-a*, **ha-...-me-...-a* are unacceptable.

6.4.5 *ha-...-Ø-...-i*

With no overt marking in the tense/aspect/mood position the negative form has the final *-i*, rather than *-a*:

(12) *Ha-tu-imb-i*. 'We don't (usually) sing; we aren't singing.'

NEG₁-1P-sing-F

As we have already seen in the last chapter, *ha-* co-occurs with *-Ø-* and final *-i*. The denial is described as total when this form is used. This form consequently corresponds to several affirmative forms, for example to forms with *-na-* and forms with *-ki-* (when not used with the meaning 'if' or 'when').⁷

Most grammars indicate that the negative form consists of *ha-...-i* if the

⁶

Negation in English and German also contrasts in this way: in German the verb itself is denied, while in English the denial is attached to the auxiliary, and the lexeme itself is not denied.

⁷

It should also be noted here that when the meaning of *-ki-* corresponds to 'if', the negation is expressed differently, by *-sipo-* 'unless'.

‘corresponding’ concept to the affirmative forms with *-na-* or *-ki-* is supposed to be expressed. The question is why? A closer look at a form with *-na-* will point in the right direction: if negation were directly added to a form like *tunaimba* ‘we are singing (now, at this moment)’, i.e. it would express ‘we are not singing right now, right at this moment’. This, however, would deny only the present moment, but would not deny the total event which is what *ha-...-i* expresses. This contrast was illustrated from Mwiini in examples (34) and (35) in Chapter Five, repeated here for the convenience of the reader as examples (13) and (14):

(13) Progressive: nt^ha-či-na-x-tek-a

NEG-1P-PROG-laugh-F

‘we are not laughing’

(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:692)

(14) Habitual: si ha-š-Ø-tek-i

we NEG-1P-laugh-F

‘we don’t/never laugh’

(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:693)

As was discussed in Chapter Five, *ha-...-i* expresses that the event does not take place, and the failure of the event is not restricted to any particular time within the present. Therefore, if the negation applied to the duration of the event as expressed by the tense/aspect marker (i.e. *-na-*), the negation would not apply to the whole event. *ha-...-i*,

in contrast, expresses the failure of all of the event without time restrictions.

6.4.6 Summary of Co-occurrence Patterns with ha- in Simple Verbal Constructions

In the negative, Swahili distinguishes *morphologically* through the combinatory possibility of the negative marker with the tense/aspect/mood marker, besides the degree of completion of an event, also whether the event that is represented as not occurring is in memory, i.e. actualized, or whether it is in the imagination which is non-actualized. This distinction is made within the set of forms that can occur with the final -a.

This can be summarized in the following figure:

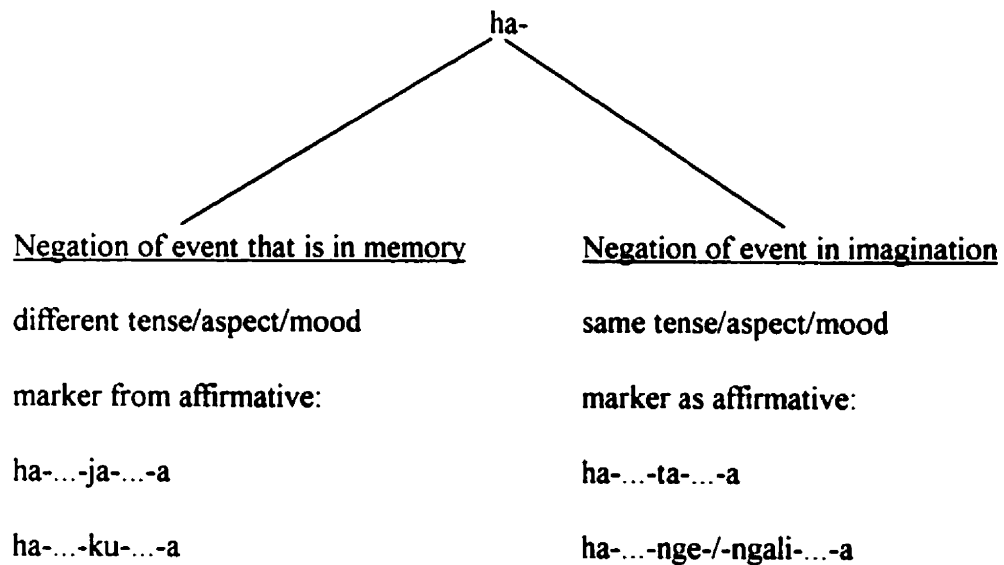


Figure 6.1: Negation of Actualized Events versus Non-actualized Events

The distinction between memorial time versus non-memorial time applies to negation with *ha-*, but does not apply to negation with *-si-*, or *-to-* for that matter, since the only overt tense/aspect markers which are found with *-si-* are the tense/aspect markers for the conditional. When co-occurring with overt tense/aspect marking, *-si-* only occurs with imaginary events.

Negation with *ha-* in simple verbal constructions can be summarized as follows:

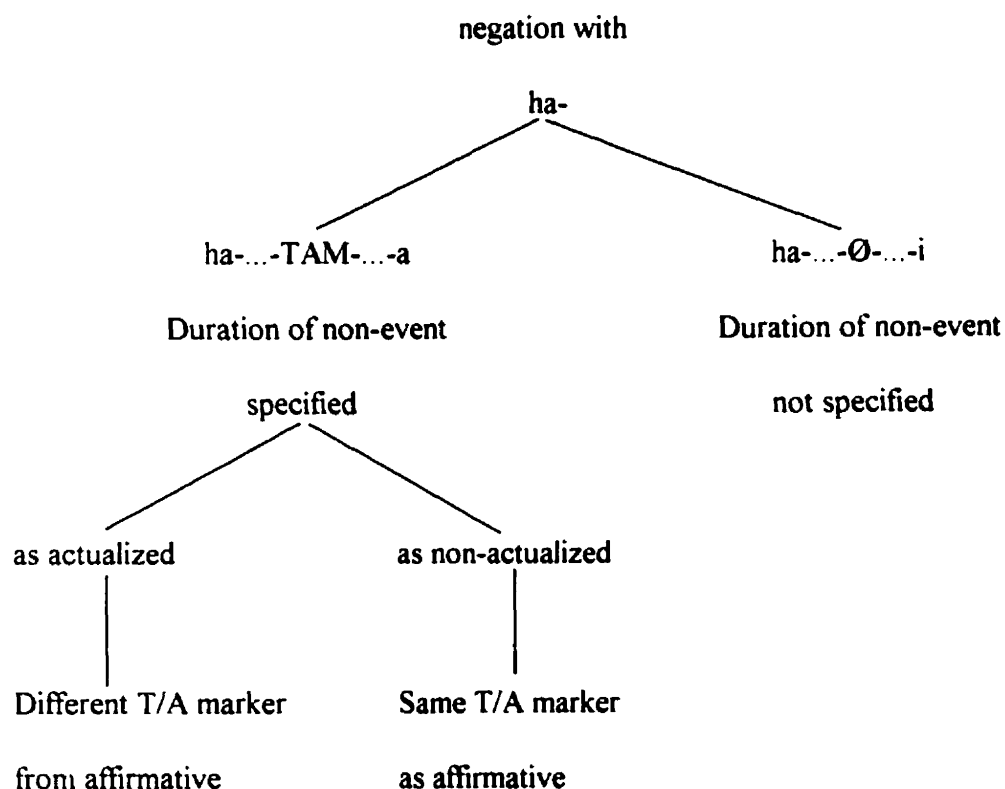


Figure 6.2: Negation with *ha-* in Simple Verbal Constructions

6.4.7 Co-occurrence in Two Verb Constructions

The formative *ha-* also occurs in compound forms. It co-occurs with the auxiliary or the lexical verb in compound forms; it cannot occur on both forms to express a negative as the following example illustrates:

(15) **ha-ta-ku-w-a ha-som-i*

In contrast to the subject concord which is repeated in compound forms, the negative marker is not repeated. Whether the negative marker occurs on the auxiliary or the lexical verb depends on the meaning. The following examples illustrate *ha-* on the auxiliary or the lexical verb with a difference in meaning (Loogman 1965:209-212), beginning with the affirmative sentence:

(16) *A-li-ku-w-a a-ki-fany-a kazi.*

3S-PA-ST-be-F 3S-KI-busy-F job

‘He was busy with his job.’

(Loogman 1965:211)

The negation of this may be either:

(17) a. Ha-ku-w-a a-ki-fany-a kazi.

NEG₁-ST-be-F 3S-KI-busy-F job

['He wasn't busy at his job.' CB-L]

or:

b. A-li-ku-w-a ha-fany-i kazi.

3S-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁-busy-F job

['He was not *busy* at his job.' (at his job, but not *busy*) CB-L]

(Loogman 1965:211)

Loogman comments:

While in practice the two methods of expressing the negative are freely interchanged, there is a distinction which can be drawn between them. When a simple denial of the whole compound proposition is to be expressed, the indication of the negative is given in the auxiliary. But if a certain emphasis is to be put on the negation of the idea of the main verb, then that form contains the negative.

(Loogman 1965:212)

The negative form may vary, depending on the form of the aspect markers and the desired meaning. Generally grammars tend to state, in contrast to the examples and analysis below, what is quoted here from Polomé:

It will be noticed that negation is always marked in the main verb when it occurs in the {na} tense, whereas it is always marked in the relevant form of kuwa when the main verb is in the {ki} tense; when the main verb is in the {me} tense, the negation is either marked in the relevant form of kuwa or else the negative {ku} tense replaces the {me} tense.

(Polomé 1967:150)

Grammars generally state that negation occurs on the auxiliary verb for forms with *-ki-* and *-me-*, and on the lexical for forms expressing the negative of *-na-*, which would use the schema *ha-...-Ø-...-i*.

According to my consultants the following negative forms are acceptable (the forms are with *-wa* ‘be’ in the first verb and *-lima* ‘plant’ in the second):

(18) a. *Ha-wa-ku-w-a* *wa-na-lim-a*.

NEG₁-3P-ST-be-F 3P-NA-plant-F

‘They weren’t cultivating.’

b. *Wa-li-ku-w-a* *ha-wa-lim-i*.

3P-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁-3P-plant-F

‘They weren’t *cultivating*⁸ (*but*) ...’

(19) a. *Ha-wa-ku-w-a* *wa-ki-lim-a*.

NEG₁-3P-ST-be-F 3P-KI-plant-F

‘They didn’t used to cultivate.’

⁸

The italics indicate a difference in emphasis compared to examples (18a) and (19a).

b. Wa-li-ku-w-a ha-wa-lim-i.

3P-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁-3P-plant-F

‘They didn’t used to *cultivate*⁹ (*but*) ...’

In example (18) the explanation given by consultants corresponds to what was quoted from Loogman above. The first sentence negates the whole proposition, that is, the expectation that the person is planting, while the second is an example of constituent negation and negates ‘planting’. The people were doing other things, but not planting. The same distinction applies to the second pair.

Forms of the schema *ha-...-Ø-...-i* can occur in the lexical verb form:

(20) a. A-na-ku-w-a ha-fahamu⁹. ‘He is not aware of it.’

3S-NA-ST-be-F NEG₁3S-aware

b. A-li-ku-w-a ha-tak-i. ‘He did not want.’

3S-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁-want-F

(Loogman 1965:209)

c. A-ka-w-a ha-tak-i. ‘He was not willing.’

3S-KA-be-F NEG₁-want-F

⁹

The word is a borrowing; therefore, there is no final *-i*.

d. Ki-me-ku-w-a ha-ki-l-ik-i. 'It has become unsuitable food.'

SC-ME-ST-be-F NEG₁-PA-eat-STA-F

(Loogman 1965:210)

e. Hu-w-a ha-sem-i. 'He does not tell you.'¹⁰

HU-be-F NEG₁-tell-F

(Loogman 1965:211)

The following could be added:

(21) Tu-ta-ku-w-a ha-tu-som-i.

1P-FU-ST-be-F NEG₁3S-1P-read-F

(HM)

Polomé (1967:151) gives forms of the schema *-ngekuwa ha-Ri* and *-ngalikuwa ha-Ri*.

The following example is from HM:

(22) A-ngali-ku-w-a ha-som-i, a-si-nge-shind-a mtihani.

3S-NGALI-ST-be-F NEG₁3S-read-F 3S-NEG₂-NGE-pass-F examination

'If s/he wasn't studying, s/he would not have passed the exam.'

¹⁰

The translation should be 'He does not say,' since there is no object concord.

Clearly, forms of the schema *ha-...-Ø-...-i* can be expressed in the lexical verb. As examples (20) to (22) illustrate, different formatives may occur in the first verb with *-kuwa*.

Although the first verb may be denied rather than the second, this is not possible in all cases as examples (23) and (24) illustrate:

(23) a. **ha-wa-w-i wa-na-lim-a*

b. **ha-wa-w-i wa-ki-lim-a*

For example, certain formatives cannot occur in the lexical verb; as with affirmative forms, forms with *hu-* do not occur in the lexical verb form:

(24) a. **ha-tu-ku-w-a hu-som-a*

b. **ha-tu-ta-ku-w-a hu-som-a*

As the example below illustrates, *huwa* can occur in the auxiliary, however. The negative formative then occurs on the second verb, e.g. *huwa hasomi*, as in:

(25) *Ali hu-w-a ha-som-i, ila ku-chez-a tu.*

Ali HU-be-F NEG₁3S-read-F, in=order=that VN-play-F only

‘Ali never reads, but only plays.’

(HM)

Furthermore, forms with the formatives *-nge-* or *-ngali-* do not occur on the lexical verb, similar to affirmative sentences:

- (26) a. *ha-ku-w-a a-ngali-som-a
 b. *ha-ku-w-a a-nge-som-a
 c. *ha-tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-ngali-som-a
 d. *ha-tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-nge-som-a
 e. *tu-me-ku-w-a ha-tu-ngali-som-a
 f. *tu-li-ku-w-a ha-tu-ngali-som-a
 g. *tu-ta-ku-w-a ha-tu-ngali-som-a

As with *huwa*, forms with *-nge-* or *-ngali-* may occur in the first verb form, as the following examples illustrate:

- (27) Si-ngali-ku-w-a ni-me-chok-a ni-ngali-tembe-a mji-ni.
 NEG₂-NGALI-ST-be-F 1S-ME-be=tired-F 1S-NGALI-stroll-F town-LO
 ‘If I had not been tired, I would have taken a stroll in town.’

(Polomé 1967:152)

(28) Kama a-nge-ju-a kuwa a-ta-shindw-a mtihani,

if 3S-NGE-know-F that 3S-FU-fail-F exam,

ha-nge-ku-w-a a-ki-som-a.

NEG₁-NGE-ST-be-F 3S-KI-read-F

‘If s/he knew that s/he was going to fail (the exam),

s/he wouldn’t be studying/going to school.’

(HM)

In summary, as in the affirmative forms, the formatives *hu-* and *-nge-*/*-ngali-* behave differently from the aspect formatives identified, *-na-*, *-ki-* and *-me*.

Forms with *-nge-* or *-ngali-* differ from other formatives in that they can have either of the negative formatives *ha-* or *-si-*. These are the only formatives of the tense/aspect/mood position that can take either negative marker (see further discussion under *-si-*).

Other acceptable combinations are as illustrated in example (29):

(29) a. ha-tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-na-som-a

NEG₁-1P-FU-ST-be-F 1P-NA-read-F

‘we won’t be reading’

b. Ha-ku-w-a a-na-fany-a kazi.

NEG₁3S-PNEG-be-F 3S-NA-make-F work

‘Er war arbeitslos.’ [‘He was unemployed.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:242)

c. ha-tu-ta-ku-w-a tu-ki-som-a

NEG₁-1P-FU-ST-be-F 1P-KI-read-F

‘we won’t be reading’

d. tu-ta-ku-w-a ha-tu-ja-som-a

1P-FU-ST-be-F NEG₁-1P-JA-read-F

‘we won’t have read’

e. ha-tu-ku-w-a tu-ki-som-a

NEG₁-1P-PNEG-be-F 1P-KI-read-F

‘we haven’t been reading/haven’t read’, ‘we weren’t reading’

f. Ha-ku-w-a a-ki-fany-a kazi.’

NEG₁3S-PNEG-be-F 3S-KI-make-F work

‘Er machte längere Zeit keine bestimmte Arbeit.’

[‘He didn’t do any particular work for a longer period of time.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:242)

g. ha-tu-ku-w-a tu-mesha-lal-a
 NEG₁-1P-PNEG-be-F 1P-MESHA-sleep-F
 ‘we haven’t (just) gone to sleep’

h. ha-tu-ku-w-a tu-me-lal-a
 NEG₁-1P-PNEG-be-F 1P-ME-sleep-F
 ‘we haven’t gone to sleep’

i.? tu-ta-ku-w-a ha-tu-ku-som-a ¹¹
 1P-FU-ST-be-F NEG₁-1P-PNEG-read-F

j. A-li-ku-w-a ha-ku-fany-a kazi.
 3S-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁3S-PNEG-make-F work
 ‘Als einziger von mehreren hat er nicht gearbeitet.’
 [‘As the only one of several he didn’t work.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:242)

¹¹

Forms of this schema may be possible depending on the context. In *atakiwa hakuondoka*, ‘he must not have left’ the speaker is inferring that the other person did not leave since, for example, no planes have left.

k. A-li-ku-w-a ha-fany-i kazi.

3S-PA-ST-be-F NEG₁3S-make-F work

‘Trotz Möglichkeit hat er nicht gearbeitet.’

[‘Although having the possibility, he did not work/has not worked.’ CB-L]

(Brauner & Herms 1979:242)

For examples (29a - k), the first verb, if negated, is illustrated with the future formative or the formative *-ku-*. Neither the future marker itself nor the past marker *-li-* occur in the second form.

A compound form is used where it contributes to the meaning where the simple form may not be sufficient to clarify the meaning. It provides a means of making further semantic distinctions with respect to the scope of the negation that the simple form does not offer.

6.5 The Formative (-)si(-)

The formative (-)si(-) differs from both *-to-* and *ha-* in that it may occur as a free morpheme, as a negative copula, or a bound morpheme. Historically it has its origin in a negative copula of which the affirmative corresponding form was *li* which changed – except for some relative clauses – to a past tense marker. (-)si(-) is used as a negative marker when in finite predicates, although in relative clauses its verbal ancestry can be traced due to its morpho-syntactic behaviour (Güldemann 1996a). In comparison to *ha-*, *-si-* used as a bound morpheme is of special interest and will be discussed in the following

section.

6.5.1 General Occurrence

The following examples illustrate usage of (-)si(-). For the purpose of comparison some affirmative examples are also included.

Subjunctive:

(30) a. Ni-som-e? 'Shall I read?'

I S-read-F

(Ashton [1944] 1993:118)

b. U-som-e Kiswahili. 'Study Swahili.'

2S-read-F Swahili. 'You may study Swahili.'

(31) a. U-si-som-e sasa! 'Don't study [i.e. read] now!'

2S-NEG₂-read-F now

b. M-si-som-e sasa! 'Don't (pl.) study now!'

2P-NEG₂-read-F now

(Hinnebusch & Mirza 1979:174)

Relative clause:

(32) a. watu wa-si-o-som-a 'people who do not read'
 people 3P-NEG₂-R-read-F

 b. mtu a-si-ye-som-a 'a man who does not read'
 person 3S-NEG₂-R-read-F

(Maw 1985:197)

Negative copula:

(33) a. Mimi si mwivi. 'I am not a thief.'
 I NEG₂ thief

 b. Si kitabu. 'It is not a book.'
 NEG₂ book

(Ashton [1944] 1993:93)

Conditional clauses:

(34) a. Mti huu u-nge-anguk-a u-si-nge-ni-u-a.
 tree this SC-NGE-fall-F SC-NEG₂-NGE-OC-kill-F
 'If this tree happened to fall, it would not kill me.'

b. Laiti ni-ngali-fuat-a shauri lako, mambo haya yote

if=only 1S-NGALI-follow-F advice your things these all

ya-si-ngali-toke-a.

SC-NEG₂-NGALI-come=out-F

‘If only I had followed your advice, these things would not have

happened.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

As the examples above illustrate, *si* generally occurs as a negative copula in clauses without a verbal construction (33), *-si-* occurs with final *-e*, i.e. examples (30a, b), which can also be used as prohibitive, examples (31a, b), and in subordinate type clauses, i.e. example (32). The formative *-si-* may occur with final *-a* or final *-e*. Thus, *-si-* and *ha-*¹² generally have to a large part a different distribution. However, the example (34a) above and the following example below illustrate that there are cases where either *ha-* or *-si-* can be used.

(35) Mti huu u-nge-anguk-a ha-u-nge-ni-u-a.

tree this SC-NGE-fall-F NEG₁-SC-NGE-OC-kill-F

‘If this tree happened to fall, it *wouldn’t* kill *me*.’¹³

¹²

See footnote 1, Chapter Six.

¹³

The italics indicate a difference in emphasis compared to example (34a).

It has been proposed that *ha-* negates independent clauses and *-si-* dependent clauses (Saloné 1983). However, as examples (34a) and (35) above illustrate, in certain cases, i.e. in forms with *-nge-* or *-ngali-*, *ha-* or *-si-* may occur. In addition, Maw (1969) did not identify clauses with the formatives *-nge-/ngali-* as subordinate, but as coordinate. While there may be a tendency to use *ha-* in main clauses and *-si-* in dependent forms, *(-)si(-)*, especially as a free morpheme, can occur in main clauses. Güldemann (1996a) comments with respect to the negative marker *si*:

In der Tat ist das Endstadium der im älteren Swahili angelegten Prozesse im heutigen Standard Swahili (G42d) evident: Das Element *si* ist in Hauptprädikationen nur noch in seiner kopulativen Verwendung – und zwar grundsätzlich unflektiert, d.h. als eine Partikel – evident.
(Güldemann 1996a:263)

In fact the final stage of the processes begun in older Swahili are evident in modern Standard Swahili: the element *si* is evident only as a copula in main clause predicates – and without being inflected, i.e. as a particle. [CB-L]

However, the syntactic difference reflects a difference in their meaning and function, as will be discussed in the following section.

6.5.2 Co-occurrence with Markers in the Tense/Aspect/Mood Position

The formative *-si-* occurs with *-nge-* or *-ngali-*, as the above examples (34) illustrate. These are the only overt markers of position 4 which may co-occur with this negative marker. Besides these overt markers, Wald (1997) proposes a 0-tense marker for some forms with *-si-*. As an extension of Wald's proposal of a 0-tense marker, a

Ø-marker¹⁴ is suggested for forms with *-si-* (see section 6.5.2.2).

6.5.2.1 Negation with ...-si-+-nge-/-ngali-

The markers *-nge-/-ngali-* occur in the tense/aspect/mood position with the negative marker *-si-*. As we have seen, these markers can also occur in forms with *ha-*, although forms with *-si-* appear to be more common, based on comments in grammars. These markers deal with hypothetical events or (for some speakers) events of different, but low degrees of likelihood. As was discussed in Chapters Three and Four, the final is *-a* and not *-e*, because, while the conditions may not be realizable, the projected consequence is fully realizable (if the conditions were to be fulfilled).

Differences in meaning between the use of forms with *ha-* and *-si-* are difficult to establish (see also Ashton [1944] 1993), but based on the general difference in meaning between the two negative markers that will be discussed in this chapter, forms with *-si-* would be the wider set and forms with *ha-* negate more specifically the event and its failure to occur over its temporal representation and, therefore, can be used for consequences rather than conditions.

6.5.2.2 ...-si-Ø...

Besides the co-occurrence with *-nge-/-ngali-*, a Ø-marker might be proposed for

¹⁴

Wald used a 0-tense marker instead of a Ø-marker. Here the marker Ø will be used.

forms with *-si-*. In a footnote Wald (1997:57fn) proposes a 0-tense marker for the forms with final *-e*, and for forms with final *-i*, and he discusses a 0-tense marker and its diachronic function for relative clauses with synthetic marking. While an example with *-si-* is not specifically included, supposedly the same would be appropriate for relative constructions with *-si-* of which the following is an example:

$$(36) \text{ a. Ni } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-li-} \\ \text{-na-} \\ \text{-ta-} \end{array} \right\} \text{mw-on-a} \quad \text{mtu} \quad \text{a-si-ye-kul-a.}$$

$$\text{IS } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-LI-} \\ \text{-NA-} \\ \text{-TA-} \end{array} \right\} \text{3S-see-F a=person 3S-NEG}_2\text{-R-eat-F}$$

‘I saw a person who was not eating. (who did not eat).’

‘I see a person who is not eating (who does not eat).’

‘I will see a person who does not eat.’

As the above example illustrates, the form with the negative marker can be interpreted differently depending on the tense/aspect/mood marker in the main verb. Pursuing this line of argument, we then would have the following system:

...-si-Ø-...-e

...-si-Ø-R-...-a

...-si-TAM-...-a

Following Wald's argument, forms with -Ø- would have to be diachronically from inherent low focus clauses. The diachronic viewpoint will not be evaluated here. In a general sense the argument seems to hold from the perspective of this analysis: forms with markers other than Ø in the tense/aspect/mood position specifically express the time to which the failure of the represented event occurs, while forms with Ø markers are described by Ashton usually as 'not related to time' as the quote related to one of these forms illustrates.

For si-Ø-R-a it can be said:

With negative *si* this form expresses no time, but rather description of a negative character. Hence it may also be used to translate English past or future tense: a man who did not or who will not read – provided that time is not the point to be stressed.

(Ashton [1944] 1993:112)

Güldemann makes the same point:

[In Relativsätzen] ... [i]m letzteren Fall [im finiten Prädikat] kann *si* erwartungsgemäß keine temporale oder aspektuelle Bedeutung haben; es referiert nur generell auf einen negativen Sachverhalt.

(Güldemann 1996a:264)

[In relative clauses] in the latter case [in a finite predicate], *si* cannot have a temporal or aspectual meaning, as expected, but refers in general to a negative fact. [CB-L]

For -si-Ø- ...-e it can be said that there is only one subjunctive in Swahili. Thus, there are no tense distinctions expressed. The form with final -e is dependent on the locus of orientation established in another verb form or the context. A form with final -e can occur in relation to a past locus of orientation (see examples (37) and (38)). The second verb takes the aspectual markers we have seen earlier: -ki-, -na-, -a- and -me-. The following example shows a form with final -e in a compound form relating to a form with -ka- which itself would relate to an earlier past tense:

- (37) Amri i-ka-tok-a hapo Kisauni ya ku-sem-a watu wa-w-e
order 3S-KA-emit-F of=place *Kisauni* of VN-say-F people 3P-be-F
wa-ki-lal-a mapema.
3P-KI-sleep-F early

‘An order went forth at Kisauni saying that people were to go to bed early.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:267)

(38) ... kwa hivyo n-a-on-a¹⁵ ni bora ku-zi-taj-a, ni-si-w-e

because of=this 1S-A-feel-F it best VN-OC-mention-F 1S-NEG₂-be-F

n-a-wa-nyim-a waimbaji “tunu” ya wimbo mpya.

1S-A-3P-deprive-F singers “tune” of song new

‘Because of this I feel it best to mention them (i.e. certain tunes), so

that I do not deprive singers of the tune of a new song.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:268)

In example (38) the locus of orientation is expressed by *-a-*. The form with final *-e* relates to that locus of orientation.

Thus, as with forms discussed earlier, the first verb sets up the locus of orientation, in relation to which the verb with final *-e* has the potential of taking place. Again *-siØ...-e* does not refer to the time itself.

We can now unify the patterns where *-si-* occurs as a bound morpheme:

...si-Ø-...-e

...si-nge-...-a

...si-ngali-...-a

...si-Ø-R-...-a

In all of these cases *-si-* either occurs in contexts where the form with *-si-* is not actualized, but may be potentially or hypothetically actualized and/or in cases where the

¹⁵

Naona could be ambiguous: *na-* or *n-a+ona*.

form is dependent. It can be concluded that the negation expressed by *-si-* is unrelated to the time of the event.

6.6 Comparison of the Meaning of *ha-* and *-si-*

6.6.1 Comparison of Patterns

When we compare the patterns of negative markers *ha-* and *-si-* in verbal constructions, the following patterns emerge:

Patterns of negation markers *ha-* and *-si-*

ha-	- Ø	-i	...si-Ø-	-e
ha-	...-TAM-	-a	...si-TAM-	-a
ambaR ha-...	TAM- ...-a	...si-Ø- R	-a	

In negative relative clauses with *amba*, which comes from the verb 'to tell' and functions as a relative marker, the form with *ha-* has the properties of a main clause:

(39) Kazi amba-yo hu-ku-i-fany-a jana a-me-i-fany-a Hamisi.

work amba-R NEG₁2S-NEGP-3S-do-F yesterday 3S-ME-3S-do-F *Hamisi*

'The work which you did not do yesterday Hamisi has done.'

(Ashton [1944] 1993:113)

The additional pattern including *-Ø-*, that is *ha-... Ø... -i*, does not make any

special reference to time. The translation in the following example illustrates this point: “*hatupendi* ‘we don’t/didn’t/won’t love (it)’” (Wald 1997:57fn 3). Contini-Morava also mentions cases where *ha-...-Ø-...-i* is used ‘corresponding’ to a past, as we have seen in Chapter Five.

Where -Ø- is found in the TAM position, the two types of negation are differentiated by the finals and the negative markers.

6.6.2 Different Types of Negation

The morphological patterns and co-occurrence patterns of the negative markers with the markers of position 4 have confirmed specifically for Swahili what Güldemann has developed from a diachronic perspective for Bantu.

Güldemann associates, as a tendency, different types of negation with the different markers. He points out that:

Aus der Gesamtheit der in diesem Kapitel dargelegten Überlegungen ergibt sich schließlich auch für den letzten in meiner Arbeit berücksichtigten Komplex der formalen Distinktion zwischen beiden konjugationalen Subsystemen, i.e. *präinitiale Negation in Haupt-* vs. *postinitiale Negation in Nebenprädikationen*, eine Bewertung, die der in den vorigen Kapiteln entspricht: Die ausdrucksseitige Dissoziation ist ein klarer Ausdruck einer funktionalen Unterscheidung der Prädikationskontexte. Keinesfalls sind sie ein **primäres** Ausdrucksmittel zur Signalisierung des syntaktischen Status einer Prädikation.

(Güldemann 1996a:313)

From the total of the discussion in this chapter the results are similar to the evaluation of the preceding chapters for the last complex of the distinction between the two subsystems, i.e. the preinitial negation in main clauses versus the postinitial negation in dependent clauses: the distinction on the expression side is a clear indication of the functional difference of the context of the predicates. It is not **primarily** an expression to mark the syntactic difference of a predicate. [CB-L]

Thus, in terms of Swahili, the distinction between *ha-* for main clauses and *-si-* for clauses involving dependency is a matter of meaning and function, and not simply morphosyntax. The type of negation involved with the two negative markers is different.

... the two basic marking complexes in Bantu have different functional biases which stem from their specific grammaticalizational origins The generalization which can be drawn from the data is not a simple pattern of complementary distribution of the two marking complexes but, instead, a relation of differing markedness.

(Güldemann 1999:577)

This difference in types of negation is observed, in general, by Güldemann (1996) for Bantu languages from a historical perspective:

... preinitial negation [i.e. *ha-* for Swahili] has evolved out of a complex predicate pattern in which the predicate can be analyzed as a binary structure wherein a negative nucleus bears the illocutionary force and a finite satellite conveys the propositional information of the predication.

(Güldemann 1996b:12)

while in contrast for postinitial negation, [i.e. *-si-* in Swahili]:

... the postinitial-complex appears in a way to correlate with descriptive negation.

(Güldemann 1996b:19)

Güldemann distinguishes the two negative markers along the lines of metalinguistic versus descriptive negation in Horn's terms (Horn 1989). Metalinguistic negation is described as:

Metalinguistic negation ... is used to deny or object to any aspect of a previous utterance – from the conventional or conversational implicata that may be associated with it to its syntactic, morphological, or phonetic form. ... those aspects of the utterance which metalinguistic negation is used to focus on may have nothing to do with the proposition expressed by that utterance.

(Horn 1989:414ff, quoted from Güldemann 1999:575)

Güldemann gives 'die Leute die arbeiten, die Leute die nicht arbeiten' as an example of a descriptive negative. Along the same lines, some grammars of Swahili suggest that *-si-* expresses 'the opposite'.

It is here proposed for Swahili that in contrast to *-ha-*, *-si-* negates the logical possibility or the description given in the semantic content of the verb (or adjective or noun for the free morpheme). This can be exemplified with the following example:

(40) Tu-na-dhani (kama) si kweli.

IP-NA-think (that) NEG₂be true

'We think that it is **not** true.'

(modified from Givón 1984:343)

The formative *ha-*, on the other hand, expresses the failure of the event represented, specified in temporal representation by formatives of position 4. The contrast

can be exemplified by the following example:

- (41) ha-tu-dhani (kama) ni kweli
 NEG-1P- think (that) be true
 ‘We **don't** think that it is true.’

(modified from Givón 1984:343)

This distinction is reflected in the use of the negative markers in negated forms with *-nge-* or *-ngali-*.

- (42) Wa-toto hao kama wa-**ngali**-ku-w-a wa-**ki**-ka-a sana,
 3P-children these had 3P-NGALI-ST-be-F 3P-KI-stay-F too=long
 ha-wa-**ngali**-wez-a ku-pand-a ku-rud-i kwao katika Nchi ya Mawingu.
 NEG₁-3P-NGALI-able-F ST-go=up-F ST-return-F PREP to land of clouds
 ‘If these children had made a habit of staying too long, they would have
 been unable to go up again to their homeland in Cloudland’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

- (43) A-nge-ku-w-a mgonjwa, a-si-nge-ku-j-a mji-ni kwa miguu.
 3S-NGE-ST-be-F ill 3S-NEG₂-NGE-ST-come-F town-LO PREP feet
 ‘If he were an invalid, he would not come to town on foot.’

(Ashton [1944] 1993:259)

In example (43) it is negated that the invalid would come (on foot), a case of

descriptive negation. In example (42), on the other hand, the use of *ha-* expresses that under fulfilled conditions (which are stated in the first clause), the failure of the event, described further by the marker in position 4, occurs.

6.7 Co-occurrence of Formatives

Compiling TAM markers and finals, the number of pre-verbal base markers clearly indicates that the number of distinctions with respect to the description of the event is greater in the affirmative than in the negative. That forms in the negative may require fewer distinctions in the TAM position than in the affirmative has been observed by Ashton and Contini-Morava. This is particularly true for distinctions that are made aspectually in the affirmative forms. If events are represented as not completed, then in the negation of such an event one would not need to make distinctions in the degrees of completion of a partially imaginary event as one may want to make in the affirmative.

As far as finals are concerned, there are actually more possibilities of different finals in negative forms than in affirmative forms. In affirmative forms either *-a* or *-e* may occur, depending on the sentence. In negative forms, either *-a* or *-e* or *-i* may occur, depending on the negation marker and the type of marker in the TAM position. The explanation provided above allows us to explain a question that remained unanswered in Contini-Morava's book (1989). She wondered that if the final *-a* were to include the two other finals, why the finals were in paradigmatic relation and could not co-occur. We can see that all three finals are part of a system and express interrelated concepts.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the three negative markers in Swahili. They are often described as 'negative' and no further contrastive analysis is provided. But since they differ in position in the verbal string, it was hypothesized that they also differ in function and meaning.

The discussion has shown that they indeed differ in function and meaning. The meaning for *-to-* is given as 'lack of assertion'. Emphasis has been placed on the negative markers *ha-* and *-si-* since the third negative formative *-to-* occurs in limited contexts. The formatives *ha-* and *-si-* occur in different types of negation. This difference is reflected in their syntactic distribution as well as in their morphological position. Negation with *ha-* expresses for the event represented the failure within the given temporal representation to occur. In compound forms the occurrence of *ha-* on the auxiliary or the lexical verb expresses the scope of the negation. Forms with *-si-* negate the description in the lexeme (see section 6.6.2).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION:

THE SYSTEMIC RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS

7.0 Introduction

On the basis of the analysis of the different formatives in the previous chapters, this chapter discusses the relationship among the different formatives¹. While each formative has a form, meaning and function, the analysis of their interaction reveals systemic properties reflecting contrastive distinctions made at a cognitive level. Therefore, in this chapter the sets of formatives of different positions are analyzed together.

7.1 Summary of Individual Subsystems

In the introduction questions have been raised with respect to negative markers and finals. These questions can now be answered: the negative markers differ in position, function and meaning, as well as syntactically. The three finals represent a system that covers the range of mood, and the description of *-i* as simply 'negative' is inadequate, since it is used in particular negative situations without temporal particularization.

¹

The structure of the verbal construction is repeated here for the convenience of the reader:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
NEG ₁	- SC	- NEG ₂	- TAM	- R	- OC	- ST	- VB	- E	- F	- PF
	INF									
	HAB									

In the following sections the main conclusions of the subsystems discussed in Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six will be presented. A further exploration of chronogenesis will also be presented.

7.1.1 The Affirmative Subsystem

The analysis of the formatives of position 4, the pre-verbal base position, has revealed that not all formatives of this position can be considered tense or aspect markers. The formative *-ka-* was analyzed as ‘consecutive’. The markers *-nge-* and *-ngali-* were considered as expressing not tense, but mood.

The analysis of the role of tense/aspect markers in chronogenetic staging reveals a juxtaposition of the Vast Present on the one hand, with the Past and Future on the other. In terms of tense/aspect, this contrast is expressed through aspectual distinctions on the one hand and tense distinctions on the other. The differentiation of aspectual markers from tense markers was achieved by analyzing:

- (1) the meanings and contexts of verb forms;
- (2) the contrasts produced by TAM markers;
- (3) the co-occurrence patterns in compound verb forms.

In affirmative forms, among the markers at the level where aspectual distinctions are made, the status of actualization is again expressed:

-ki-: the Event² is represented as undergoing actualization concurrent to another Event.

An explanatory mechanism to attain the many surface meanings of this formative is provided.

-na-: the expression focuses narrowly on the unfolding of an event that is represented as being in the process of being actualized.

This explanation eliminates the necessity of describing the form with **-na-** as tense or as tense and aspect. Within the (unmarked) Vast Present, **-na-** expresses further detailed information.

-a-: the event is more generally represented as being in the process of being actualized.

-me-: the event is represented as having undergone actualization at some (previous) point.

The other distinctions, Past and Future, do not represent the Event to the same degree of specification in simple verb forms, but further complexity can be added by use of compound forms.

Tense distinctions are fewer than aspect distinctions, and tense is only determined once morphologically in any given form, whether a simple form or a compound form.

The lower specificity expressed by 'Vast Present' of Stage Two compared to the Past and the Future serves to emphasize that in forms expressing the Vast Present tense is

²

To avoid cumbersome sentence structure, such as 'the representation of the event or the represented event', whenever the 'represented event' is intended, it will be written as 'Event', capitalized to indicate its representation.

not overtly marked in main clauses and is understood as the ‘default’ locus of orientation in contrast to the Past and the Future. Consequently, Past and Future are marked as a further contrastive development to the Vast Present. This sequential development is also found in part of the negative subsystem as will be shown below.

7.1.2 Further Development of Chronogenetic Staging

Guillaume’s model of *chronogenesis* was originally developed as a tool to explain the subsystems of the French verbal system. In Chapter Two chronogenetic staging was illustrated with three different stages as it applies to English. As the model is applied to a number of languages of typologically different language groups, variation in the expression of chronogenetic staging surfaces. For example, Slavic languages have undergone a stage where there were two stages of chronogenesis (see Hewson & Bubenik 1997:102).

Besides variation with respect to the stages, concepts that are linked to tense and aspect such as evidentiality may surface as properties³.

Likewise, it is no surprise that applying chronogenetic staging to Swahili has revealed differences, but also similarities in comparison to the original application of the model.

In contrast to Indo-European languages, for example, where aspectual distinctions

³

In some Indo-European languages, for example Bulgarian and Macedonian, tense and aspect are dichotomized along this parameter (Hewson & Bubenik 1997). Evidentiality is also observed in Algonquian languages.

are made at a level that does not include Universe Time⁴ nor subject marking, aspectual distinctions in Swahili are made at a level of Universe Time where subject marking is included.

The level of aspectual distinction has been named Stage Two in Chapter Four of the analysis since there may be an earlier level of chronogenesis, expressed by *KU-* (which has not been included in the study so far).

Forms with *KU-* can be verbal nouns since etymologically *KU-* represents the class marker of class 15⁵; it is also used in what corresponds to an infinitive in English. The English translation can include the infinitive or an -ing form as the following examples illustrate:

(1) Ku-lim-a ni ku-gumu.

KU-plant-F be KU-hard

‘Ackern ist schwer’ [‘To farm/farming is hard’ CB-L]

⁴

Guillaume proposed Universe Time at all levels of chronogenesis. In the application of the theory as it was here described for English and other languages, the First Stage has been analyzed without reference to Universe Time, as in Hewson & Bubenik (1997).

⁵

There may be a possibility that the above *KU-* diachronically comes from the same source as the *ku-* adverbial expressing ‘place and time’. But the evolution was completed by Proto-Sabaki times (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:364-365).

(2) Ku-chez-a kwa watoto

KU-play-F of children

‘das Spielen der Kinder’ [‘the playing of the children’ CB-L]

(3) Ku-safir-i ku-na-pendez-a.

KU-travel-F KU-NA-bring=joy-F

‘Reisen erfreut’ [‘Traveling brings joy’ CB-L]

(examples (1-3) from Brauner & Bantu 1967:70)

(4) Ku-fik-a Mombasa, i-na-fik-a saa mbili ya asubuhi.

KU-arrive-F *Mombasa* SC-NA-arrive-F hour second of morning

‘As for arriving in Mombasa, it [the train] arrives at eight in the morning.’

(Maw 1999:92)

(5) ni-na-tak-a ku-nunu-a tikiti

1S-NA-want-F KU-buy-F ticket

‘I want to buy a ticket’

(Maw 1985:92)

(6) Wa-na-ondok-a na ku-rudi

3P-NA-depart-F and KU-come=back

‘They go (are seen going) and (then later they) come back’

(Maw 1985:79)

(7) Kwa=nini ku-fany-a hivi?

why KU-make-F this

‘Why do this?’

(8) Bado ku-pig-a deki.

still KU-wash-F floor

‘There’s still the floor to wash.’

The infinitive can be used after verbs of intention, verbs of wishing, willing, trying, etc. as in example (5). When two actions are closely associated, and the second is not contingent in time on the first, the second verb occurs in the infinitive as in example (6). The infinitive form of the verb can be used to express an impersonal sense as in examples (7) and (8). When the infinitive form precedes, it can give emphasis to the idea of the verb as in example (4). As the examples show, forms with *KU-* do not include subject marking or tense/aspect marking. They may include object marking, may be passivized (Vitale 1981) and may include the marker *-ji-* as in example (9):

(9) ku-ji-fich-a

VN-JI-hide-F

‘to hide oneself’

(Polomé 1967:118)

The first stage of the chronogenesis as described by Guillaume is the Quasi-Nominal Stage. Forms with the *KU*- formative may be described by some of the criteria which Hirtle (1975:16-17) lists for the first chronogenetic stage of English:

Events expressed in the quasi-nominal mood, by means of the infinitive, the present participle and the past participle, unlike those expressed in the indicative, evoke no image of universe time into time spheres.... Nor do events in this first mood of chronogenesis evoke distinctions concerning the chances of being actualized, as in the subjunctive mood. Not only does this mood lack time spheres and a contrast between descending and ascending time, but it has not even, at this early moment of chronogenesis, built in the category of person.

Hirtle (1975:16-17)

Similarly the forms with *KU*- which are generally described as 'infinitive or verbal noun' do not evoke a distinction into time spheres. Distinctions in actualization are also not expressed in forms with *KU*- since they occur only with final *-a* and not with final *-e* or final *-i*. As in Hirtle's description, *KU*- forms do not have the category of person built in.

Thus, the *KU*- forms fulfill some of the criteria of Guillaume's Stage One. As was mentioned above, in Standard Swahili overt tense/aspect marking is not associated with forms with *KU*-. There is some circumstantial evidence that *KU*- could be included in chronogenetic staging, however. Compare the following examples:

- (10) a. ni-na-tak-a ku-nunu-a tikiti
 1S-NA-want-F KU-buy-F ticket
 ‘I want to buy a ticket’

(Maw 1985:92)

- b. ni-na-tak-a u-nunu-e tikiti
 1S-NA-want-F 2S-buy-F ticket
 ‘I want you to buy a ticket’

(Maw 1985:92)

KU- forms can alternate with forms with final *-e* as in example (10) or in these further examples:

- (11) a. tu-li-mu-amri-sh-a ku-imb-a
 1P-PA-OC-order-CS-F KU-sing-F
 ‘We ordered him/her to sing. (He did it)’

- b. tu-li-mu-amri-sh-a a-imb-e
 1P-PA-OC-order-CS-F 3S-sing-F
 ‘We ordered him to sing’ (He may not have done it)’

(HM)

The infinitive form *KU-* can be used in forms such as in examples (10a) and (11a). But that it can be used at all in examples (10a) and (11a) may be an indication that *KU-* is

an element of the chronogenesis. Furthermore, in example (6) the infinitive form is used for the last verb of a series. While the first verb expresses the temporal marking, the form with *KU-* represents the event. Other circumstantial evidence comes from the fact that *-ku-* used in the past negative and *KU-* come from the same source etymologically. *-ku-* is part of the temporal system in Swahili. It, therefore, is conceivable that the same may be said about *KU-*. Since in Standard Swahili it only co-occurs with object markers and *not* subject markers or tense/aspect markers, the evidence remains circumstantial. It should be noted that in other Bantu languages⁶ *KU-* may co-occur with an aspect marker⁷, as the following example from Suku (Piper 1977) indicates:

(12) a. ku-los-a

‘werfen, Infinitiv’ [‘to throw, Infinitive’ CB-L]

b. ku-los-aka

‘werfen, Infinitiv kontinuierlich’ [‘to throw, Continuative Infinitive’ CB-L]

6

Across Bantu *KU-* seems to occur with forms that correspond to Suku *-aka*: *-aga*, *-anga*, etc. *KU-* does not occur with *-ile* (Nurse: personal communication).

7

A similar distinction in meaning as in example (12) can be observed in Slavic (Czech):

hod-it

‘to throw’

ház-et

‘to throw + continuative’

(Bubenik: personal communication)

The distinctions proposed for Stage One in English would not be made in Swahili where there is only one form.

In example (12b) above, the form with *KU-* contains *-aka*, a continuative marker. Forms with *KU-* do not seem to co-occur with the formative *-ile*, which marks a complete event (see footnote 6). This may indicate that forms with *KU-* are forms that represent a Performative, an aspectual category in Ascending Time, expressing a complete event which, therefore, do not have to be marked contrastively as complete. Although for Swahili the evidence is less clear, this is provisionally suggested.

As was shown, Guillaume proposed as the Second Stage (the *subjunctive stage* in Indo-European languages) a stage where Universe Time is represented without contrasts. Forms 'do not represent the event as an experiential reality, for the simple reason that they are not allocated to any experiential time-sphere' (Hewson 1997b:42).

In Standard Swahili there are, as we have seen, subjunctive forms, but it appears for Standard Swahili that the differences of mood expressed in the finals are not directly linked to the categories of tense and aspect. In effect, tense/aspect distinctions are made in position 4, in the pre-verbal position, and can be differentiated from the differences expressed in the finals. The differences in the finals are, therefore, not included in the chronogenetic staging.

Aspectual distinctions in Swahili are made within Universe Time. As usual, aspectual distinctions can apply anywhere in Universe Time and are not limited to a

particular time-sphere. It appears that in Swahili aspectual distinctions are made at this stage.

Guillaume's third stage, the *indicative stage*, includes forms representing time with delineated tense contrasts. Forms with delineated tense contrasts were analyzed as part of Stage Three in Chapter Four.

In Swahili, it is possible to combine forms representing Stage Two and Stage Three. In contrast to English, for example, the compound forms, which express finer semantic distinctions compared to the simple constructions, consist of two finite verb forms that are both inflected for subjects, a construction quite different from those of most Indo-European languages.

The complete analysis can be graphically summarized as:

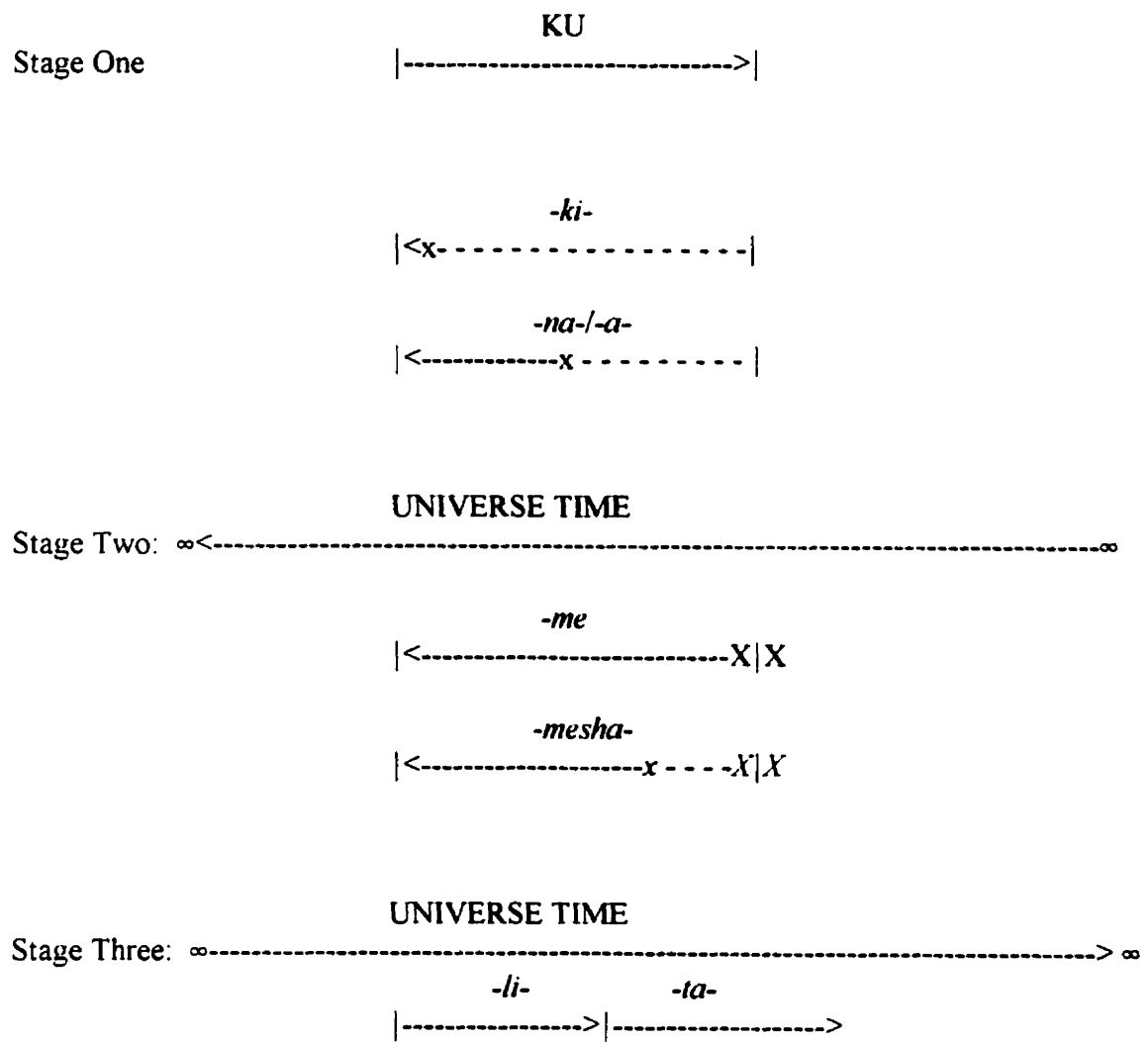


Figure 7.1: Stages of the Chronogenesis

Thus, while the language specific exploitation of the event representation may differ at times, the conceptual distinctions proposed by Guillaume are certainly made and can be confirmed for Swahili.

7.2 The Subsystem Expressed in the Finals

Distinctions among finals indicate whether the event is represented as ‘default’, i.e., conceived as actualization (represented by the final *-a*); as potential actualization (represented by the final *-e*); or as negated actualization which persists (represented by *ha-...-i*).

In the finals gross categorical distinctions are expressed which range on a continuum from forms with final *-a* through forms with final *-e* to forms with final *-i*. Finals indicate whether the Event is represented as realized or realizable, is within a ‘middle zone’, or (with the negative marker) is represented as non-realizable

The grammatical category of subjunctive can be associated with ‘irrealis’. As Givón (1994) points out:

... the distinction of the modal category irrealis across grammatical contexts is far from chaotic, and is largely predictable on universal grounds.
(Givón 1994:269)

While the existence of the category ‘irrealis’ as a unified category across languages is not supported by everyone (see Bybee et al. (1994) for one view, Givón (1994) for a different position, also Chung & Timberlake (1985)), for Swahili, it appears to unify elements that have been described in this study. In general, there are either or both of two sub-dimensions of irrealis possible: ‘lower certainty (on the epistemic side), weaker manipulation (on the deontic side)’ (Givón 1994:280).

For Bemba, Givón associates the final *-e* with deontic modality and the formative

-inga- with epistemic modality. While at first glance this seems to correspond to the situation in Swahili, further research is necessary.

7.3 The Negative Subsystem

In the subsystem of negation the temporal specification of the Event in the negative forms, although numbering fewer forms, is reflected in the negation with *ha-*, but not in the negation with *-si-* or *-to-*. The negative markers express different types of negation, and it is not simply a matter of complementary distribution in syntactic environments, as Güldemann (1999) has pointed out from a diachronic point of view for Bantu in general. This has been confirmed in this study for Swahili. The different types of negation are reflected in the co-occurrence patterns that the different negation markers exhibit.

Negation with *ha-* is linked to the representation of the event as actualization. It, therefore, negates the whole representation. Forms that are negated with *ha-* reflect the juxtaposition of ‘Vast Present’ that was found in affirmative forms, although in the negative there are fewer distinctions than in the affirmative. In the Vast Present, forms with Ø- marking can occur (see Table 7.1 below). Further specification of the temporal structure of the event or its delineation from other events is expressed by the use of overt markers of position 4. Besides forms with *ha-.....-i*, which are normally considered the corresponding negative forms to affirmative forms with *-na-* or *-ki-*, forms with *ha-...-ja-...-a* express the failure of the Event to be actualized during a period viewed

retrospectively from the locus of orientation, being considered the negative form with respect to *-mesha-* or *-me-*. Forms of the schema *ha-...-ku-...-a* express the failure of the Event to be actualized for a period in the past that is represented as completed, generally considered the corresponding negative form of affirmative forms with *-li-* or *-me-*. Negation with *ha-* has been summarized in the following:

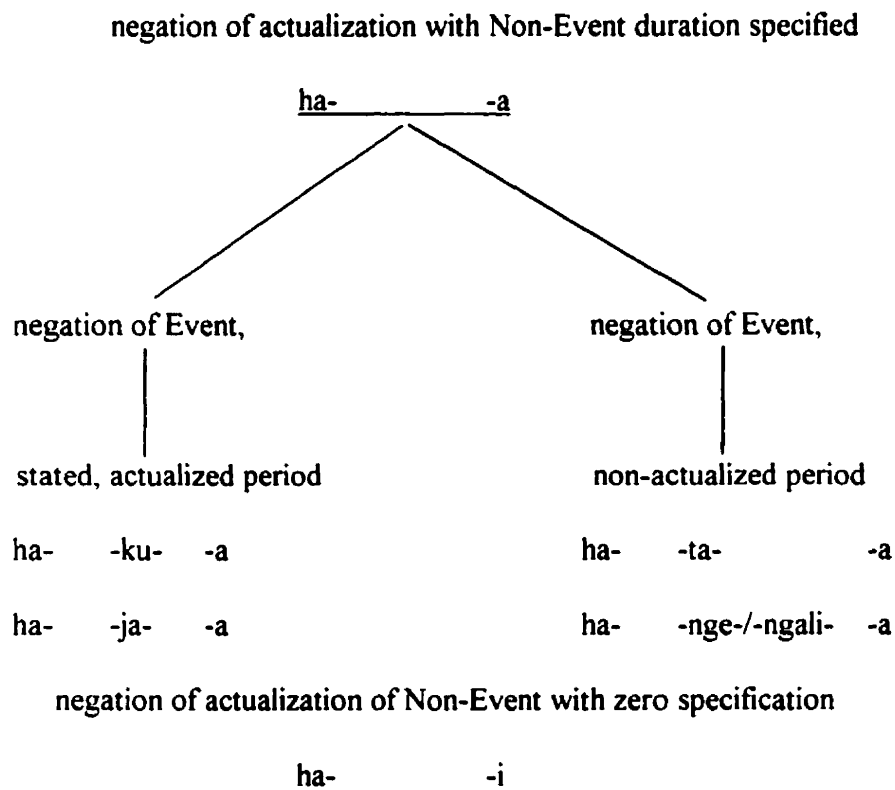


Figure 7.2: Negation with *ha-*

Since time specifications and other types of information are provided in position 4,

the formatives *-ku-*, *-ja-*, *-ta-* and *-nge/-ngali-* themselves do not include the meaning of ‘negative’.

In compound forms the scope of the marker *ha-* applies to the part of the form to which it is applied. Therefore, there are differences of meanings, as we have seen in Chapter Six.

Forms that are negated with *-si-* do not reflect the differentiation which can be found when forms are negated with *ha-*, since forms with *-si-* themselves do not distinguish tense contrasts. Forms with *-si-* can relate to past events expressed through a past locus of orientation, but forms with *-si-* do not themselves represent morphologically an actualized time frame over which the negation occurs, but other than in relative clauses which are dependent forms, negate forms that express modal concepts: the negation of potential actualization with forms with final *-e*, and of conditional events with different degrees of certainty with forms with *-nge/-ngali-*. Both of these types of events are ‘projected’ events and could be subsumed under the term ‘irrealis’.

The formative *-si-* negates the description associated with the lexeme. This type of negation can be applied to events represented as ‘irrealis’, since the event is represented not as a reality, but as a potentiality which can be negated directly.

From the above, it becomes clear and it should be emphasized that negative forms do not correspond exactly to affirmative forms. Nevertheless, the forms with the negative marker *ha-* cover the same ground as the distinctions made by TAM markers in the affirmative forms, although with fewer distinctions.

7.4 General Observations: Combination of Subsystems

Considering all of the formatives of position 4, the finals, and the markers of negation in relation to each other, statements concerning the systemic properties of the Swahili verbal construction can be made. Among TAM formatives, morphological co-occurrence patterns with the negation marker *ha-* reveal different subsystems which present the Event more precisely with respect to the status of its actualization:

(i) For affirmative forms that do not co-occur with the negative marker *ha-*: the event is undergoing (*-na-*, *-ki-* and *-a*), has undergone (*-me-*, *-mesha-*), or underwent (*-li-*) actualization.

(ii) For formatives where an addition of the negative marker to the affirmative form is possible: the TAM marker indicates the future or hypothetical realizability of actualization.

(iii) For formatives of position 4 that occur with the negative only: the failure of the Event to occur is particularized for the given temporal representation. The following table of affirmative and negative formatives shows some of the common correspondences. The dashed lines indicate that the ‘correspondences’ are not absolute.

Table 7.1 Co-occurrence Patterns of Formatives of Position 4 in the Verbal

Construction with Negative Markers and Finals

Final	-i	-a				-e	
Polarity -	neg	neg	affirmative		aff R ¹	neg R ¹	aff. neg
Description	actualiz- ation						
Future		ha ta	-ta-		taka		
Vast Present			ki ²		na		
	ha Ø		na a		Ø	siØ	Ø siØ
		ha ja	mesha me				
Past		ha ku	li		li		
hypothetical counterfact.		ha- nge/ ngali	nge/ ngali				singe/ singali
consecutive			ka			ka	

Notes on Table 7.1:

1. 'R' refers to synthetic relative markers.
2. Forms with *-ki-* when occurring with the meaning 'if, when' can be negated by forms with *-sipo-*.

To state the findings in general terms: the status of the “reality” of events represented is expressed by and permeates morphological patterns of co-occurrence. Distinctions in the finals, as well as those in the tense/aspect/mood markers, express the status of the reality of the event represented in the verbal construction. While this study has analyzed in detail the different verbal categories, it has to be kept in mind that they function together. This sentiment is reflected in the following quote:

Perhaps the most striking property of tense, aspect, and mood is that all make reference to a point on the temporal dimension. Tense characterizes the location of an event with respect to a point in time (called the tense locus here). Aspect characterizes the dynamicity or closure of an event with respect to a point or interval in time (the event frame). The tense locus is usually fixed at the speech moment, while the event frame is obviously variable. This suggests that tense and aspect could be subsumed under a single category of tense-aspect which characterizes the relationship between an event and salient points on the temporal dimension. Mood characterizes the relationship between an event and alternative worlds that might exist at a point in time. The actual world that is opposed to alternative worlds is analogous to the temporal reference point that serves as tense locus or event frame, in the sense that it provides a standard from whose point of view the event can be evaluated. This suggests that mood is a semantic operation analogous to tense-aspect, although it differs in that it deals with events and worlds rather than with events and time.
(Chung & Timberlake 1985:256)

The concepts of reality and time are also reflected in the semantic distinctions expressed by the negative markers: *ha-* expresses negation and the failure of the Event to occur (within the given temporal representation), *-si-* expresses the negation of the concept of the lexeme, and *-to-* expresses the lack of occurrence of an Event.

7.5 Summary of Results

This study has dealt with the formatives expressing tense/aspect, mood and negation in the verbal construction of Standard Swahili, and their interrelationship. Using a systemic approach, the study dealt with the morphemes under discussion individually, but more importantly, the systematic relationship of formatives in each of the categories was considered, as well the interrelationship of the sets of formatives. As a result, conclusions available in the literature, where the different categories are often treated partially or separately, have been revised and expanded. Furthermore, a new analysis of the negative markers has been presented.

Those formatives of position four that express tense (*-li-* and *-ta-*) and aspect (*-na-/a-*, *-ki-* and *-me-*) have been distinguished from those that do not simply express notions of tense or aspect, but express mood (*-nge-* and *-ngali-*) or seriation (*-ka-*). Besides the meaning of the formatives and their position, co-occurrence restrictions of elements in compound forms, which have been compiled, and co-occurrence with finals have been taken into consideration. A mechanism that explains the many contextual interpretations of the morpheme *-ki-* has been proposed for the formative.

The approach has also resulted in a unified semantic analysis of the three finals which are in paradigmatic relationship in Swahili. In the literature, the final *-i* is often associated with 'negative'. In contrast, in this analysis the final *-i* is described as conveying a meaning which in conjunction with *ha-* expresses a denial of the actualization in its entirety of the event in question.

The negative markers of Swahili, *ha-*, *-si-* and *-to-*, have rarely been investigated. This study presents an analysis of the three negative markers, concentrating on *ha-* and *-si-*. It was shown that both negative markers express different types of negation. In Swahili, negation expressed by *ha-* negates the actualization of the event (where the duration of the event is specified by the tense/aspect marker), while negation with *-si-* expresses descriptive negation. Relating several subsystems to one another, it was also possible to explain the existing co-occurrence restrictions of the negative marker *ha-* with formatives of position four.

From a theoretical point of view, the model of chronogenesis has been applied to tense/aspect distinctions in Swahili. The application reveals similarities with and differences from its application to English as described in Chapter Two. Stage One of *chronogenesis* is represented by the formative *KU-*. For Stages Two and Three, the application of the model allows us to highlight the distinction between the Vast Present, not overtly marked for tense, at Stage Two, and the Past and the Future which are overtly marked for tense, at Stage Three. It also explains why in compound forms overt tense marking, when present, occurs on the auxiliary of the compound form: the form expressing the greater specificity, tense, is given on the first verb. This principle explains the combinatory possibility of Stage Two with Stage Two and the combinatory possibility of Stage Three with Stage Two, but the non-occurrence of Stage Two - Stage Three combinations in compound forms.

Thus, the analysis has furthered the application of the theoretical framework

considered and has contributed to the understanding of the Swahili verbal system.

7.6 Other Observations

The analysis has demonstrated that it is important to analyze formatives from a systemic point of view in order to be able to infer underlying systemic contrasts. In a language like Swahili, which has been described as an agglutinating language, the analysis has demonstrated that the distribution of co-occurrence among formatives can lead to patterns that reveal systemic contrasts. While to analyze individual formatives is important, it is also important to look at whole systems or large parts of systems since smaller units may reveal a subsystem, but possibly not the 'larger picture'. This may sometimes lead researchers to describe situations as special that, if a larger part of a system is known, may be explained more easily on the basis of systemic differences.

It has also been shown that for Swahili the position of a formative within the verbal construction is of significance and that especially the beginnings and ends of the verbal construction need to be given special attention⁸, since major categoric distinctions are made at these positions, for example negative versus affirmative and the different moods.

8

In acquiring language children pay attention to the 'beginnings and ends' of verbal constructions (see footnote 9). Significant information on the verbal construction may occur at the end. For example in Inuktitut, a polysynthetic language, a verb consists of the verbal base, a number of derivational affixes, and inflectional endings that express tense and number distinctions.

Thus, beginnings and ends of the verbal construction are important for analysis⁹.

The position of a formative within the verbal string is also significant. For example, besides tense/aspect marking, formatives that deal with the larger sentence providing morpho-syntactic information on pronominal agreement (subject and object) and information on relative marking in some cases, appear to occur to the left of the verbal root, while formatives that further specify or modify the root (which may also include syntactic information) are placed on the right of the verbal root. Paul K. Andersen (1991:40) quotes Bybee's (1985) hierarchical order of verbal morphological categories as: 'VERB-Valence-Voice-Aspect-Tense-Mood-number/person/gender Agreement'.

In Swahili the classifier agreement may be regarded as equivalent to gender agreement; classifier agreement and the five categories occurring to the left of 'gender agreement' occur in pre-verbal base marking, while the sixth and seventh category occur in post-verbal base marking before the final which includes mood.

7.7 Further Exploration

To provide consistency in argumentation the study has dealt specifically with Standard Swahili. Considering the larger context, the verbal construction in Standard Swahili appears to vary from some other Bantu languages in the expression of tense and

⁹

They are also important for first language acquisition. Clark (1993) reports that in children's acquisition of inflectional systems suffixes are easier to master than prefixes and prefixes are easier than infixes; this is relational to the typological pattern of the language the children are acquiring.

aspect. Swahili has only one position where aspectual and tense distinctions are made. The expression of a tense/aspect category close to the right boundary is common in Bantu. Swahili does not represent the 'norm'. In contrast, other Bantu languages and several other members of Sabaki include aspect markers at the right boundary of the verbal construction, for instance:

(12) Mwini: š-Ø-~~te~~š-e-é

1P-Ø-laugh-RETRO

'we have laughed'

(Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993:692)

Also, Swahili has only one formative to express 'past' and one to express 'future' in simple verbal constructions. In some other Bantu languages in compound forms both the auxiliary and the lexical verb can be marked with tense (see Botne 1989). As we have seen, in Swahili tense is only expressed once.

In contrast, distinctions in negation appear to be similar in number to many other Bantu languages (see Kamba Muzenga 1981). Whether Swahili is undergoing a typological change that is first evident in main clauses and whether the system of negation tends to be more conservative remains to be explored.

The topic of this study is very broad in scope: it deals with tense/aspect/mood formatives, mood distinctions in finals, and markers of negation. At the same time the analysis intentionally has had a narrow focus: it analyses the Swahili verb formations found

in main clauses, and some subordinate clauses. The objective has been to analyse formatives as sets and to bring together elements that are often dealt with partially or separately based on the hypothesis that formatives of the 'verbal' categories when analyzed coherently would reveal some of the systemic relationships that exist at a cognitive level between the different elements. These would, in turn, lead to the explanations and illumination of observations made in grammars and in the literature on verbal constructions in Swahili.

Many of the topics discussed in the study can be explored further. To give just a few examples, in terms of aspect, the aktionsart of the verbal root and the co-occurrence patterns between roots and extensions, and roots and tense/aspect markers need further investigation; forms of negation also need to be investigated further, as do the position of formatives in verbal strings of agglutinating or polysynthetic languages. This study has shown the relationship among the formatives of tense/aspect, mood and negation, and it is hoped that the study provides some impetus to explore Aktionsart and negation further.

The following chart (Figure 7.3) provides an overview of the formatives discussed in this study.

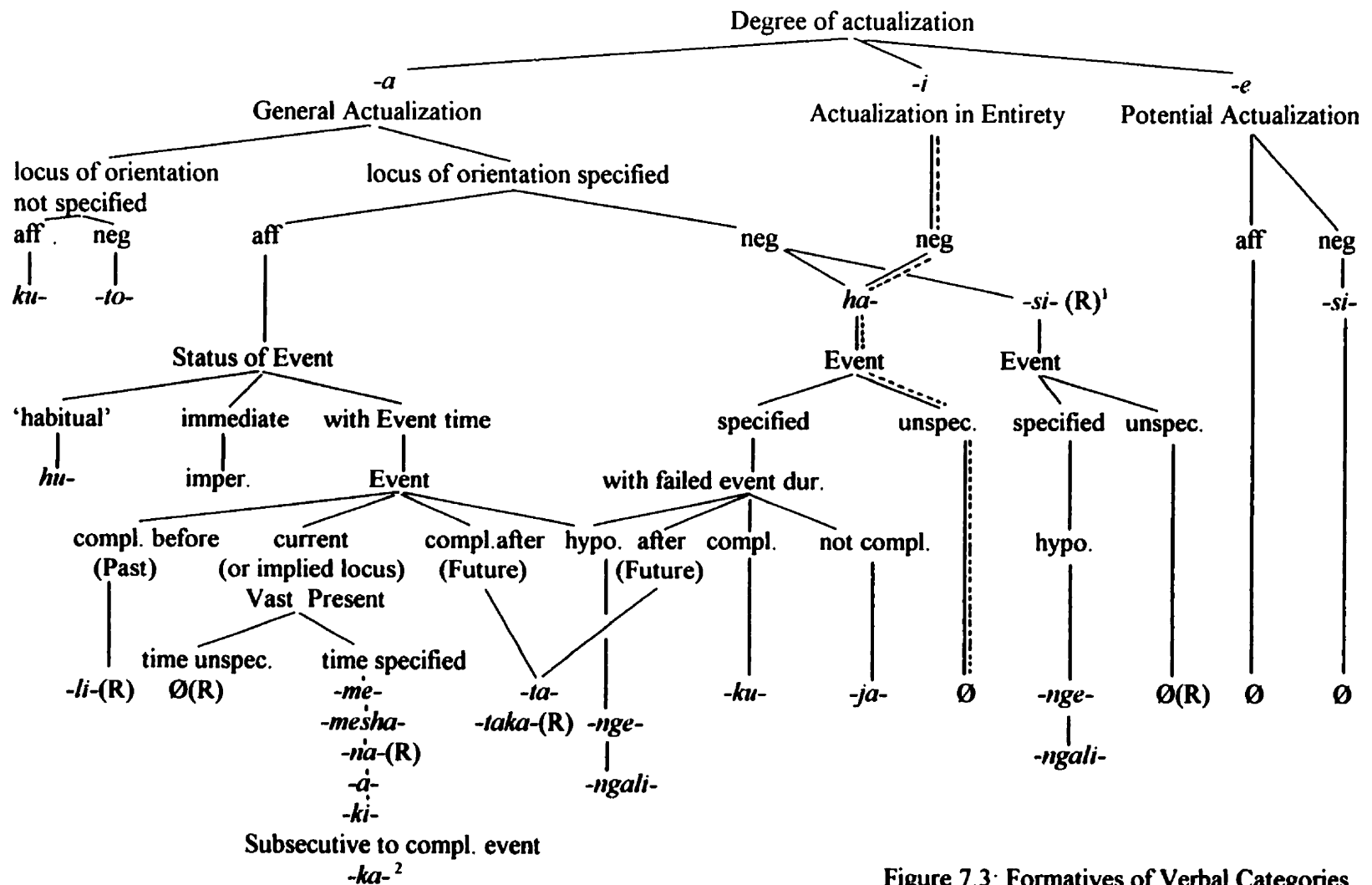


Figure 7.3: Formatives of Verbal Categories

Notes on Figure 7.3:

1. The markers that can occur in synthetic forms in relative clauses are included.
2. As was discussed in the text, in Chapter Three, *-ka-* ‘consecutive’ can occur with final *-a* and final *-e*.

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APPENDIX A

CO-OCCURRENCE PATTERNS OF FORMATIVES IN THE VERBAL CONSTRUCTION

Co-occurrence Patterns												
NEG ₁	SC	NEG ₂	TAM	NEG ₃	R	OC'	ST'	VB	E	F	PF	
						(OC)		VB		a/e ²		Imperative
								VB		a	ini> eni	Imperative with Plural Address
	ku					(OC)		VB	(E)	a		Verbal Noun or Infinitive
	ku			to ³		(OC)	(ku)	VB		a		Negative Form of the Verbal Noun
	hu					(OC)		VB		a		'habitual'
ha	SC					(OC)		VB		i		Negation of Actualization in Entirety
	SC		na		(R)	(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Focused Imperfective
	SC		a			(OC)		VB	(E)	a		Imperfective
	SC		ki			(OC)		VB	(E)	a		Potential
	SC		me			(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Retrospective
	SC		mesha			(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Completive

Co-occurrence Patterns (cont.)													
NEG ₁	SC	NEG ₂	TAM	NEG ₃	R	OC ¹	ST ¹	VB	E	F	PF		
	SC		li			(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Past	
(ha)	SC		ta			(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Future	
(ha)	SC	(si)	nge			(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Hypothetical/Conditional ⁴	
(ha)	SC	(si)	ngali			(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Hypothetical/Conditional	
ha	SC		ku			(OC)		VB	(E)	a		Past Negative	
ha	SC		ja			(OC)	(ku)	VB	(E)	a		Retrospective Negative 'not yet'	
	SC					(OC)		VB	(E)	e		Subjunctive	
	SC	si				(OC)		VB	(E)	e		Negative Subjunctive	
	SC		ka			(OC)		VB	(E)	a/e		Consecutive	

Notes: 1. The stem marker is deleted when the verb occurs with an object marker.

2. The imperative occurs with final *-e* if the object marker occurs.
3. The position of *-lo-* is described in the literature in several ways.
4. As discussed, there may be a meaning difference between the two morphemes which is not evident in this description.

APPENDIX B: COMPARISON OF TERMINOLOGY

- Authors				
Formatives	Ashton	Loogman	Polomé	Brauner & Herms ²
li	Past	The Past Tense (Umbo la -li-)	past	Past, corresponds to German Präteritum
ta	Future	The Future Tense (Umbo la -ta-)	future	Future
me	expressing completed action or state ¹	The Perfect (Umbo la -me-)	perfective/resultative	express action completed in the past or at moment of speech; a process whose result expresses actual state
na	definite time	The Progressive Present (Umbo la -na-)	'actual' present	Present, mostly 'actual present'
a	indefinite time	The Simple Present (Umbo la -a-)	'indefinite' present	'General Present'
ki	ki-tense (imperfect, continuous, incomplete)	The Participial	imperfective/continuous	introduces cond. sentence, expresses a continuing action concurrent to an action in the main clause

cont'd	Ashton	Loogman	Polomé	Brauner & Herms
hu	habitual or repetitive action	Hu-form	habitual	expresses regular or customary, repetitive action
nge	nge-tense (suppositional condition, possible realization)	Contrary-to-fact (present)	present conditional	Hypothetical (present)
ngali	ngali-tense (suppositional condition)	Contrary-to-fact (past)	past conditional	Hypothetical (past)
ka	ka-tense	The Historical form (Umbo la -ka-)	subsecutive	used in narratives; expresses a distant action or two or more sequential actions
nga	nga-tense (actual concession)	expressing 'be it this or that, even if'	'actual' concessive	used in concessive sentences
ja	not yet	Not-Yet form (Umbo la sija-)	negative, marker: 'not yet'	'not yet'
ku	Negative of Past time	The Negative Past	negative, marker: past	negative of 'Präteritum'
japo	japo-tense (supposition concession)	The Japo-Form, 'even if', (Umbo la -japo-)	'suppositional' concessive	used in concessive sentences

Notes:

1. Since Ashton uses at times the name of the formative and tense, descriptions are included in brackets.
2. The terminology of Brauner & Herms does not include labels, but instead names each formative which is then described in meaning and function. The most pertinent descriptions are here translated into English.

APPENDIX C:

LIST OF SELECTED TERMINOLOGY

Actualization: A term used here in a general sense describing that something may become real or may occur. It is not used in the technical sense as in diachronic linguistics where it is defined as ‘the gradual mapping out of the consequences of the reanalysis’ (Harris and Campbell (1995:77) who are quoting a definition by Timberlake (1977)).

Aktionsart(en): The lexical aspect of the verb in comparison to the grammatical aspect.

Ascending Time: A term in Guillaumian theory; a representation of time where events are represented from an exterior point of view, projected by imaginative mental activity; time that is represented as proceeding in the direction of the future (see also Descending Time). One of the two major divisions in Guillaumian tense/aspect analysis.

Chronogenesis: A term in Guillaumian theory; *chronogenesis* is a model of a stratified time image described in different stages which increase in specificity and complexity.

Completive: A term to describe an aspectual category; an event that is completely finished, here used for events that are completed before their projected end.

Compound Form: A term used here to describe forms in Swahili (and other Bantu languages) where an expression consists of two verb forms with the same pronominal subject agreement, the first verb functioning as an auxiliary and the other as a lexical verb.

Consecutive: A term that describes that two or more events are contingent on one other event which may have the same or a different subject agreement, and that the second (and other subsequent) event(s) express a distant event or a sequence of events.

Descending Time: A term in Guillaumian theory; a representation of time where events time is represented as moving toward the past. Events that are represented in Descending Time are events that are represented as being recorded in memory (see also Ascending Time). One of the two major divisions in Guillaumian tense/aspect analysis.

Event Time: The time contained in the representation of the event, between the pre-initial and the post-final moments.

Locus of orientation: A term to describe the speaker's reference to the time of speaking or to the contextually established time sphere.

Performative: An aspectual category that characterizes the complete event in Ascending Time.

Potential aspect: An aspectual category that is used here to describe the many contextual meanings of *-ki-*. It refers here to an aspectual category that within a time frame of imperfectivity describes the event represented by a form with the *-ki-* formative as concurrent to another event (in the main clause). Since the form with *-ki-* can be concurrent to a future event where the event expressed by the form with *-ki-* is not in any part completed, the term 'potential' has been used.

Retrospective: An aspectual category expressing an event from the point of view of its result phrase, from where it may be seen either as a complete event or an event having further consequences, but having an influence on the present. Similar to 'anterior' (Bybee et al. 1994). It is termed retrospective in contrast to prospective.

Universe Time: A term in Guillaumian theory; it describes the whole of the flow of time in which an event is embedded. It is the time, divided or un-divided, which contains the event.

Vast Present: A term that characterizes the flow of Universe Time without bound time zones, which runs from infinity to infinity. In this analysis it is part of the second level of *chronogenesis*.