

MODIFICATION IN SWAHILI

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Ali Ali Ali Ahmad SHAABAN

in

The Africa Department

School of Oriental and African Studies

University of London

1983



ProQuest Number: 10731468

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731468

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to investigate modification in Swahili from two main standpoints: syntax and semantics. Intonation, as a determining factor for some semantic denotations of some modifying units of structure, is not neglected.

In the first chapter there is a relatively detailed argumentation of the treatment and classification of some items, which have been treated differently in previous works on Swahili. The conclusion of the discussions of such items here is different from the suggestions and conclusions of earlier works. There is also a discussion of the number of grammatical classes that are required for the adequate description of the nominal group in Swahili, as well as an elaborate description of items which participate in modification within nominal group structure.

In the second chapter, items that participate in modification at the clause level are investigated. They are grouped into three classes according to their syntactic functions and semantic denotations. These classes are Adjunct, Conjunct and Disjunct. These items are differentiated from their homonyms, if they have any, on syntactic, semantic and intonational criteria.

In the third chapter, clauses that function as modifying elements to other units of structure are investigated as to their syntax, semantics and intonational features. They are labelled according to the semantic relationships they have with other units within

the sentence. Their main features as modifying units, and also their relationships to units they modify are investigated.

In chapter four, some items that participate in modification at different ranks are studied separately since they do not seem to fit well into the previous chapters. Their various syntactic, and semantic functions at both group and clause levels are studied.

The originality in this thesis lies in the fact that it is concerned with very interesting areas in the language which have not previously been studied. There exist some works which deal indirectly with modification but they are restricted to group level only and even at this level they do not cover the whole area. No work, as far as I know, deals with clauses or sentences as constituting or exemplifying modification in Swahili.

I would think that the value of this work lies in the light it sheds on this interesting area of the language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should especially like to acknowledge and express my deep gratitude and indebtedness to my supervisor Dr Joan Maw for her painstaking scrutiny and illuminating guidance, for her encouragement without which my first short essays would never have become a doctoral thesis, whose cheerful and understanding character made it a pleasure to work with and whose criticism is of great and immense value. Those criticisms are obviously seen in every paragraph throughout this thesis.

I wish also to thank Sheikh Yahya Ali Omar who acted as my main informant for sparing me a lot of his time and effort and whose contribution in providing some of the data for this thesis is most appreciated and can never be forgotten. My thanks are also due to all those people who received me with warm welcome and generosity in East Africa especially Ahmed S Nabhany of Mombasa, Hashim H Semkuya of Dar-es-Salaam, and Abdilatif Abdalla of the B.B.C. My thanks are also due to Mr F D D Winston for his valuable discussions of some parts of this work. No acknowledgements would be complete without thanking my wife Kadriya for her support and encouragement all the way throughout the writing of this thesis.

I should also like to thank my University (Al-Azhar University) for the financial support without which it would have been impossible to carry out such a research.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to Miss Janet Douglas for her painstaking work in typing this thesis.

Table of Contents

	<u>PAGE</u>
1. TITLE	1
2. ABSTRACT	2
3. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	4
4. TABLE OF CONTENTS	5
5. TABLE OF NOTATIONS	6
6. INTRODUCTION	8
7. CHAPTER 1	12
8. CHAPTER 2	73
9. CHAPTER 3	147
10. CHAPTER 4	207
11. APPENDICES	219
12. BIBLIOGRAPHY	227

TABLE OF NOTATIONS

AT THE GROUP LEVEL

In nominal groups.

h = head

d₁, d₂ = deictics

qn = numeral qualifier

qp = possessive qualifier

qd = demonstrative qualifier

qe = epithet qualifier

qv = verbal qualifier

q = rank-shifted qualifier

s.m. = sub-modifier

In adverbial groups

p = preposition

c = complement

In verbal groups

x = auxiliary

m = main verb

AT THE CLAUSE LEVEL

S = subject

P = predicator

R = referent

A = Adjunct

A_c = conjunct

A_d = disjunct

Table of Notations

GENERAL NOTATIONS

| = group boundaries

|| = clause boundaries

||| = sentence boundaries

[] = rank-shifted group

[[]] = rank-shifted clause

<< >> = interpolated clause

] = end of tone group

INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is concerned with modification in Swahili. Modification requires that at least two components be present viz. a head and a modifier. The structure of the head can be univariate - consisting of one or more units of the same rank, (i.e. words, groups or clauses) or multivariate - consisting of more than one unit of different ranks, (i.e. words, plus groups, groups plus clauses, or two clauses or more of different depths, i.e. $\alpha + \beta$, or $\beta + \gamma$. Similarly the modifier can also be realized by units which are univariate or multivariate.

In Swahili, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the structure of the head and that of the modifier nor between the structural status of the head and that of the modifier, i.e. univariate/multivariate.

Modification in Swahili normally cannot be realized by units of structure below the group level. However, one can recognise some sort of modification at the word level. But since words have been elaborately investigated in previous works on Swahili, this thesis is not concerned with units of structure below the group level. But in investigating the group structure, words are investigated, as components of the modificational structure not as constituting a structure on their own.

This thesis falls into four chapters. The first chapter deals with group structure. In Swahili one can find three classes of

group structure viz. nominal groups, verbal groups and adverbial groups. Of these, the nominal group is the unit which most obviously exemplifies a structure of modification, since, as a group, it normally consists of a head and either a pre-modifier, i.e. diectic, or a post-modifier. A nominal item on its own does not have a structure qua group. Verbal groups, whether simple or compound, do not exemplify modification except when they combine with another element of structure - generally an adjunct. When this happens, the verbal group together with the adjunct are recognised as exemplifying modification at the clause level. Adverbial groups, expound modification in nominal groups, clauses or sentences. Therefore this chapter deals only with nominal groups.

The second chapter deals with elements of structure that function as modifiers at the clause level - i.e. referent and adjunct. Adjunct is a term referring to a particular element whose special syntactic feature is that it does not have any overt relationship with other elements in clause structure. This is differentiated from other elements of structure which have the same syntactic feature but which differ from adjuncts in their syntactic and semantic functions,- i.e. conjuncts and disjuncts. The syntactic, semantic and intonational features of adjuncts, conjuncts and disjuncts are investigated in this chapter.

The third chapter is concerned with modification at the sentence

level. Structures that function as modifiers within the sentence can be realized by either words, groups or clauses. Their syntax, semantics and intonational features are investigated in this chapter.

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with Swahili as language, as opposed to general linguistic theory, I have not defined the linguistic terms which I used throughout this thesis since they are mostly taken from systemic grammar. However, this work is based on Maw's work 1969 in terms of the general framework and terminology. It is also based on Maw and Kelly 1975. I have adopted their terminology and method of describing the intonation of any unit of structure wherever it seemed necessary in this work.

Chapter 4, though very short, deals with very interesting items in Swahili. Since these items can function as sub-modifiers, and less frequently, modifiers in the nominal group, and can also function as modifiers in clauses, I have treated them separately. They did not fit into the previous chapters. I have investigated their syntactic and semantic functions at both group and clause levels.

The spoken data for this work were collected in East Africa (Kenya and Tanzania) in the summer of 1980. Three works constituted the main written data.

They are:-

Kisima cha Giningi by M S Abdalla

Siku ya watenzi wote by Shaqban Robert

Historia ya Kiswahili by S Chiraghdin

CHAPTER 1 - GROUPS

The nominal group in Swahili consists of three elements of structure fixed in sequence, viz. d (deidic), h (head) and q (qualifier). Of these, the head is the primary element with which other elements, i.e. d and/or q, are brought into agreement by means of pronominal prefixes or, in a very few cases, suffixes whose shapes are determined by the grammatical category of the element to which they are attached. These pronominal affixes may be realized in some cases by zero affixes.

At h

At h functions an open set of items. As implied by the group's name, i.e. nominal group, the items that normally function at h are nouns. In an elliptical nominal group the function of the head can be taken up by any item which normally functions at d or q. However, items other than these may occur functioning at h. Such items are capable of taking up this function by virtue of their referential effect. Nani "who?" and nini "what?" refer formally to nouns whereas walakini "reservations"(1) refers contextually to a noun. Pronouns, as noun substitutes, take up the function of h. Regardless of the grammatical category of the head, it can be realized by either a simple item such as mtu "man" or compound such as mwana-funzi "student".

Nouns in Swahili are described as constituting 18 classes based

(1) Walakini *literally* means "but" c.f. Maw 1969.

on morphological grounds since the assignment of a noun to a particular noun-class depends on the shape of the initial syllable of that noun.

At this stage one has to add that the syntactic behaviour of some nouns does not accord with the concordial agreements of their morphological classes except for singular/plural and, in some cases, possessive prefixes. Such nouns are better described in terms of their morphological and syntactic structures. So, a word such as kipofu "blind" can be said to belong to classes 7/8 morphologically and to classes 1/2 syntactically.

However, there are some items which are controversial as regards their treatment as nouns in Swahili. I shall discuss their status in some detail since they are, in my view, pertinent participants in the structure of modification in Swahili.

The following is a tentative list of those items:-

Ndani ya	inside	Nje ya	outside
Juu ya	on, upon	Chini ya	under
Mbele ya	in front of	Nyuma ya	behind
Kati ya	between	Katikati ya	among
Kabla ya	before	Badala ya	instead
Baina ya	between	Dhidi ya	against
Peke ya	alone	Bila ya	without
Baada ya	after	Karibu na	near
Mbali na	far	Pamoja na	together with

These items are classified in some previous descriptions of

4. Ngoma yako your drum
 h qp

qe (epithet qualifier) as in:-

5. Nyumba ndogo small house
 h qe
6. Ngoma kubwa big drum
 h qe

qn (numeral qualifier) as in:-

7. Nyumba nyingi many houses
 h qn
8. Ngoma mbili two drums
 h qn

q↓ (↓denotes rank-shift) as in:-

9. Nyumba ya mwalimu the teacher's house
 h [q↓]
10. Ngoma ya mtoto the boy's drum
 h [q↓]

qv (verbal qualifier) as in:-

11. Nyumba iliyoporomoka
 h qv
 the hosue that collapsed
12. Ngoma iliyovunjika
 h qv
 the drum that is torn.

or inflected for plurality through the concords they govern as
in:-(1)

13. Nyumba yangu my house
 Nyumba zangu my houses

(1) This criterion does not apply to collective nouns only such
as maji "water" for example.

14. Ngoma yangu my drum
 Ngoma zangu my drums

Moreover, at the clause level, they govern the concordial agreement of the predicator when they function at S in clause structure, e.g.

15. Nyumba yake ilivunjika
 S P
 his house is broken
16. Ngoma hii ilivunjika upesi
 S P A
 this drum broke quickly

None of the above listed items fits into these frameworks and therefore it seems very difficult for me to treat any of them as noun. The similarity in form between:

17. Ndani ya nyumba
 inside (in) the house
- and 18. Ngoma ya mtoto
 the child's drum

is partial and cannot be taken, in my view, as a sufficient evidence to treat the item ndani as a noun. The occurrence of the item ya after ndani is not necessarily an exponent of its nominal status, since it occurs in other positions without indicating that the item it follows is a noun as in:-

19. Aliniambia ya kuwa amekasirika sana -
 He told me that he got very angry

where ya does not mean that Aliniambia is a noun. (It is known that only proper nouns are rarely modified since they refer to a definite individual entity, therefore they cannot be taken as a counter evidence to undermine the above suggested framework.) It follows from this exposition that the above mentioned items do not entertain the syntactic characteristics that nouns entertain in Swahili at either the group level or clause level, and that their inability to demonstrate such syntactic behaviour vitiates treating them as nouns.

These items can be described, according to formal criteria, as constituting two groups:-

A - Those which may occur with or without ya e.g.:-

ndani	ndani ya	inside
Juu	Juu ya	on, upon

etc.

B. Those which may not occur without ya such as:-

badala ya	instead
baada ya	after

etc.

The first group, which have two possible formal occurrences, have three positional distributions:-

I. Initiating a group e.g.

Juu ya meza
on the table

II. Expounding an element A(djunct) in clause structure e.g.

Amekaa ndani

P A

he sat inside

III. Expounding an element c in group structure, i.e.

adverbial groups e.g.

Sehemu ya juu

h [q]

p c

The upper part

These two formal occurrences, i.e. of group A, are distinct both in form and syntax.

On the other hand, members of group B have only one possible occurrence in form and position since they never occur without ya and they always initiate a group.

I would like to treat, on syntactic grounds, those occurring with ya [whether belonging to group A or B] as compound prepositions. First, calling them compounds relies on their syntactic behaviour especially their inseparability since they cannot be separated by any item or under any circumstances in one group. Also, it relies on the boundness of ya in particular to any of these items when they occur initially in a group. Second, calling them prepositions relies on their syntactic analogy with other prepositions in the language such as katika "in", hata "until" and mpaka "to", since they do not tend to occur as final items at any level of structure, that is, they always require, and govern, a complement.

Moreover, any structure initiated by them tends to take up the normal function of the adverbial groups, i.e. adjuncts, in clause structure.

Nevertheless, assuming that these items are members of class 9 and that they govern the concordial agreement of the genitival - a leads us to a syntactic conflict if we consider an example like:-

20. Ndani ya nyumba kumepakwa rangi

the inner part of the house has been painted,
in which the concordial agreement between the item at S and that at P is ku which is a class 18 prefix not class 9. So the argument cannot be maintained unless a claim that ndani belongs to class 18 and class 9, as kipofu "blind" belongs to class 1 and class 7, should be made. Such a claim, in fact, has been made and advocated by Amidu 1980 as he claims that items such as ndani "inside", nje "outside", juu "on", chini "under" etc. have two denotations which he calls "entity - denotation and locative-denotation". This claim aims at justifying the occurrence of the prefix ku as a concordial agreement between the subject ndani and the predicator kumepakwa in 20, since ndani in this case, according to him, is a locative - denoting item belonging to the locative class, i.e. class 18. It also aims at justifying the occurrence of i as a subject prefix governed by the same item ndani in:

21. Ndani ya nyumba impekwa rangi.

The interior of the house has been painted.

In fact, my refutation to this claim depends on the fact that the prefix ku in kumepakwa is not governed solely by the item ndani but by the whole group ndani ya nyumba "inside the house" which denotes location. Any adverbial group denoting location behaves syntactically in the same way.

Compare:-

22. Katika shule yenu kuna mwalimu mkuu

In your school there is a headmaster.

23. Juu ya meza hiyo palikuwapo kipande cha segareti.

On that table there was a piece of cigarette.

24. Kutoka hapa mpaka stesheni kuna maduka kumi au zaidi.

From here to the station there are ten shops or more.

where nobody can claim that katika in 22 or kutoka and mpaka in 24 are nouns governing the subject prefix ku of kuna in both examples. But the fact is that the whole groups katika shule yenu "in your school", kutoka hapa "from here" and mpaka stesheni "to the station" govern the prefix ku by virtue of their locative denotation.

On the other hand, the occurrence of the morpheme -i- as a subject prefix in 21 does not provide strong syntactic evidence for treating ndani as its governing element since the context where such an -i- can occur gives some hints that this -i- is not the corresponding prefix of class 9. On the contrary, they show that this -i- is the impersonal or dummy subject prefix which has no definite identifiable referent.

It occurs only with passive and static verbs. It has been rejected by all my informants with active verbs such as:-

25. *Ndani ya nyumba imekaa watu.

inside the house there stay people
whereas.

26. Ndani ya nyumba wamekaa watu

was the only alternative to make 25 acceptable.

If ndani were truly a locative noun, as Amidu claims 1980, it should have taken ku-, mu-, or pa-, as concordial prefixes with the genitival -a as any locative noun such as nyumbani "in the house" or nguoni "in the cloths" does. But ndani kwa, ndani mwa or ndani pa do not occur at all and have been rejected by my informants.

Another point which should be treated here to maintain the argument is the analysis of utterances such as ndani yake "inside it" and juu yake "on it" for example. The items -angu "my", -ako "your", -ake "his", -etu "our", -enu "your" and -ao "their" which function, inter alia, as possessive pronouns are the output of a morphological process by which the personal pronouns change in form before prepositions. So, the underlying structure of utterances such as:-

27. Kitabu changu

book my (my book)

28. Jina lako

name your (your name)

could be said to be

27a Kitabu cha mimi

book of I

28a Jina la wewe

name of you

in which the personal pronouns mimi "I" and wewe "you" are realized as -angu "my" before the preposition cha and -ako "your" before the preposition la respectively. Although the aggregate of the prepositional item and the personal pronoun yields an item functioning at qp (possessive qualifier) in group structure as in 27 and 28, this is not always the case. The item kwangu "for me", which is the output of applying the same morphological process mentioned above to the preposition kwa "for" and the personal pronoun mimi "I", does not expound qp in 29:-

29. Mambo haya ni muhimu sana kwangu.

S P C A A

These matters are very important for me.

Where kwangu "for me" is comparable in form to changu and lako in 27 and 28 respectively, but it expounds an element A(djunct). None of these three, despite their disparate functions, can be analysed any further in terms of their immediate constituents. The same, in my view, holds for chini yake "under it" in 30:

30. Anamfuata chini yake.

P A
p c

he followed (him) behind him

Where chini yake "behind him" is analogous to kwangu "for me" in the sense that each is a prepositional structure functioning at A.

Neither does the other formal occurrence of these items, i.e. their occurrence without ya, fit in the above illustrated framework, nor does their occurrence as complements in adverbial groups give them any nominal status, since, contrary to what has been claimed by Amidu 1980 p.206, the complement of prepositions in Swahili is not necessarily a noun. Adverbs can occur in this position as noted by Maw 1969 pp.91-92 in:-

31. Kanzu la kisafisafi

h [q↓]

p c

a sparkling clean gown

32. Vyakula vya kishenzishenzi

h [q↓]

p c

low class poor quality food

where the adverbs kisafisafi and kishenzishenzi are the complements of the prepositional items la and vya respectively.

Not only can adverbs occur as prepositional complements but so also can other word-classes such as verbs in:-

33. Jukumu la kumwalia mtoto

h [q↓]

p [[c↓]]

the responsibility of observing the child

and demonstratives in:

34. kwa hiyo therefore

p c

Furthermore, the items under discussion exhibit a characteristic which makes us exclude them entirely from the word-class nouns. That is, they can be modified by an intensifier such as sana "very", kidogo "a bit" and others as in:

35. Aliyekuwa nyuma kidogo

who was a bit behind

36. Amesongea karibu sana

whereas no noun in the language can be modified by such modifiers.

What has been mentioned here about ndani, juu, karibu, nyuma etc. applies to all the above listed items.

It follows from this exposition that the above listed items are not nouns and that classifying them as entity-denoting or locative-denoting items is just an ad hoc solution to the problem orientated from the presupposition that these items are nouns since it lacks any syntactic support.

Whatever can be said about the diachronic development of some items in a language does not justify treating them in a synchronic study according to their diachronic features unless they still hold.

The head of the nominal group, as mentioned above, can be either simple or compound. Simple nouns have been elaborately studied in previous works on Swahili and I have only two points to add to these studies. First, to exclude the above-listed words from the word-class nouns. Second, to stress the immediate necessity of the syntactic classification of nouns, which has not been treated in previous works, in addition to the well established morphological classification.

Compound Nouns

On the other hand, compound nouns in Swahili often consist of two bases exhibiting different syntactic and semantic relationships holding between them. At least one of these two bases is a free word and the other is either a free or bound word. A formal distinction can be drawn between compounds and word groups since the former is characterised by having a unitary behaviour in the sense that its constituents are inseparable and each of them exhibits the status of a morpheme rather than a word. Intonationally, the first element loses its stress and so the compound often has only one stress on the penultimate syllable of its last constituent. Compounds are normally pluralized through the first element (if they are inflected for plurality) whereas the second element is incapable of change in form.(1) Another formal distinction is that the compound can only be modified as a whole whereas none of its constituents can be modified on its own. However, singularity

(1) This criterion has some exceptions.

of stress on a group of words does not necessarily mean that they constitute a compound since there are items in Swahili incapable of bearing the stress c.f. Maw and Kelly 1975. So, the intonational criterion does not hold for compounds including such items. Semantically, the compound frequently has a single semantic unit in the sense that the meaning of the compound differs from the meaning of each of its constituents as in:-

37. Mwanahewa

pilot

which consists of mwana "son" and hewa "air".

Compounds in Swahili can be classified, on structural grounds, into three main categories, viz:

A - Noun + Noun

B - Noun + Adj. or Adv.

C.- Noun + -a + Noun

with sub-categories subsumed under each category.

The semantic structure of the Swahili nominal compounds is the most difficult area to describe since the semantic relationships holding between the constituents are neither direct nor uniform.

It is clearly noticed that in some of these categories at least one of the constituents of the compound is used connotatively rather than denotatively (1) that is, just one feature of its

1) These terms are used here in the same sense as used by Lyons 1977, vol.1 pp. 175-6.

semantic content is meant rather than its lexical or general meaning.

A - The first category subsumes four sub-categories.

The first sub-category has the item mwana, which literally means "son", as a first constituent as in:-

- 38. Mwanachama
party member
- 39 Mwanachuoni
scholar
- 40 Mwanamimba
pregnant woman

Although the word mwana in isolation means son or daughter, this meaning is not meant in its compound usage but it conveys the connotation 'one belonging to' or 'characterised by'. This is quite clear in the above mentioned examples. That is, mwanamume and mwanamke do not mean son of male and son of female, but they mean one belonging to the male and female sexes respectively.

The underlying structure of this sub-category seems to be a genitive structure with mwana as its head, that is:-

- 41. - mwana wa kiume
- 42. - mwana wa chuoni

since this structure is used to express identical connotations for which no compound counterparts exist in the language such

as:-

- 43. - Mtoto wa kike
a female child
- 44. - Mtoto wa kiume
a male child

So the underlying structure of this sub-category is clearly exocentric, whereas the surface structure seems quite puzzling to the point that one finds it rather difficult to decide whether we are dealing with an endocentric or exocentric construction.

The second sub-category is formulated by compounding the item mwenye as a first constituent. The semantic connotation of this sub-category is 'possessing' or 'characterised by' something. So, in the examples:-

- 45. - Mwenyemali - wealthy person
- 46 - Mwenyeenzi - the almighty
- 47 - Mwenyemimba - pregnant woman
- 48 - Mwenyetumbo - a corpulent person

the connotation of possession is clear in the first example 45 whereas that of "characterised by" is clear in 46-48.

The items mwenye and mwana provide productive bases for creating a non-finite number of nominal compounds to express meanings which cannot be expressed by one word in the language such as those recently coined, e.g.

- 49. - Mwanahewa
pilot

50. - Mwenyekiti

Chairman

Members of these two sub-categories can be found written either as two words without a hyphen, two hyphenated words or as one word.

The third sub-category consists of two non-derived nouns in apposition. This sub-category can be further divided into three groups. The first group includes:

- 51. - Mbwa mwitu jackal
- 52. - Nguruwe mwitu wild pig
- 53. - Mbwa koko wild dog
- 54. - Pilipili manga Asian pepper

etc.

The surface syntactic structure and also the underlying structure are endocentric. The underlying structure, i.e. the possible paraphrase, reveals the semantic relationship holding between the constituents of the surface structure. Each of the above examples, 51-54, can be paraphrased only (1) by inserting the item kutoka "from" between their constituents. This shows that the final constituent denotes the 'original source' of the first constituent. Other examples are: mafuta ulaya "oil from

(1) They can also be paraphrased by inserting the genitival -a preceded by the proper prefix. But this paraphrase is, in turn, paraphrasable only by inserting kutoka between the constituents

Europe", uwala mwezi "moonshine" and kungu manga "Asian spices".

The second group demonstrates a semantic relationship of resemblance between its constituents. This group can be exemplified by:-

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 55. - Pepo punda | an evil spirit |
| 56. - Mtama tete | unripe grain |
| 57. - Mwaka jana | last year |
| 58. - Mwaka juzi | the year before last |
| 59. - Sukari mchanga | granulated sugar |
| 60. - Sukari guru | lump sugar |

The semantic relationship, i.e. resemblance, can be seen as an inherent characteristic, or as the shape, of the final constituent. Relationships based on inherent characteristics of one of the constituents, normally the second, is exemplified by the examples 55-58 in which punda "donkey" connotes stupidity, tete "hard" connotes unripeness, jana "yesterday" connotes a recently elapsed stretch of time and juzi "the day before yesterday" connotes a remote elapsed stretch of time. On the other hand, relationships based on the shape of one of the constituents is exemplified by 59-60 in which mchanga "sand" connotes single small units and guru "lump" connotes one piece.

The last group of this sub-category can be exemplified by:-

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 61. - Mtama mtindi | half-ripe millet |
| 62. - Papa upanga | sword fish |
| 63. - Punda milia | zebra |

64 - Kaskazi matope rainy summer

in which a connotation of the second constituents is a distinguishing or an inherent characteristic of the first.

Both the underlying and the surface structures of this group and of the third group are exocentric. However, there exist some examples of the same syntactic structure of this sub-category, i.e. two non-derived nouns in apposition, but which do not fit in any of the groups. Mwezi mwandamo is one of them. It seems that the surface structure is a realization of the reversed word-order of their underlying structure, that is, mwandamo wa mwezi "beginning of month". This is the only example I have found in which the surface structure is the reversed word order of the underlying structure. Another couple of examples. viz.

65. - Askari kanzu detective

66. - Islamu kanzu a muslim by dress alone
exhibit contradictory semantic denotations of the item kanzu "caftan" ; in the example 65 it means "lack of uniform", whereas in 66 it means "by means of uniform".

The last sub-category constitutes the most common compounds in Swahili. Their surface structure consists of a bound derived item (derived by adding a pronominal prefix to a transitive verb in the indicative mood) plus a non-derived noun or an infinitive. The pronominal prefixes involved in creating such compounds are restricted, as far as I could find, to classes

1-2 and classes 7-8.

The surface structure seems to be a contracted relative structure. The second constituent of this sub-category is the syntactic complement of the verbal base of the first constituent.

The semantic relationships holding between the constituents can be determined by the pronominal prefix of the first constituent. With the pronominal prefix m, i.e. of class 1, two sub-senses can be elicited from the compound. That is, experiential as in:-

- | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|------------|-------------------|
| 67 | - | Mtunza hazina | treasurer | (keeper-treasury) |
| 68 | - | Mshona viatu | shoe maker | (sewer-shoes) |
| 69 | - | Mfanya biashara | trader | (doer-trade) |
| 70 | - | Mla riba | usurer | (eater-usury) |

or resultative as in:-

- | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 71 | - | Mtema nakshi | engraver | (cutter-decoration) |
| 72 | - | Mtema ulimi | tenon-cutter | (cutter-tenon). |

since the second constituent in 71-72 is the result of the action expressed in the first in the sense that nakshi "decoration" does not undergo the process of cutting but results from it, whereas in 67-70 the second constituents are what has been experienced by the meaning of the first, i.e. tunza "to guard" and hazina "treasury" for example.

On the other hand, when the pronominal prefix is ki, i.e. of class 7-8 singular, in the verbal base the relationship holding between the constituents can be understood as an 'instrumental'

as in:-

73	-	kifunga mlango	bride-wealth
74	-	kiinua mgongo	prize - tip
75	-	kifungua kopo	tin-opener
76	-	kifungua mimba	first-born

the elaborate meaning of the first constituents is something that closes in 73, something that raises in 74 and something that opens in 75 and 76.

Logically, the bride-wealth, or a part of it, is a good instrument for closing the door before another suitor, a prize is a good reason for raising one's back and so on.

The structure of this sub-category is very productive and that is why it is very much used to create new items that did not previously exist in the language such as:-

77	-	Mfanya ilani	advertiser (doer - advertisement)
78	-	Mfanya diaya	campaigner (doer - propaganda)

It is noticed that, in some cases, some members of this sub-category demonstrate an interesting semantic feature where the second constituent dominates the first one to the point of making its lexical meaning disappear completely so that it does not contribute to the total meaning of the compound. It only contributes morphologically in determining the morphological form of the compound. The first constituent, in

this case, is derived from one of two verbs which function as dummy verbs in such a case, that is, piga and fanya. So the meaning of piga, i.e. hit or strike, does not contribute to the total meaning of the compounds:-

79	-	Mpiga mbizi	diver
80	-	Mpiga chapa	printer
81	-	Mpiga ramli	fortune-teller
82.	-	Mfanya kazi	employee, worker

They seem only to provide a morphological base meaning the doer of an action.

There remains a minor group of compounds belonging to this category by virtue of their structure. They include titles as first constituent as in:-

83.	-	Bwana arusi	bridegroom
84.	-	Bibi arusi	bride
85.	-	Bwana mganga	doctor
86.	-	Mzee ndovu	old elephant

in which the first constituent takes up the function of a pre-modifier in an endocentric construction holding a semantic relationship of 'quality' of the second constituent.

The second category has the formal structure:

N + Adj. or Adv.

When the second constituent is an adjective the first is often a non-derived noun governing the pronominal prefix of that

adjective e.g:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|------------|
| 87. - | Mwalimu mkuu | headmaster |
| 88. - | Mjimkuu | capital |
| 89. - | Sikukuu | feast |
| 90. - | Mtu mbali | stranger |

On the other hand, when the second constituent is an adverb, the first constituent is often realized by a derived noun. I am not sure whether the pronominal prefix of the first constituent is restricted to classes 1-2 or not but the data that I could get from my informants do not show any other prefixes e.g:

- | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------------|
| 91 - | Mwenda pekee | solitary man |
| 92 - | Mwenda nguu | despairing person |
| 93 - | Mwenda kombo | corrupt person |

Although the examples 87-90 have the syntactic structure h q this does not mean that they do not differ from normal nominal groups of the same structure since those examples entertain a unitary intonational behaviour, that is, the first constituent cannot be stressed. If the first constituent is stressed the whole structure is understood differently. For example
mwalimu mkuu

- | | | |
|------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| 94 - | Mwalímu mkúu | |
| | | means a teacher of high quality |
| 95 - | Íji mkúu | |
| | | means a big city |

96 - Mtu mbali

means a far man, etc.

Another difference, which results from the intonational difference, is that they express a single semantic unit in their compound usage whereas they do not do so when each constituent is stressed.

The final category is a minor and controversial one. It consists of two nouns connected by the genitival -a. In this category one has to rely upon semantic and, to an extent, formal criteria to make a compound out of a syntactic phrase. Intonational criteria can be utilized as a distinguishing feature. Structural criteria such as uninterruptability and the impossibility of extending the final item of a compound provide good grounds by which one can distinguish between compounding and non-compounding usage but not between compounds and non-compounds per se, since most compounds belonging to this category have non-compounding usage and the difference, in this case, can only be made out by semantic criteria. For instance:

97. - Kifundo cha mguu

has two meanings. The first is ankle. The second is a sore in the leg. The structure of this example is compound when denoting the first meaning since it can neither be interrupted nor can the final item be extended. But when denoting the second meaning it can be interrupted as in:-

98. - Kifundo chako cha mguu (your sore in leg).

and its final constituent can be extended as in:-.

99. - Kifundo cha mguu wako the sore in your leg.

This means that the distinguishing criterion is semantic accompanied by structural features. In other words, one can generalize the point by saying that when the general meaning of such a structure is different from the meaning of each constituent in isolation it can be taken as a compound. This applies to:-

- 100.- Jamii ya watu
society (all the people)
- 101.- Matokeo ya hari
pores (orifices of perspiration)
- 102.- Fundo la moyo
resentment (knot of heart)
- 103.- Fundo la utepe
badge, rosette (knot of ribbon)
- etc.

Another sort of compound that belongs to this category can be exemplified by similar structures containing bound words in the sense that they do not appear in other contexts such as vunga
in:-

104.- Vunga la nywele
a hair plait

and ndere in:-

105.- Unga wa ndere
a love charm

I have found two examples , one of the pattern N + V, the other of the pattern V + N. But since I could not find any other examples of the same patterns I do not count their patterns as significant in understanding the ways the language user creates new lexical items. These examples are:-

106. - Tetewanga or Tetekuwanga

107. - Pimamaji.

106 means ulcer and consists of tete as a first constituent; it means a grain and connotes something hard, and wanga or kuwanga as a second constituent; it means to hurt. 107 means water-level derived from pima to measure and maji water.

At d (diectic)

An adequate description of the nominal group in Swahili requires that at least two classes of diectics be set up. There exist some items in the language which occur mainly in the nominal group conveying the primary function of diectics. That is, they serve as determining items either in terms of the identity of their referents or in terms of their quantities. Some of them convey, in a pre-head position, the function of definite articles, whereas in post-head positions they indicate proximity. In other words, they have fixed positional occurrence determined by the function they convey. I group them, following Maw 1969, into two classes according to the semantic function they serve to their head in nominal group structure. Those which serve as definite articles are labelled d_1 ,

whereas those indicating quantity are labelled d_2 .

At d_1 , functions a closed set of lexical items which are always in agreement with their head by means of prefixes or suffixes comparable to the noun-class of the head. The stems of these items can be mapped as:

-le h- and h-0

where the dashes stand for the affixes required by the noun-class of the head. They, as mentioned above, can precede or follow the head noun. So, with kitabu "book" as head we can get:

108.-	Kile kitabu)	
)	
109.-	Hiki kitabu)	the book
)	
110.-	Hicho kitabu)	

and also:

111.-	kitabu kile)	
)	
112.-	kitabu hiki)	that book
)	
113.-	kitabu hicho)	

When these items occur in pre-head position they serve as definite articles, whereas when they occur in post-head position their function as defining items combines with indicating proximity with regard to their head.

Since these lexical items have different syntactic functions and accordingly different semantic contents they are called d_1 (referring to their determining function, which is a basic

function of deixis) when they occur in pre-head position and qd (demonstrative qualifier) referring to their indication of proximity when they occur in post-head position.

It should be noted that their qualifying function is clearly demonstrated by the relatively high degree of definiteness they impute to their head (deictics differ semantically in the sense that the degree of definiteness imputed by members of one class to the head can be lower or higher than that imputed by members of another class). This does not mean that dq items are excluded from the deictic function in Swahili, but since Swahili is a post-modifying language I prefer calling them qd referring to their qualifying function in the nominal group in post-head position and calling them d_1 (^edeictics) in pre-head position referring to the non-qualifying function.

It follows that proximity in Swahili is a grammatical function rather than a lexical one since these items, i.e. -he, h-, and h-o, indicate proximity by virtue of their positional occurrence in the group rather than by virtue of their lexical meaning. This can be made clear by quoting an example such as:-

114. - Hiyo nyumba uifuatayo hiyo pale

The house you are looking for (is) that (one)
there

in which the semantic function of the first element hiyo differs from that of the second since the first serves just as

a defining element whereas the second indicates proximity of the head.

The choice of one of these items depends on the type of reference the speaker makes. If the reference is exophoric (situational) or, in other words, known to both participants of the speech act, the form to be used is h-, since it implies familiarity of referent to both participants. On the other hand, if the reference is endophoric (textual) either the form -le or h-o would be used since either implies that the referent is not known to one of the participants, normally the hearer.

However, there are some restrictions on the collocation of d_1 items with time-denoting items such as jana "yesterday", kesho "tomorrow", asubuhi "morning", etc. The form -le collocates with past-denoting items only such as jana "yesterday" and juzi "the day before the last" for example. The h- form collocates with either present or past-denoting items such as leo "today" and jana "yesterday" respectively. The h-o form collocates with either past or future-denoting items such as jana "yesterday" and kesho "tomorrow" respectively. This means that past-denoting items collocate with any of the three forms expressing varying degrees of nearness or remoteness, present-denoting items collocate only with h- form and future-denoting items collocate only with h-o form.

At d_2 functions a closed set of items denoting quantity, i.e. quantifiers. They can be classified, on formal grounds, into

two groups.

The first group comprises two items viz. kila "every" and kina "folk".

At this stage, I think, it seems necessary to correct the mistaken view that has been advocated by Amidu 1980 pp.51-56. He argues in a long unconvincing discussion against treating the above-mentioned couple of items, as well as those labeled d_1 as deictics in Swahili. He argues, "Now consider 47,48 (47 - kila mtu "every man" 48 - kina dada "the sister folk")(1) there is nothing in the relation between kila and kina and the nouns mtu and dada respectively to suggest that they are deictics and not prepositions for example. A formal description of these examples reveals that kila and kina have no concordial relationship with the nouns which follow them.. They are not qualifying items of Swahili antecedent usage. So how are they deictics?"

It is clear from this quotation that he is arguing against kila and kina as deictics because they have no formal agreement with their heads and because they are not treated as such in Swahili antecedent usage. It seems that he also implicitly argues for treating them as prepositions or including them with tangu "since" under one label since he carries on "compare 47 ,48 to

(1) The examples between brackets with their numbers are Amidu's but occurred in his text prior to this quotation.

50 - tangu jana,

since yesterday.

There is no relationship in terms of concord between tangu and jana. Then he asks a very unexpected question "Why one may ask, should kila and kina which have the same formal relationship with nouns be called diectics and not prepositional items like 'tangu'".

In fact Amidu missed a very crucial functional difference between kila and kina on the one hand and tangu on the other. Kila and kina serve merely in nominal groups as determining items denoting quantity. They do not govern the nouns they precede as tangu does. On the other hand, tangu, exhibiting a distinguishing feature of prepositions, governs the nouns it precedes and suspends any possible syntactic function that can be taken up by the same nouns if tangu does not precede them, that is, heads in nominal groups and, in turn, subjects, objects or referents in clause structure. So, the clause:

115 - Mwaka huu utamletea furaha nyingi

this year will bring him a lot of joys.

does not accept the addition of tangu before mwaka "year", i.e. with maintaining its syntactic and semantic structures. So, the utterance:

115*- Tangu mwaka huu utamletea furaha nyingi

is impossible since the addition of tangu suspends the function

taken up by mwaka as the subject of the clause. Such a structure, i.e. tangu mwaka, requires treating mwaka as the complement of tangu and amending the structure of the clause, to maintain its well-formed syntactic structure, by adding another item to take up the function of the subject instead of mwaka. So, the clause can be realized as:

116.- Tangu mwaka huu tutamletea furaha nyingi
since (from) this year we will bring him a lot of
joys.

For example.

On the other hand, the addition of kila "every" at the beginning of the same clause 114 does not cancel the function taken up by mwaka as tangu did, but merely adds some sort of definition to it, i.e. mwaka, as in:-

117. - kila mwaka utamletea furaha nyingi
every year will bring him a lot of joys.

where mwaka keeps its syntactic function as the subject of the clause.

Classifying items such as kila and kina as deictics and items as such tangu as prepositions does not solely depend on the existence or non-existence of formal relationship in terms of concordial agreements between them and the nouns they precede as Amidu suggests but on the syntactic relationship between them and the nouns on the one hand and other elements in the utterance

the other. Amidu, I think, came to this mistaken view because he, it seems from his work 1980, confined himself, in discussing such items, to only six words, viz. kila mtu "every man", kina dada "the sister folks" and tangu jana "since yesterday" without going any further or deeper in investigating the syntactic behaviour of the items he discusses. Having regard to their syntactic behaviour, it follows that kila and kina are deictics in the proper linguistics sense of the term.

The second group of items functioning at d_2 comprises non-specific quantifiers such as baadhi "some", idadi "a number", halaiki "a good number" etc. None of these items are transposable in the nominal group, that is, they frequently occupy the initial position in the group. But the interesting point with regard to them is that they do not behave syntactically either as nouns introducing nominal groups such as mwalimu "teacher" in:-

118. - Mwalimu wa darasa
the class teacher

or as prepositions introducing adverbial groups such as ndani ya "inside" in:-

119. - Ndana ya chumba
inside the room

That is, mwalimu "teacher" is the primary item in 118 since it governs the concordial agreement of the genitival -a and the

concordial agreement of the predicator when 118 functions at S (subject) in clause structure as in:-

120. - Mwalimu wa darasa atachukua jukumu la

S P C

kumwangukia mtoto tabia yake

R

The teacher of the class will take the responsibility of observing the child as to his disposition.

Now, if we drop the rank-shifted qualifier, i.e. wa darasa, from the element S in 120, the clause keeps its syntactic structure well-formed, whereas if we drop mwalimu with the genitival element wa the structure of the clause will not be acceptable. The same applies to 119 where neither chumba nor ndani ya can govern the concordial agreement of the predicator in clause structure when 119 functions at S as in:-

121. - Ndani ya chumba palikuwepo kisanduku

S P C

kilichojaa vumbi.

inside the room, there was a dusty little box.

On the other hand, members of this group, such as baadhi ya "some" and halaiki ya "a good number" for example, cannot take up the function of S and govern the subject prefix of the predicator in clause structure and do not affect the clause structure if they are dropped as in:-

122. - Baadhi ya watu walikuwa wanapita

S P

barabara ya Bagamoyo

C

some people were crossing Bagamoyo St.

where the items baadhi ya "some" does not govern the prefixes wa in the compound predicator walikuwa wanapita "were crossing" nor would dropping them affect the clause structure since we can get:-

123. - Watu walikuwa wanapita barabara ya Bag.

S P C

(the) people were crossing Bagamoyo St.

which is a syntactically well-formed Swahili utterance.

This exposition shows that the items watu, or any other item occurring in its position, is the primary item in such groups, i.e. the head of groups initiated by such items as baadhi ya, and that the items baadhi ya, halaiki ya etc. are dependent items merely serving a determining function in the group. I would like to treat them, based on their syntactic behaviour, as compound deictics in the nominal group, e.g.

124. - Baadhi ya watu

 d₂ h
d d

Some (of the) people.

Again one can sub-classify the members of this group into two sub-groups; a distinction based on different syntactic behaviour demonstrated by either sub-group.

The first sub-group includes partitives such as baadhi ya "some" and idadi ya "a number of" etc. These cannot be negated themselves, that is, they cannot be preceded by a negative particle. They can only be negated by negating the predicator of the clause in which they may occur functioning either at S as in:-

125. - Baadhi ya watu watakuja

S P

some people will come

or at C as in:-

126. - Nimeona baadhi ya wanafunzi, leo

P C A

I saw some (of the) students today.

So, negating the partitive baadhi ya in either 125 or 126 can be achieved by negating the element P as in:-

125a - Baadhi ya watu hawatakuja

S P

some (of the) people will not come.

126a - Sikuona baadhi ya wanafunzi leo

P C A

I have not seen some students today

whereas negating them per se does not happen in Swahili

* Si baadhi ya watu watakuja

* Nimeona si baadhi ya wanafunzi leo

In other words, partitive quantifiers cannot be negated per se except in elliptical one-word utterances in such a conversation

as:-

127. - A: Baadhi ya wakulima watapanda mahindi mwaka huu.

B: Si baadhi. Wote watapanda.

A: Some (of the) farmers will cultivate maize this year.

B: Not some. All will do so.

The other sub-group comprises allative quantifiers such as jamii ya "all" and jumla ya "all" for example. These can be negated themselves when they initiate groups functioning at S in clause structure, and, in contrast with partitives, they cannot be negated by negating the predicator of the clause. On the other hand, when they initiate groups functioning at C in clause structure they can only be negated by negating the predicator. So, we can find that jamii ya in:-

128.- Jammii ya vitabu vinapatikana

S P

all (the) books are available.

can be negated by adding the negative particle si before it.

128a.- Si jammii ya vitabu vinapatikana

not all (the books) are available.

and that the same element jamii ya in:-

129. - Tulipata jammii ya vitabu

P C

we have got all the books

can be negated only by negating the predicator as in:-

129a - Hatukupata jamii ya vitabu

P C

we have not got all the book

At qp (possessive qualifier)

At qp functions a closed set of items frequently referred to as "possessives". They are always related to their head by means of pronominal prefixes determined by the noun-class of their head. In elliptical nominal groups they can take up the function of the head.

These items are:

-angu	my	-etu	our
-ake	his,her,its	-ao	their
-ako	your(sing.)	-enu	your (pl.)

and they can function attributively as well as predicatively. However, possession is not the only semantic function they convey since they can convey some other relationships of affinity as in:

130. - Katika shule yenu kuna mwalimu mkuu

There is a headmaster in your school.

where the relationship expressed by the item yenu "your" is not strictly that of possession, i.e. ownership. But since possession can only and primarily be expressed by these items they are called possessives even when they do not denote actual possession as in 130. Therefore, I do not find it helpful to look for another term for these items, i.e. more precise in

showing the different semantic functions that can be conveyed by these items, since adopting such a course will complicate the description of the language and will not, in my view, serve a major purpose.

The occurrence of a possessive qualifier is obligatory as an element in nominal groups expounding an element R (Referent) in clause structure, that is to say that deleting possessives in such an element yields an ungrammatical and a semantically ill-formed utterance, e.g:

131. - kumwangalia mwanafunzi tabia yake

P	C	R
	h	qp

to observe the student as to his disposition

whereas:

131a - kumwangalia mwanafunzi tabia

is ungrammatical (according to my informant).

However, in some other structures the occurrence of a possessive qualifier is, contrary to the case in the previous paragraph, ungrammatical, mainly in structures that traditionally referred to as "inalienable possession" (1) For example the utterance:-

132.- Ilimkausha damu

it terrified him (lit.it froze his blood).

(1) Some more work need be done on this structure.

does not accept the addition of a possessive qualifier at its end.

So,

132a.- Ilimkausha damu yake
is ungrammatical.

Nevertheless, the occurrence of a possessive qualifier, is optional, though not common, if the structure is that traditionally referred to as "alienable possession (1) as in:-

133.- Amenishika koti (langu)
he caught me as to (my) coat

134.- Aliniibia viatu (vyangu)
he stole me as to (my) shoes.

In elliptical nominal groups possessive qualifiers are cohesive and anaphoric since they necessarily have referents governing their pronominal prefixes; i.e. the possessives.

These pronominal prefixes, I think, are the syntactic support which empowers the possessive qualifiers to take up the function of the head of the group, e.g.

135.- Sikubaliani na maoni yake, vilevile siwezi kusema
kuwa yako ni sawa
I do not agree with his opinions, also I cannot
say that yours are right

(1) Some more work needs to be done on this structure.

This suggestion can be supported syntactically if we compare possessive qualifiers with other dependent elements in nominal group which do not have formal agreements with their heads and are not capable of taking up the function of the head in elliptical groups mainly, adjectives such as ghali "expensive", rahisi "cheap", sawa "right" etc. These will be discussed later on with qe (epithet qualifiers).

qe

At qe (epithet qualifiers) functions an open set of items which we shall call adjectives just for easy reference. Adjectives in Swahili fall into two main formal categories:

- I. Bound adjectives being characterised by having concordial agreements determined by the noun-class of their head.

- II. Free adjectives being characterised by the absence of any formal agreement between them and their head.

This categorisation, which is plainly formal, seems to have some sort of correlation with the traditional dichotomy attributive/predicative adjectives and with temporal/permanent modification of the head.

All bound adjectives are capable of functioning as attributive as well as predicative modifiers, although classifying them as predicatives implies that they are functioning as elements in a clause and accordingly their function as such is not necessarily

realized in group structure.

However, there are cases in which the predicator can be omitted without affecting the meaning, but the structure varies, in terms of syntactic analysis, according to the existence or non-existence of some para-linguistic features mainly intonation. In fact, it seems difficult to analyse a written text containing such structures, but in some cases the word order and the grammatical items involved help in clearing up most possible ambiguities. That is, in utterances where the adjective is separated from the head by a possessive or demonstrative qualifier the utterance is frequently elliptical and the adjective normally conveys a predicative function. For example the utterance:

136.- Kitabu chako kipya

your book (is) new

is elliptical and the item kipya "new" qualifies kitabu "book" predicatively. That is, it should be, in my view, analysed as expounding an element C in clause structure, not an element qe in group structure in order that we may not have a conflict between syntax and semantics in this area of language. Intonation, as mentioned above, plays a major role in clearing up such a conflict since kipya "new" as a predicative adjective in 136 has a falling tone on its final syllable. If, however, it has a high level tone it conveys an attributive function and the whole utterance is deemed syntactically to be a nominal group.

But in fact such a case as 136 is not so common in the language. However, the adjective should be analysed, in my view, as expounding an element C in clause structure if its referent is realized by either:-

A. - Proper name as in:-

137.- Bwana Msa hodari sana

S C A

Mr Msa (is) very clever

B. - Pronoun as in:-

138.- Mimi mzima

S C

I (am) fine

C. - If the adjective itself has been modified by a structure of comparison as in 139:

139.- Maendeleo yao kule mikoani mazuri

S A C

_zaidi kuliko ya hawa mjini

the progress of those in provinces (is)

better than those in cities.

as long as the referent expounds an element S(ubject) in clause structure. On the other hand, if the modified item expounds an element C in clause structure the adjective normally functions differently, expounds an element h in group structure, e.g:

140. - Idadi ya walimu wa kike ni wengi sana

S P C
h ge

kuliko wanaume

A

the number of female teachers is much higher than that of male teachers.

Bound adjectives are capable of taking up the function of the head in elliptical nominal groups since they are always syntactically strengthened by the pronominal prefixes which they always have (in a context) and which, in turn, helps determine the affixes that will go with other elements in the group since these affixes make the identity of the deleted head specific.

Free adjectives, on the other hand, are hardly capable of qualifying a noun expounding an element S in clause structure attributively. However, if the nominal group in which they participate expounds an element C in clause structure they can function attributively. So, for example, the utterances:-

141.- * Maji baridi yanidhuru
cold water hurt me

142. - * Vinywaji moto ni vizuri kwangu
hot drinks are good for me

are deemed unacceptable by my informants who suggested the insertion of a verbal or copulative item between the first two constituents of either examples, that is, yakiwa and vilivyo, for example, respectively.

However, there are some adjectives which normally do not

function attributively in group structures such as sahihi "correct", sawa "right", kimya "quiet" etc. This peculiar behaviour is not because they are loan words or that they express, or have the feature, state or condition as Ashton calls them (1) since there are other items which are Bantu in origin and behave in the same way such as macho in:-

143.- Bwana Msa aliwakuta askari wote macho

Mr Msa found all the soldiers awake.

as well as tele "a lot of" and kimya "quiet".

On the other hand, there are items which denote state or condition but which do not behave in the same way such as -tamu "sweet" and hafifu "light" or "trifling" for example.

Free adjectives do not normally demonstrate the capability of taking up the function of the head in elliptical nominal groups, and this, I think, is due to their lack of referring to a specific referent, contrary to bound adjectives which have identifiable referents belonging to the noun-class of their pronominal prefixes. There are some boundary cases where items have acquired a nominal status by virtue of their semantic component, and these can take up the function of the head such as tajiri "rich", maskini "poor".

qd

Demonstrative qualifiers are homonymous to items functioning at

(1) Ashton EO.1944 p.92.

d₁. That is, they can be mapped as:-

-le, h-, h-o

They are always related to their head by means of pronominal affixes determined by the noun-class of their head. They, besides imputing some definiteness to their head, denote different degrees of proximity, that is, nearness, denoted by the h- form, farness, denoted by the -le form, and intermediate distance or reference denoted by the h-o form. It should be noted that those different degrees of proximity could be either exophoric (situational) or endophoric (contextual) (see d₁). However, these items function at either d₁ or qd as long as they are single in form, i.e. not reduplicated. When they occur reduplicated such as:

yale yale

they normally function at qe in group structure meaning the same. In this form, they do not denote any degree of proximity which is a distinctive semantic component of qd items.

qn

Items that function at qn (numerative qualifiers) in Swahili can be divided into two categories:- (I will refer to them as quantifiers).

First: Specific quantifiers.

These comprise two groups:-

A. Numbers, whether simple such as tatu "three", kumi "ten" etc. compound consisting of two numerals linked by na and such as kumi na tatu "thirteen", recursive such as mia mbili

"two hundred" in which the second constituent quantifies the first and so, can expound a s.m. (sub-modifier) in group structure, or a combination of these such as:

a - recursive + compound

144. - Mia moja na kumi na tatu
a hundred and thirteen

b - recursive + single

145.- Mia moja na tisa
a hundred and nine

B. The other group of items which denote specific quantifiers exhibits a unique and very interesting syntactic behaviour. To illustrate that unique characteristic of those items, let us consider the following pairs of examples:.

146a.- Kibaba cha mchele
a pint of rice

146b - Mchele kibaba kimoja
a pint of rice

147a - Tani ya vitunguu
a ton of onion

147b - Vitunguu tani moja
one ton of onion

148a - Mkono wa bafuta
a cubit of calico

148b - Bafuta mkono mmoja
one cubit of calico

149a - Maisha ya watu
the people's life

149b -(cannot be entailed)

The structure of the nominal groups in the first version of each pair is identical, i.e. h + q↓(↓stands for rank-shift). This structure entails the versions b in each of the first three pairs but not the fourth. In other words, the items kibaba "pint", tani "ton" and mkono "cubit" demonstrate a certain behaviour which maisha "life" does not entertain. I think that the difference in syntactic behaviour between kibaba, tani and mkono on the one hand and maisha on the other cannot be accounted for in terms of their morphological structure nor on an etymological basis. I could not find any significant morphological or etymological differences. The only difference I could find is semantic since the first three items, i.e. kibaba, tani and mkono, denote units of measure of dry grain, weight and length, respectively whereas the item maisha does not. Investigating the syntactic behaviour of other dry measures such as gunia "bag" or "sack", kikapu "basket", pishi "half a gallon" etc. and that of other units of weight or length such as wakiya "an ounce", ratili "pound" etc. and shubiri "span", dhiraa "cubit" wari "yard" etc. respectively reinforces my conclusion that such behaviour is confined to items denoting units of measure only.

If we reversed the sequence of each pair of 146-149 and said that 146b , 147b and 148b are the entailing versions not vice versa, taking into consideration substituting the fourth pair by an identical structure to the first three, i.e. h, qn, s.m.,

as in:-

- 146b - Mchele kibaba kimoja
one pint of rice
- 146a - Kibaba cha mchele
- 147b - Vitunguu tani moja
one ton of onion
- 147a - Tani ya vitunguu
- 148b - Bafuta mkono mmoja
one cubit of calico
- 148a - Mkono wa bafuta
- 149b - Vitabu vyingi sana
so many books
- 149a - Wingi wa vitabu
preponderance of books

We notice that there is also a difference between the first three pairs on the one hand and the fourth on the other. This time the difference is indicated by a change in the morphological structure of the fourth example whereas the first three, i.e. kibaba, tani and mkono, kept their morphological structure intact in both the entailing and the entailed versions. This is not because kibaba, tani are, for example, loan words and -ingi is a Bantu word since there are some Bantu words such as mkono in 148 which behave in the same way and since many other loan-words which do not denote a unit of measure undergo the same morphological change when they come to behave as kibaba and tani do. e.g.

- 150a - Vitabu haba
h qn

a few books

150b - Uhaba wa vitabu
h q

fewness of books

Semantically speaking, when items such as kibaba and tani function at qn in group structure they denote numerative qualification since, according to my informants, they frequently specify the number of quantities of the material being measured not the quantities per se. On the other hand, when they function at h they can be said to denote the quantity of the material being measured.

However, such items do not entertain these special syntactic characteristics and semantic denotation as demonstrated unless they are used as units of measure denoting or specifying quantities, weight, or length. So, the utterance:

151. - Kibaba cha Juma

Juma's pint

does not entail

152* - Juma kibaba kimoja

Also,

153. - Kibaba chenye mchele

a pint containing (some) rice

does not entertain the same behaviour as 146a does because 153 means that the word kibaba is used to denote a container which contains some rice; not to denote a unit of measure.

A criterion that can be applied to point up which kibaba is meant is, the potentiality of the utterance for the interpretation:

X -mejaa (-pimwa na) Y

in which X stands for the unit of measure and Y for the material being measured.

It should be noted, however, that 146a "kibaba cha mchele" is semantically ambiguous since it can be interpreted as "a pint of rice" or "a pint for measuring rice" of which the first only satisfies the above suggested criterion.

A final point to be made here is that when such items function at qn in the nominal group, they obligatorily degrade a numerative item to function at s.m (sub-modifier) not at qn, i.e. its primary function, and normally collocate with non-count nouns.

Second: non-specific quantifiers.

This category comprises items such as -ote "all", ingi "many", -chache "few", haba "few", kadha-wa-kadha "myriads" etc. which can be sub-categorised to:-

- A- Bound quantifiers which are always related to their head by pronominal prefixes such as -ingi "many".
- B- Free quantifiers whose concordial agreement with their head is always realized by zero prefixes such as kidogo "little" or "few".

Haba and kidogo, both mean few or little, collocate with either collective or count plural nouns, ingine "other" collocates only with count singular or plural nouns, whereas the rest collocate only with count plural nouns.

There are some items in the language which function, inter alia, as quantifiers such as tu "only" in an example such as:-

154. - Iwapo mtoto atakaa na baba tu

if the child were to stay with his father only
and peke ya- "alone" in:

155. - Mwalimu peke yake kwa kweli hawe zi kufanya kazi
hii

the teacher alone, in fact, cannot do such a job

In fact, these two items, when occurring in nominal groups convey only this function, and that is why I am inclined to include them with qn items.

Although the compound peke y- "alone" is similar in structure to nominal groups expounding an element R in clause structure, it does not behave like them since elements expounding R cannot be separated from their referential groups and are fixed in position as regards them, i.e. their referential groups. So, in the utterance:-

156.- Sisi, shid a yetu, tunataka uhuru (1)

S Rs P C

(1) This example is quoted from Maw.

we, our need, we need independence
the element *Rs* cannot be separated from its referential group
sis "we", whereas the compound peke y- in 155 can be separated
from mwalimu "teacher", so we can get:

157. - Mwalimu kwa kili kufanya kazi hii peke yake
and therefore can be easily distinguished from elements *R* in
clause structure.

The genitive structure

The genitive structure in Swahili is generally realized by one
of two forms:-

- A. Noun + -a + Complement
- B. Noun + -enye + Complement

The genitive marker -a or -enye is always related to the first
constituent of the genitive structure, i.e. the head of the
structure, by means of pronominal prefixes determined by the
noun-class of the first constituent. These genitive markers
reflect multifarious semantic relationships holding between the
constituents of the genitive structure. However, it is very
difficult to set up classes or categories to describe the
semantic relationships that can be said to hold between the
constituents. There are, however, some attempts by Ashton and
Polomé (1) to describe the semantic functions of the genitive
marker -a; both neglected the other marker -enye.

(1) Ashton E.O. 1944 and Polomé E.C. 1967

Although their attempts are illuminating and helpful as regards the examples they quote, the result of these attempts cannot be generalised since I found that there are so many examples which are not classifiable to any of the functions they suggest. I think that Ashton was aware of this difficulty and to avoid such a problem, i.e. the impossibility of classifying some examples, she calls one of the functions that she suggests "general relation" without explaining the semantic characteristics of this class as she does with the others. Polomé, on the other hand keeps clear of the dilemma of setting up classes of all possible functions and very briefly describes the genitive marker -a as having two functions viz. possessive and characterization.

I shall refer to this classification later on.

It is quite clearly noticed that the particle -a in Swahili seems to have been employed as a grammatical device by which nouns can be degraded, in terms of their rank, and rank-shifted to function as some sort of qualifiers in the nominal group; a function assigned to the markers -a and -enye to make up for the paucity of one-word adjectives in Swahili. The output of this grammatical function is that the description of the semantic relationships holding between the constituents of such a grammatical structure is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make comprehensive. One reason behind this conclusion is the possible occurrence of polysemous words as constituents of genitive structure. Such constituents will require

classifying one structure as belonging to more than one semantic class according to the sub-senses implied by them i.e. the constituents. I think that Polomé missed this point since he considers examples such as:-

158.- Kikapu cha matunda

with the gloss

A basket of fruit

as belonging to the "possessive" class. In fact, such an utterance can be interpreted by more than one meaning such as, in addition to his:-

A basket for putting fruit in

or A quantity of fruit measured by a basket,

which make his classification untenable.

On the other hand, even non-polysemous words may acquire more than one semantic denotation when they participate in a genitive structure. For example:-

159.- Kazi ya mwalimu

can be interpreted by

the job of the teacher (that the teacher does)

or the job that belongs to the teacher, i.e. will be done for him.

although neither the word kazi "job" nor the word mwalimu "teacher" is polysemous per se. But by virtue of combining in such a structure they acquire more than one semantic denotation. For these reasons, I would rather describe the genitive struc-

ture in Swahili in terms of its structural forms rather than in terms of its semantic denotations, since, as demonstrated, it is quite difficult to set up comprehensive semantic classes. The semantic denotations of the genitive structure in Swahili are frequently contextual in the sense that they are often determined by the context rather than by the lexical meanings of the constituents.

It has been mentioned earlier that one of the formal functions of the genitival -a is to help resolve the problem of paucity of one-word adjectives or qualifiers in Swahili. However, it is very interesting and worth mentioning here that when the one-word qualifier exists, the choice of the genitival -a seems to convey the effect of intensifying and focussing the meaning expressed by the qualifier. For example, the utterance:-

160. - Mtu shujaa .

a brave man

is the neutral way of expressing such a meaning, but the choice of:

161.- Mtu wa ushujaa

denotes expressing an inherent characteristic of the first constituent and intensifies the meaning expressed by the qualifier. In other words, one can say that the choice of one-word adjective or genitive structure correlates with denoting temporal or permanent modification respectively.

The -enye genitive structure serves the same purpose served by -a genitive structure, i.e it makes up for the paucity of one-word qualifiers. But, when either is admissible to combine with the same constituent, i.e the same head, they differ semantically in that -a structures denote an indefinite relationship holding between both constituents of the structure, i.e. the head and the qualifier, whereas -enye structures denote a definite relationship holding between the head and the qualifier mainly "existence of the complement governed by -enye". For example:-

162. - Sanduku la nguo

denotes either: a box made for clothes

a box full of clothes

or clothes that can fill a box

but does not necessarily mean that the box contains clothes
whereas:

163. - Sanduku lenye nguo

means that the box actually contains clothes.

The -enye genitive structure can be negated by substituting bila "without", "lack of" for -enye which functions syntactically as -enye does, that is a prepositional element constituting an adverbial group together with its complement as in:

164. - Sanduku bila nguo

h [q↓]
p c

a box without clothes

On the other hand, the -a genitive structure can only be negated by inserting a negated relative copula between the head and the rank-shifted qualifier as in:

165. - Sanduku lisisi la nguo

a box which has no clothes

This negated relative copula always combines with another element na as the genitive marker if the head of the structure belongs to the noun-class 1-2, e.g.

166. - Mtu asiye na ushujaa

a man who has no courage

The genitive marker -a can be deleted without effecting the meaning of the structure when expressing parental relationship as in:

167. - Mama Rosa

Rose's mother

Also, the head of the genitive structure can be deleted if the context makes its identity clear as in:

168. - Wareno ni Wazungu wa kwanza kufika mwambao wa Afrika Mashariki na ndio wa kwanza kuufuata mwambao wenyewe.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach the coast of East Africa and actually the first to follow the coast themselves.

The genitival element, i.e. the rank-shifted qualifier, frequently denotes a specifying function when separated from its head by a possessive qualifier as in:

169. - Duka lako la vitabu
your bookshop

where the possessive lako "your" specifies and distinguishes the bookshop as belonging to the addressee, whereas:

170. - Duka la vitabu lako
your bookshop

denotes a selective function since, according to my informants, it specifies the bookshop from other shops belonging to the addressee.

Part/whole relationships are rarely expressed by genitive structure in Swahili, although they occur as such as quoted examples in many works on Swahili. According to my informants the utterance:

171. - Mkono wa mtoto
the arm of the boy

does not express a part/whole relationship, that is, the head of that example mkono "arm" cannot be understood as a part of the genitival element wa mtoto "of the boy", but as a toy, for example, of the boy's. Also, the utterances:

172. - *Machizi ya mtoto yamekauka
The boy's tears have dried

173 - *Mlango wa nyumba umevunjika

The door of the house has broken down

are ungrammatical and the part/whole relationship that is meant to be expressed by the above examples can rather be expressed by a non-genitive structure as in:

. 172a.- Mtoto amekauka machozi

the boy has dried as to tears

173a - Nyumba imevunjika mlango

the house has broken as to the door,

respectively.

CHAPTER 2 - CLAUSES

The unit clause in Swahili has five possible functional elements of structure viz. Subject, Predicator, Complement, Referent and Adjunct. Not all of these elements must be realized in the clause. Of these elements, what concerns us in this study are the elements Referent and Adjunct, since they are the only elements which participate in the structure of modification at the clause level. The element R participates in the structure of modification in the sense that it semantically specifies and defines the intended connotation of its reference. For example in:-

1. - Kurakibisha wanafunzi hawa tabia zao na

P	C	RC=
maendeleo yao kwa jumla,		
=RC	A	

To develop those students as to their disposition and their progress in general.

the element R_C tabia zao na maendeleo yao indicates the main concern or the intended denotation of the element C wanafunzi hawa "those students". That is, by using such a structure the speaker indicates that he is concerned about developing the disposition and progress of the students rather than developing the students per se. In other words, the element R modifies the general denotation of the element C in that example.

Adjuncts, by definition, have no overt relationship with any other element in the clause. They can be realized by different grammatical structures such as:-

A. - Nominal groups (including single items) such as:-

2. - Itazunguka namna hiyo kwa dori

It will turn like that in order

3. - Hana desturi ya kulala asubuhi

He is not used to sleep in the morning.

B. - Adverbial groups such as:-

4. - Wana zungumza juu ya tabia ya wanafunzi

They speak about the students' disposition.

5. - Anasifika sana kwa ushujaa wake

He is so praised for his courage.

C. - Adverbs (single items conveying adverbial functions)
such as:-

6. - Akaamrisha masogora wakaja pale

He order the drum-players and they came there.

7. - Hana mahali pa kulala nyumbani

He has not got a place for sleeping at home.

D. - Fossilised items such as

8. - Na yeye kwa kuwa ni shaha wa utungaji au mashairi
ikawa lazima mmoja ahudhuri

And because he is a leading personality in poetry
another (poet) must have attended.

The element A seems to be the most mobile element in clause

structure since it can initiate a clause as in:-

9. - kwa ile akili alokuwa nayo akajua

with the mind which he had he knew

or occur between the S and P as in

10. - Mzazi wa kule kidogo ana unyonge

S A P C

The parent in those places, somehow, is mean.

between P and C as in:-

11. - Umetueleza kidogo maoni yako

P A C

You explained to us, up to a point, your opinion.

or occur finally in the clause as in:-

12. - Kila mmoja akaogopa sasa

A P A

Every one has been frightened now.

They may occur in clusters at any position in the clause,

i.e. initially, at the middle or finally as in:-

13. - Lakini mara nyingine huwezi kuwalaumu wazazi.

A A P₁ P₁₁ C

But sometimes you cannot blame the parents.

14. - Itazunguka namna hiyo kwa dori.

P A A

It will turn like that in order.

15. - Mwalimu peke yake kwa kweli hawezi kufanya

S A A P₁ P₁₁

kazi hiyo

C

The teacher on his own in fact cannot do that job.

Although adjuncts, as mentioned above, have no overt syntactic relationships with any other element in the clause, they have intimate semantic relationships with those elements since they tend to modify the elements they follow or the whole clause. In other words, adjuncts can be classified as constituting two categories as regards their domain of modification:

- A. - Element modifiers
- B. - Clause modifiers

Clause modifiers, in turn, can be classified into two groups on syntactic grounds,

- A. - Conjuncts
- B. - Disjuncts

Element modifiers will be distinguished from clause modifiers throughout this study by referring to element modifiers by A and to clause modifiers by either A_c or A_d to refer to their conjunctive and disjunctive functions respectively.

Element modifiers

Element modifiers convey different semantic functions traditionally referred to as:-

- A. - Place adjuncts

- B. - Time adjuncts
- C. - Manner adjuncts
- D. - Intensifiers

I will dwell here briefly upon the first three classes since the fourth, i.e. intensifiers, deserves, in my view, a special scrutiny (see Chapter 4).

Place adjuncts

Place adjuncts can be realized by items or groups denoting either:-

- a. - The place in which the action expressed by the predicator took place as in:-

16. - Nimetiwa ngomeni

P A

I have been put in prison.

I will call this sub-class locative-denoting adjuncts.

- b. - The destination or the starting point of the action as in:-

17. - Walitokea nyumbani kwa Spekta Seif

P A A

Starting-point Destination

they left the house to inspector Seif

- c. - The direction of the action as in:-

18. - Hacusikia mtu kuingia ndani wala kutoka nje

P C P A A_c P A

He has not heard anyone entering or leaving.

In an attempt to postulate the features that characterise each of these sub-classes in terms of their positional occurrences and intonational contours, I found that place adjuncts that denote direction, i.e. the third sub-class, seems to be fixed in position regardless of the structure in which they are realized. That is, they frequently occur after the element they modify. Attempts to front-shift them have not been accepted by my informants as a spoken utterance. So, they rejected:-

19. - *Juu ya mkoma nikipanda

A P

Up the palm tree if I climbed
(If I climbed up the palm-tree).

The other two denotations of place adjuncts, i.e. locative-denoting and destination adjuncts, can be either fixed in position or mobile in the clause depending on the structure in which they are realized.

Adjuncts realized by locative nouns of the -ni form tend to have a fixed positional occurrence, since they frequently occur after the element they modify as in:-

20. - Mtoto wako hafiki shuleni

Your child does not come to school.

I think this is their neutral position. But, they may, however, be front-shifted in the clause for stylistic or focal reasons, such as conveying a contrasting effect, as seen in:-

21. - Kwa upande wa Dar. naona ni tofauti zaidi kwa sababu labda ni mjini. Lakini kule vijijini watoto wana nidhamu kiasi.

As regards Dar, I find it so different, because, maybe, it is a city. But there in the villages, the students are disciplined up to an extent.

In this case, they very often have a separate tone group as a paralinguistic indicator of their marked positional occurrence, as opposed to their intonational status when they follow the element they modify where they are very often integrated with their modified element in one tone group.

It is, I think, worth mentioning here that the -ni forms functioning as adjuncts in clause structure are not capable of being front-shifted with keeping their function as adjuncts without having a separate tone group, since the clause in such a case will be realized as an entailment of another clause with the adjunct in its neutral position, and the front-shifted adjunct will be realized as expounding S in the entailed clause, as in:-

Entailing clause (where the adjunct is in its neutral position).

22. - Mtoto wako hafiki shuleni

S P A

Your child does not come to school

An entailment (where the adjunct is front-shifted):

22a.- Shuleni hapafiki mtoto wako.

S P C

Your child does not come to school

On the other hand, if the adjunct is realized by any structure other than -ni form, it can occur neutrally or front-shifted with or without separate tone groups, e.g:

23. - Katika shule tumeweka utaratibu maalum

In the school, we have established a certain system

24. - Kutia tumbako katika kiko chake

To put tobacco in his pipe

Locative nouns with -ni favour final position when occurring in apposition with other place adjuncts as in:-

25. - Tukapofika pale mlangoni

When we got there, to the door

26. - Imerudishwa pale pale, juu ya kamba, nyumbani pake

It has been returned to the same place, on the rope,
in his house.

In my data, such clusters of place adjuncts are restricted to a certain appositive order in terms of denotation. That is, items that normally function at d or qd followed by adverbial groups, if there is any, followed by locative nouns in the -ni form or names of places as seen in 25-26 and 27.

27. - Naelewa hapa Dar. mji-mkuu wa Tanzania

I understand (that) here in Dar. the capital of
Tanzania

Classifying place adjuncts as constituting three sub-classes depends to a great extent on the denotation of the concomitant predicator not on the structure of the adjunct per se. Accordingly, I have often relied on the distribution and collocation of place adjuncts in classifying them into these sub-classes. For example, at least in my data, those adjuncts which are understood to be conveying a locative-denoting function, i.e. the first sub-class, often collocate with activity verbs such as -piga "hit", -weka "put".

Destination adjuncts, on the other hand, are understood to be conveying such a meaning when they collocate with motion verbs denoting entering, leaving, arriving etc. as exemplified by -ingia, -toka and -fika respectively. They do not normally collocate, when functioning as such, with static verbs such as -lala "sleep", -kaa "sit", or "stay" etc. mental verbs such as -fikiri "think", -kumbuka "remember" etc. or with copulas.

When adjuncts are meant to denote direction, like those denoting destination, they do not collocate with static verbs. They collocate only with activity verbs. They can be distinguished from destination adjuncts by the acceptability of preceding them by upande wa "in the direction of". For example the item chini cannot be understood to be conveying this function in:-

28. - Anamfuata chini yake

He follows him behind him

since inserting upande wa before chini yake is unacceptable.

Time Adjuncts

Time adjuncts can be divided into three sub-classes:-

A. Those which indicate a point in time when the action expressed by the predicator took place. They may denote a definite point in time as in:-

29. - Akaondoka saa moja na nusu

He left at half past one.

30. - Watoto wetu siku hizi masomo hawapendi.

Our children nowadays do not like learning.

I will call such adjuncts "point of time" adjuncts.

B. Duration time adjuncts: those denote stretches of time during which the action lasted. They indicate either:-

I. - A definite stretch of time as in:-

31. - Na kwa miaka miwili hiyo uliyo-fundisha Dar.

And for these two years which you taught in Dar.

II. - An indefinite stretch of time as in:-

32. - Umefundisha kwa muda mwingi sana.

You taught for a very long time.

C. Frequency adjuncts: these indicate that the action expressed by the predicator occurs either:-

I. - Regularly as in:-

33. - Wanakutana labda mara moja kwa mwaka

They meet probably once a year.

II. - Or casually as in:-

34. - Alikuwa mara anatalia maji na mara anaishia mimea.

He used to put water on it one time and remove herbs from it another time.

It appears from the data I have that there are no restrictions on the structure by which time adjuncts can be realized, nor on their possible positional occurrences. The only feature I noticed is that they favour final position in the clause and it seems that this is their neutral positional occurrence since when they occur initially in the clause or before the predicator they always have a separate tone group in the spoken data and are frequently punctuated in the written. Time adjuncts, unlike place adjuncts, are self-evident in the sense that they indicate the various dimension of meaning independently of the meaning of the concomitant predicator.

The only exception to what has been said about the positional occurrences of time adjuncts is the item tena "again" which, when occurring as an element-modifier, shares with the time adjuncts in the written data their strong and frequent tendency to occur after the elements they modify.

Manner Adjuncts

Manner adjuncts convey the semantic function of defining and

describing the ways in which the action expressed by the predicator took place. The term "manner adjuncts" will be employed here as a general term covering the ramifications elaborately dwelt upon in most descriptive grammars and which are frequently referred to as means adjuncts, instrumental adjuncts, evaluative or view point adjuncts etc. I am not very much concerned with such elaborate sub-classification, but I think that referring to them so briefly as such seems useful for easy reference throughout this study.

Examples:

35. - Wakaamkiana namna hiyo ("How" adjuncts)

They greeted each other like that

36. - Walikuwa wakipata elimu yao kwa lugha ya

kiarabu ("Means" adjuncts)

They used to receive their education in Arabic.

37. - Ilikuwa haikufungwa kwa kufuli ("Inst". adjuncts)

It was not locked with a lock.

38. - Aliwakuta wanazungumiza bila ya kufikiri

(state of mind adjuncts)

He found them speaking absent-mindedly.

Of these, "How" adjuncts favour final position in the clause, i.e. immediately after P. They have not occurred in other positions in my data and most of my informants rejected them in pre-predicator position, since, according to them, they are highly likely to be understood as conveying a conjunctive or

disjunctive function rather than an adjunctive function.

Instrumental and state of mind adjuncts, on the other hand, seem to have a fixed positional occurrence, that is, immediately after the predicator. They have been rejected by all my informants in pre-predicator position whether they do or do not have separate tone groups, so, they cannot, contrary to "How" adjuncts, function as conjuncts or disjuncts.

"Means" adjuncts is the only sub-class which showed flexibility as regards their possible positional occurrences, provided that they have a separate tone group when they occur in pre-predicator position as an indication of their marked occurrence.

At this point one can postulate the common syntactic features of element modifiers. That is they may be employed neutrally or markedly. When they are employed neutrally they frequently occur after the element they modify and are normally integrated with it in one tone group. When they are employed markedly they occur before the elements they modify and have a separate tone group or punctuated. The only exceptional case to this general feature is when the adjunct modifies a transitive predicator since the complement tends to occur immediately after the predicator separating it from its modifier, i.e. the adjunct.

A final point to be mentioned as regards element-modifiers is that they can be realized by nouns or nominal groups. Meanwhile, the predicator of the clause can be realized by a transitive

verb requiring an object which will normally be realized, in turn, by a noun or nominal group. This is a case where a formal criterion by which one can distinguish between these two distinct functions of one structure is needed.

The test I propose to apply in such a case is the potentiality for affixing a cataphoric morpheme to the predicator referring to the complement. The noun or nominal group which has the potential for such a cataphoric reference must be deemed the complement of the clause, otherwise, it will be deemed an adjunct.

In fact, the problem may be much more complex than that, since what has been mentioned in the previous paragraph applies only to quite simple cases where the predicator is realized by simple verbs in the sense that they neither require more than one complement nor do they constitute with certain items a phraseological unit such as:

- piga pasi to iron
- piga mbio to run
- piga mbizi to dive

The case with phraseological units is relatively easy to handle since there exist some well-established criteria in the works of W.H. Whiteley (1) by which a distinction can be drawn between

(1) Contextual specialization and Idiomaticity W.H. Whiteley,

a simple and a phraseological unit.

On the other hand, in the case of predicators requiring more than one complement, adjuncts can be distinguished from the complements by the fact that adjuncts can be preceded by the item kwa.

So,:

39. - Alimpiga Juma jiwe

P C A

He hit Juma by a stone.

is distinguished from

40. - Alimpa Juma kitabu

He gave Juma a book

by the fact that 39 can be realized as:-

39a.- Alimpiga Juma kwa jiwe.

P C A

although 39 and 40 have the same surface structure, that is, V + N + N.

It should be noted that Adjuncts in such structures are always realized by the second noun or nominal group after the complement since adjuncts realized by nouns or nominal groups are highly unlikely to separate the predicator from the complement. All my informants rejected artificial examples of the structure P + A_N + C.

Clause Modifiers

Clause modifiers very frequently occur initially in the clause. Some of them can be back-shifted mainly yaani "that is" and lakini "but" for some stylistic reasons. Their intonational features differ according to the syntactic function they convey in the clause. That is, they may be realized functioning in the clause either as:-

- A. Conjuncts, and these do not necessarily have a separate tone group, i.e. they may or may not be integrated into the clausal tone group depending on the semantic functions and the stylistic effects they convey.

- B. Disjuncts: these tend to have a separate tone group especially when their semantic domain goes beyond the clause boundaries, i.e. when they function as clause and sentence modifiers. Otherwise, they, again, may or may not be integrated into the clausal tone group.

These two types of clause modifiers can be readily distinguished from front-shifted element-modifiers by the fact that element-modifiers always have separate tone groups when they are front-shifted and that clause-modifiers do not keep their semantic function, i.e. as clause-modifiers, when they are back-shifted, and some of them in fact, are not capable of back-shift at all. Those, i.e. clause-modifiers, which have homonyms are always characterised by a separate tone group when they convey a clause modifying function.

Conjuncts

Conjuncts are primarily linking or subordinating items in the sense that their primary syntactic function is to link or subordinate the clauses they introduce to a previous clause or sentence in the text, and that is why they do not tend to occur in one-clause sentences.

Conjuncts favour initial positions in the clause, that is, as the first element or, in a very few cases, before the predicator. By virtue of such a positional occurrence, one can readily distinguish a conjunct from its homonyms which may occur in any other position in the clause.

Semantically, the meaning of the conjunct extends over the whole clause whereas the meaning of its homonyms extends over only a specific element in the clause. This can be illustrated by comparing the semantic domain of the item vil^evile "also" when occurring in initial and non-initial positions as in:-

41. - Watoto wetu, siku hizi wamevunjika mno.

Kwanza, masomo hawapendi wakiingia darasani.

Vilevile, watoto walimu hawatii

Our children are very much spoilt nowadays. First, they do not like their lessons when they are in the class. Also, they do not obey their teachers

and 42. - Naele^ua kwamba mwalimu peke yake, kwa kweli,

hawezi kufanya kazi hiyo. Lazima mzazi

vilevile ahusike.

I understand that the teacher on his own, in fact, cannot do such a job. The parent as well must get involved.

Conjuncts can be structurally realized by either single items or groups. Some of those single items function only as conjuncts such as:-

ili "so as to", "in order that"

kwamba "that", lakini "but"

ijapokuwa "although" etc.

whereas others may serve a conjunctive function and also serve other syntactic functions such as:-

Sasa "now", basi "then", hata "until" etc.

They can also be realized by nominal or adverbial groups which may function as conjunctive elements such as:

Nominal groups: Wakati mwingine "sometimes"

Adverbial groups: Kwa hiyo "therefore".

or combine some other syntactic functions in addition to their conjunctive function such as:-

Nominal group : Mara nyingine "sometimes"

Adverbial group : Kwa kweli "in fact".

Conjuncts realized by single items are not frequently given prominence in terms of their intonation when they are used

neutrally, i.e. to convey their normal semantic function such as contradiction, cause, addition etc.

However, they may, sometimes, be accorded some sort of intonational prominence; and, when they are, this implies that they are being used to convey a marked semantic function. In other words, any shift in their normal semantic indication is conveyed by, or concomitant with, a shift in their normal intonational status. I shall elaborate this point when I come to treat the conjuncts individually.

On the other hand, conjuncts realized by groups, whether nominal or adverbial, do not seem to have distinctive intonational features by which one can distinguish their neutral from their marked usage in a text. I think that their use is determined by idiolectal choices since they sometimes have their accent manifested on their penultimate syllable and are followed by a single bar juncture or a pause (1), and are sometimes integrated into the tone group of the clause or that of a part of the clause if the tone group does not cover the whole clause.

The referential effect of conjuncts in Swahili can be anaphoric where the conjunct conjoins the clause it introduces to a previous clause or sentence. Such anaphoric conjuncts convey

(1) A single bar juncture is an intermediary stage between pause and full integration of an element into another's tone group (see Maw and Kelly 1974 for defining "pause").

such a cohesive function independently, that is, without combining with other conjuncts to achieve such a function.

On the other hand, their referential effect can be cataphoric where the conjuncts function as cohesive items relating the clause they introduce to a following clause. Cataphoric conjuncts can function as cohesive items either independently, without combining with other conjuncts, such as iwapo "if" in:-

43. - Iwapo sisi tutapata nafasi ya kumwua wewe
tutakuchukua, tutakupa daraja kubwa katika ufalme.
If we get an opportunity to kill him we will take you
and give you a high rank in the kingdom.

where iwapo "if" conjoins the clause it introduces to the rest of the sentence without combining with other conjuncts. Also, they can combine with other conjuncts when functioning as such, such as iwapo "if" in:-

44. - Iwapo mtoto atakaa na baba tu na atapata mama
mwingine basi atapata misukosuko.
If the child will stay with his father only and will
get another mother, then he will get trouble.

where iwapo "if" combines with basi then in conjoining the clauses they introduce to each other. I think, as I can postulate from the examples I have, that this happens frequently when the two conjoined clauses are separated from each other by a clause or more as is clear in 44..

I will describe conjuncts in Swahili as constituting five categories. I think that classifying them into five categories is a concise and comprehensive classification and seems to avoid unnecessary complexities which may arise from extending the classification to include more than five categories. In fact, there are some conjuncts which cannot be subsumed under any of the five categories I suggest either because they convey a wide range of functions that cover more than one category or because they convey completely different functions from those conveyed by members of any of the five categories. Those conveying different functions are, in most cases single items; that is why I have not set up classes for them. These items will be described individually after describing the five categories I suggest. These five categories are:-

1. - Temporal conjuncts
2. - Causal conjuncts
3. - Additive conjuncts
4. - Enumerative conjuncts
5. - Adversative conjuncts

Temporal Conjuncts

Temporal conjuncts convey the general semantic function of denoting the temporal relationship holding between the events which are expressed in two clauses, i.e. the relationship of sequence in time. That is, they indicate whether one of the events is previous to, simultaneous with or later than the other.

Temporal conjuncts in Swahili can, structurally, be realized

by:-

- A. - Single items such as halafu "then", kabla "before", baadaye "afterwards", hapo/pale "immediately after that".
- B. - Reduplicated items (mostly demonstratives) such as hapo hapo "on the spot", pale pale "at once" etc.
- C. - Compound conjuncts such as na huku "at the same time".
- D. - Nominal groups such as wakati huo "at that time" or "meanwhile", mara moja "at once" etc.

Any of these may combine with other structures which help in indicating their semantic functions and making them clear and specific. This can be exemplified by the double-underlined structures in 45 and 46 for exaple:-

45. - Hawa wanakuja kila baada ya, tuseme, ya term kuwa wanakutana na walimu. Baadaye, kila baada ya term tena, wanakutana wazazi wa walimu.

Those come after every, let us say, term to confer with the teachers. Afterwards, after every following term they meet; the parents and the teachers.

46. - Hapo, alipongamua, alikuwa mara kwa mara na hadhari
At that time, when he realized (the plot), he was generally cautious.

The intonational features of temporal conjuncts in Swahili vary according to the structure in which they are realized and to *the*

process of communication. Single items are very often incorporated into the clausal tone group (1). They are rarely separated from the clausal tone groups even by a single bar juncture, in my data, and are not separated by a pause.

Reduplicated items and nominal groups, on the other hand, tend to have a separate tone group unless they are combined with other conjuncts, mainly additive conjuncts. When they combine with additive conjuncts especially na "and" the additive conjunct loses its primary semantic denotation, i.e. addition, and acquires some secondary semantic functions which, in some cases, seem quite difficult to describe as in:-

47. - Yule mtoto akaenda mpaka kwa babake, na wakati huo alikuwa huko upande huo huo wa Shaka.

The boy went to his father and at that time he (the father) was there in the same place Shaka.

where na "and" functions in a way that helps the speaker to continue his speech paying no or little attention to the grammatical cohesive items which are required to relate the grammatical units in a way that makes them understandable and acceptable. It seems to me that it is functioning as a relative pronouns substitute in 47 since it is normally a relative pronoun that can stand for na in 47 and maintain the grammaticalness of the utterance.

(1) By "clausal tone group" I mean the tone group which extends over the clause or a part of it if the clause is covered by more than one tone group.

Sometimes, such a cohesive function is conveyed by items such as naye "and he".

In fact, the effect of such combinations is mutual, since while na "and" as just demonstrated, loses its denotative function, the conjunct wakati huo "at that time" loses its intonational independence and tends to be incorporated into the clausal tone group.

When other categories of conjunct combine with temporal conjuncts neither they nor temporal conjuncts lose their semantic denotation or their intonational features.

The most frequent temporal conjuncts which denote simultaneity are Wakati huo "at that time" palepale, hapohapo "meanwhile" and na huku "simultaneously".

That which denotes anteriority of an action to another is kabla "before".

These which denote posteriority of an action to another are halafu, kisha, and baadaye "after" or "then".

None of these conjuncts can relate two clauses cataphorically except for kabla "before" which theoretically can take up this function. Also, unlike other categories of conjunct, they do not occur in a correlative form. I will investigate briefly the functions and the characteristics of each of these conjuncts.

1. Conjuncts denoting simultaneity

A. - Wakati huo

Wakati huo conveys the conjunctive function by virtue of the occurrence of the referential item huo "that" as one of its constituents which helps to link the clause it introduces to a previously mentioned clause or group of clauses. In other words, wakati huo takes up this function structurally rather than semantically. It may stand by itself or combine with members of other categories of conjunct; a distinction which determines its intonational contours.

In my data, it has always taken a separate tone group when occurring alone as in:-

48. - Wakati huo] alipoambiwa siku yake, baada ya kuwa
wenziwe washamaliza siku zao.....

At that time when he was reminded of his day, after
his friends had finished theirs.....

49. - Wakati huo] wale mawaziri wakamwendea kwa mtumwa wa
Mfalme.

At that time, the ministers approached him through
the King's messenger.

Wakati huo, like other conjuncts containing a referential item such as huo, functions as a contextual rather than a textual conjunct. In other words, its main syntactic function is to conjoin the clause it introduces not only to the immediately preceding clause or sentence but to a wider range of clauses or

sentences previous to it in the text, denoting, at the same time, as a semantic function, that both the contents of its clause and those of the previous context are simultaneous. Such syntactic and semantic functions account, in my view, for the unusually prolonged vowel of the stressed syllable of the referential item huo "that".

B. Pale pale

Pale pale is another conjunct which denotes the same semantic function denoted by wakati huo, i.e. simultaneity. It does not structurally differ much from wakati huo since it consists of a double referential element by virtue of which it conveys the conjunctive function contextually rather than textually. In other words, the action simultaneous to that mentioned in the clause introduced by pale pale is very difficult to be well-demarcated.

However, one can note, two main differences between pale pale and wakati huo. The first is semantic since wakati huo is more definite in expressing simultaneity than pale pale. That is, wakati huo frequently denotes full simultaneity whereas pale pale denotes partial simultaneity. It is fairly easy to note the difference if we contemplate the degree of simultaneity conveyed by wakati huo in the examples 47-49 and that conveyed by pale pale in:-

50. - Fumo Lyongo, kitoka, yeye akawa tena ameingia katika kuimba na huku kujamba na hivi. Pale pale] majoma tayari. Pale pale] akashikwa.

Fumo Lyongo, having gone out, has, again got involved in singing and shouting etc. At the same time, the soldiers are ready. At once, he has been arrested.

51. - Sasa amekwisha kujiona sasa, ana hadhari, na mtu hakuna aweza kumjongelea. Pale pale] akashika ndia akenda zake.

Now, he is free now, he is cautious, and there is nobody who can approach him. At once he took his way and went away.

However, pale pale can convey full-simultaneity but this needs to be pinpointed by special devices shown by the speaker in order to make such a denotation clear. In my texts, the speaker interrupted the utterance, i.e. has not finished it, by that introduced by pale pale to indicate the simultaneity of actions as in:-

52. - Sasa, kutu gani ambacho..... Pale pale] alimfahmu^a yule mtoto anadhamiria kutu gani juu ya babake.

Now, what thing that..... At once he realized what the boy is concocting against his father.

The second difference is intonational since pale pale has not occurred, in my data, integrated into the clausal tone group even when it combines with other conjuncts, as in:-

53. - Sasa] [pale pale] akafikiria kwamba mimi hapa sasa sina namna ya kutoka jela.

Now on the spot, he realized that " I am here now without any means by which I can leave the jail".

Another intonational feature of pale pale is that both its constituents are heavily stressed when it is employed to denote full simultaneity whereas its first constituent is hardly stressed when it is meant to convey partial simultaneity. The conjunct pale pale, by virtue of its initial position in the clause and its intonation, can be distinguished from its homonyms which function at A in clause structure as in:-

54. - Akishafika nyumbani kwenye mpira au ana-sikiliza mpira, basi, mambo yamekwisha, ana-sahau pale pale shuleni.

When he gets home where there is football or listens to football, then everything gets to an end and he, on the spot, forgets about the school.

or function at qe in group structure as in:-

55. - Alikuwa akiishi pahala pale pale.

	P		C	
x		m	h	qe

He used to live in the same place.

C. Na huku

Na huku, as a conjunct denoting simultaneity, is a compound conjunct since neither of its constituents can, on its own,

convey this function. It seems that na huku came to convey such a function by virtue of the unique combination of its constituents. That is, the conjunctive aspect is conveyed by the item na "and" which functions, inter alia, as an additive conjunct, whereas the temporal aspect of simultaneity is conveyed, by the constituent huku "there ". This complementary denotation of either constituent to the other is derived from the fact that na "and" alone does not imply any temporal denotation and huku "there" alone does not imply any conjunctive denotation.

Na huku differs intonationally from wakati huo and pale pale by the fact that it tends, at least in my data, to be integrated into the clausal tone group.

Semantically, na huku differs from wakati huo and pale pale in the degree of simultaneity it denotes, that is, it conveys a very high degree of simultaneity as can be seen in:-

56. - Ameingia katika kuimba na huku kujamba na hivi.

He was involved in singing and meanwhile shouting
etc.

57.- Aimba na huku apiga ngoma.

He sings and simultaneously hits the drum.

Syntactically, na huku, unlike wakati huo and pale pale, functions as a textual conjunct conjoining the clause it introduces

to the immediately preceding clause as shown in the examples 56 - 57.

Conjuncts denoting anteriority

Swahili is quite a curious language since it employs only one temporal conjunct to express the semantic relationship of anteriority, that is, kabla "before" which is a loan word.

Kabla "before" does not entertain specific intonational characteristics. However, it tends to be integrated into the clausal tone group.

Syntactically, kabla always, as a conjunct, introduces clauses which are signalled by the imperfective aspectual marker -ja- as in:-

58. - Mfalme akaja akamwuliza kwamba atapenda kitu gani
kabla yeye hajauliwa.

The king came and asked him what he would like before he was executed.

59. - Nataka kusimulia kisa hiki kabla hatujafika.

I want to tell you this story before we arrive.

Conjuncts denoting posteriority

Temporal conjuncts that denote the semantic relationship of posteriority can be exemplified by halafu "then", kisha "then" and baadaye "afterwards", which are the most frequent conjuncts denoting this sense in my data.

A. Halafu "then".

Halafu implies denoting a sequential order of events, posterior to each other, based on logical grounds at least from the speaker's point of view. It denotes another prominent and significant semantic implication, that is, the immediate relatedness of the events, mentioned in the clauses conjoined by it. In other words, when the speaker resorts to using halafu "then" rather than any other posteriority-denoting conjunct, it seems that he aims at showing that the events or actions he is talking about took place in a sequentially related uninterrupted order. In the actual situation, however, there may be either a long or short stretches of time between the occurrence of events but using halafu "then" indicates excluding such an interruption from the speaker's consideration. This semantic denotation can be supported by two intonational features. First, the absence of stress on halafu. Second, its frequent full integration into the clausal tone group. The following quotation, though a bit long, illustrates clearly this function.

60. - Twajaribu kutafuta daftari hivi moja, halafu tukaandika jina lake, tukaandika masaa ya kuingia darasani, halafu masaa ya kutoka wakati wa mwisho wa kipini. Kwa hiyo (mwalimu wa darasa) anapoingia mtoto yule lazima mtoto kwanza apate signature ya mwalimu halafu anapofika nyumbani wazazi wanatia signature ya kuwa amerudi. Vilevile, asubuhi anakoondoka wazazi wanaweka signature ya kuwa ameondoka saa moja na

nusu, halafu kule mwalimu anasema kuwa ndio amefika saa moja dakika arobaini.

We try to look for a notebook, then we write his name, and write the time he entered the class, then the time he left at the end of the session. Therefore,,(the class teacher) when the boy enters he should first get the teacher's signature then when he gets home the parents sign that he returned. Also, when he leaves in the morning the parents sign that he left at 6.30 then the teacher says that he arrived at 6.40.

Syntactically, halafu "then" is an anaphoric conjunct which cannot convey the cataphoric function, that is, it is capable of linking the clause it introduces only to the preceding clause or group of clauses.

Halafu has one homonym which normally expounds an element A in clause structure as in:-

61. - Na yeye atarudi halafu

A_c S P A

and he will return afterwards.

B. Kisha "then"

Kisha is similar to halafu "then" in denoting the temporal sequential order of events. However, it differs from halafu in two main respects, the first is semantic and the second is intonational.

Semantically, while halafu denotes the immediate succession or sequence of events, kisha "then" denotes the relaxed sequence of events. That is, it, contrary to halafu, denotes either that the action mentioned in the clause it introduces took place after the action(s) mentioned in the preceding clause(s) with a considerable amount of time, that the action(s) mentioned in the preceding clause(s) lingered for some time, or that the succession of events was very slow at least from the speaker's point of view as can be exemplified by:-

62.- Ikawa sasa amekwishapatikana na atafung~~wa~~ kwa muda fulani, kisha mfalme amuwe.

He has been available now and will be imprisoned for some time, then the king will kill him.

63. - Akamwona babake katika sala, akachukua ^a ~~si~~ _√ndho ile ya shaba, akampiga kitovu. Piga kitovu, yeye akamaliza sala yake kisha kumaliza akikoma, akaingia ndani.

He saw his father praying, so he took that brass needle and stabbed him in his kidney (with it). Stabbed in the kidney, he finished his prayers then finished, stood up, and entered (the room).

64. - Basi tena, wakajibizana, kisha mwisho wakamchukua yule shaha wakaenda naye.

Well, again, they answered each other, then at the end, they took the chief-poet and went with him.

Where the separation between actions by a stretch of time is indicated in 62 by the items kwa muda fulani "for some time", the slow succession of events is indicated by repetition of items in 63 and the lingering of the events in the clause(s) prior to the kisha clause is indicated by the item mwisho "at the end" in 64.

Secondly, kisha, unlike halafu, tends to have a separate tone group and be heavily stressed; these intonational features give the implication that there is some sort of correspondence between the relaxation in the process of communication, i.e. narration in our situation, and the relaxation^a in the occurrence of events. Even when it occurs unstressed it frequently combines with words which denote the lingering of the action(s) mentioned in the preceding clause(s) as seen in 64. They frequently, i.e. kisha and such words, have one tone group.

Syntactically, kisha, like halafu, functions as an anaphoric conjunct conjoining the clause it introduces only to the preceding clause (s). It has no homonyms.

C. Baadaye "afterwards".

Baadaye, like halafu and kisha, denotes that the action(s) in the clause it introduces is subsequent to what has gone before. It, like kisha, denotes the relaxed succession or sequence of events. It conveys such a denotation, in my view, by virtue of the frequent occurrence of a heavy stress on its penultimate

syllable and its tendency to have a separate tone group, or be followed, at least, by a single bar juncture.

Such a semantic denotation is frequently supported by some lexical item(s) denoting the wide gap of time between the occurrence of events as can be seen in:-

65. - Hawa wanakuja kila baada ya, tuseme, ya term kuwa wanakutana na walimu. Baadaye, kila baada ya term tena, wanakutana, wazazi pamoja na walimu.

Those come after every, let us say, term to confer with the teachers. Afterwards, after every following term, they confer, the parents and the teachers.

66. - Baadaye sana, katika mwaka 1226 kitabu kilitolewa.
Along time after that, in 1226 a book was issued.

Syntactically, baadaye functions as an anaphoric conjunct conjoining the clause it introduces only to the preceding clause(s). It has a homonym which functions at A in clause structure denoting an indefinite time as in:-

67. - Wazazi na walimu ndio wanakutana. Basi wanafanya
A C P

nini baadaye? baada ya mkutano?
C A

The parents and the teachers meet. Then what do they do afterwards? after the meeting?

Finally, there is another conjunct common in my data which conveys another temporal denotation. The conjunct is mpaka "until, till". Its main semantic function is to denote that the action(s) mentioned in the clause(s) prior to its clause have come to an end. In other words, using the conjunct mpaka "till" denotes that the action(s) mentioned in mpaka clause indicates the final stage of an action or series of actions occurred previously in the text. So, one can call mpaka a terminative conjunct, i.e. denoting termination, as in:-

68. - Wakati mwingine, yako matatizo huwezi kuyajua mpaka uyajua kwa mzazi.

Sometimes there are problems (which) you cannot know until you get them from the parent.

Mpaka, besides denoting such a terminative meaning, denotes, at the same time, that the actions or events which have gone before in the text lingered for some time, as can be seen in 68 and 69.

69. - Wakawa wamempelekea fitna mfalme wa Pate mpaka mfalme wa Pate akaingiwa na wasiwasi.

They kept reporting dissension to the king of Pate, until the king of Pate became full of apprehension .

Intentionally, mpaka "until" is frequently integrated in the clausal tone group, but is always heavily stressed.

It conveys an anaphoric function and has the potential, I think,

for conveying a cataphoric function. It has two homonyms. The first is a noun belonging to 3-4 classes meaning "boundary". The second expounds a p in group structure as in:-

70. - Mpaka leo, ngoma hiyo yajulikana.
 A S P

 p c

 up till now, this dance is known.

Causal Conjuncts

Causal conjuncts convey the general semantic denotation that what is mentioned in the causal clause denotes either a reason, result or logical consequence of what has gone before in the text. None of the causal conjuncts that occurred in my data has a homonym. So, they have only one positional occurrence, that is, initially in the clause. The most frequent causal conjuncts in my data are:-

kwa hiyo "therefore", kwa sababu "because"
kwa kuwa "because", kwani, maana "because"
and ili "to, in order that"

I will briefly investigate their syntactic, semantic and intonational characteristics.

A. Kwa hiyo "therefore" (1)

Kwa hiyo structurally is an adverbial group. It conveys the

(1) In some cases this conjunct is realized as kwa hivo or kwa hivyo. No difference noted.

conjunctive function by virtue of the occurrence of the referential item hiyo "that" as one of its constituents since such a referential item has the syntactic effect of relating the clause it introduces to what has gone before in the text.

Semantically it implies that the clause it introduces signifies a result or logical consequence to what has gone before, So, one can call it a "conjunct of result".

It occurs in some cases with its accent manifested and followed by either a pause or a single bar juncture. I think that the reason behind such an intonational^a feature is that, as I can postulate from my data, what is going to be said is unknown or unpredictable to the hearer in some cases, or that the speaker furnishes the conjunct with such an intonation in order that he may not lose the hearer's interest in what is going to be said. This means that such an intonational contour may serve a narrative stylistic effect rather than a special semantic effect. Another prominent semantic denotation that can be conveyed through such an intonation is to ascertain that what is going to be said is an inevitable consequence of what has gone before, and confirms it as can be seen in:-

71. - Labda ametoka nyumbani hakuweza kupata chakula
[kwa hiyo] akiya pale ba[dala ya kuzingatia masomo
kwanza hutafuta shughuli nyingine kumpatia chakula.

Maybe he left his home without having some food.
Therefore, when he gets there instead of following

his lessons he looks for something else that may get him some food.

72. - Unajua kuwa wazazi ni watu ambao hawakuweza kusoma, kwa hiyo] huchuk^ulia jambo la elimu kama jambo la mzaha.

You know that parents are people who are not educated, therefore they take educational matters as matters for fun.

On the other hand, it may occur integrated into the clausal tone group without having its accent manifested. Such an intonational contour conveys, as it seems to me, the semantic denotation that what is going to be said is known or predictable to the hearer. So, the speaker does not feel the need of giving the utterance any sort of intonational prominence as can be seen in:-

73. - Anajua kwamba mwalimu hafanyi kazi yake kikamilifu, kwa hiyo humlaumu mwalimu moja kwa moja.

He knows that the teacher does not do his work perfectly, therefore he blames him straight away.

74. - Aliyetambua hasa kwamba mtoto huyu ni mpotevu' nidha mu ni mwalimu wa darasa, kwa hiyo mwalimu wa darasa atachukwa jukuma la kumwangalia mtoto tabia yake.

The one who can tell that the student is a chaos-maker is the class teacher, therefore, the class teacher

will take the responsibility of observing the student's disposition.

There is one semantic denotation which is always conveyed by kwa hiyo regardless of its variation in intonation, that is, it denotes ascertaining and confirming what has been mentioned in the linguistic unit prior to its clause. Kwa hiyo "therefore" functions as an anaphoric conjunct with no homonyms.

B. Kwa sababu "because"

Kwa sababu functions as a conjunct denoting, inter alia, the semantic implication that the clause it introduces contains a reason for what has been mentioned in the linguistic unit prior to it.

Syntactically, kwa sababu functions as an anaphoric conjunct conjoining the clause it introduces to the preceding linguistic unit(s) as in:-

75. - Maendeleo ya vijijini ni ya juu zaidi kuliko haya ya mijini, ~~kwa~~ sababu wao wanapenda zaidi kusoma.

The progress in the villages is much higher than the progress in the cities, because they very much like to learn.

76. - Mara moja akasema nataka kupigiwa gungu kwa sababu ndio kitu ninachokipenda.

Suddenly, he said; I want the 'gungu' dance be held for me, because it is what I actually like.

It may also function cataphorically, i.e. conjoining the clause(s) it introduces to another clause(s) occurring after it as in:-

77. - Sasa, kwa sababu wao sana yalikuwa matembezi yao ni katika mashamba|ambayo ni katika makonde na kuna miti ambayo yaitwa mikoma|wakaazimia|kuwa kila siku kila mmoja lazima apande juu ya mkoma atungue makoma.

Now because they frequently have walks in plantations which are in a cultivated area (with a lot of gardens) where there are trees called palm-trees they made the arrangements that every day everyone must climb up a palm-tree and pick some palm-dates.

Where the head clause is the one underlined between clause boundaries whereas the modifying clauses(s) is initiated by kwa sababu "because".

When kwa sababu occurs functioning as an anaphoric conjunct, it may be integrated into, or isolated from, the clausal tone group to indicate that what is going to be said is either previously known and predictable to the hearer (and in such a case it need not be accorded any intonational prominence) or that it is not known or predictable to the hearer and so, it needs to be stressed or focussed by means of intonation, respectively.

Like kwa hiyo "therefore", in both intonational cases, kwa sababu denotes confirming and asserting what is mentioned in the head clause.

On the other hand, when it occurs functioning as a cataphoric conjunct it frequently either has a separate tone group or the clause it introduces ends in high tone level.

Kwa sababu can have two other functions. First, it can introduce a clause which does not provide a reason or cause to the content of the linguistic unit prior to it, but, in such cases, it introduces a clause conveying a comment on what has gone before in the text. That is, it introduces a disjunctive clause as can be seen in 78, (see below).

78. - Kitu ambacho chaweza kuniua mimi ni sindano ya shaba, unipigie kitovu . Lakin wakati nikiwa katika sala. Kwa sababu, wakati akiwa katika sala yeye haoni chochote wala hafikiri lolote.

The thing that can kill me is a brass-needle, stab me (with it) in my kidney. But only when I am praying. Because, when he prays he does not see anything or think of anything else.

The second function is quite peculiar because kwa sababu, as it seems to me, functions in a free distribution with ile "in order that" which does not denote reason as much as it denotes purpose.

This is a hypothesis, since I cannot affirm that kwa sababu can convey such a function in any context because it occurred only once in my data conveying this function. That is:-

79. - Na azma ya mfalme ni kumwua, kwa sababu asije akamnya ng'anya ufalme wake.

And the king's intention is to kill him, in order that he may not come to take the kingship away from him.

C. Kwa kuwa "because", "since".

Kwa kuwa conveys the same semantic denotation conveyed by kwa sababu "because", that is, it introduces a clause providing a reason or cause to the content of another linguistic unit in the text. But unlike kwa sababu, kwa kuwa conveys the main syntactic function of cataphora, i.e. conjoins the clause it introduces to another linguistic unit posterior to it in the text. It has not occurred in my data conveying an anaphoric function.

Intonationally, kwa kuwa tends to be integrated into the clausal tone group, to have its accent manifested on the second constituent, and the tone group in which it is integrated tends to have a high tone level. It occurred with this intonation in my spoken data and occurred unpunctuated in the written data, e.g.

80. - Na kwa kuwa yeye ni shaha wa utungaji au mashairi,

ikawa lazima mmoja ahudhuri.

And since he is a chief-poet, another one (chief-poet) should attend.

81. - Si kwa kuwa yeye kakawia kufika bali yeye mwenyewe
Seif hana desturi ya kulala asubuhi.

Not because he has arrived late, but because he
himself, Seif, is not used to sleeping in the morning.

However, kwa kuwa has the potential for anaphoric conjunction.
I am fully aware of the possibility of kwa kuwa functioning
anaphorically but it has not occurred in my data functioning as
such.

D. Kwani, maana "because".

Kwani and maana, like kwa sababu, and kwa kuwa, are conjuncts of
cause. That is, they introduce a clause providing a reason
or cause to the content of another linguistic unit in the
text.

Both kwani and maana have occurred in my data functioning
as anaphoric conjuncts as in:-

82. - Wanaweza kujulikana kuwa ni watoto wa shule kupita
hapa Dar. kwani kule wanatii walimu na wanasikiliza
masomo.

They can be recognised as school-children more than
here in Dar. Because there they obey the teachers and

listen carefully to their lessons.

83. - Wamo katika enzi ya pekee katika Afrika, maana wameweza kuwaathiri Waafrika.

They entertain a unique position in Africa, because they influenced the Africans.

Only kwani that occurred functioning as a cataphoric conjunct conjoining its clause to another clause posterior to it in the text, as in:-

84. - Kwani hao walikuotesha usingizini kuwa mimi nitakuja leo nikuletee shilingi tano, wameshindwa kukuotesha nililolijia

Since they made you dream in your sleep that I would come today to give you five shillings, they failed to make you dream of the reason I came for.

However, I think that maana also has the potential for cataphoric conjunction.

Both kwani and maana have homonyms. Kwani has a homonym that functions as a question word as in:-

85. - Nikilingani^{sha} na hali ambayo tulisoma sisi ni tofauti kabisa. Kwani? Wanafunzi wa sasa hata hawa wadogo hawawezi kumwogopa mwalimu.

If I compare (it) to the way we studied (I find it) completely different. Why? Students nowadays even young students do not fear the teacher.

Maana has two homonyms. The first is a noun meaning "meaning" as in the utterance:-

86. - Waswahili walikuwa wakitumia "Mkulu" ambalo mpaka leo lina maana ya "mkubwa, mtukufu".

The Swahili used to use the word "Mkulu" which still today conveys the meaning of "great, sacred".

The second homonym occurs as a constituent in the explanatory conjunct maana yake "that is" (see explanatory clauses below).

87. - Kukutana na wazazi wenzao, maana yake, mwalimu ni mzazi.

To confer with their parent friends, that is, the teacher is a parent.

E. Ili "in order to, "to"

Ili is a conjunct of purpose. That is, it ^rintroduces a clause denoting the purpose or the aim of the content of another linguistic unit in the text. Not only does ili "to" differ from other causal conjuncts by denoting such a semantic implication, but also by the fact that it behaves syntactically in a way different from the way other causal conjuncts behave. That is, it always introduces clauses whose predicators are always either in the ku-or-e forms, i.e. non-finite verbal forms.e.g.

88. - Halmashauri ya shule pamoja na watu wake wanaitwa ili kusikia jambo hilo.

The school committee together with its members are called to hear such an affair.

89. - Atungue makoma au angue makoma ili wenziwe wapate
kula siku ile.

To get down palm-dates or to knock down palm-dates in
order that his friends should eat that day.

Intonationally, kwani, maana and ili tend to be integrated in
the clausal tone group when they function as anaphoric conjuncts,
and when they function as cataphoric conjuncts they tend also to
be integrated into the clausal tone group, but, in this case
the tone group into which they are integrated tends to end in a
high level tone.

Additive Conjuncts

Additive conjuncts have the semantic function of adding a new
point to what has gone before in the text. They do not imply
putting the events or actions in a sequential order. Some of
them are assertive in the sense that they, semantically, rein-
force and confirm what has been said before in the text such as
tena "again" or what is going to be said such as vilevile
"also", whereas others denote just adding a new point or a new
piece of information such as na "and" and au "or". More than
one additive conjunct may occur together constituting a cluster
of additive conjuncts at the beginning of the clause, thus
conveying a vehement assertion to what is mentioned in the
conjoined clauses as in:-

90. - Nimetiwa ngomeni na vilevile nimetiwa pingu na
mandakozi.

I have been put in prison and also have been shackled

with fetters and yoke.

91. - Na tena hapo, akachukuliwa kwenda kuzikwa.

And again then he was taken to be buried.

92. - Mtoto hana mahali pazuri pa kulala au vilevile
chakula hapati.

The child does not have a good place for sleeping and
also does not have food.

All additive conjuncts in my data have a separate tone group except for na "and" which functions in addition to its addition-denoting function, as a transitional item that enables the speaker to shift from one point to another in his speech. So, it seems to me that if the point he will shift to is obviously related to the previous discourse or indicates a dramatic change in the events, he usually integrates it into the clausal tone group. Otherwise, it has a separate tone group.

The most frequent additive conjuncts in my data are na "and", au "or", vilevile "also" and tena "again" I will investigate the syntactic functions, semantic denotations and intonational characteristics as well as the relationship between their intonation and semantic denotations.

Na "and"

The conjunct na "and" differs, in its syntactic function, by virtue of its appearance^a at the beginning of the clause from the coordinate na "and" which appears between constituents of single units of structure, always of the same rank and grammatical

structure, as in:-

93. - Ulihudhuria katika mkutano wa wazazi na walimu.

You attended the meeting of parents and teachers.

and from the prepositional na "by" or "with" which frequently occurs in passive and static structures such as:-

94. - Mtoto wake ambaye yeye amefiliwa na babake.

Her son whose father died.

95. - Iwapo mtoto atakaa na baba tu.

If the child were to stay with his father only.

The conjunct na "and" does not demonstrate fixed or distinguishing intonational characteristics. However, it may be separated from the clausal tone group by a pause or a single bar juncture and this particularly happens, as I could postulate from my data, when the speaker is lost for words or thinking of what he is going to say. Such an intonational feature does not, as it seems to me, convey a significant semantic implication.

There are, however, some other syntactic features that characterise na "and" when functioning as a conjunct. It is quite notable in my data that the conjunctive na "and" is very frequently followed by a referential item which makes the syntactic function of na as a conjunct quite obvious as in:-

96 .- Kuna wingi wa walimu wanawake ^aDr na hii inasababishwa
kwa sababu wanawake kusema kweli au kazi ya walimu
kusema kweli ni mwanamke.

There are many female teachers in Dar. and this happens because women, to tell the truth, or teaching, to tell the truth, is a woman.

In other cases, it combines with other conjuncts whether denoting addition such as:-

97. - Na vilevile alipelekwa na kipande cha wimbo.

And also she was sent with a piece of song.

or denoting temporal conjunction as in:-

98. - Na wakati huo alikuwa huko upande huo huo wa Shaka.

And at that time he was there in the same place Shaka.

It follows from this brief exposition that the conjunct na "and" has a main semantic function, that is, addition and a secondary semantic function i.e. transition. Its main syntactic function is linkage. Similar to na in its secondary semantic function are sasa "now" and basi "so", "well" which will be discussed later on.

AU "or".

The conjunct au "or" does not differ much in its syntactic function from na "and". The main difference between them lies in the semantic denotation conveyed by them since na "and" denotes mere accumulation of actions or events, whereas au "or" denotes presenting an alternative or explanation to what has gone before in the discourse. Au "or" also, in some contexts, indicates that the speaker has changed his mind and changed what

he meant to say or at least wants to put it in a different way. This denotation of au "or" is very frequently signalled by being preceded by an incomplete utterance as in:-

99. - Wanawake kusema kweli au kazi ya walimu kusema kweli ni mwanamke.

Women, to tell the truth, or, teaching, to tell the truth, is a woman.

In some other contexts au "or" functions as an appositive element linking two semantically equivalent units, usually the second sheds more light on the meaning of the first, as in:-

100 - Atia ule chembe chake katika uta au mshali katika uta.

He puts his shaft in the bow or arrow in bow.

101.- Akikata lile shapa au lile karara.

He cuts the coconut stem or the (coconut stem)

The conjunct au "or", on my tapes, always has a separate tone group and is heavily stressed, whereas the coordinate au "or", which is a homonym to the conjunct au (see below), sometimes has a separate tone group and frequently does not. Nevertheless, when it has a separate tone group it is sometimes heavily stressed as happens with the conjunct au "or".

The semantic implication of the intonational status of the conjunct au is that it always has a heavy stress and a separate

tone group because it introduces the clause which conveys what the speaker deems an important alternative to what he previously said or an explanation to it.

The conjunct au "or" has, as a homonym, the coordinate au "or". The syntactic difference between them is that the conjunct au conjoins clauses or sentences as in:-

102.- Wewe watafuta kitu gani cha kuniua mimi? Au sasa jambo gani limelokupa kuniuliza kitu ambacho chaweza kuniua mimi?

Are you looking for the thing that can kill me? Or, now what made you ask me about the thing that can kill me?

whereas the coordinate au "or" operates at the group or item level as seen in the examples 100-101.

The distinction between the conjunct au and the coordinate au can be based only on syntactic grounds since the coordinate au may convey all the semantic denotations conveyed by the conjunct au. Also, it may have the same intonational features that characterise the conjunct au "or".

Vilevile "also" (1)

The conjunct vilevile"also" frequently has a separate tone

-
- (1) This conjunct can be realized written as one word, two ^hhyphenated words or two separate words.

group, that is, it is frequently followed by either a pause or a single bar juncture. It usually conveys a double-sided semantic function since it serves as an assertive element to the content of the clauses conjoined by it. When it is meant to impute a special assertion to the clause that follows it, it is often characterised by another intonational feature, that is, having a notably heavy stress on both of its constituents, i.e. vilevile. It is also, in this case, frequently preceded by a relatively long pause, as in:-

103.- Raia walikimpenda sana kwa sababu ya ushujaa wake na uhodari wake,....vilevile na kuwa yeye ni hodari katika washairi.

The people loved him so much because of his courage and his cleverness, also, because he is distinguished amongst poets.

When it occurs with normal stress it denotes just an addition of a new point to what has been mentioned in the previous discourse. The difference between vilevile "also" and na "and" in this case is very subtle. That is, vilevile frequently denotes that what is going to be said is closely related to what has gone before e.g.

104.- Kwa mfano, mtoto hana mahali pazuri pa kulala, au vilevile, chakula hapati, au misukosuko baadhi ya wakati, vilevile, iko shida ya ndoa kati ya baba na mama.

For example, the child does not have a good place for sleeping, or also, does not have food or has trouble sometimes, also, there may be a matrimonial problem between the father and mother.

whereas na "and" does not necessarily denote that.

The conjunct vilevile "also" has two homonyms. The first functions at A in clause structure frequently occurring in a post-predicator position, as in:-

105.- Amemletea na amemtilia vilevile kama alivyomwagiza.

She brought to him and also put to him as he instructed.

The second homonym functions at qn in group structure, i.e. the nominal groups, as in:-

106.- Mwalimu peke yake kwa kweli hawezi kufanya kazi hiyo,

lazima mzazi vilevile ahusike.

h qn

The teacher on his own, in fact, cannot do this job, the parent also must get involved.

Both homonyms do not have special intonational features since they are always, in my data, integrated into the clausal tone group. Although both of them serve, semantically, the additive function, none of them serves syntactically the conjunctive function.

Tena "again"

The conjunct tena "again" always has its accent clearly manifested on its penultimate syllable, in my data, and has not occurred integrated into the clausal tone group, that is, it is always followed by either a pause or a single bar juncture.

The semantic function of tena "again" seems to be denoting the addition of a new closely related point or argument meant basically to confirm and support what has been previously mentioned in the text. So it can be paraphrased in such a context by vilevile "also" as can be seen in:-

107.- Mfalme mara moja akaamrisha kuwa siku fulani lazima kupiga gungu. Basi tena akaamrisha masogora wakaja pale na ngoma.

The king at once ordered that one day they must have the "gungu" dance. Then also he ordered the drum-players to come there with their drums.

The conjunct tena "again" has three homonyms. The first functions as an element-modifier at the clause level i.e. adjunct, as in:-

108.- Na hapo wakaamkiana tena

An then, they greeted each other again.

The second homonym functions at the group level, that is, it occurs functioning as a modifier in the nominal group, and in

this case its semantic denotation does not differ much from that of vilevile "also" when conveying the same syntactic function, i.e. it means "also" as can be seen in:-

109.- Unapozungumza juu ya nidhamu lazima kuzungumza juu ya walimu. Walimu wanachelewa sana siku hizi, mwalimu mkuu tena anachelewa.

When you speak about discipline you have to speak about the teachers. The teachers are always late nowadays, the headmaster also comes late.

The third homonym functions as a coordinating item linking two units of structure of the ^a ~~same~~ rank and of the same grammatical realization. In fact, it has not occurred in my data taking up this function. The first example I am going to quote here is provided by one of my informants in London and the other is quoted from Maw , 1969.

110.- Mtu mwen~~a~~ tena karimu sana.

A kind man and very generous.

111.- Vitu vya baridi tena vinavyotoka kwenye firiji.

Cold things and brought from the fridge.

respectively.

I think that this is quite frequent when linking items functioning as qualifiers in the nominal group where using na "and" is very rare.

A problem arises when tena "again" interrupts a compound verbal

group as in:-

112.- Yeye akawa tena ameingia katika kuimba.

He has got, again, involved in singing.

In fact, I think that its analysis depends on its intonational features and on the context. When it has a separate tone group and stressed I tend to treat it as a conjunct. Otherwise, I would treat it as an adjunct unless the context forces its analysis as a conjunct, that is, when functioning as an adjunct it normally denotes repetition of action, so if the context shows that it does not denote repetition, I do not think that it would have any syntactic function, in this case, other than conjunction.

Enumerative Conjuncts

Enumerative conjuncts constitute another category of conjuncts which, semantically, does not differ much from the previous category in the sense that their primary semantic denotation is to add another point to what has been mentioned before in the text. But this category differs from additive conjuncts in two main respects. The first is semantic since members of this category, unlike additive conjuncts, imply putting the events or actions, mentioned in the conjoined clauses, in order, at least from the speaker's point of view, whereas additive conjuncts do not convey or imply such a function.

The second is intonational since some of the additive conjuncts

may or may not be incorporated into the clausal tone group whereas enumerative conjuncts are frequently characterised by having a separate tone group. They have not occurred in my data incorporated into the clausal tone group. Moreover, they are normally stressed heavily.

Describing enumerative conjuncts as constituting a separate category does not mean that I am arguing against treating them as a sub-category of additive conjunct, but, in fact, I have chosen considering them as a separate category because of the fixed intonation that they all demonstrate and the fixed semantic denotation they all have in common. Also, I treated them in this way to avoid sub-categorising some categories of conjuncts and in order that one can refer to them easily.

The members of this category are mainly cardinal numbers, theoretically constitute an open set of items since the realization of the utterance mia moja "one hundred" in a context of counting reasons for doing or not doing something, for example, is possible. But practically, one can say that they constitute a closed system of items since I have not come across a spontaneous utterance, i.e. on my tapes, counting for more than three.

Semantically speaking, as I could postulate from my data, the speaker resorts to using such a sort of conjuncts to influence the hearer by the fact that they, i.e. the conjuncts, impute a good deal of logic and strength to his argument.

It has been mentioned earlier that members of this category are mainly cardinal numbers. However, they may be realized by ordinal numbers especially when they are realized as rank-shifted qualifiers in nominal groups conveying, as a whole, the conjunctive function. The only exceptions to this statement are the items kwanza "first" and pili "second" which can convey this function on their own, as in:-

113.- Watoto wetu siku hizi wame~~v~~vunjika mno. Kwanza masomo hawapendi wakiingia darasani.

Our children are very much spoilt nowadays. First, they do not like their lesson when they enter the class.

114.- Basi ni mtoto wake ndiye mwenye kosa. Moja, yawezekana hafiki shuleni. Pili, inawezekana afika shuleni lakini haingii darasani. Tatu, inawezekana aingia darasani lakini hafanyi kazi zote daransai.

Well, his child is actually ^{the}one who is mistaken. First, he possibly does not come to school. Second, maybe, he comes to school but does not enter the class. Third, maybe he enters the class but he does not do all the work in the class.

In some cases the enu~~m~~erative conjunct may occur at the end of the clause; still in a separate tone group. Since this is not its usual positional occurrence, its occurrence as such as a conjunct marks, as I could understand from the context, a shift in the way the speaker conducts his speech. That is, he shifts

from using an additive conjunct in order that he may strengthen his argument. So, the enumerative conjunct in such a position seems to be denoting an after-thought as in:-

115.- Tunaepa kidogo kwenda vijijini kwa sababu hali ya kule kidogo sio nzuri sana, jambo la kwaⁿza. Jambo la pili, mara nyingi watu hupenda kuo^a wasichana walimu.

We try a bit to avoid going to the villages because the conditions there are not very well, the first thing (for one thing). The second thing, (for another) usually some people like to marry female teachers.

Adversative Conjuncts

The adversative conjuncts have the general semantic function of denoting that what is going to be said is either a contradiction, comparison or reservation to what has been said in the linguistic unit or the discourse prior to them. None of them functions in a homonymous way. However, some of them notably lakini "but" are mobile, i.e. may occur at the end of the clause, and when lakini occurs in such a position, it is always characterised by having a separate tone group.

The most frequent adversative conjuncts in my data are lakini "but", bali "on the contrary" ijapokuwa "although" and ingawa "though". They will be described here as constituting two groups according to their syntactic behaviour. That is, ingawa and ijapokuwa in one group and lakini and bali in the other.

Ingawa and ijapokuwa "although"

These two conjuncts convey a definite semantic implication. That is, they denote that the clauses they introduce are a clear contradiction to the contents of other linguistic units either prior or posterior to them in the text, as can be seen in:-

116.- Wao wataka sana kusoma ijapokuwa hakuna malaida ya kusoma.

They would like very much to learn, though the means of learning are not available.

117.- Watoto wa mjini wanao nafasi nzuri zaidi kwa sababu katika mji kama Dar. kuna nafasi nyingi sana za kuingia secondari ingawaje hawapati elimu kikamilifu.

The city children have a much better chance because in a city like Dar they have an ample chance of joining secondary schools, although they do not receive proper education.

Syntactically, they function as either anaphoric or cataphoric conjuncts conjoining the clauses they introduce to either preceding or following clause(s). They may also occur in a correlative form, correlating mainly with lakini "but" as in:-

118.- Ingawa hawapati elimu yao kikamilifu, lakin wanao nafasi nzuri, wanaweza ~~kwa~~ kuanzisha.

Although they do not receive sound education but they have a good chance, they can carry on.

incorporated into the clausal tone group when they function anaphorically, and tend to have a separate tone group when they conjoin clauses cataphorically. If they are incorporated into the clausal tone group in the latter case, the tone group in which they are incorporated normally has a high level tone. In both cases, ingawa and ijapokuwa tend to have their penultimate syllables relatively heavily stressed.

Lakini "but" and bali "on the contrary".

Lakini conveys the widest range of semantic implications that can be conveyed by an adversative conjunct. It implies contradiction, comparison or reservation holding between two linguistic units in the text. Yet the most interesting characteristic of lakini "but" is that its intonational features and its form vary in correspondence with the semantic denotations it conveys. In other words, when it conveys the denotation of sharp contradiction to what has been said before it may lose its final vowel, be followed by a relatively long pause and be heavily stressed as in:-

119.- Mfalme yule akawa ana fikra kubwa sana za kutafuta njia nyingine ili ampate Fumo lyongo, lakin hakuweza.

That king has had a lot of ideas about the ways he could arrest Fume lyongo, but he could not.

On the other hand, when it conveys a mild contradiction it keeps its full form and the pause after it becomes relatively short as

in:-

120.- Unaona kwamba labda wanawake ndio wanapenda sana kazi ya ualimu katika Tanzania, lakini sivyoy.

You think that probably women like teaching very much in Tanzania, but this is not right.

It may be used to denote reservation to what has gone before. Again, it may denote a very notable and important reservation and in this case, like the previous one, it loses its final vowel and is followed by a relatively long pause as can be seen in:-

121.- Kitu ambacho chaweza kuniua mimi ni sindano ya shaba, unipigie kitovu. Lakin wakati nikiwa katika sala.

The thing that can kill me is a needle of brass stab me in the kidney (with it). But only when I am praying.

On the other hand, when it denotes a minor reservation, it keeps its full form and is followed by a relatively short pause or is integrated into the clausal tone group as in:-

122.- Ni jukumu la mwalimu , lakini nafahamu kwamba mwalimu peke yake kwa kweli hawezi kufanya kazi hiyo.

It is the responsibility of the teacher, but I understand that the teacher on his own, in fact, cannot do this job.

When lakini "but" is used to convey a meaning of comparison it always keeps its full form, but is sometimes followed by either a pause or single bar juncture and is sometimes integrated into the clausal tone group. I think, as I can postulate from the data, that this intonational variation corresponds with denoting major or minor points of comparison respectively.

Bali "on the contrary", on the other hand, differs from lakini "but" in two main respects.

First, it only indicates contradiction.

Second, it always, and this is its main syntactic feature, conjoins the clause it introduces anaphorically to a negated clause. That is, it requires that the preceding clause be negative, and it functions only anaphorically, as in:-

123 - Si kwa kuwa yeye kakawia kufika bali yeye mwenyewe
Seif hana desturi ya kulala asubuhi.

Not because he arrived late, on the contrary, he himself Seif is not used to sleeping in the mornings.

124.- Hawakuathiriwa wao tu, bali wao pia wameathiri.
They have not been influenced only, but also, they have influenced (others).

Disjuncts

Disjuncts, as implied by their name, are internal modifiers in the sense that they modify their clause(s) independently and

without reference to preceding or following clauses, unlike conjuncts which modify their clauses in relation to other clauses in the sentence. So, disjuncts according to this feature can occur introducing simple utterances consisting of only one clause, whereas conjuncts cannot.

Disjuncts have a fixed positional occurrence, that is, they occur in pre-predicator positions whether initially in the clause or between the subject and the predicator.

They may overlap with front-shifted adjuncts, but, in fact, one can distinguish a front-shifted adjunct from a disjunct by two criteria. The first is intonational and it represents a distinguishing feature of front-shifted adjuncts. The second is semantic, and it represents a distinguishing feature of disjuncts.

As to the intonational feature that characterises the front-shifted adjuncts, I found, in my data, that it seems to be a well-established feature that front-shifted adjuncts always have a separate tone group and are never integrated into the clausal tone group except for locative-denoting adjuncts in the -ni form that may constitute an element S in an entailment clause (see element-modifiers above). Disjuncts are frequently front-shifted for focal reasons and this special intonation gives them prominence in addition to the prominence they gain by virtue of their marked positional occurrence.

On the other hand, when items, that convey the disjunctive function, are transposed to any post-predicator position, they frequently do not retain their disjunctive function, that is, they do not convey the same semantic function they convey when they occur initially in the clause.

Disjuncts can be structurally realized by either:-

- A. Simple items such as labda "probably", "maybe", hasa "in particular", "particularly", lazima "necessarily" etc.
- B. Adverbial groups; such as kwa kweli "in fact", "actually" bila shaka "undoubtedly", "certainly", kwa bahati nzuri "fortunately", "luckily" etc.
- C. Nominal groups; such as mara moja "suddenly", "at once", wakati mwingine "sometimes", mara kwa mara "from time to time", "generally".

Some of these disjuncts may occur in more than one structural form such as kweli and hakika "actually" which may occur as constituents of adverbial groups as in kwa kweli and kwa hakika "actually" respectively. Some occur in one form only such as hasa "particularly" and lazima "necessarily".

The intonational features of disjuncts correlates, to a great extent, with their structure. That is, those realized by group structure or which have the potential for constituting a group tend to have a separate tone group or at least to be

separated from the clausal tone group by a single bar juncture.

This intontational feature seems to have a semantic function. That is, when disjuncts have separate tone groups they, as I could postulate from my data, denote that what is going to be said is something new to the hearer or contrary to what he expects, at least from the speaker's point of view. This can be seen in:-

125.- Kwa kweli] kiasi cha miaka miwili niliyo-fundhisha nikilinganisha na hali ambayo tulisoma sisi ni tofauti kabisa.

In fact, if I compare the two years which I taught to the way we received our education (I find it) completely different.

On the other hand, when they are separated from the clausal tone group by only a single bar juncture they seem to indicate that what is going to be said is known to the hearer or something relevant to the previous discourse. In this case, the disjunct is frequently heavily stressed, as in:-

126.- Bila shaka] katika nidhamu nzuri ya shule au katika utaratibu mzuri hasa kuna mikutano ya wazazi. Undoubtedly, in a good system of schools or in particularly good arrangements there is a parents' association.

127.- Kwa bahati mzuri au mbaya yaonyesha kwamba watoto wa mijini wanao nafasi nzuri.

Fortunately or unfortunately, it seems that the city children have the best chance.

The difference in their semantic function is confirmed by the feature that what is going to be said is sometimes quite unexpected by the hearer but the speaker integrates the disjunct into the clausal tone group or separates it only by a single bar juncture in order that he may not draw the hearer's attention to what he is driving at as in:-

128.- Akenda yule mtoto kumwuliza babake, baba kweli] kitu gani ambacho chakuua wewe?

The boy went to this father to ask him, father, really what can kill you?

Disjuncts which are realized by groups may have homonyms or not. Those which have homonyms such as mara moja "at once" and wakati mwingine "sometimes" may be distinguished, as mentioned above, from their homonyms by virtue of their positional occurrence as well as their semantic denotation. So, if we transposed the disjuncts mara moja and wakati mwingine in:-

129.- Pale, mara moja, akasema kuwa mimi nataka kupigiwa gungu.

There, at once, he said he wants the "gungu" dance be held for him.

130.- Wakati mwingine, yako matatizo mengi.

Sometimes, there are a lot of problems.

respectively to a post-predicator position, they would convey other syntactic and semantic functions. That is, they would be functioning syntactically as adjuncts conveying the semantic denotations: adjuncts of repetition meaning one time in the case

of mara moja and adjuncts of indefinite time in the case of wakati mwingine meaning "another time".

On the other hand, if we transposed the front-shifted adjunct kwa ile akili alokuwa nayo to a post-predicator position in:

131.- kwa ile akili alokuwa nayo, akajua kuwa mimi leo nategwa.

The meaning of the utterance would remain the same.

The most frequent disjuncts in my data are:-

kwa kweli	in fact, really, actually
kwa kawaida	as a rule, as a custom
bila shaka	undoubtedly, certainly
kwa bahati nzuri (mbaya)	fortunately (unfortunately)
mara moja	at once, suddenly
wakati mwingine	sometimes
hasa	particularly
lazima	necessarily
labda	probably, maybe
pengine	probably, maybe

Disjuncts realized by simple items vary in their intonational features according to whether they have homonyms or not and to whether their semantic domain covers more than one clause or not.

Disjuncts which do not have homonyms and those whose semantic domain covers only one clause tend to be integrated into the

clausal tone group. They also tend to be heavily stressed. In other words, the heavy stress is the only intonational feature they may entertain. However, when they introduce a clause containing points relevant to what has gone before, they may lose the stress and become devoid of any special intonational features as in:-

132.- Kila mmoja akaogopa sasa, bwana huyu amekuwa na hasira na lazima ataleta hatari.

Everyone has got frightened now, that man is very angry and necessarily, he will cause some danger.

On the other hand, those which have homonyms and those whose semantic domain covers more than one clause (i.e. sentence disjuncts) tend to be separated from the clausal tone group at least by a single bar juncture especially hasa "particularly", pengine and labda "probably, maybe".

When hasa "particularly" conveys the disjunctive function, it frequently has a separate tone group, as in:-

133.- Hasa], tuambie nidhamu ya wanafunzi katika shule zote hizi ulizofundisha.

In particular, tell us about the discipline of the students in all those schools in which you taught.

Hasa has two homonyms. The first functions as an element in the nominal group. It may be realized as a modifier as in:-

134.- Hilo ndilo lengo hasa.

S P C

h qe

This is a special target.

or as sub-modifier as in:-

135.- Utaratibu mzuri hasa.

h qr s.m.

Particularly good arrangement.

and in these two cases it does not display any marked intonation.

The same applies to pengine "probably" since it tends to have a separate tone group when functioning as a disjunct. Pengine has one homonym which functions as a qualifier in the nominal group as in:-

136.- Mahali pengine

h qn

Another place.

Labda "probably" has the same intonational features of pengine and hasa. It has only one homonym which imposes an analytical problem. It frequently occurs followed by a noun or nominal group. Semantically, it seems to qualify the nominal group it precedes. Syntactically, it does not have an overt relationship with any element in the clause. So it can be analysed as an adjunct on the grounds that it does not have any overt

relationship with other elements in the clause. It can also be analysed as a deictic in the nominal group based on its semantic and syntactic ties with the nominal group. These possibilities can be seen in:-

137.- Mtoto wako hafiki shuleni labda wiki nzima.

Your child does not come to school maybe for a week.

As mentioned above, there are some conjuncts which cannot be subsumed under any of the five categories I suggest either because they convey a wide range of semantic denotations that cover more than one category or because they convey denotations completely different from those conveyed by members of any of the five categories. Such conjuncts are, in most cases, single items; that is why I will dwell briefly on the most common of them without setting up classes for them. The most frequent of them are sasa "now" and basi "well", "that is all" "then" etc.

Sasa "now"

Sasa "now" has two main semantic denotations. First, it is frequently used to denote transition from one point to another closely related, or logically subsequent, to it as can be seen in:-

138.- Wazazi wenyewe utakuta ndio wanajua jigongo wanazunguka huko na huko, hawana nidhamu. Sasa; mzazi yule ndio anayefundisha mtoto, anapokuja shuleni ~~mtoto~~ anakuwa na yale yale.

You will find that the parents themselves are of bad behaviour, wandering here and there and have no discipline. Now, that parent is actually the one who teaches the child, when the child comes to school, he exemplifies the way he is taught (at home).

The semantic implication of sasa is to denote the result or consequence of what has gone before, as in:-

139.- Kwa hiyo huml^uamu mwalimu moja kwa moja kwamba mwalimu hatekelezi kazi yake barabara, ambapo sivyo. Sasa, sisi walimu twajaribu wakati ule kumwelewesha m~~u~~zazi kwamba sisi tunafanya kazi yetu kamili.

Therefore he blames the teacher straight away (saying) that the teacher does not do his work properly. Now, we, the teachers, try to explain to the parents that we do our work properly.

There is no one-to-one correspondence between the intonational features of sasa and its semantic denotations. It always has a separate tone group. But the correspondence seems to exist between the semantic denotations and the length of the pause after sasa since it tends to be followed by a pause when it is meant to denote the result or the consequence of what has gone before, and just by a single bar juncture when it denotes transition from one point to another.

The conjunct sasa which connotes "following from that" or "besides" has the homonym sasa which denotes "now" as a temporal denotation as can be seen in:-

140.- Amekwisha kujiona sasa

He is showing off now..

Basi "well", "then".

This item does not have a specific semantic denotation, and sometimes seems not to have any semantic denotation at all, despite the fact that it entertains the highest percentage amongst words that function as conjuncts. Its notable semantic denotation is to indicate either logical consequences as in:

141.- Iwapo mtoto atakaa na baba tu na atapata mama mwingine, basi atapata misukosuko.

If the child will stay with his father only and will get another mother, then he will get some trouble.

In some cases it seems semantically redundant as in:-

142. Unamwuliza: mtoto wako hafiki shuleni labda wiki nzima, basi anasema haa watoto wa siku hizi ndio hivyo.

You ask him your child does not come to school maybe for a week, he says haa the children nowadays are all like that.

Basi always has a separate tone group, in my data, and tends to be followed by a relatively long pause.

CHAPTER 3 - SENTENCES

The immediate constituents of sentences are clauses, which are frequently related to each other within the sentence by means of one of two systems operating at the sentence level, viz. linkage and dependence. The depth of relationships holding between two or more clauses in a sentence is frequently realized by exponents. That is, a clause is deemed linked if it is introduced by an exponent of linkage and deemed dependent if it is introduced by an exponent of dependence, whereas it is deemed independent if it is not introduced by either. However, there exists another depth of relationships where clauses are deemed interdependent but this depth is not relevant to this study since it does not contribute to the structure of modification in Swahili.(1)

Independent clauses are normally realized by free clauses in the sense that they can constitute a full utterance on their own, whereas dependent clauses are normally realized by bound clauses in the sense that they do not normally constitute a full utterance on their own. On the other hand, linkage operates between clauses or elements of the same rank, that is, in our case, between two or more bound clauses or two or more free clauses.

Bound clauses were found to be, by far, the most frequent

(1) For more details about the relationship between clauses within the sentence see Maw J. 1969.

participants in the structure of modification at the sentence level conveying a wide range of semantic functions such as temporal, causal, explanatory, disjunctive, relative, etc exhibiting in each case distinct syntactic features.

Of these, temporal clauses are the most prominent by virtue of their multifarious syntactic structures and semantic functions.

One can distinguish, on a structural basis, three types of temporal clauses in Swahili:-

- A. -po- temporal clauses
- B. Group temporal clauses
- C. Group plus -po- temporal clauses.

Structural characteristics of -po- temporal clauses:-

As implied by their name, -po- temporal clauses are always marked off by the occurrence of the element -po- as a morphological constituent of their predicator. Although they look like a relative structure they differ from ordinary relative structures in some respects:-

- I. They do not tend to have an antecedent as one of their immediate constituents. The reason behind such a behaviour, I think, is that -po- clauses do not primarily function as syntactic modifiers to antecedents but because they together with their antecedents, if they have any, function syntactically as modifiers to another clauses(s) in the sentence in

which they occur.

- II. Their possible antecedent, which is contextually understood as the item wakati "time", does not have to appear in the surface structure since its semantic and syntactic functions are equivalent to those of -po- temporal clauses in the sense that either of them relates two actions in terms of their temporal occurrence. However, wakati "time" can appear in front of a -po- temporal clause for some stylistic or focal reasons as in:-

1. Sanduku lilikuwa limejaa vumbi lote ila zile sehemu zilizoelekea kuwa zimeshikwashikwa wakati lilipofunguliwa hiyo jana.

All the box was covered by dust except for those parts which showed that they were touched when it was opened yesterday.

- III. They cannot be introduced by the item amba-. That is, the item ambapo (1) as a temporal relative marker does not exist in Swahili according to my informant whereas any ordinary relative structure can be introduced by the relative marker amba-.

However, the occurrence of either wakati or a -po- clause is determined by the tense of the clause(s). So, wakati and -po-

(1) It can be used to denote contrast rather than temporal conjunction.

clause are optional if the clause tense is one of:-

-li-	past	aliposema	"when he said".
-na-	present	anaposema	"when he says"
-taka-	future	ataposema	"when he will say"
0	Ind.present	asemapo	"when he says"

[-il-..] + [-ki-....] past cont.

auxillary + main verb

2. alipokuwa akichukua "when he was taking"

[-li + aux.] + [-na-...]

3. Walipokuwa wanachomoza "when they were appearing"

whereas wakati can co-occur with all tenses functioning as a temporal conjunct as in:-

4. Akamwambia mimi kitu ambacho chaweza kuniua mimi ni sindano ya shaba unipigie kitovu lakin wakati nikiwa katika sala. Kwa sababu, wakati akiwa katika sala yeye haoni chochote wala hafikiri lolote.

He told him "the thing that can kill me is a brass-needle, hit me (with it) in the kidney but only when I am praying. Because when he prays he does not see anything or think of anything.

The head of -po- temporal clauses

The head of -po- temporal clauses can be realized, as I found in my data, by either:-

I. Clauses.

These vary in their structure and their classes.

As regards their structure they can be :-

A. Simple, i.e. consisting of one clause. Again, they can be either:-

A1. Dependent as in:-

5. Lakini yote atakayomfanyia hayafidii mashaka na taabu aliyokuta bibi yule mikononi mwake alipokuwa mdogo
But all what he will do for her will not redeem the distress and trouble which that lady had suffered when she was young.

A2. or Independent as in:-

6. Anapokuja shuleni mtoto anakuwa na yale yale.

When he comes to school, the student behaves in the same way (he does at home).

B. Complex structure of clauses, i.e. two or more clauses related by either linkage or dependence, e.g:-

7. Fumo Lyongo akamwoa huyu Sumwemwana na yule mtoto akamlea yeye alipokuwa mdogo.

Fumo Lyongo married Sumwemwana and brought up the child when he was young.

and 8. Mtoto anapotoka shuleni anasahau pale pale kila kitu ila kucheza mpira tu.

When the child leaves the school he forgets on the spot everything except playing football only.

respectively.

On the other hand, all classes of main clauses were found taking up the function of the head of -po- clauses. That is:-

Declaratives as in:-

9. Anapokuja shuleni mtoto anakuwa na yale yale

When he comes to school, the child behave in the same way.

Imperatives as in:-

10. Kwa mfano angalia aliposema "nikasafiri....".

For example observe when he said "I travelled....".

Interrogatives as in:-

11. Mwalimu mkuu anapoona yote hayo kwamba shule haina nidhamu yeye hasa ana shauri nini kwa walimu wenzake?

When the headmaster sees all that, that is, the school is lack of discipline what advice does he have to his teacher friends?

- II. Items or groups functioning as temporal conjuncts, e.g.

12. Hapo alipong'amua yeye mara kwa mara alikuwa na hadhari.

Then, when he realized, he was generally cautious.

13. Halafu anapofika nyumbani wazazi wanatia signature ya kuwa amerudi.

Then when he gets home, the parents sign that he has returned.

14. Wakati huo alipoambiwa siku yake akajua kuwa mimi

leo nategwa..

At that time, when he was reminded of his turn, he knew that, "I will be hunted today".

The possible positional occurrence of -po- temporal clauses seems to be determined, or predicted, by the structure of their head. When the head is realized by a clause(s), the position of -po- clauses is frequently determined by the class of the clause. That is, they frequently occur before declarative clauses as in:-

15. Waliporudi makwao walichukua vitu vyingi.

When they returned to their places, they took a lot of things.

and in this case they convey an emphatic function by virtue of this positional occurrence and its concomitant intonation. However, when such an emphatic function is not intended, they occur after the declarative clauses as in:-

16. Akamwoa huyu Sumwemwana na yule mtoto akamlea yeye alipokuwa mdogo.

He married Sumwemwana and brought up the child when he was young.

However, there seem to be some situations in which -po- temporal clauses tend to occur after their head, viz:-

A. When the element P of the head clause is negated
e.g.

17. Hakuziwacha nyendo hizo mpaka alipotimia arusi yeye

na mumewe.

She has not given up such behaviour until she and her husband consummated marriage.

B. When their antecedent occurs as an element in the head clause, e.g:.

18. Alikumbuka siku ile baba yake alipokuja nacho kisanduku hicho.

He remembered that day, when his father came with that small box.

C. When they function semantically as explanatory clauses to the element P of the head clause; a case in which one would be inclined to analyse it, i.e. the -po- clause, as a realization of an element C and incorporate it into the head clause but for the structural complexities which would result from such an analysis e.g.

19. Alikumbuka alipokuwa mkubwa na kuvunja ungo.
She remembered when she grew up and began menstruation.

Imperative clauses as heads always occur before -po- temporal clauses as in:-

20. kwa mfano angalia aliposema "nikasafiri...".

For example observe when he said "I travelled..".

I have not come across any example where -po- temporal clauses preceded imperative clauses as heads and my informant rejected

artificial examples of such a sequence.

Interrogative clauses as heads may precede or follow -po- temporal clauses, depending on the semantic function they convey, i.e. -po- clauses, as in:-

- 21. Mwalimu mkuu anapona yote hayo kwamba shule haina nidhamu yeye hasa ana shauri nini kwa walimu wenzake?

When the headmaster sees all that, that is, the school is lack of discipline what advice in particular does he have to his teacher friends?

- and 22. Siwezi kufahamu majoma walikuwa wapi alipoondoka?
I cannot understand where were the guards when he got out?

respectively.

On the other hand, if the head of -po- temporal clauses is realized by an item or group the position of -po- clause does not vary. That is, they always occur after the head as in:-

23. Hapo alipong'amua
Then, when he realized.

24. Wakati huo alipoambiwa siku yake.
At that time, when he was told of his day.

At this stage one can say that the structure of modification at the sentence level as far as -po- temporal clauses are concerned can be formulated as follows:-

H_G + Modifier

$H_C, +im + \text{Modifier}$
 $H_C -im + \text{Modifier}$
 $\text{Modifier} + H_C, -im$

where G = Group (or item)

C = Clause

C, +im = Imperative clause

C, -im = Clauses other than imperatives

-Po- temporal clauses have two syntactic functions:

I. They function as word or group modifiers when their head is realized by an item or group as in:-

25. Hapo anapofika nyumbani

Then when he gets home.

26. Wakati huo alipoambiwa siku yake

At that time, when he was told of his day.

and in this case they do not modify other clauses in the sentence on their own but take up this function together with their heads. That is, they are considered as group temporal clauses.

ii. They may function as clause or sentence modifiers when their head is realized by one or more clauses as in:-

27. Sasa akawa alipopata ule akauvunda ndani akajua.

Now, when he got it, he opened it, and knew.

The semantic functions of -po- clauses

-Po- temporal clauses have two main semantic functions conveyed through some structural features that characterise their P element as well as their head. That is, they convey a simultaneous function when they have the following structural features:-

Either of the -po- clause or its head has the verb kuwa as its predicator or a part of it, e.g.

I. Kuwa in the -po- clause:- (as a main verb).

28. Na yule mtoto akamlea yeye alipokuwa mdogo.

And brought up the child when he was young.

II. Kuwa in the head clause:- (this case is bound to present tense when the P element is compound).

29. Anapokuja shuleni anakuwa na yale yale.

P
x m

When he comes to school, he behaves in the same way.

When the structure of the element P of either the -po- clause or head clause is different from that illustrated above the semantic relationship holding between the -po- clause and its head seems to be some sort of logical consequence to what has been expressed in the -po- clause as in:-(1)

(1) -po- in this case can be paraphrased by baada ya "after" mutatis mutandis.

30. Sasa akawa alipopata ule akauvunda ndani akajua.

Now, when he got it, he opened it, and knew.

31. Waarabu walipofika Afrika Mashriki walizuia lugha na mila zao.

When the Arabs came to East Africa, they spread their language and their customs.

32. Alipong'amua yeye alikuwa mara kwa mara na hadhari.

When he realized, he was generally cautious.

The difference between logical consequence as a relationship holding between the -po- clause and its head and logical consequence as a relationship holding between a causal clause and its head is that the former is placed in time whereas the latter is not, e.g.:-

33. Alipopata ule akauvunja ndani.

When he got it, he opened it.

and 34. Wajua kuwa wazazi ni watu ambao hawakuweza kusoma, kwa hiyo wanachukua jambo la elimu kama jambo la mzaha.

You know that the parents are people who could not get education, therefore, they take the educational matters as matters of fun.

They convey an emphatic function when they precede the head clause, since, in this case, they are frequently characterised by a prominent intonational feature, that is, they very often

have a separate tone group, are heavily stressed and are highly unlikely to be incorporated into other clause's tone groups. This special combination of intonational features betrays, I think, the marked positional occurrence of -po- clauses since they do not entertain such an intonational prominence when they occur in their neutral position, i.e. after the head clause.

They convey also an emphatic function when they are introduced by items such as mpaka "until" and ila "except" and the element P of the head clause is negated as in:-

35. Hakuziwacha nyendo hizo mapaka alipotimia arusi yeye
~~na~~/mumewe.

She has not given up such behaviour, until she and her husband consummated marriage.

and 36. Sikuondosha akiba yangu huko ila alipogundua ndugu yangu.

I have not disclosed my (hidden) store there, except when he discovered my brother.

When they are introduced by such emphatic items (they are emphatic in terms of their relation to the negated P element of the head clause) and when they precede the head clause they seem to be accorded the utmost prominence in the sentence up to the point that makes one feel that topicalization in the sentence is conveyed through them regardless of the syntactic fact that they are dependent clauses. So, when the speaker does not count on

the information included in -po- clauses he mentions them after the head clause and, sometimes, incorporates them into the head clause's tone group as in:-

37. Akamlea yeye alipokuwa mdogo.

He brought him up when he was young.

Temporal clauses introduced by groups (1), on the other hand, are frequently introduced by a temporal conjunct. Items that are deemed to be functioning as temporal conjuncts, their positional occurrences, their semantic denotations and their intonational features have been investigated in the previous chapter. This part of this chapter is devoted to investigating the structure, the semantic and the syntactic functions of clauses introduced by temporal conjuncts.

At this stage, and before investigating group temporal clauses, it seems useful to present some general remarks and differences between group temporal clauses and -po- temporal clauses. First, temporal conjuncts entertain fixed lexical meanings. So, they are capable of denoting anteriority, posteriority, simultaneity or any other temporal denotation by virtue of their lexical meaning and independently of the structure or the denotation of other elements in their clauses, whereas there is always one-to-one correspondence between the structure and the semantics of -po- temporal clauses since they are frequently

(1) I will call them "group temporal clauses" throughout this study.

determined by the tenses involved in the whole temporal structure, i.e. the head clause and the temporal clause. In other words, the information of -po- temporal clauses is not definite but subject to change and variation according to the tenses involved in the temporal structure and to their position in the sentence.

Moreover, when the tense restrictions of -po- temporal clauses are not fulfilled, they acquire another, contextually conferred, meaning which is no longer temporal but, one can say, either conditional or causal, e.g.

38. Hapo, alipokuwa yeye ni mtu ana luwambi, raghba ya utungaji wa ile ngoma, lazima mtu kukosa hisi.

There, since he was a man of desire, fondness of composing such a dance, then one has to lose consciousness.

On the basis of such inherent lexical meanings, group temporal clauses have a wider range of expressing definite semantic denotations and have ^{more} potential for contrast than -po- temporal clauses. On the other hand, on the basis of lack of definite lexical meanings of -po- as a temporal element, it is frequently used as a cohesive element in narration "indicating the passage of time" (c.f. Maw 1974 p.28), whereas group temporal clauses do not normally denote such an indefinite function.

Temporal conjuncts, as temporal-indicating elements, can be modified by specifiers whether items, groups, or rank-shifted clauses, whereas the temporal element -po- cannot be modified as such (1).

Group temporal clauses, as mentioned above, denote either anteriority, posteriority or simultaneity. Structurally, group temporal clauses, except for those introduced by kabla "before", demonstrate a basic characteristic: they required the non-negative form of the clauses they introduce. Another feature that I found consistent in group temporal clauses in my data is that the verbal element of the head clause is frequently different from that of the temporal clause. That is, the two verbal elements cannot be identical unless that of the temporal clause was modified by the repetitive adjunct tena "again" as in:-

39. Wanakutana na walimu, baadaye, kila baada ya term tena, wanakutana wazazi pamoja na walimu.

They come with the teachers, then, after each term again, they confer, the parents and the teachers.

This restriction is necessitated by the fact that the identicalness of the predicator in both the temporal clause and the head

(1) It has not occurred in my data modified by any structure and my informants could not provide me with examples of such a structure.

clause opposes, or at least does not conform to, the lexical meaning of the conjunct which denotes succession of actions in a sequential order. So, two identical actions can be related as repetition not as sequence in time and that is why the occurrence of the item tena "again" was necessary for keeping the semantic well formedness of the above mentioned example.

The aspectual information of group temporal clauses may or may not be combined with their temporal information.

Anteriority-denoting clauses always combine temporal and aspectual information. Their basic temporal information is that the action expressed by the temporal clause occurs later than that expressed by the head clause. Their aspectual information, on the other hand, is that the action expressed by the head clause is concerned with the period anterior to the commencement of the action expressed by the head clause. This yields some sort of account for the fact that the action of the temporal clause is always realized as imperfective in terms of its aspectual relation to that of the head clause. This can be seen in utterances such as:-

40. Mfalme akaja akanwuliza kwamba atapenda kitu gani
kabla yeye hajauliwa au hajauwawa.

The king came and asked him about what he would like
(to get) before he is killed.

41. Nataka kusimulia kisa hiki kabla hatujafika

I want to tell this story before we get there.

When the aspectual relationship between two actions is not the major concern of the speaker the temporal relationship between these two actions is frequently realized by an expanded adverbial group as in:-

42. Karne nyingi kabla ya kuzaliwa kwa Isa Masihi Waas-huri, Wafonisi, Wamisri na Mayahudi walifika pande mbalimbali za Afrika Mashariki.

Many centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ Assyrians, Phoenicians, Egyptians and Jews came to different places in East Africa.

Posteriority-denoting temporal clauses frequently denote pure temporal information. Their basic temporal information is that the action expressed by the head clause occurs earlier than that expressed by the temporal clause. Their basic aspectual information, on the other hand, can hardly be taken as distinctive characteristics that mark them off as the case is with anteriority-denoting clauses. In fact any aspectual information that can be conveyed by posteriority-denoting clauses is very often derived from, and determined by, the aspectual information conveyed by the head clause, since one often finds some sort of tense and aspect parallelism between the temporal and the head clauses. Examples:- (1)

(1) Temporal clauses are underlined by single lines and the corresponding verbs in tense and aspect in head and temporal clauses are underlined by double lines.

43. Wazazi wanatia signature ya kuwa ameondoka saa moja na nusu halafu kule mwalimu anasema kuwa ndio amefika saa moja dakika arobaini.

The parents sign that he left home at half past seven o'clock, then the teacher says that he actually arrived at twenty to eight o'clock.

44. Basi tena wakajibizana kisha mwisho wakamchukua yule shaha wakaenda naye.

Then again, they answered each other, then at the end they took the chief-poet and went with him.

45. Henry Salt alitoa orodha yake mwaka 1814, baadaye Captain T. Smee alitoa yake ya "Swawahili", baadaye Wafaransa wawili walitoa orodha zao.

Henry Salt issued his list in 1814, then, Captain T. Smee issued his (list) of Swahili, then two Frenchmen issued their lists.

However, there is only one case in my data where the tense parallelism between the head clause and the temporal clause is structurally lacking. That is, the head clause is in the future tense whereas the temporal clause is in the subjunctive (zero-tense) form. However, this particular case is contextually in conformity with what has been exemplified by the above-mentioned examples since that zero-tense form can only be paraphrased by a tense parallel to the tense of the head clause, i.e. future tense.

The example is:-

46. Atafungwa kwa muda fulani kisha Mfalme amwue.

He will be imprisoned for a certain time, then the king will kill him.

Simultaneity-denoting temporal clauses frequently combine temporal and aspectual information. Their basic temporal information is that one of the actions expressed by the head and the temporal clauses co-occurs with the other either in terms of their durative co-occurrence (full-simultaneity) or in terms of temporarily inclusion, i.e. the duration of one of the actions is shorter than that of the other, thus, included within it, (partial-simultaneity). Their aspectual information, on the other hand, is very frequently progressive. However, there are some cases where the aspectual information denotes the perfect aspect. In general, there is a noticeable correspondence between the tense and aspect of the head clause and those of the temporal clause in the case of full-simultaneity whereas this is not necessarily the case with partial-simultaneity. For example:-

47. Aimba na hukO apiga ngoma

he sings and at the same time hits the drum.

48. Yule mtoto akenda kwa babake na wakati huo alikuwa hukO upande huo huo wa Shaka

The boy went to his father and at that time he was there in the same place Shaka.

denote full-simultaneity and partial-simultaneity respectively.

Accordingly, the correspondence between the tense and aspect of the head clause and those of the temporal clause is observable in the first example. Whereas the correspondence between the aspect alone of the head clause and that of the temporal clause is lacking in the second example.

The final type of group temporal clauses is that introduced by the item mpaka "until". The basic temporal information of such clauses is that the action expressed in the temporal clause is subsequent to that expressed in the head clause and that the action of the head clause has terminated immediately before the commencement of that of the temporal clause. Their basic aspectual information is that the action expressed in the head clause denotes a durative aspect extending over the period prior to the commencement of the action of the temporal clause. Parallel to such a durative aspect of the head clause, the aspect of the temporal clause is often perfective as in:-

49. Wakawa wamempelekea fitna kwa Mfalme wa Pate mpaka
=====

mfalme wa Pate akaingiwa na wasiwasi.

They kept reporting dissension to the king of Pate until the King of Pate became full of apprehension . where the imperfective aspect of the head is conveyed by the durative tense marker -me-. In some cases, the aspect of the temporal clause is realized as imperfective as in:-

50. Akapiga mkoma ule akiangusha mpaka yakawa makoma
pale yamejaa.

He hit that palm-tree and kept felling (fruits) until there was a lot of fruit.

where the imperfective aspect is conveyed by the tense markers -ki- and -me- in the head and the temporal clauses respectively. But the lexical meaning of the temporal conjunct mpaka "until" has the power of changing the aspect of head clause to the perfective aspect as seen in the final example.

CAUSAL CLAUSES

Causal clauses are frequently realized by one of two structural forms:-

- A. Clauses introduced by a non-finite verb, that is, .ku- or -e forms. These will be referred to as verbal causal clauses.
- B. Clauses introduced by a causal conjunct. These will be referred to as group causal clauses.

The general features that characterise causal conjuncts such as their syntactic functions, i.e. anaphoric or cataphoric, their semantic implications, their intonation and the effect of their intonation on their semantic implications have been investigated in the previous chapter.

Group causal clauses as a whole function syntactically as modifiers to either preceding or following clauses, depending on

the syntactic features of the conjuncts that introduce them i.e. anaphoric, cataphoric or both. This means that their positional occurrences as pre-modifiers or post-modifiers are determined by the syntactic features of their conjuncts and by the speaker's choice when either function is possible. It also follows that the conjuncts on their own do not, and cannot, function as modifiers to other clauses than those they introduce, but merely indicate the logical relationships holding between their clause(s) and the head clause(s).

Verbal causal clauses, on the other hand, are always introduced by a non-finite verb in either ku- or -e form. Since these forms of verbs convey many other functions such as:-

A. Indicating the imperative form of verb as in:-

51. Mara moja akaamrisha kuwa siku fulani Lazima kupiga gungu.

At once, he ordered that on a certain day they should have a "gungu" dance.

52. Hasa twambie nidhamu ya wanafunzi katika shule zote hizi ulizofundisha.

In particular, tell us (about) the student's discipline in all these schools (in) which you taught.

B. Putative denotation with lazima "should" as in:-

53. Lazima mzazi vile vile ahusike.

The parent also should get involved.

54. Lazima kila jambo lipitishwe kwa tungo.

Everything must be passed in poetry.

(This denotation is very frequently conveyed by -e forms rather than by ku- forms.)

C. Subject and tense substitutes (this case is confined to the ku- form) as in:-

55. Akapata nafasi, akakereza zile pingu yaani kukata kwa ile chupa.

He had a chance, he cut the fetters, that is, cut (them) with the glass.

D. Or introducing verbs functioning at P₁₁ in clause structure as in:-

56. Wakaanza kupiga zile nyimbo.

P₁ P₁₁ C

They started to play the songs.

The criterion by which verbal causal clauses can be distinguished from other clauses which are identical to them in form is the potentiality of the clause for accepting the causal conjunct ili "so that" immediately before its predicator as in:-

57. Akatunga kipande cha shairi kumpelekea mamake

He composed a piece of poetry to send (it) to his mother.

58. Majoma ambao wamlinda yeye asipate kutoka.

The soldiers who guard him in order that he may not escape.

Which can be realized as:-

56a. Akatunga kipande cha shairi ili kumpelekea mamake.
and 57a. Majoma ambao wamlinda yeye ili asipate kutoka.
respectively, whereas such a conjunct cannot introduce non-causal
verbal clauses such as the examples 51-56.

The head of the causal clause(s), whether verbal or group
clauses, can be realized by either a simple structure, i.e.
consisting of one clause, as seen in the examples 57-58 or by a
complex structure consisting of more than one clause as in:-

59. Twaepa kidogo kuenda vijijini kwa sababu hali
ya kule si nzuri kidogo.

We avoid going to the villages because the conditions
there are not very good.

On the other hand, the causal modification can also be realized
by either a simple structure consisting of one clause as seen in
the examples 57-59 or by a complex structure consisting of more
than one clause as in:-

60. Lazima mmoja ahudhurie kwa sababu kuna kaida ukiwa
na ngoma kama ile lazima huweko mashaha na kushin-
dana kwa mashairi.

One (chief-poet) should attend because there is a
rule: if you have such a dance there must attend
chief-poets and compete in poetry.

In either case, the causal clause, as I found in my data,

frequently occurs immediately after the head clause, (That is, with all cases of verbal clauses and only with group clauses introduced by anaphoric conjuncts. Those introduced by a cataphoric conjunct do not necessarily follow the head clause immediately). I found only one example in my data in which the causal clause has been separated from the head clause by an explanatory clause(1).

Of verbal causal clauses, the ku- form always introduces affirmative clauses as seen in the example 57 and does not frequently introduce negative clauses, whereas the -e form very frequently introduces negative clauses and, less frequently, introduces affirmative clauses as well.

As regards the semantic functions that can be conveyed by causal clauses, one notices major differences in the semantic areas expressible by group causal clauses on the one hand and those expressed by verbal causal clauses on the other. That is, group causal clauses frequently denote either:-

A. The reason behind the content of the main clause as in:-

61. Maendeleo ya vijijini ni ya juu zaidi kuliko haya ya mijini, kwa sababa wao wanapenda zaidi kusoma

(1) This example may give the clue that explanatory clauses have closer relationships to the head clause than causal clauses. I think that the ordering of clauses within the sentence needs a special scrutiny.

The progress of the village's (children) is higher than that of the city (children) because they like much to learn.

B. The result of the content of the head clause as in:-

62. Unajua kuwa wazazi ni watu ambao hawakuweza kusoma, kwa hiyo huchukulia jambo la elimu kama jambo la mzaha.

You know that parents are people who could not have any education therefore they take the matters of education as matters of fun.

Verbal causal clauses, on the other hand, frequently denote the purpose of the head clause(s) as in:-

63. Walimu na wazazi wanakutana kujadili maendeleo na matatizo ambayo yatokana na wanafunzi.

The teachers and parents meet to discuss the progress and the problems of the students.

The syntactic relationship between the verbal causal clauses and their head clauses is normally adjunctive whereas such a relationship between group causal clauses and their head clause can be realized as either adjunctive or disjunctive. When they convey a disjunctive function they are normally introduced by either kwa sababu or kwa kuwa "because". The semantic implications of their function as disjuncts differ from those of their function

as adjuncts. That is, when they function as disjuncts they normally reflect the speaker's accounting for what he says, i.e. why he says it, rather than giving a reason for what he says. This can be seen in:-

64. Kuna hatua gani hasa walimu wanazichukua kukutana na wazazi wenzao, maana yake walimu ni wazazi, kusudi kumrakibisha huyu mwanafunzi, kujua maendeleo ya mwanafunzi na hivi, kwa sababu kama hukukuta na mzazi wakati mwingine yako matatizo mengine huwezi kuyajua mpaka uyajua kwa mzazi.

What steps in particular do teachers take to meet with their parent friends, that is, teachers are parents, in order that they may develop the student, to know the student's progress etc. because if you do not meet with parents, sometimes there are other problems which you cannot know until you get them from the parent.

When they function as adjuncts they provide a direct reason to the head clause as in:-

65. Watoto wa mijini wanao nafasi nzuri zaidi kwa sababu mjini kama Dar. kuna nafasi nyingi za kuingia sekondari.

The city children have a better chance because in a city like Dar. there are many chances of joining secondary (schools).

Another type of clause that participates in the structure of modification at the sentence level is what will be referred to here as Explanatory clauses. Syntactically, they are dependent clauses introduced by exponents of dependence. Some of these exponents, especially maana yake and yaani which function as conjuncts, differ from other conjuncts in that their primary syntactic feature is to indicate apposition, since the clause(s) they introduce is semantically and structurally equivalent to the preceding one, whereas other conjuncts relate clauses denoting different semantic contents to indicate some logical relationships holding between them. Their positional occurrence is normally immediately after their head clause(s). Neither have I found any example in my data in which the explanatory clause has been separated from its head by any structure of any rank. Nor did I find any example in which the explanatory clause occurred before its head.

The semantic function of explanatory clauses, as implied by their name, is to explain the meaning or to elucidate the content of an element in the head clause(s). Their function as such covers three semantic areas of the head clause's. That is, they may explain either:-

- A. The content of the head clause. In this case they are frequently introduced by items such as kuwa, kwamba, kama etc, "that".
- B. The theme of the head clause. In this case they

are frequently introduced by the item kuhusu "as regards".

- C. They may function as paraphrasal clauses to the head clause(s). In this case they are frequently introduced by the items yaani, maana yake "that is", "in other words" and au "or".

Kuwa/kwamba clauses frequently function, besides their function as explanatory clauses, as subordinate clauses indicating what is traditionally referred to as "direct/indirect speech"(1). But in fact, their functioning as such must not be taken as their primary syntactic function since they function as such only when the predicator of their head clause is realized by a verb of saying such as -sema "to say", -ambia "to tell", -uliza "to ask" etc. With verbs other than those of saying they function only as explanatory clauses to the content of the predicator or other elements in the head clause mainly the complement. In other words, kuwa/kwamba clauses function as explanatory clauses to either:-

- A. The predicator of the head clause as in :-

66. Watu walipoona kwamba Fumo Lyongo amepende-
keza sana kwa watu.

When some people saw that Fumo Lyongo was very much loved by the people.

- B. The complement of the head clause:-

(1) For more details about kuwa/kwamba as subordinates for direct/indirect speech, see Maw 1969.

67. Mwalimu-mkuu anapoona yote hayo kwamba
S P C

shule haina nidhamu.

When the headmaster sees all these (things) that the school is lack of discipline.

- C. Or the complement of adverbial groups that occur functioning at A in the head clause:-

68. Mfalme wa pate akaingiwa na wasiwasi kwamba
S P A

pengine aweza kumn-yang'anya ufalme.

The King of Pate became full of suspicion that he may be able to take the kingship away from him.

It is consistent in my data that kuwa clauses function as explanatory clauses only to the predicator of the head clause as in:-

69. Mara moja akaamrisha kuwa siku fulani lazima kupiga
A P

gungu.

At once he ordered that on a certain day they should have 'gungu' dance.

70. Wanaweza kujulikana kuwa ni watoto wa shule.
P₁ P₁₁

They can be recognised as school children.

The deletion of kuwa and kwamba as subordinators in explanatory clauses has been ruled out by my informants in certain contexts.

That is, when they introduce clauses functioning as explanatory to:-

A. Passive predicators as in:-

71. Katika maisha yake ilifahamikiwa kwamba yeye

A P

amefuatwa na watu

During his life it was understood that he had been followed by some people.

B. Static predicators as in:-

72. Itaonekana kwamba ameshindwa.

P

It will seem that he has failed.

73. Wanaweza kujulika kuwa ni watoto wa shule.

P₁ P₁₁

They can be recognised as school children.

C. When their head clauses are realized by comment clauses (see below) as in:-

74. Naamini fikra kwamba watoto wa mjini wanapenda kusoma.

I believe that the city children like to learn.

75. Yaonyesha kwamba watoto wa mjini wanao nafasi nzuri zaidi.

It seems that the city children have the best chance.

The occurrence of kuwa and kwamba, on the other hand, has been ruled out by my informants in some other contexts. That is,

some verbs that frequently require a kuwa/kwamba clause such as -ona "to see" or "to think", -jua "to know", -fikiri "to think" etc. may or may not have an object prefix. Neither kuwa nor kwamba was accepted to introduce explanatory clauses which modify verbs, i.e. predicators, with object prefixes if the subject of the head clause is the same as the subject of the explanatory clause. For example:-

76. Walimwona Fumo Lyongo amepiga goti pale.

They saw Fumo Lyongo kneeling there.

was not accepted as

76a. * Walimwona kuwa/kwamba Fumo Lyongo amepiga goti pale.

This is, in fact, restricted in my data to verbs such as ona "to think" or "to see" which have physical and mental denotations. Kuwa and kwamba are excluded from occurring introducing clauses to modify predicators that are meant to convey a physical denotation (in this case such predicators very frequently have object prefix) as seen in 76 above. When such verbs that have both denotations are meant to convey mental denotation they can be modified by explanatory clauses introduced by kuwa and kwamba provided that the verb does not include an object prefix as seen in:-

77. Naelewa kwamba mwalimu peke yake kwa kweli hawezi kufanya kazi hiyo.

I understand that the teacher on his own cannot actually achieve that job.

as opposed to the physical denotation (with an object prefix) as in:-

78. Nakuelewa wewe umefundisha kwa muda mwingi zaidi.

I understand (that) you taught for a long time.

However, kuwa/kwamba can be deleted from 77 provided that the head clause has a separate tone group to mark off, I think, the deletion of kuwa/kwamba.

The second type of explanatory clauses is normally introduced by the item kuhusu "as regards", "regarding" etc.

Kuhusu clauses frequently modify either:-

A. The predicator of the head clause as in:-

79. Sasa umezungumza kuhusu nidhamu.

A P

Now you spoke about discipline.

B. The complement of the head clause as in:-

80. Tupe kwanza uzoefu wako kuhusu kufundisha kwako

P A C

katika shule hizi.

Give us first your impression about your teaching in these schools.

The semantic relationship holding between the kuhusu clause(s) and the head clause(s) is that the former contains or explains the theme of either the predicator or the complement of the latter, i.e. what the predicator or the complement is about.

The difference between the semantic function of kuhusu clauses and that of kuwa/kwamba clauses can be illustrated by the following examples:-

81. Mimi nina kipengee kimoja tu kuhusu suala la mwisho.

S P C

I have only one comment on the last question.

82. Anapoona yote haya kwamba shule haina nidhamu.

P C

When he sees all this that the school has a lack of discipline.

where both kuhusu clause and kwamba clauses modify the complements of their head clauses. But the kuhusu clause in 81 explains the theme of the complement kipengee "comment", that is, what the comment is about rather than stating the comment per se. Whereas the kwamba clause in 82 explains the content of the predicator yote haya "all this" of the head clause, that is, what is meant by "all this".

Both kuhusu and kuwa/kwamba clauses can occur modifying one head clause as in:-

83. Sasa umezungumza kuhusu nidhamu kwamba ya kule mikoani ni nzuri zaidi kuliko ya mjini.

Now you talked about discipline (and said) that that of the districts is much better than that of the city.

where both clauses modify the predicator umezungumza "you

talked", explaining what the talk was about by the kuhusu clause and what the talk itself was by the kwamba clause. This difference can be made clear by reformulating the head and the modifying clauses in kuwa/kwamba structures. It will be noticed that the head and kuwa/kwamba clauses can be reformulated by an equational clause where the head clause of either 84 or 85 can be realized as the subject and kwamba clause can be realized as the complement. For example:-

84. Akaamrisha kuwa siku fulani lazima kupiga gungu.

He ordered that on a certain day they should have a 'gungu' dance.

and

85. Wakamwambia kuwa Fumo Lyongo yuko katika kisima.

They told her that Fumo Lyongo is in the well.

can be reformulated by:-

84a. Amri yake ni kupiga gungu siku fulani.

S P C A

His order is to have a 'gungu' dance on a certain day.

. 85a. Maneno yao yalikuwa Fumo Lyongo yuko katika kisima.

S P C

Their words were "Fumo Lyongo is in the well".

whereas kuhusu clauses cannot be paraphrased or reformulated in the same way.

Kuhusu clauses, unlike kuwa/kwamba clauses, can precede their head clauses. In this case they are very frequently characte-

riſed by having a ſeparate tone group as a paralinguiſtic manifeſtation of their marked poſitional occurrence.

The laſt type of explanatory clauses conſtitute thoſe clauses introduced by either yaani or maana yake "it means", "that is", etc.

The ſemantic function conveyed by ſuch clauses is paraphraſing or putting in another way what has gone before. The ſpeaker often reſorts to uſing ſuch clauses when he uſes words that he did not intend to uſe, when he feels that he has not made himſelf clear or when he feels that the hearers could not underſtand him. Another ſituation, in which maana yake is more commonly uſed than yaani, is when the ſpeaker ſhifts from ſaying ſomething implicitly to ſaying it explicitly.

Examples:-

A. Maana yake (juſt paraphraſing the head clause):-

86. Wakaona mkate mmoja ndio ni mzuri na mmoja ni mbaya, maana yake umepikwa kwa wiſhwa au zile taka taka za mahindi.

They found one bread which is really good and another one which is bad, that is, baked with the chaff or corn huſk.

B. Maana yake (explaining the implicitneſs of the head clause):-

87. Kuna hatua gani haſa walimu wanazichukua kukutana na

wazazi wenzao, maana yake walimu ni wazazi.

What particular steps (that) the teachers take to meet with their parent friends, that is, teachers are parents.

C. Yaani (paraphrasing the head clause):-

88. Kuna mikutano ya wazazi yaani wazazi na walimu wanakutana.

There are parent's committees, that is, parents and teachers meet.

Maana yake, yaani, kuwa and kwamba have the syntactic function of apposition, that is, conjoining two or more units which are of the same rank and of the same semantic content. But the difference between maana yake and yaani on the one hand and kuwa and kwamba on the other is that kuwa and kwamba operate at the clause level only, i.e. conjoin clauses only, whereas maana yake and yaani operate at the group and the clause levels, i.e. conjoin clauses or groups. Their function at the clause level is illustrated in the examples 78-84 above. Their function at the group level can be illustrated by:-

89. Lazima kila jambo lipitishwe kwa tungo yaani kwa mashairi.

Everything must be passed in composition, that is, in poetry.

90. Kuna mtumishi wa kikale maana yake kijakazi.

There is an old servant, that is a female slave.

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Swahili are frequently signalled by relative markers which are normally realized by one of two forms. First, the item amba- plus a pronominal suffix determined by the noun class of the antecedent plus the relative morpheme -o or its allomorph -ye.

Second, the relativized verb. That is, the occurrence of a pronominal morpheme referring to the noun class of the antecedent plus the relative morpheme -o- as morphological constituents of an item (verbal or copular) realizing the element P(redictor) of the clause.

The tense has some restrictions to impose on the choice of either of the two forms. The verbal relative marker can occur only with the following tenses:-

-li- past

a-li-ye-fanya who did

-na- present

a-na-ye-fanya (the one) who does

-taka- future

a-taka-ye-fanya (the one) who will do

Ø indefinite present

a-fanya-ye (the one) who does

The amba- form, on the other hand, can occur with the above mentioned tenses and can also occur with the following tenses:-

-me- past perfect

ambaye yeye amefiliwa na babake

the one whose father died.

-ka- sequential

-ki- concurrent

-nge- conditional

-ngali- past conditional

and negative verbs.

whereas the relativized verbal form cannot occur with them.

Relative markers can be realized as definite, that is, having a specific noun class reference, or indefinite, that is, having no specific noun class reference. Indefinite relative markers are realized by two markers only; -po- and -vyo-, since -po- very frequently occurs without antecedents and denotes a temporal function (see temporal clauses above) and -vyo- very rarely occurs with an antecedent (see clauses of manner below). All definite relative markers must agree with their antecedents in number and noun class reference.

The antecedent dictates the form of the relative marker, as demonstrated, but not necessarily the form of the subject prefix of the element P of the clause since the syntactic relationships holding between the antecedent and the relative clause can be realized as subjective, that is, the antecedent is the underlying subject of the clause as in:-

91. Maendeleo na matatizo ambayo yanatokana na watoto

wao

The progress and the problems which arise from their children.

92. Walimu wengi katika miji ni wanawake hao waliosema kwamba wanatafuta waume zao.

A lot of teachers in the districts are those women who said that they follow their husbands.

or objective where the antecedent is the underlying object of the clause as in:-

93. Hiyo ndio ilikuwa hoja yangu ambayo nataka kuongeza katika kipengee cha mwisho.

This actually was my argument which I want to add to the last point.

94. Kipengee cha mwisho alichozungumzia.

The last point that she spoke about.

However, there is another case where the element P of the relative clause is realized by the copula ni "is". The relationship between such relative clauses and the antecedent seems to be qualificational in the sense that the relative clause seems to be functioning as an epithet to the antecedent; very frequently includes an epithet as C, and because of the tense restrictions they are always introduced by amba- as in:-

95. Ataalika ngoma ambayo Waswahili kwao ni maarufu sana.

A S A P

He will invite people to a dance which is well known

to the Swahili.

na can occur conveying the same relationship conveyed by ni,
i.e. qualification as in:-

96. Ukitofautisha labda shule nyingi ambazo na
nidhamu zaidi.

If you compare many schools which are more discipli-
lined.

The normal positional occurrence of relative clauses is immedi-
ately after the antecedent, which functions as its syntactic
underlying subject or object, as long as no simple modifiers are
involved in the utterance, since it seems that the language
tends to employ a hierarchical sequence of modification starting
with simple modifiers and ending with complex ones.

However, that sequence can be interrupted and the relative
clause can be transposed and separated from its antecedent to be
the centre of focus in an equational clause or sentence. Yet,
the relative marker should keep its agreement cataphorically
with the antecedent which, in this case, functions at C whereas
the relative clause takes up the function of S as in:-

97. Aliyetambua hasa kwamba mtoto huyu ni mpotevu-nidhamu
[[S]]
ni mwalimu wa darasa.
P C

The one who can tell that this student is a chaos-maker
is the teacher of the class.

and this is one of the cases in which no arguments can be afforded to treat them, i.e. relative clauses, as nominal group constituents. Yet, they are rank-shifted since they function as an element of clause structure.

Headless relative clauses do not frequently occur in Swahili, except in some proverbs and general statements, and a tiny relative verbal structure restricted to the relative markers -yo- and -lo- which denote an unspecific reference as in:-

98. Asema atakalo

He says what he likes.

99. Hakutambua aliyofanya.

He did not realize what he had done.

The reason behind the infrequency of headless relative clauses in Swahili seems to be that the relative marker requires an overtly expressed coreferential element in order that the form of the relative marker may get its form determined. However, they may occur as clauses linked to, or dependent on, preceding clauses in which the antecedent is overtly expressed in them since, in this case, the context makes the antecedent's identity clear.

The type of depth of relationship holding between the relative clause and the main clause in a sentence is frequently determined on structural and intonational grounds. Amba- relative clauses tend to function, in the majority of cases in my data as

dependent clauses. However, this is not the case all the time. In some cases one finds himself obliged to treat the item amba- as an adjunct as in:-

100. Akenda yule mtoto kumwuliza babake: baba kweli
A A

kitu gani ambacho chakuwa wewe?
S A P C

The boy went to ask his father: father really what sort of thing that can kill you.

since there is no need to rank-shift ambacho chakuwa wewe; rank-shifting this utterance will yield an utterance consisting of a nominal group with a rank-shifted clause as one of its elements and such an analysis will complicate the description of the language, apart from being against the economy of description. On the other hand, I do not see any need to take ambacho as an exponent of dependence and, accordingly, treat ambacho chakuwa wewe as a dependent clause. The reason that prevents me from adopting such an analysis is that it will yield a sentence consisting of two unbalanced elements; a nominal group with two adjuncts, that is, baba kweli kitu gani and a clause. The relationship between such two elements will impose another problem since it is difficult to say that the relationship holding between them is dependence, linkage or marking. Moreover, deleting ambacho from the utterance does not, as far as I know, effect its syntax or semantics, (it occurred as such in the same text).

In some cases, the relative clause seems to be very necessary

and bound to the semantic well-formedness of the main clause, that is, conveys a restrictive function to its antecedent. I am inclined, in such cases, to rank-shift them since they seem to be an integral part of the antecedent which, according to my informants cannot stand in the utterance without them. This case occurs frequently when the antecedent is realized as a complement in an equational clauses whose subject is identical to it, i.e. the antecedent, in denotation as in:-

101. Fumo Lyongo ni mtu ambaye anasifika sana =

S	P	C=
	h	q

kwa ushujaa wake.

=C

Fumo Lyongo is a man who is highly praised for his courage.

and 102. Wazazi ni watu ambao hawakuweza kusoma.

S	P	C
	h	q

The parents are people who could not go to school. where the element S and C in each example are identical in their denotations.

Verbal relative clauses, on the other hand, tend to convey a restrictive function and, accordingly, tend to occur as rank-shifted clauses functioning as qualifiers at the nominal group level. They, unlike amba- clauses, are frequently integrated with their antecedents into one tone group. However, I would

treat them as dependent clauses when they are separated from their antecedents by transposition or any other factor and when they are deemed to be conveying a non-restrictive function; the structural and contextual reference of the antecedent as well as the clause's intonation can be taken as distinguishing factors in this case.

There remain two small categories of relative structure. The first is always realized by a relativized verb with no other elements of clause structure related to it. This constitutes a verbal quaifier and is deemed to be functioning at the group level as in:-

103. Na mji alikota ni upande wa Kipini.

A	S	P	C
	h	qv	

And the place where he lived is the Kipini district.

There is no need to treat such structures as either dependent or rank-shifted clauses since they have no structure qua clause and they are always, in my data, integrated with their head in one tone group.

The other category is that realized by relativized copulas.

The structure of this category can be formulated by:-

Subject prefix + tense + relative marker as in:-

104. Matatizo yaliyo magumu sana.

Problems which are very difficult.

In some cases, this relativized copula takes another morpheme, mainly -mo, -ko or -po, which denotes the sense of "existence" as in:-

105. Utungo mmoja ulioko.

One poem which exists.

I am inclined to treat the first type of relativized copulas as normal copulas are treated. That is, expounding an element P in clause structure, since they are very frequently followed by complements, whereas I am inclined to treat those with -mo, -ko or -po as verbal qualifiers, since they are rarely followed by complements, that is, they do not, unlike the first type, require the occurrence of a complement.

There seems to be some sort of correlation between relative clauses as group modifiers and some other constituents in the nominal group, mainly compound nominals and the genitive structure. The correlation between relativized verbs and nominal compounds seems to be that the relativized verbal forms provide the deep structure of some types of nominal compounds. So, the verbal part in the utterance atakaye yote "who wants everything" provides the deep structure of the compound mtaka-yote. The semantic difference between these two structures of modification seems to be that the denotation of the relativized verbal structure is that of temporal qualification whereas the denotation of the compound structure is that of permanent qualification. This applies to compounds with derived nouns as

a first constituent (see nominal compounds.Chapter 1) such as:-

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 106. Mshona-viatu | Mtu anayeshona viatu |
| 107. Shoe -repairer | The man who repairs shoes |
| 108. Mfua -chuma | Mtu anayefua chuma |
| 109 Blacksmith | The man who melts iron |

The same distinction holds for some genitive structures which have relativized verbal counterparts such as:-

110. Mtu wa kuua watu.

The man of killing people (murderer).

which denotes permanent qualification as opposed to

111. Mtu anayeua watu.

The man who kills people.

which denotes temporal qualification.

Comment Clauses

Comment clauses, as implied by their name, indicate the speaker's point of view on what he is going to say or what he has just said. They are frequently realized by clauses such as noana "I think", naelewa "I understand", yaonyesha "it seems", sijui "I wonder" etc. They normally have, as an intonational feature, a separate tone group or, in some cases, are separated from the following clause by a single bar juncture. They are very frequently, in my data restricted to first and second person subjects. In a few cases they took the indefinite subject prefix -i- or ku- as in yaonekana "it seems" and kuonyesha "it

seems" respectively.

Comment clauses can be realized by either affirmative or negative clauses. When they are realized by affirmative clauses they frequently function as main clauses, i.e. independent clauses, and ^{are} very frequently integrated with the clauses that follow them, usually dependent clauses, in one tone group as in:-

112. Itaonekana kwamba ameshindwa.

It will seem that he failed.

113. Naelewa kwamba mwalimu peke yake kwa kweli hawezi kufanya kazi hiyo.

I understand that the teacher on his own, in fact, cannot do this job.

114. Naamini fikra kwamba watoto wa mjini wanapenda kusoma.

I believe in the idea that the city children like to learn.

On the other hand, when they are realized by negative clauses they are intonationally characterised as either:-

A. Integrated with the clause that follows them in one tone group and functioning syntactically as the main clause e.g.

115. Sijui kama walimu wa kike ndio wanasababisha watoto kutokuwa na nidhamu.

I wonder whether female teachers are actually behind the students' lack of discipline.

B. Having a separate tone group and, in this case, functioning syntactically as disjuncts as in:-

116. Sasa, sijui, unaweza ^uknipa sababu kwa nini wanawake wanapenda kazi hii ya ualimu kuliko wanaume?

Now, I wonder, can you give me a reason why women like teaching more than men?.

comment clauses can be realized by complex structures consisting of a negative clause as the head clause and a dependent clause introduced by Kama "whether" as in:-

117. Mimi naona labda kwa mawazo yangu, sijui kama nikiwa sawa, nidhamu imepungua zaidi.

I see, maybe in my view, I wonder whether I am right, discipline has drastically fallen.

where the comment structure has a separate tone group as an interpolated structure conveying a disjunctive function.

One notices a concurrent mutual modification between comment clauses and explanatory clauses since comment clauses, as demonstrated, are always modified by explanatory clauses, conversely, explanatory clauses can be semantically modified by comment clauses. Such a mutual modification does not exist when the comment clause conveys a disjunctive function and, accordingly, it lacks any formal linkage to the rest of the

sentence as in:-

118. Sijui, unaweza kunipa sababu?

I wonder, can you give me a reason?

Affirmative comment clauses can be modified by explanatory clauses introduced by either kuwa/kwamba or kama, whereas negative comment clauses can be modified by explanatory clauses introduced only by kama.

Comparative Clauses

Comparative clauses in Swahili are often structurally signalled by a comparative marker. The most common comparative markers are kuliko, kupita and kushinda (1), "than". The items kupita and kushinda are verbs (in terms of their structure). But when they function as comparative markers they become deficient in the sense that they become invariable and do not behave like normal verbs since they do not accept an object prefix even when they are followed by a pronoun such as wewe you in:-

119. Kupita wewe

(more) than you

Kuliko, on the other hand, has been referred to in some works on Swahili as a preposition. I am inclined to treat these three items as conjuncts depending on the fact that kupita and kushinda are invariable and cannot accept object prefixes and since

(1) I will not give examples including kushinda since it has not occurred in my data. I only mentioned it here to refer to its functioning as a comparative conjunct.

the elements that follow kuliko can be extended to constitute a clause.

Comparative clauses in Swahili convey the semantic function of comparing two points in terms of their characteristics or domains. In other words, one can say that comparative structures in Swahili often involve a theme of comparison and domains of comparison. The theme of comparison, which is the nuclei of the comparative structure, is very frequently mentioned in the head clause only and may or may not be referred to formally in the modifying clause, i.e. the comparative clause. For example in:-

120. Maendeleo ya vijijini ni ya juu zaidi kuliko haya ya
mijini

The progress in the villages is higher than that of the cities.

121. Katika miji nidhamu imepungua zaidi kuliko katika
mikoa.

In the cities, discipline has fallen than (it has) in the districts.

maendeleo "the progress" is the theme of comparison in the first example 120 and is referred to formally by haya ya "that of" in the comparative clause, whereas nidhamu "discipline" is the theme of comparison in the second example 121 and is not referred to formally in the comparative clause.

The head clause always contained, in my data, an element that

can be referred to as belonging to the class of sub-modifiers viz. zaidi, sana etc. "more" or kidogo "less" as shown in the above quoted examples. Its semantic function in the comparative structure is to denote the degree of the theme of comparison upwards or downwards on an assumed scale which is normally indicated by the comparative clause. This, I think, is the reason behind the frequent occurrence of such items in the comparative structure. The syntactic function of such items is frequently realized through either adjuncts or qualifiers in a nominal group functioning as an element of structure in the head clause; normally at C.

Comparative clauses function syntactically as post-modifiers to such items as sana, zaidi, kidogo etc. when they function at A in the head clause as in:-

122. Watoto wa vijijini wanapata maendeleo zaidi kuliko

S P C A

watoto wa mjini

The villages' children gain more progress than the city children.

where the comparative clause qualifies and specifies the element zaidi "more".

On the other hand, comparative clauses function as sub-modifiers to such items as sana, zaidi, kidogo etc. when these function as qualifiers in a nominal group functioning at C in the head clause as in:-

123. Nidhamu ya kule mikoani ni nzuri zaidi kuliko

S	P	C	
	h	qn	

ya mjini.

The discipline of the districts is better than that of the city.

124. Idadi ya walimu wa kike ni wengi sana kuliko wanaume.

S	P	C	A	S
	h	qn		

The number of female teachers is bigger than that of male teachers.

The positional occurrence of comparative clauses is immediately after the head clause; separating them by a paranthetical utterance or by front-shifting has been ruled out by my informants.

Manner Clauses

Manner clauses constitute a minor category of clauses which seem to have a fixed structure. They have always been introduced, in my data, by the item kama "as". They can be distinguished from explanatory clauses introduced by kama "whether" by the fact that the predicator which co-occurs with kama as an introductory conjunct to a manner clause is always realized by a verb relativized by the relative marker -vyo-. This relative marker cannot be recognised as a relative marker on the same footing as those which combine with amba- or normal relativized verbs (see

relative clauses above). The reason is that -vyo- in manner clauses is invariable and does not have an antecedent corresponding to it in number or noun class since I am not aware of any possible item, other than kama and jinsi, that can occur as an introductory conjunct in manner clauses.

Examples:-

125. Amefika shuleni kama ilivyompasa

He arrived at school as he should have done.

126. Amemletea na amemtilia kama alivyoagiza

She brought to him and put to him as he instructed.

A consistent feature that I noticed in all the examples that occurred in my data is that the subject of the predicator of the head clause has always been represented in the predicator of the manner clause either by an object prefix or subject prefix as demonstrated by the above mentioned examples 125-126.

As to their positional occurrence, manner clauses can precede or follow the head clause. When they precede the head clause they convey a disjunctive syntactic function and always have a separate tone group as an indicative paralinguistic feature of their marked positional occurrence. On the other hand, when they follow the head clause they convey an adjunctive syntactic function, and occur immediately after the head clauses and rarely have a separate tone group.

Their main semantic function is to indicate the manner in which

the action expressed by the predicator of the head clause has been conducted. In other words, they function as modifiers to the predicator of the head clause.

Disjuncts

Sentence disjuncts can be realized by different structures.

They can be realized by:-

A. Single items such as labda "maybe" in:-

127. Labda ametoka nyumbani hakuweza kupata chakula.
Maybe he left home without having some food.

B. Groups as in:-

128. Kwa kweli, kiasi cha miaka miwili niliyofundisha
nikilinganisha na hali ambayo tulisoma sisi ni
tofauti kabisa.

In fact, if I compare the two years for which I
taught with the way we learnt, it is extremely
different.

C. Clauses such as kusema kweli "to say the truth"
in:-

129. Kusema kweli unaona kwamba labda wanawake ndio
wanapendā sana kazi ya walimu katika Tanzania, lakini
sivyo.

To say the truth, you think that women in Tanzania
maybe fond of teaching, but this is not the case.

In the previous chapter, disjuncts which are realized by single
items or groups have been investigated as clause disjuncts. In

fact, the same items or groups that function as clause disjuncts can also function as sentence disjuncts. The difference between their function as clause disjuncts and as sentence disjuncts lies mainly in the semantic domain of the disjuncts.

Such a semantic domain is, in some cases, determined by the syntactic relationships holding between the constituents of the sentence, i.e. clauses, that may be introduced by such a disjunct. Clauses related by additive, temporal or enumerative conjuncts are often found, in my data, to be constituting an integral domain for one disjunct, whereas clauses related by other conjuncts, such as causal or adversative conjuncts, frequently do not provide an integral domain for one disjunct. For example, labda "maybe, probably" in:-

130. Labda ametoka nuymbani hakuweza kupata chakula.

Maybe, he left home without having some food.

and 131. Unaona kwamba labda wanawake ~~na~~ wanapenda kazi ya walimu katika Tanzania, lakini sivyo.

You think that maybe women in Tanzania like teaching, but it is not so.

seems to be functioning as a modifier to the whole sentence in the first example 130, whereas its domain does not cover the adversative clause in the second example 131.

The intonational difference that I have registered in my data between clause and sentence disjuncts is not consistent. But

in general, I have noticed that clause disjuncts tend to be closely related to the clauses they introduce, that is, tend to be integrated with them in one tone group or separated from them by a single bar juncture, whereas sentence disjuncts tend to have separate tone groups.

However, single item disjuncts do not actually occur frequently as sentence disjuncts; they have not exceeded nine examples in my data. But the largest proportion of sentence disjuncts has been realized by groups or clauses. The only exception to that is single items which have potential group structure such as kweli and hakika since they can be realized as group constituents, that is, kwa kweli "in fact, actually" and kwa hakika respectively.

Sentence disjuncts realized by clauses can be divided into two groups:-

- A. Those which function primarily as disjuncts such as kusema kweli "to tell the truth".
- B. Those which combine other functions in addition to their disjunctive function. These can be realized by some causal or manner clauses.

Those functioning primarily as sentence disjuncts always have separate tone groups and are mobile in the sentence. Kusema kweli for example, can occur initially in the sentence as seen in the example 129 above, can occur in the middle of the sentence as in:-

132. Wanawake [kusema kweli] au kazi ya walimu [kusema kweli] ni mwanamke.

Women, to tell the truth, or teaching, to tell the truth, is a woman.

or finally in the sentence as in:-

133. Maana yake si hapa Dar. tu [kusema kweli].

That is, not only here in Dar. to tell the truth.

Clauses that function primarily as sentence disjuncts are non-finite clauses. That is, their predicators are either in ku- form or -e form as in:-

134. Hapa Dar. lipo tatizo labda [tuseme] linatokana na wazazi wenyewe.

Here in Dar. there is a problem (that) probably, let us say, arises from the parents themselves.

On the other hand, those which combine other functions convey a disjunctive function by virtue of their positional occurrence or by virtue of their semantic relationship with other clauses in the sentence. That is, manner clauses occur normally after the head clauses. When one occurs before the head clause it functions as a disjunct as in:-

135. Na kama alivyoagiza, alimpelekea mikate miwili na alimtilia chupa katika mmoja.

And as he instructed, she sent him two pieces of bread and put a piece of glass in one (of them).

Causal clauses introduced by the group kwa sababu "because" occurred in many cases in my data conveying a disjunctive function (see causal clauses above) as in:-

136. Ana shauri gani kwa walimu wenzake katika kurakibisha nidhamu hii mpya au tabia hizi mpya za wanafunzi? Kwa sababu, kwa vyovyote lazima shule ielekee katika upande fulani.

What advice does he have for his teacher friends to implement this new order or these new characters of the students? Because in any case the school must have a certain direction.

CHAPTER 4

There are some items which exemplify a very interesting phenomenon in Swahili. They can function at both group and clause levels. I have treated them in this chapter since they did not fit into chapter 1 (groups) or chapter 2 (clauses). When they function at the group level they frequently expound sub-modifiers or, less frequently, modifiers, whereas they expound only modifiers (i.e. adjuncts) when they function at the clause level.

Sub-modifiers can be realized by different structures in Swahili. That is, they can be realized by single items such as hasa "particularly", sana "very", kabisya "extremely", zaidi "much" etc. e.g.

1. Nafasi nyingi sana
h qn s.m.
So many chances
2. Muda mwingi zaidi
h qn s.m.
A much longer period.
3. Utaratibu mzuri hasa
h qe s.m.
particularly good system.

Numbers also convey this function when they participate in groups containing words denoting units of measure such as kibaba "pound", pishi "half a gallon", wanda "an inch", pipa "barrel", ratili "pound" etc. e.g.

4. Mpunga vibaba viwili

h qn s.m.

Two pounds of rice.

5. Bafuta wanda mmoja

h qn s.m.

An inch of fabric.

6. Mchele ratili moja

h qn s.m.

A pound of rice.

The same function can be conveyed by groups, whether nominal or adverbial such as:-

7. Mtu mrefu kiasi cha yadi mbili

h qe s.m.

A tall man of about two yards.

Comparative clauses seem to convey semantically the same function of sub-modifiers in the sense of specifying the meaning of an intensifier mentioned in the linguistic unit prior to them as in:-

8. Walimu wa kiki ni wengi sana kuliko wanaume

Female teachers are much more than male teachers.

Single-word sub-modifiers are mostly intensifiers. That is, their semantic function is to intensify the meaning of the item they modify. In other words, by intensifiers I mean words that scale a quantity upwards or downwards an

assumed scale. Of these, sana "very, so, too" denotes a high point on the scale, kidogo "little, a bit" denotes a low point, whereas kabisa with positive verbs denotes the top point and with negative verbs denotes the lowest point which is also denoted by kamwe "never" and hata kidogo "even a little". I have not noted a remarkable syntactic, semantic or contextual difference between sana and mno.

In fact, these intensifiers do not function syntactically as sub-modifiers only; they can be realized functioning as either:-

A. Qualifiers in group structure as in:-

9. Ni maarufu sana

P C
 h qe

(It) is well known

10. Hili ni kosa kabisa

S P C
 h qe

This is a big mistake

B. Adjuncts in clause structure as in:-

11. Wazazi wanajadili sana maendeleo ya watoto wao.

S P A C

The parents discuss elaborately their children's progress.

12. Ameshindikana kabisa

P A

He has utterly failed.

Of those items that function semantically as intensifiers, kamwe "never" and hata kdiogo "even a little" collocate only with negative structures. The items lolote, chochote and vyovyote also tend to occur as intensifiers to negative verbs only.

The contrasts degree/non-degree and transitive/non-transitive verbs seems to be very highly significant in determining the contexts in which sana and/or kabisa can occur.

At the outset, it seems important, and on the face of it useful, to mention one of the features of kabisa. That is, according to my main informant, it collocates only with affirmative verbs in the past tense and never collocates with affirmative verbs either in the present or the future tense. In some particular contexts it can collocate with the imperative form of the verbs. One of the reasons, which I could postulate why it should collocate with past tense verbs is that its main semantic denotation is to indicate the completeness of the action and confirm that the action has actually taken place.

Degree/Non-Degree Verbs

Some degree verbs, such as penda "like, love", chukia "hate", ogopa "fear", dharau "scorn", potea "lose", tisha "frighten", heshimu "respect", fahamu "understand" and furahi "rejoice" for example have no imaginable end and it is very difficult to demarcate them by recognisable boundaries. I will call

such verbs non-terminative verbs, i.e. verbs with no terminus. Non-terminative verbs normally cannot be intensified by kabisa because of the conflict between their semantic connotation and that of kabisa, that is, kabisa denotes the terminus of the action and such verbs have no terminus. They can only collocate in metaphorical usages to convey certain stylistic effects such as exaggeration in:-

13. Ameogopa kabisa

He was so frightened.

for example.

Some other degree verbs have a recognisable terminus or extremes such as katika "cut", vunjika "broken" haribu "destroy" etc. These can be intensified either by kabisa to indicate the impassable point of the action or by sana to indicate a high point of the action.

The contrast transitive/non-transitive does not work independently of the degree/non-degree contrast. That is, it does not signify, on its own, determining the contexts of sana and kabisa. Its significance comes as a second step after determining the degree/non-degree status of the verb. Again, it has no significance with degree verbs, since, as we have just seen, verbs such as penda "like,love" and pindua "to turn over" are both transitive. However, the first of them collocates only with sana, whereas the other collocates with both sana and kabisa. On the other hand, verbs such

as vunjika "broken" and furahi "rejoice" are intransitive, the first of them collocates with both sana and kabisa while the other collocates only with sana.

The significance of the contrast transitive/intransitive verbs is quite apparent with non-degree verbs. Non-degree verbs may be transitive or intransitive. Kabisa tends to collocate with intransitive non-degree verbs and functions semantically as an indicator confirming the completeness of the action. So, in an example such as:-

14. Amekufa kabisa

it does not indicate that "he died to the utmost point of death" but it rather means "he actually died", and implies that "there is no hope of rescuing him" as opposed to the implication of sana. The same applies to other verbs which are non-degree intransitive verbs such as:-

15. Ilipotea kabisa

It has been lost completely.

16. Amezimia kabisa

He lost consciousness completely.

17. Ametota macho kabisa

He has lost his sight completely.

etc.

Sana, on the other hand, collocates with these verbs, i.e.

non-degree intransitive verbs, only when the subject is plural and in this case it seems that it does not modify the verb only but the whole clause. So, we can have:-

18. Watu wamekufa sana vitani.

The people died in big numbers in the war.

19. Watu wamezimia sana hapa jana.

A lot of people lost consciousness here yesterday.

Kabisa, again, collocates with transitive or intransitive verbs with plural subject. In this case it does not modify the meaning expressed by the verb, but it means "all the subject".

So in:-

20. Watu wamekufa kabisa vitani.

it means "All the people died in war". When it collocates with transitive verbs with plural objects it means All the object as in:-

21. Ameng'oa meno kabisa

He has got all his teeth extracted.

Whereas with transitive verbs with singular objects it denotes confirming the completeness of the action, as in:-

22. Ameng'oa jino kabisa

He actually extracted a tooth.

Sana and kabisa occur frequently in free distribution with intransitive verbs when the contrast voluntary/involuntary occurrence of the action can be connoted by the verb. So,

in:-

23. Amezama sana

He dived deeply (or for a long time).

sana denotes that the action is voluntary as opposed to the denotation of kabisa in:-

24. Amezama kabisa

He drowned.

where kabisa denotes that the action is involuntary. The same applies to their collocation with verbs such didimia "sink down", angamia "perish", tokomea "vanish" etc.

In other words, when sana collocates with a transitive verb, it does not function as a pure intensifier, but it normally acquires its meaning from the concomitant verb. For example, in:-

25. Amechim~~a~~ba sana

He dug deeply

26. Ameandika barua sana

He wrote a lot of letters

or He spent a long time writing a letter.

it functions as a result adjunct in 25 and as either a quantifier or a duration-time adjunct in 26, since, I think, the difference is relatively clear between "digging" in 25 as an action and the "depth" as the result of the action, and between "writing" in 27 as an action and either "the time" spent in the action or the "number" of letters produ-

ced by the action.

In fact the semantic denotations conveyed by either sana, (or kabisa in similar contexts, i.e. when it cooccurs with either plural subjects or objects) can be determined only by paraphrasing the utterance, i.e. determined by the possible paraphrases that are related to the utterance. Since the investigation of the semantics of the verb in Swahili is beyond the scope of this study I relied only on paraphrases as a tentative criterion for eliciting the semantic denotations of the adjunct. So, the possible paraphrases for 25 and 26 can be said to be:-

25a. Amechimba kwa muda mrefu sana

He dug for a long time.

25b. Amechimba mpaka chini sana

He dug very deeply.

26a. Ameandika barua nyingi.

He wrote a lot of letters.

26b. Ameandika barua kwa muda mrefu.

He spent a long time writing a letter (letters).

Kabisa conveys another three meanings.

First, with some verbs which have direct opposites such as pa "give", chukua "take", ja "come", enda "go", funga "close, shut", fungua "open, unlock" etc. it indicates that the opposite meaning is unlikely to take place. So we can have:-

27. Amekwenda kabisa

He went (and will not return).

28. Amekuja kabisa.

He came (and will not leave again).

29. Amerudi kabisa

He returned (and will not leave again).

30. Amechukua kitabu changu kabisa.

He took my book (and will not return it).

31. Amenipa kalamu yake kabisa.

He gave me his pen (and will not take it back).

and so on.

Second, it denotes that something that is regularly done at fixed times has been done earlier. So, we can find:-

32. Amepika kabisa

She cooked before the regular time of cooking

33. Amesali kabisa.

He prayed before the due time.

etc.

Third, it denotes doing a compulsory or necessary duty to rid oneself of the duty or of its responsibility. So, we can find:-

34. Tuianike nguo kabisa.

Let us spread the cloth out

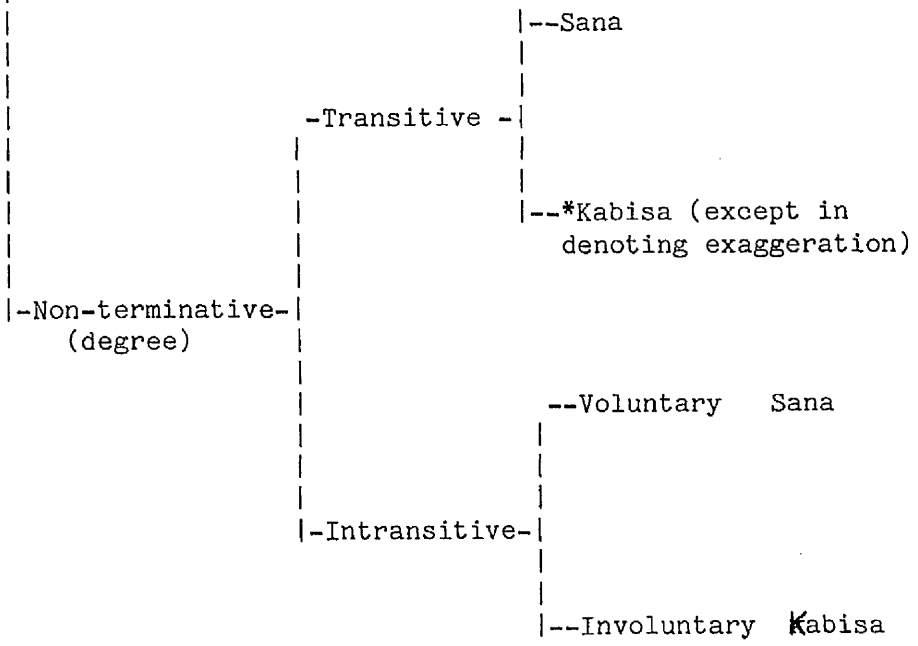
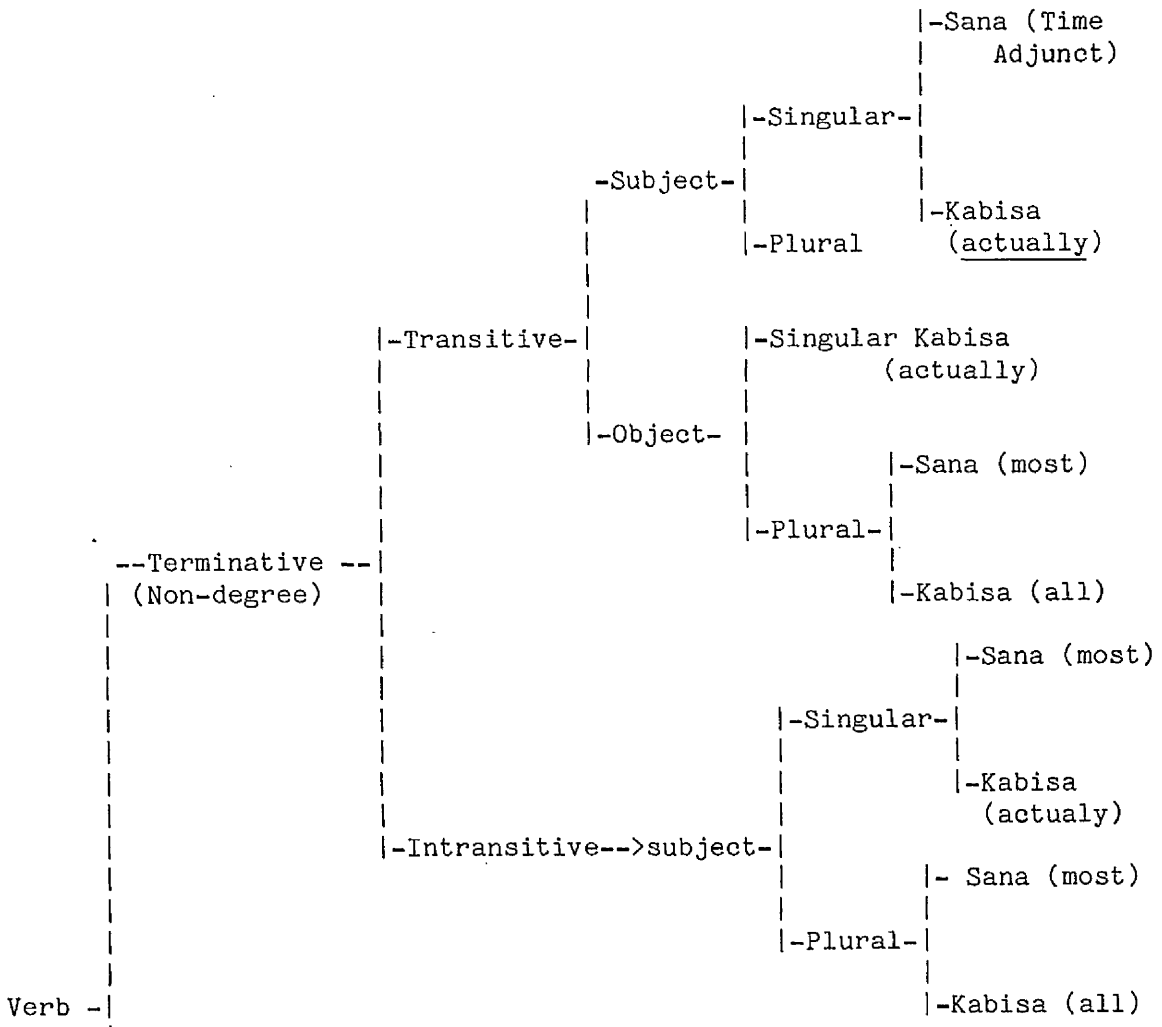
(to be free of such a duty).

35. T~~u~~andike masomo kabisa.

Let us write our lessons (to be free of them).

With negative verbs sana denotes a low point on the scale, whereas kabisa denotes the lowest or the bottom of the scale.

As regards adjectives kabisa collocates with only two adjectives viz bichi "raw" "unripe" and -geni "strange" "foreign". Sana collocates with all adjectives except -bichi "raw" and -geni "strange".



APPENDIX A

Measures of Length

Wanda mmoja wa melimeli, na nyanda mbili za bafuta.

Melimeli wanda mmoja, na bafuta nyanda mbili.

An inch of light fabric, Two inches of light fabric.

Hudhurungi shubiri moja, Shubiri moja ya hudhurungi.

A span of cotton-cloth.

.....

Hariri mkono mmoja Mkono mmoja wa hariri

A cubit (18 in.) of silk.

Hariri mikono mitatu Mikono mitatu ya hariri

3 cubits of silk ($1\frac{1}{2}$ yards).

.....

Dhiraa tatu za bafuta Bafuta dhiraa tatu

3 cubits ($1\frac{1}{2}$ yard) of fabric.

.....

Pima moja ya lasi Lasi pima moja

A measure of tussore

.....

Madhiraa kwa madhiraa ya hariri.

Cubits and cubits of silk.

Measures of Weight

Wakiya ya mchele Mchele wakiya.

Wakiya moja ya mchele Mchele wakiya moja.

An ounce of rice.

.....

Mchele ratili Ratili ya mchele.

Mchele ratili ratili (Walipewa) Ratili ratili ya mchele

A pound of rice

.....

Tani ya vitunguu Vitunguu tani moja.

Tani tatu za vitunguu Vitunguu tani tatu.

Matani matani ya vitunguu Vitunguu matani matani.

Matani kwa matani ya vitunguu Vitunguu ~~matani~~ kwa matani

A ton(s) of onion

.....

Lori la viazi Viazi lori.

Lori moja la viazi Viazi lori moja.

A lorry full of potatoes

Measures of Capacity

Kibaba cha mpunga Mpunga kibaba

A pound and a half of rice

Vibaba viwili vya mpunga Mpunga vibaba viwili

3 pounds of rice

.....

Pishi ya mtama Mtama pishi.

Pishi moja ya mtama Mtama pishi moja.

A half gallon of corn.

.....

Ngoma ya mahindi Mahindi ngoma.

Ngoma moja ya mahindi Mahindi ngoma moja.

A drum of maize.

.....

Farasila ya kunde Kunde farasila.

Farasila mbili za kunde Kunde farasila mbili.

16 Kilos of red beans.

.....

Gunia la mchele Mchele gunia.

Gunia moja la mchele Mchele gunia moja.

A sack of rice.

.....

Mfuko wa pesa Pesa mfuko

Mfuko mmoja wa pesa Pesa mfuko mmoja

A pocket of money.

.....

Debe la mafuta Mafuta debe.

Debe moja la mafuta Mafuta debe moja.

A tin of oil

Kikapu cha mchele Mchele kikapu.

Kikapu kimoja cha mchele Mchele kikapu kimoja.

A basket of rice.
.....

Kofi moja la chumvi Kofi la chumvi.

Chumvi kofi zima Chumvi kofi moja.

A handful of salt.
.....

Konzi ya chumvi Chumvi konzi.

A handful of salt.
.....

Tama la maji Maji tama moja.

Matama mawili ya maji Maji matam mawili.

A mouthful of water.
.....

Kata nzima ya maji.

Kata ya maji Maji kata (moja).

Kata moja ya maji Maji kata moja.

A ladle of water.
.....

Bindo la maembe Maembe bindo .

Bindo moja la maembe Maembe bindo moja.

A fold of the lion-cloth full of mangos.
.....

Kifundo cha pesa Pesa kifundo.

Fundo la pesa Pesa fundo.

A purse of money.

Kijamanda cha mikate.

Kijamanda kimoja cha mikate Mikate kijamanda kimoja.

A basket of bread.

.....

Sanduku la nguu

Nguu sanduku zima.

A box of cloths.

.....

Masanduku kwa masanduku
ya nguu

Nguu masanduku kwa masanduku.

So many boxes of cloths.

.....

Kasha la fedha

Fedha kasha zima.

A box of money.

.....

Fedha makasha matatu

Fedha kasha tele.

Three boxes of money

A full box of money.

Makasha makasha ya P'oso

P'oso makasha makasha.

Makasha kwa makasha ya
p'oso

P'oso makasha kwa makasha.

Box(es) of wedding presents

.....

Mtaba wa tumbaku

Tumbaku mtaba mmoja.

A box of tobacco.

.....

Kijaluba cha tambuu

Tambuu kijaluba kimoja.

A small metal box of chewing-plants.

.....

Punda mmoja wa udongo

Udongd punda mmoja

A donkey-pannier of clay.

.....

Sagi ya udongo

Udongo sogi moja.

A pannier of clay.

.....

Masogi masogi ya udongo Ma sogi kwa masogi ya udongo.

So many panniers of clay.
.....

Vigari viwili vya uzi Uzi vigari viwili.

Two small vans of cotton.
.....

Ng'ongo topa moja Topa moja la ng'ongo.

A band of strips of palm-tree.
.....

Ng'ongo matopa kwa matopa Matopa kwa matopa ya Ng'ongo.

Many bands of strips of palm-tree.
.....

Utungo wa samaki Samaki utungo mmoja

Utungo mmoja wa samaki

Utungo mzima wa samaki

A line (chain) of fish.
.....

Dau zima la samaki Samaki dau zima.

Dau tele la samaki Samaki dau tele.

A boat (full of) fish.
.....

Madau madau ya samaki Samaki madau madau.

Madau kwa madau ya samaki Samaki madau kwa madau.

So many boats (full of) fish.
.....

Gora moja ya lesa Lesa gora moja.

A pair (double length) of calico (scarf).
.....

Miti koriya moja Koriya moja ya miti

A score of trees.
.....

Kalamu darazeni tatu Darazeni tatu za kalamu.

Three dozens of pens.
.....

Kalamu madarazeni madarazeni.)
Kalamu madarazeni kwa madarazeni.)) So many dozens of pens.

.....

Jozi moja ya viatu Viatu jozi moja.

A pair of shoes.
.....

Barua karatasi saba Karatasi saba za barua.

A letter of seven lines.
.....

Mashairi kurasa tatu Kurasa tatu za mashairi.

Three pages of poetry.
.....

Maeneno mistari miwili Mistari miwili ya maneno.

Two lines of words.
.....

Pipa la simiti Simiti pipa moja (zima).

A barrel of bread.
.....

Chungu cha wali Wali chungu (kizima).

Saucepan of rice.
.....

Mkungu wa ndizi Ndizi mkungu mmoja.

A pan of banana.
.....

Shazi la nguo

Nguo furushi zima.

A parcel of cloths.

.....

Kichupa cha wino

Wino kichupa kimoja.

A small bottle of ink.

.....

Tonge ya wali

Wali tonge mbili

A lump of rice.

.....

Tone la maji

Maji matone mwalli.

A drop of water.

.....

Tumbi ya nazi

Nazi tumbi moja.

A net of coconut.

.....

Watu tele lori

Watu lori tele

Lori watu tele

Lori tele watu

Lorry full of people.

.....

Nyumba wanawake tele.

Nyumba tele wanawake.

Wanawake nyumba tele

Wanawake tele nyumba.

A house full of women.

.....

Tumbaku mtaba tele)

)

Mtaba tele tumbaku)

)

A box full of tobacco.

)

Mtaba tumbaku tele)

)

Tumbaku tele mtaba)

)

Tambuu kijaluba tele.)

)

Tambuu tele kijalubs.)

)

A small metal box of chewing-plant.

Kijaluba tele tambuu.)

)

Kijaluba tambuu tele.)

)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ashton E.O. Swahili Grammar 1944
- Berry M. Introduction to Systemic Linguistics 1975
- Bloomfield L. Language 1933
- Bolinger D. Adjectives in English : Attribution and Predication
Lingua 18 (1967) 1-34
Aspects of Language 1968
Degree words 1972
- Christie J. Locative, possessive and existential in Swahili
Foundations of Language 6, 1970
- Davies E.C. Some notes on English clause types
Transactions of the philological society
1-31 Oxford 1967
- Edward K Keenan Quantifier structures in English
Foundations of Language Vol.7
- Francis W.N. The structure of American English 1958
The English Language : An introduction 1967
- Greenbaum S. Studies in English Adverbial Usage 1969
- Halliday M.A.K. Categories of the theory of grammar Word 1961-17.3
The Linguistic Science and Language Teaching 1964
(with McIntosh A. and Strevens P.)
Some notes on "deep" grammar. Journal of Linguistics
1966.
Notes on transitivity and theme in English. Journal
of linguistics part 1,2 and 3. 1967
Intonation and grammar in British English. The Hague:
Mouton 1967
Cohesion in English 1976 (with Hassan R.)
(edited) Reading in systemic linguistics 1981

- ^e
Harris L. The syntax of Swahili locative affixes
African Studies; Vol. 36
- Huddleston R. More on the English comparative. Journal of
Linguistics 3. 91-102. 1967
- Hudson R.A. Constituency in a Systemic Description of the
English Clause. Lingua 18. 1967
- Jespersen O. Analytic Syntax 1937
A Modern English Grammar, on Historical Principles
1954 Parts II and VII
- Lees R.B. The Grammar of English Nominalization 1968
A Multiply Ambiguous Adjectival Construction in
English Language 36. 1960
- Lyons J. Theoretical Linguistics 1968
Semantics Vol.1 and 2 1977
Language, meaning and context 1981
- Maw J. Sentences in Swahili 1969

Swahili style 1974

Tone group and clause structure in Swahili

Some problems in Swahili clause structure
Swahili, 35/2 Sep. 1965
Focus and the morphology in the Swahili verb
BSOAS, 1976.
Morpheme and word divisions in Swahili
Journal of Lang. Assn. of East Africa, 1970
- Maw J. and Kelly J. Intonation in Swahili 1975
- Palmer F. Grammar 1971

Semantics; a new outline 1976

Polome E.C. Swahili language handbook 1967

Quirk R. et al. A grammar of contemporary English 1972

Shuan-Fan H. A study of adverbs. 1975

Strang B. Modern English structure 1968

Sweet H. New English grammar; Part 1 1968

Whiteley W.H. Some problems in transitivity in Swahili 1968

Focus and entailment : Further problems in
transitivity in Swahili. A.L.R. 1970 (with
Mganga J.D.)

Case complex in Swahili S.A.L. Vol.3 1972

Contextual specialization and idiomaticity A
case study from Swahili A.L.S. Vol.15. 1974