Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu

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THE CATEGORY OF DIATHESIS IN SWAHILI

TRANSITIVITY, TRANSMITTIVITY, CAUSATIVITY

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Oświadczenie

Ja, niżej podpisana, Agnieszka Schönhof-Wilkans, doktorantka Wydziału Neofilologii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu oświadczam, że przedkładaną pracę pt:

The Category of Diathesis in Swahili.
Transitivity, Transmittivity, Causativity

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Jednocześnie przyjmuję do wiadomości, że gdyby powyższe oświadczenie okazało się nieprawdziwe, decyzja o wydaniu mi dyplomu zostanie cofnięta.

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Abl.	ablative
Acc.	accusative
Act.	active
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AGT	Agent
APPL	applicative
APV	applicative verb
CAUS	causative
CL	nominal class
CONT	contactive
CSFR	Causofectificator
CSR	Causator
CSV	causative verb
Dat.	dative
DEM	demonstrative
EFR	Effector
EFV	Effective
EMR	Emittor
EMS	Emissive
FV	final vowel
Gen.	genitive

HA	habitual
ind	indicative
inf	infinitive
Instr.	instrumental
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
Nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
Obl.	oblique
Pass.	passive (voice)
PASS	passive (verbal morpheme)
PAST	past tense (*-li-*)
PAT	Patient
PERF	perfect tense/recent past (*–me-*)
pl	plural
PRON	pronominal
REC	reciprocal
RCP	Recipient
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
Rel.APP	relative applicative participle
Rel.CSP	relative causative participle
Rel.P	relative participle
SBJ	subject
SMR	subject relative marker
sg	singular

subj	subjunctive
TSF	Transitificator
TSMF	Transmittificator
V	verb
VN	verbal noun
VP	verb phrase
?	dubious
*	unacceptable

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aim and motivation

The general purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the nature of diathesis in Swahili with particular respect to the following three diathetic systems – transitivity, transmittivity and causativity. The analysis will make use of the concepts of Jerzy Bańczerowski's general theory of diathesis (1993, 2001, 2006), which has hitherto been applied to several languages, and has not yet been applied to any African language. The present study represents the first attempt to apply and adjust the principles of the general theory of diathesis to Swahili, an African Bantu language.

Although a thorough research on various aspects of diathesis in Swahili has already been undertaken (e.g. Ashton 1947; Polomé 1967; Maw 1969; Whiteley 1968; Vitale 1981; Abdulaziz 1996; Amidu 2001; Mkude 2005), none of the scholars actually used the term 'diathesis'. Those studies have predominantly focused upon transitivity by using such methodologies as systemic functional grammar (e.g. Whiteley 1968, Abdulaziz 1996), linguistic empirical grammar (e.g. Amidu 2006) or various generative approaches (e.g. Vitale 1981). To the best of our knowledge, there does not exist a single study covering the totality of diathetic phenomena in Swahili or any other Bantu language.

The present dissertation endeavours to apply and adjust the apparatus of the general theory of diathesis to a substantial fragment of diathesis in Swahili – namely – transitivity, transmittivity, causativity. It particularly aims at identifying categorial semantic and categorial morphosyntactic schemata available in Swahili for the three diathetic systems.

Since diathesis is inextricably intertwined both with the category of voice and the category of case, the study concerns a fragment of Swahili semantics, syntax, and morpho-syntax.

In contrast to the approaches treating the notions of diathesis and voice interchangeably, the present study clearly differentiates between the two categories. Diathesis is concerned with sentences and desentential syntagms, whereas voice is conceived of as a flexion of verbs with regard to diathesis. Case is the category concerned with arguments.

The author hopes that the framework adopted for the purposes of the present investigation will result in a systematic description of linguistic phenomena concerning transitivity, transmittivity and causativity in Swahili, or, at least, will constitute a different proposal to those available so far. The analysis is by no means intended to be exhaustive, but we do claim that it has several advantages as a framework for further cross-linguistic investigation and for investigation into the details of particular structures in Swahili.

The study will hopefully serve as a useful tool for any person who desires to learn Swahili and is interested in a more detailed analysis of the language. The lingual data presented here may also be useful for translational purposes.

1.2 Method

The point of departure is the assumption that language and reality are inseparable from each other. This interdependence can be understood in terms of a feedback mechanism. Through language we apprehend the events in the real world, but the linguistic structures that we use with reference to the world are imposed by the events. In a certain sense, the morpho-syntactic structures of sentences reflect the structures of events.

Within each event we distinguish at least one participant and at least one interparticipant relation. Event participants and interparticipant relations

are represented by proper units in sentences. Sentences not only designate events but also signify some of their properties. Within the present theory, the types of interaction between the participants of events are of interest. This study will focus on sentences that convey the meanings of transitivity, transmittivity and causativity.

Languages display differences in the coding of information concerning the same events. Those differences occur both inter- and intralingually. Within the framework of the general theory of diathesis categorial semantic schemata (called symptoses) are determined by each diathetic meaning (transitivity, intransitivity, stativity, transmittivity, causativity, reciprocity, reflexivity, possessivity, etc.).

Each of the three diathetic meanings discussed in the present study (transitivity, transmittivity, causativity) will be described in terms of its possible symptoses – that, for the time being, can be understood as configurations of semantic categories of event participants and relations binding those participants within the syntactic organization of sentences. The symptoses created at this stage serve as general patterns that can be checked against data from individual languages.

As already mentioned, within the general theory of diathesis the category of voice is intertwined with that of case. For this purpose, categorial morphosyntactic schemata, called concasions, are adopted in our theory.

Having at disposal the set of possible symptoses for each of the three diathetic meanings, we check which of them are present in Swahili. At this stage it occurs if a preliminary set of symptoses suffices to embrace our linguistic material. Subsequently, an attempt will be made to identify the set of concasions for each symptosis. For every symptosis at least one linguistic example in form of a Swahili sentence (or desentential syntagm) will be provided. These will be translated into English with the purpose of conveying precisely as much of the original way of expression of a given meaning as possible, leading sometimes to ill-formed sentences.

The lingual data presented in this monograph, if not otherwise indicated, come from fieldwork with Tanzanians (to whom Swahili is either a mother tongue or a second language of the first use). Examples were elicited from both men and women, aged 20 to 55. The number of people who contributed to the study is difficult to determine, however it oscillates around 20. The level of education varied among the informants – from three classes of a primary school (4 informants), through secondary education or B.A. programme (most of the informants), to M.A. programme in education (a woman) and a Ph.D. programme in engineering (a man). Most of the informants at times of consultation had lived in Dar-es-Salaam for at least three years. The fieldwork was conducted in the city of Dar-es-Salaam and on the island of Zanzibar in two periods: September 2009 – August 2010 and July – August 2014.

Chapter 2: Introductory Overview

Following the introduction to the topic and the research objectives presented in **Chapter 1**, the present chapter gives an overview of the monograph.

In **Chapter 3** (*Diathesis, Voice and Case: literature review*) a brief selection of theoretical linguistic approaches towards voice, diathesis, and case is presented. Firstly, the beginnings of diathetic research in linguistics are discussed. These include Pāṇini's concepts pertaining to semantics and (morpho)syntax as well as the concepts of the ancient Greek and Latin grammarians to whom we owe the terms *diathesis* and *voice* (3.1). Secondly, those two notions are traced in some of the modern linguistic approaches (3.2). Much space is devoted to the discussion of the Leningrad/St. Petersburg Typology Group's approach to voice and diathesis, which is presented in the works of Mel'čuk and Xolodovič (1970), Xrakovskij (1974), Xolodovič (1974), Mel'čuk (1981, 1988, 2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2006), Geniušienė(1987), Kulikov (2010). Also some reference is made to contributions by Tesnière (1959), Lazard (1984) and Levin (1993). Further, selected approaches to diathesis by the Polish researchers are discussed. These include Rokoszowa (1976, 1977, 1980, 1986), Laskowski (1984), Stefański (1990), and Górski (2008). Next, some terminological issues oscillating around semantic and syntactic cases are discussed – these include the notions of semantic roles, thematic roles and grammatical relations. The concept of Fillmore's deep case (1968) is introduced. Other accounts mentioned in the chapter include, among others, Gruber (1965), Jackendoff (1972, 1987), Dowty (1991). Finally, several works touching different aspects of diathesis, predominantly transitivity, in Swahili, are discussed. These include Whiteley (1968), Vitale (1981), Abdulaziz (1996), Amidu (2001), Mkude (1995, 2005).

The contents of **Chapter 4** (*The Swahili Language*) is heterogeneous and provides the reader with both general and specific information on Swahili language. First, some basic facts concerning the language classification and its geographic location are presented (4.1). Then, an overview of selected dictionaries, monographs and articles on some aspects of Swahili grammar is given (4.2). Next, the phonological system of the language is briefly described (4.3). The last subchapter (4.4) gives the reader some more specific information on morphology and syntax that is indispensable for the purposes of the dissertation. The categories of noun and verb, TAM system, the system of agreement and object marking are discussed. Much space is devoted to the so called *verbal extensions* that is morphemes that can be attached to a verbal root. These include (in general Bantuistic terms) such extension as causative, passive, applicative, reciprocal, reflexive and stative.

Chapter 5 (*Towards the theory of the category of diathesis in Swahili*) together with the subsequent chapters attempts to analyze a fragment of the category of diathesis in Swahili within the framework of the general theory of diathesis developed by Jerzy Bańczerowski (1980, 1993, 2001, 2006) and continued by Kordek 2000, Bielecki 2005, Stroński 2011. 5.1 introduces the notion of a linguistic theory. 5.2 outlines the theoretical foundations of the category of diathesis beginning with the list of primitive terms. The intuitive sense of the primitive terms is given before some auxiliary notions such as symptosis, concasion, diathetic paradigm, etc. are defined. The chapter ends with the list of postulates concerning the category of diathesis understood generally.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the diathetic meaning of **Transitivity** which is comprised of Agentivity, Patientivity and Transitificatority. The chapter provides the list of the possible symptoses for Transitivity as understood universally. In 6.1 symptoses for Transitivity in Swahili are listed and exemplified. These include: sentential agentive symptosis, sentential patientive symptosis, sentential patientoagentive symptosis, desentential agentificatorial symptosis, desentential patientificatorial symptosis, desentential agentive symptosis and desentential patientive symptosis.

Chapter 7 concerns the diathetic meaning of **Transmittivity.** Within this category **Atomic Transmittivity** and **Extended Transmittivity** are distinguished. The former is comprised of Emittority, Recipientivity and Transmittificatority, the latter is extended by Emissivity. Transmittivity in Swahili presupposes the set of the following symptoses: sentential emittorial symptosis, sentential recipientive symptosis, sentential emissive symptosis, desentential emittorial symptosis, desentential recipientive symptosis, desentential emissive symptosis, desentential emittificatorial symptosis, desentential recipientificatorial symptosis, and desentential emissificatorial symptosis.

Chapter 8 is devoted to **Causativity** which is one of the most complex diathetic meanings since a causative situation embraces two sub-events: the causing event and the caused event. In introductory remarks (8.1) a general discussion on causatives in literature is provided. It concerns the types of causatives – the lexical, the morphological, and the syntactic (analytic or periphrastic) type – as well as the differentiation between direct and indirect causation. In 8.2 the possible symptoses for Causativity are outlined with the exclusion of syntactic causatives. In 8.3 the following symptoses for causativity in Swahili are described: sentential causative symptosis, sentential effectorial symptosis, sentential effective symptosis, desentential causative symptosis, desentential effectorial symptosis, desentential effective symptosis, desentential causatificatorial symptosis, desentential effectorificatorial symptosis, and effectificatorial symptosis.

Chapter 9 briefly discusses some other diathetic meanings, which are worth a separate distinction in Swahili.

Chapter 10 sheds light on the diathetic code of Swahili by presenting interdependencies between symptoses and concasions for each of the three diathetic meanings.

Chapter 11 closes our inquiry with conclusions.

Chapter 3:
Diathesis, Voice and Case: literature review

The present chapter provides a brief overview of selected approaches towards voice, diathesis and case both in ancient and modern linguistics. The views of different linguists, or linguistic schools, are presented with an attempt to retain their authors' original terminology. Inevitably, many of the important contributions to the subject matter are missing from the present study. Another reason for omitting some works is that they are widely accessed elsewhere as their authors present the so called main stream methods in the domain of syntax and semantics. These include works written by Chomsky (1981), Williams (1981), Grimshaw (1982, 1990), Marantz (1984), Siewierska (1984), Shibatani (1988), Baker (1988), Rappaport and Levin (1988), Stowell (1992), Pinker (1989), Woolford (1997), Alexiadou (2006, 2012), Schäfer (2008), Ramchand (2014), and many others. The choice presented here should be sufficient as a background for our further considerations on diathesis in Swahili. The approaches presented here have been selected among the others for several reasons. They either outline the beginnings of diathetic research in a language; are important contributions that differentiate the category of diathesis from the category of voice; inquire into the category of case from the perspective of diathesis. This chapter includes a selection of theories whose authors do utilize the terms *voice* and *diathesis*. It also includes a brief description of selected contributions into some aspects of diathesis in Swahili.

3.1. Approaches to voice, diathesis and case in antiquity

3.1.1. The Indian tradition

One of the earliest documented studies into diathesis and voice was conducted by Pāṇini – the author of Sanskrit grammar from around 500 BC known as *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 'eight-chaptered'. Indeed, the grammar consisted of eight chapters and about 4000 interdependent rules (Butt 2006:15, Blake 2009:18, Klaiman 1991:1, Kiparsky 2002). In his work Pāṇini described "the distinctions of inflectional paradigms and of meanings associated with the opposition of active and middle in the Sanskrit verb" (Klaiman 1991:1).

Pāṇini distinguished the following terms, among others: *parasmaipadam* (active voice), *ātmanepadam* (medium), *bhāva* (impersonal verb), *karman* (passive voice), *karamakartṛ* (reflexive). He also divided the verbs into transitive (*sakarmaka*) and intransitive (*akarmaka*). In his view transitive verbs are those that take an object (*sakarmaka* as 'object expectant'), while intransitive verbs are unable to take objects (*akarmaka* 'non-object expectant').

As far as the category of case is concerned, Pāṇini distinguished seven nominal case forms called *vibhakti*. These were simply numbered: *prathamā* 'first', *dvitīyā* 'second', *trṭīya* 'third', *caturthī* 'fourth', *pañcamī* 'fifth', *ṣaṣṭī* 'sixth', *saptamī* 'seventh'. They correspond, respectively, to the widely established notions of nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. As Butt (2006:16) states, "Pāṇini was aware of a number of semantic factors which played a role in the determination of morphological case". He classified different participants of an action represented by a sentence into six role types called *kārakas*. These are displayed below with their Western equivalents given in the brackets (cf. Butt 2006:17):

- *kartṛ* (agent);
- *karman* (goal, patient);
- *saṃpradāna* (recipient);

- *karaṇa* (instrument);
- *adhikaraṇa* (locative);
- *apādāna* (source).

According to Kiparsky (2002), *"kārakas* are roles, or functions, assigned to nominal expressions in relation to a verbal root. They are systematically related to semantic categories, but the correspondence is not one-to-one. One *kāraka* can correspond to several semantic relations and one semantic relation can correspond to several *kārakas*" (Kiparsky 2002:15).

The rules, by which Pāṇini defined the concept of agent and patient, are the following:

a) Rule 1,4,49: *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*
'*Karman* is the thing most desired by the agent.'
b) Rule 1,4,54: *svatantraḥ kartā*
'The agent (*kartṛ*) is the independently acting one.' (Butt 2006:16).

The assignment of case and other morphological elements is formulated in terms of *kārakas*. For instance, the agent (*kartṛ*) is expressed by instrumental and genitive in the participial constructions, while the patient (*karman*) is expressed by accusative and sometimes by dative (cf. Kiparsky 2002:17, Butt 2006:16). The following illustration presents the various case assignment possibilities for the agent and patient in Sanskrit:

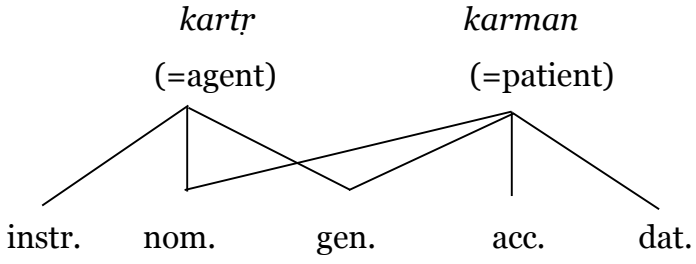


Fig. 1. Case assignment possibilities for the agent and patient in Sanskrit

(taken from Butt 2006:18)

Semantic categories are treated by Pāṇini as separate entities with respect to their morphological realization. However, there is no one-to-one correspondence between *kārakas* and *vibhaktis*. Each *karaka* that is a semantic category may be expressed by more than one case form, just like each case form (*vibhakti*) refers to several semantic functions, not even limited to *kārakas*.

3.1.2 The Greek and Roman tradition

The notion of voice has appeared along with that of diathesis since diathetic research began. The two terms have been confused to the extent that they have even been treated interchangeably, as if they were synonymous. Dionysius Thrax, to whom *Τέχνη γραμματική* is customarily attributed, used the term *διάθεσις* 'disposition, arrangement' with reference to passive, active and medium constructions of Classical Greek (cf. Andersen 1991:30ff). The concept of diathesis has been adopted by Latin grammarians for the opposition between active and passive verbal forms under the notion of *genera verbi*. For the same concept medieval Latin grammarians used the term *vox,* which underlies the French *voix* and the English *voice* used in the modern linguistic approaches (Kulikov 2010:368).

Dionysius Thrax distinguished three diatheses 'dispositions': active (*enérgeia*), passive (*páthos*) and medium (*mesótēs*). He exemplified the *enérgeia* category ('performance') with *túptō* 'I hit' and the *pathos* ('experience') category with *túptomai* 'I undergo hitting'. In the first example the subject of the verb affects potential objects, while in the second one the subject is affected. In the first group, the verbs have an active ending, while in the second – a medial ending. The *mesótēs* category accommodates the verbs that do not fit to any of the two groups (*páthos* and *enérgeia*), because the meaning and form in these verbs do not correspond to each other.

Latin grammarians adopted the Greek's terminology for the concept of diathesis, by which they understood the opposition between active and passive verbal forms. The terms *enérgeia, pathos,* and *mesótēs* were translated into *activum, passivum* and *medium* in Latin. In *Ars Minor* from the 4th century Donatus gave a brief overview of the eight parts of speech including the verb. He distinguished five *genera verborum*, namely *activa, passiva, neutra, deponentia* and *communia*. According to Donatus, active verbs end in *–o* and become passive when *–r* is added to them (*lego—legor*); passive verbs are those that end in *–r* and become active when *–r* is deleted, neuter verbs end in *–o* (*sto, curro*) and cannot become passive, because their passive forms do not exist in a language. *Verba deponentia* like *sequor* and *morior* have no corresponding forms *sequo* or *morio*. Although their form is passive, they are active in meaning. *Sequor* and *morior* mean respectively 'I am following' and 'I'm dying'. The fifth *genus – verba communia* – is represented by verbs which end in *–r*, but they fall into two patterns – of an agent or an undergoer (*agentis et patientis*). In this respect *crīminor* may mean 'I am accusing' as well as 'I am being accused' under certain circumstances (cf. Matthews 2007:300).

The notion of grammatical case as one of the central features of the Western grammatical tradition has been developed with reference to Ancient Greek and Latin. The very term *case* comes from Latin *casus* 'fall(ing)', which is in turn a loan translation from Greek *ptōsis* 'fall(ing)' (cf. Blake 1994:19, Haspelmath 2009a:506, Butt 2006:12). The idea seems to have been that of "falling away from an assumed standard form" (Blake 1994:19).

The term 'case' is traditionally referred to as inflectional marking. Greek and Latin have respectively five and six cases, the names of which are listed in the following figure.

Greek	Latin	Semantic motivation
ορθη '*orthe*'	Nominativus	naming or straight case
γενικη 'genike'	Genetivus	of the genus, father's case
δοτικη '*dotike*'	Dativus	giving/addressing
αιτιατικη 'aitiatike'	Accusativus	affected (Roman:accused)
κλητικη 'kletike'	Vocativus	calling
-	Ablativus	from

Fig. 2. Greek names of cases and their Latin counterparts

(adopted from Butt 2006:13)

3.2 Voice and diathesis in modern linguistic approaches

In the modern linguistics, that is since 19th century, there have been many approaches towards voice and diathesis. It is obviously impossible to discuss all of them here. Some of them, however, are closer to the framework adopted in this thesis than the others, and some, although different to our approach are indispensable as a background for our further considerations. Some space is devoted to selected Polish linguists who used the term 'diathesis' in their works.

3.2.1 Mel'čuk *et alia*

One of the most powerful approaches that makes a clear boundary between diathesis and voice was that of the Leningrad (St. Petersburg) school of grammatical typology. The school was founded and led by Alexandr A. Xolodovič (1906-1977) who specialised in Japanese and the grammar of Russian. Victor S. Xrakovskij, Vladimir P. Nedjalkov, Natalia A. Kozinceva, Elena E. Kordi and some others were among the participants of the group. Igor A. Mel'čuk, a prominent linguist from Moscow, also belonged to the group. So far, one of the group's biggest achievement was its typology of diathesis and

voice, first outlined in Xolodovič (1970) and Mel'čuk & Xolodovič (1970). In Xrakovskij (1974) there was presented a more elaborate version of the theory (cf. Testelets 2001:312f). The group also contributed to cross-linguistic studies in such areas as passive constructions (Xolodovič 1974, 1975; Xrakovskij 1981), resultative constructions (Nedjalkov 1983), sentential complementation (Xrakovskij 1985), iterative constructions (Xrakovskij 1992), and verbal categories and clause structure more generally (Xrakovskij 1983) (cf. Comrie et al. 1993:viiff).

According to Xolodovič and Mel'čuk (1970), diathesis (Russian *diateza*) can be defined in terms of correspondence between two levels of representation: the level of semantic arguments or semantic roles and the level of grammatical relations or syntactic functions (cf. Kulikov 2010:369). Voice (Russian *zalog*), on the other hand, is described as "the systematic encoding of diathesis in the morphology of the verb" (Knott 1995:20). Thus, according to Babby, "a verb's various voices constitute a subset of the full diathetic paradigm" (Babby 1998:4). As Mel'čuk points out, "the category of voice (...) touches indeed on all the most difficult and most relevant aspects of modern linguistics: on semantics and on syntax (both deep and surface), on communicative and rhetorical organization of the text, on what is frequently called pragmatics, as well as on lexicography" (Mel'čuk 1993:1).

In the view of Xolodovič (1974): *Every form of a verbal lexeme, V1, may be said to have a diathesis, D1. This represents information about how the noun phrases (actants) which accompany the verb at the surface syntactic level relate to the participants inherently associated with the verb at the semantic level (i.e. those participants which must be referred to in the lexical entry of the verb). A particular lexeme may have several diatheses, each associated with different forms of the lexeme. One of these diatheses is assumed to be basic (D_0), and the remaining ones are regarded as derived from it ($D_0 \rightarrow D_1$)* (translated from Russian by Judith M. Knott 1995:20f).

A distinction between diathesis and voice was also drawn by Xrakovskij (1974). In his view, diathesis is concerned with a sentence, and voice with

a verb. In other words, the relations between the parts of a sentence and the participants in a situation are covered by diathesis, whereas the relations between the participants of the situation reflected in a verb are covered by voice. Therefore, voice can be identified as the verbal encoding of diathesis.

Mel'čuk investigated into the problem of voice and diathesis from the basis established in Mel'čuk and Xolodovič (1970) and developed in Mel'čuk (1988). His goal was to introduce some clarity into the discussion by developing a logical system of linguistic concepts and the corresponding terminology. The theoretical framework he adopted was the Meaning-Text Theory[1].

The Meaning-Text Theory uses seven distinct, autonomous levels of representation of utterances (see Fig.1.1.1. below), four of which are central to the category of voice, namely: semantic level (SemR), deep-syntactic level (DsynR), surface-syntactic level (SsyntR), deep-morphological level (DmorphR) (Mel'čuk 1993: 2).

1. Semantic Representation	[= SemR]
2. Deep-Syntactic Representation	[= DsyntR]
3. Surface-Syntactic Representation	[= SsyntR]
4. Deep-Morphological Representation	[= DmorphR]
5. Surface-Morphological Representation	[= SmorphR]
6. Deep-Phonological Representation	[= DphonR]
7. Surface-Phonological Representation	[= SphonR]

Fig. 3 Levels of representation in the framework of The Meaning-Text Theory

(Mel'čuk 2006:5)

According to Mel'čuk (2006:5), "A **representation** is a set of formal objects, called **structures** [= -S], each of which represents a particular aspect of the utterance. Thus, a SemR is a set of four structures, or an ordered

[1] See Mel'čuk (1981, 1988) and Nakhimovsky (1983).

quadruplet SemR = ‹Semantic Structure; Sem-Communicative Structure; Rhetorical Structure; Referential Structure›".

Mel'čuk distinguished three types of actants in the framework of the Meaning-Text approach. The types are as follows: semantic, deep-syntactic and surface-syntactic (Mel'čuk 2004a:4). The term *actant* was previously introduced by Tesnière (1959)[2] in order to denote the major syntactic roles of nominals that directly depend on the main verb syntactically. Mel'čuk's intention was to develop, elaborate, and, most importantly, to generalise Tesnière's ideas. He also noticed that many other researchers exploring the domain use different terms for basically the same phenomena. For instance, *argument structure* refers rather to (the set of) semantic actants, whereas *grammatical relations* (or *grammatical functions*) refer to (different types of) syntactic actants (cf. Mel'čuk 2004a:2).

An approximate characterization of the three actants of a lexical unit in the framework of the Meaning-Text approach is given below (see Mel'čuk 1993:7ff):

Semantic actant [SemA] of a lexical unit L: an argument of the functor (roughly, a predicate) which is the signified of L.

Semantic actants are represented by variables X,Y,Z, etc. SemAs of a L are consecutively numbered according to the syntactic roles of their surface realizations:

1 – the SemA corresponding to the grammatical subject of the verb expressing 'L' in the given language,

2 – the SemA corresponding to the direct (or more precisely, the most imortant) grammatical object,

3 – the SemA corresponding to the indirect object (Mel'čuk 1993:7).

As an example Mel'čuk uses the sentence *John sees Mary*. In the sentence "the LUs JOHN and MARY are SemAs of the LU [to] SEE: 'see'('John'; 'Mary'). Another form of representing SemAs (adopted in the meaning-text theory) is as follows:

[2] For Tesnière see page.

'John'←1—'see'—2→ 'Mary'.

The arrows show the Sem-dependencies: the predicate-argument relations; the numbers distinguish different arguments of the same predicate" (Mel'čuk 2004a:9).

Surface-Syntactic actant [SSyntA] of L: a phrase that is the G(rammatical) S(ubject), an O(bject) or else a CO(mplement) of L. These are defined according to srictly syntactic criteria only: omissibility, word order, agreement, cooccurence with structural words, control properties, participation in different transformations, etc. (cf. Mel'čuk 1993:7).

Deep-Syntactic actant [DSyntA] of L: a phrase that depends syntactically on L and corresponds to a SemA of L or to a SSynA of L (Mel'čuk 1993:7).

Deep-Syntactic actants are notated by Roman numerals, which have specific meanings:

I – stands for the family of syntactic constructions that include the predicative construction, i.e. the grammatical subject, and all its transforms with non-verbal lexical units (e.g., *Genitivus Subjectivus* and other nominal complements);

II – represents the direct object and all its transforms (like *Genitivus Objectivus*, complements of prepositions, etc.) or the most important object if the direct object is missing – as in, e.g. *insist on **Y**, belong to **Y*** (...);

III – covers all constructions with the "second" (=less important) object or complement (Mel'čuk 1993:7f).

Having characterized briefly a few concepts important to the Meaning-Text Theory, we are now in position to present Mel'čuk's definitions of diathesis and voice. The description of the former is, in the author's view, an auxiliary concept for the definition of the latter.

According to Mel'čuk (1993:9), the **diathesis** of a lexical unit L is the correspondence between its semantic and its deep-syntactic actants. The **diathesis** characterizes particular inflectional forms of L and can be

changed by applying to the stem of the form in question some derivational means. Voice and voice-related phenomena are constituted by modifications of the diathesis of **w**(L) by various morphological techniques.

The **basic diathesis** of a lexical unit L is the lexicographic diathesis of L, i.e., the diathesis which corresponds to the citation form of L and must be stored in L's lexical entry. It should be also borne in mind that not all lexical units possess a diathesis, but only those whose signified is a predicate in the logical sense (cf. Mel'čuk 1993: 9ff; 2001:1ff; 2004a:5ff; 2004b).

Mel'čuk's way of representing the diathesis of a lexical unit L is by a two-row matrix, the upper row representing the SemAs, and the lower one, the DsyntAs. The matrix has *n* columns, where *n* is equal to the number of SemAs. For instance the meaning of the verb 'see' can be represented by the following expression: 'X has, in X's psyche, an image of Y caused by the light reflected by Y and perceived by (the eyes of) X'.

Since we say *I see you* ('I' – Grammatical Subject, 'you' – direct object), the diathesis of 'see' is as follows (Mel'čuk 1993: 9):

X	Y
I	**II**

In Mel'čuk's view, **voice** is an inflectional category whose grammemes specify such modifications of the basic diathesis of a lexical unit L that do not affect the propositional meaning (="objective", situational) of L (cf. Mel'čuk 1993: 9ff; 2001:1ff; 2004a:5ff; 2004b).

In Mel'čuk's view such structures as causatives, decausatives and the applicative present in many Bantu languages are not voices, because they always change the propositional meaning either by addition or subtraction (Mel'čuk 1993:11).

The prototypical basic diathesis has two semantic and deep syntactic actants*:*

X	Y
I	**II**

For a binary diathesis like the one presented above, there are 19 combinations: 4 permutations, I x 4 suppressions + 3 identifications. However, according to the author, not all combinations are logically possible, and some are linguistically implausible (Mel'čuk 1993:13).

The author lists the following nine combinations that correspond to the actual voice grammemes *(see* Mel'čuk 1993:12ff):

1) *'active'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
I	**II**

2) *'full passive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
II	**I**

3) *'partial passive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
III	**II**

4) *'subjectal suppressive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
-	**II**

5) *'objectal suppressive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
I	**-**

6) *'full suppressive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
-	**-**

7) *'truncated agentless passive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
-	**I**

8) *'truncated patientless passive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X	Y
II	**-**

9) *'reflexive'*

X	Y
I	**II**

⇒

X=Y
I

Passives other than a regular binary passive can also be distinguished. Semantically trivalent transitive verbs can have more than just one passive. Mel'čuk exemplifies this with a sentence from English as a language having two passives:

a) a direct passive

X	Y	Z
I	**II**	**III**

⇒

X	Y	Z
II	**I**	**III**

*Adam **gave** the apple to Eve.* *vs.* *The apple **was given** to Eve by Adam.*

b) an indirect passive

X	Y	Z
I	**II**	**III**

⇒

X	Y	Z
III	**II**	**I**

*Adam **gave** the apple to Eve.* *vs.* *Eve **was given** the apple by Adam.*

(Mel'čuk 1993:16f)

The author also admits that the definition of diathesis and voice proposed by him is in many respects too narrow to cover all the phenomena regarding those two categories in a wide variety of languages (cf. Mel'čuk 1970, 1993, 2001, 2004a, 2004b).

Languages differ greatly to types of verbs that allow or disallow passivization. For example in English as well as in Japanese, "the passive can promote to the status of DsynA **I** even the circumstantials" (Mel'čuk 1993:20). Another problem regarding voice is the question of reciprocal constructions. In the framework of the Meaning-Text Theory, the reciprocal is not a voice, because it affects the propositional meaning of the verb. Nevertheless, it is very close to voice because it modifies the basic diathesis of the verb (cf. Mel'čuk 1993:22).

The description of voice proposed in Mel'čuk (1993) does not cover monovalent, that is intransitive verbs. And in many languages the passive can be formed from intransitive verbs. The theory does not cover more-than-two-valent, that is trivalent and four-valent verbs either.

The author aware of this lack came to the conclusion that: "a new, more general, but necessarily more complex definition of voice as a supercategory is probably needed, with subordinated definitions of particular (sub)categories, which can combine among themselves in a wordform" (Mel'čuk 1993:29):

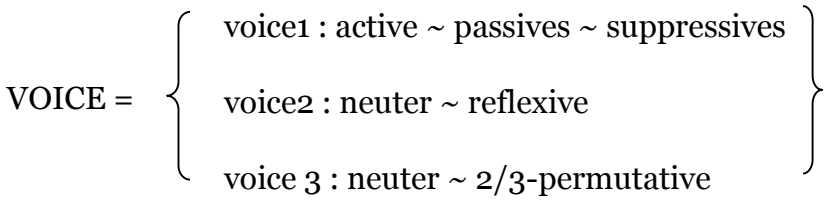


Fig. 4. Mel'čuk's model of voice as a supercategory

(Mel'čuk 1993:29)

3.2.2 Geniušienė

Following the tradition of the Leningrad / St. Petersburg Typology Group, Geniušiene (1987) clearly differentiates diathesis from voice. The former is defined as a pattern of correspondences between units at the syntactic level and units at the semantic level, whereas the latter is defined as a regular marking in the verb coding the correspondences between units at the syntactic and units at the semantic level (Geniušiene 1987:52ff).

She proposes a three-level diathesis model in which the correspondences are established between the syntactic features of the arguments of the verb, the participants (referents) of the situation described, and the semantic roles of those participants. In her approach there is a fixed set of universal semantic roles into which every referent must fit. These include the following among the others: Agent, Patient, Actor, Experiencer, Addressee, and even a Part (in so called structural reflexives e.g. *to wash one's hands, to comb one's hair* etc.).

For instance, the diathesis of a non-reflexive transitive verb e.g. *wash* in the sentence *Mary washes the baby* is shown below:

Referent level	Person 1 (Mary)	Person 2 (baby)
Semantic role level	Agent	Patient
Syntactic function level	Subject	Object

Fig.5 Geniušienė'smodel of a transitive diathesis (1987)

In the reflexive construction there is only one person in the referent structure which indicates two participants in the semantic role structure and is expressed either by a single syntactic argument (the subject) or by two syntactic arguments – the subject and the object realized by a pronoun. Hence, a related reflexive diathesis for the verb *wash* would have two variants. The diagram on the left corresponds to the sentence *Mary washes*, while the diagram on the right corresponds to the sentence *Mary washes herself*.

Person 1	
Agent	Patient
Subject	

Person 1	
Agent	Patient
Subject	Object

Fig. 6. Geniušienė's model of semantic reflexive diatheses (1987)

3.2.3 Kulikov

As regards voice and diathesis, Leonid Kulikov (2010) follows the line of the Leningrad (St. Petersburg) Typology Group. According to him, that approach offers a powerful calculus of possible relations between two main levels of representation of the linguistic structure – the level of semantic arguments or semantic roles and the level of grammatical relations, or syntactic functions (Kulikov 2010:369). Grammatical relations (Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Oblique Object) are encoded by case marking, verbal agreement, and word order. According to Kulikov (2010:369-370), "diathesis is determined as

a pattern of mapping of semantic arguments onto syntactic functions (grammatical relations). The notion of diathesis is closely related to that of verbal valency/valence, which is inherently associated with the set of arguments governed by the verb in question".

Kulikov (2010:373) comes up with a term ***diathesis calculus*** with reference to the inventory of logically possible diatheses (or possible diathesis/valency changes) that could be checked against the evidence from all natural languages. He distinguishes between diathesis changes that do not affect the inventory of semantic roles (derived diatheses *sensu stricto*), "operational diatheses" (the inventory of semantic roles is preserved but some syntactic changes are imposed), and syntactic changes that do not preserve the inventory of the semantic roles. Derived diatheses *sensu stricto* include for instance subject-demoting diatheses: passive (canonical, agentless passive, impersonal passive, absolute passive and conversive); object-demoting diatheses: antipassive and de-objective; derived diatheses: dative shift and dative passive. Reflexive and reciprocal are, according to Kulikov, 'operational diatheses'. To the third type of diatheses that entails change in the inventory of the semantic roles can be further subdivided into valency-increasing and valency-decreasing diatheses. The former includes causatives and applicatives, the latter anticausatives.

3.2.4 Tesnière

In the present literature review we shall not forget Tesnière, one of the most prominent French linguists who developed a syntactic theory known as dependency grammar. The book was published posthumously in 1959 as *Éléments de syntaxe structurale.*

The so called 'dependency' grammar of Tesnière is based on the assumption that sentences reflect events in the real world. The predicate verb represents an action and functions as the highest syntactic node of a sentence. Dependent on the verb are the ***actants*** (the term first introduced by Tesnière)

which are the participants in the action. Syntactically, actants appear as subject, direct object and indirect object (cf. Tesnière 1959:102ff).

It should also be noted that Tesnière was first to use the term ***valency*** in the field of linguistics. Valency of a verb was described by him as the number of its actants. The actants are anchored in the verb meaning. Therefore, the valency can be zero (e.g. 'snow'), one ('sleep'), two ('hit') or three ('give').

Tesnière distinguished between three kinds of actants (1959:107ff): the first actant (traditionally the subject) is the actant that carries out an activity (in the active clauses), the second is the actant to which an activity happens, and the third one is the actant to whose benefit (or detriment) something happens.

Tesnière also noted that the voice of the verb depends on the number of actants that it can be composed of (cf. Tesnière 1959: 238). In addition to the term *actant*, he came up with the term ***circonstant***. *Circonstants* are adverbs (of time, place, manner, etc.) or adverb equivalents; adverbial *circonstants* (called adjuncts) are optional, not required by the verb (cf. Tesnière 1959: 102ff). In modern valency theory they are called adjuncts.

3.2.5 Lazard

At this place we shall also mention the French RIVALC[3] group, founded in 1984 with the purpose of investigating, "in languages as different as possible, actancy variations, that is variations of the grammatical relations which link the verbal predicate and the main noun phrases (the actants), and to detect the relevant factors which correlate with these variations, the final aim being, if possible, to reach what are presumably universal invariants" (Lazard, 1995:167).

[3] Recherche interlinguistique sur les variations d'actance et leurs corrélats [Interlinguistic research on valency variation and its correlates]

Lazard's treatment of actancy (1994/1998) is regarded as comprehensive and consistent (cf. Haspelmath et al. 2001:485).

The actants in a sentence are the NPs (and/or clitics or affixes) which have in some way a privileged relationship with the verbal predicate. The other NPs are called the circumstants. For each individual language, the actants must be defined. We distinguish between more central and more peripheral actants. Subject, (direct) object and possibly indirect object are considered the most central actants in many languages (cf. Lazard 1995:169).

Lazard uses symbols X, Y and Z to describe the following actants:

- X is the actant representing the agent in action sentences and any actant treated in the same way in other sentences patterned according to the major construction;
- Y is the actant representing the patient in action sentences and any actant treated in the same way in other sentences patterned according to the major construction;
- Z is the actant of one-actant sentences, or more exactly the actant of the major one-actant construction (for there may be several one-actant constructions in a single language) any actant treated in the same way in constructions other than the major two-actant one (Lazard 1998:41).

He also clarifies that, while agent and patient are purely semantic notions, X and Y are purely syntactic ones (*ibid.)*. The following types of actancy structure (systems of case marking) are distinguished by Lazard (1998: 33):

accusative: $X = Z$ (and $Y \neq Z$)
ergative: $X = Z$ (and $Y \neq Z$)
neutral: $X = Z$ and $Y = Z$
mixed: $X \approx Z$ and $Z \approx Y$
disjunct: $X \neq Z$ and $Y \neq Z$

According to him, in order to define the dominant actancy structure of any language, we should take the comparison of two-actant action sentences with one-actant action sentences (Lazard 1998:40).

Although the term *diathesis* is frequently present in *Actancy*, nowhere in the book does the author explain it. We can only learn that "changes of diathesis are but one form of actancy variation" (Lazard 1998:247). They are dependent upon the nature of the process (a volitional or non-volitional action), the degree of actant individuation, aspect and communicative intent (cf. Lazard 1998:211).

It seems that *diathesis* in Lazard's view is a kind of transformational category that affects the whole construction: the case marking of actants, verbal morphology and word order. Lazard clarifies it in the following way: "the diathesis concerns not the actants themselves but the relationship between each of the participants and the action" (Lazard 1998: 229).

Lazard points out that many languages have at least two two-actant constructions in variable correlations with a wide range of semantic, pragmatic and syntactic factors. Certain of them are described as diatheses (Lazard 1998:240).

Elswhere he claims that there are languages with no variation of diathesis (Lazard 1998:83). The following graph illustrates the relations across languages. All languages, whether their basic construction (the active) be accusative or ergative, are capable of having both a passive (or the equivalent) and an antipassive (or the equivalent):

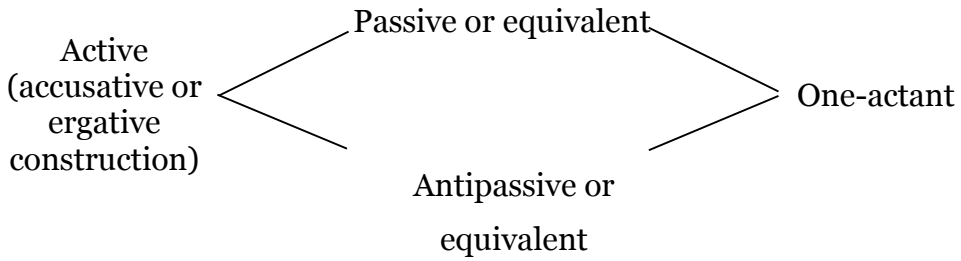


Fig. 7. The most common constructions across languages according to Lazard (1998:240)

3.2.6 Levin

In her monograph entitled *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation* (1993), Beth Levin extensively inquires into the correspondence between verbal meaning and syntax. Her central thesis is that "the behaviour of a verb, particularly with respect to the expression and interpretation of its arguments, is to a large extent determined by its meaning" (Levin 1993:1). She is particularly concerned with verbs which display the same ***diathesis alternations***, which are "alternations in the expressions of arguments, sometimes accompanied by changes of meaning" (Levin 1993:2). She establishes approximately 80 alternations drawing on previous research on diathesis alternations (e.g. Jackendoff 1990). The first part of the book lists exemplified diathesis alternations, whereas the second part provides a classification of 3104 English verbs. Levin defines approximately 200 verb classes that reflect important semantic regularities. 784 verbs are listed as belonging to more than one class. Therefore, such verbs are considered ambiguous.

For example, the class of "*Break* Verbs" (class 45.1) refers to actions that bring about a change in the material integrity of some entity (e.g. *break, fracture, chip, smash, rip, split, tear*, etc.). This class is characterized by its participation (1-3) or non-participation (4-6) in the following diathesis alternations and constructions (7-9):

1. **Causative/inchoative alternation:**
   Tony broke the window ↔ *The window broke*
2. **Middle alternation**:
   Tony broke the window ↔ *The window broke easily*
3. **Instrument subject alternation**:
   Tony broke the window with the hammer ↔ *The hammer broke the window*
4. ****With/against*** **alternation**:
   Tony broke the cup against the wall ↔ **Tony broke the wall with the cup*

5. *__Conative alternation__:
   *Tony broke the window ↔ *Tony broke at the window*
6. *__Body-Part possessor ascension alternation__:
   Tony broke herself on the arm ↔ Tony broke her arm
7. **Unintentional interpretation available (some verbs)**:
   Reflexive object: **Tony broke himself* ↔ Body-part object: *Tony broke his finger*
8. **Resultative phrase**:
   Tony broke the piggy bank open, *Tony broke the glass to pieces*
9. **Zero-related Nominal:**
   *a break, a break in the window, *the break of a window*

3.2.7 Rokoszowa

Rokoszowa inquired into the problems of voice and diathesis in a number of articles and monographs (e.g. 1976, 1977, 1980, 1986). In her opinion two approaches to the category of voice are dominant in linguistics – a *syntactic* and a *morphological* one. The former concentrates more on the relationality of the whole phenomenon, whereas the latter focuses more on the verb, whose forms have a property to express voice. According to her, the main difficulty in describing the category of voice and diathesis is the issue that three different linguistic layers are simultaneously involved in – the morphological, the syntactic and the semantic one (cf. Rokoszowa 1980:99).

In her own approach, the most crucial in the interpretation of voice and diathesis was the investigation into the ontological status of arguments (Rokoszowa 1977, 1980, 1986). Different arguments are of different statuses, the main division being between HUMAN and NON-HUMAN. The Indo-European category of voice enables transition form subjectification to objectification in the formation of utterances. The natural, neutral, or unmarked is the situation in which the argument HUMAN is in the position of a subject, and NON-HUMAN is in the position of an object. Placing the HUMAN in the object position gave rise to accusative – a grammatical case

used to denote HUMAN in *praedicatum*. It also gave rise to the notion of PATIENT. The PATIENT-HUMAN in *subiectum* determines the passive inflection. When NON HUMAN is neutralized in the position of a subject, it is of a methaphorical, anthropomorphized character (cf. Rokoszowa 1986).

3.2.8 Laskowski

By the notion of *diathesis*, Laskowski (1984:136) understands the relation between the set of arguments governed by the predicate and the way of encoding each of these arguments in the surface syntactic structure. Diathesis is therefore conceived as the totality of formal, structural-syntactic and morphological means that serve to signal the differences in the hierarchization of the predicate arguments. Laskowski claims that the notion of diathesis is solely applicable to the predicates taking more than one argument.

According to him, there is a natural order of arguments for each predicate. This natural hierarchization manifests itself as predisposition of the noun phrase representing the argument of a certain type to take a particular structural-syntactic position in a sentence, e.g. the nominative subject, the accusative direct object, etc. The most prominent is the position of the nominative subject, which is usually taken by the theme argument of the sentence. The natural hierarchization of arguments is determined by the inherent semantics of the predicate's arguments and the type of relation that holds between any two arguments of the predicate in a given sentence. This natural organization of arguments will be referred to as neutral or unmarked diathesis in contradistinction to marked diathesis. The passive diathesis, is thus a special case of an unmarked diathesis, in which the objective argument takes the most prominent position in the sentence, that of the nominative subject.

According to Laskowski (1984:137), voice is the grammatical category that serves to signal the differences in diathesis. If the differences in diathesis are marked by inflectional verbal affixes then we talk about the morphological

category of voice. The grammatical category of voice is the category of a verb being a predicate taking at least two arguments. One of these arguments implies the animate doer of the action (or a natural force) or the experiencer, the other - the object of the action. These verbs include causative verbs, psych verbs, and some verbs of motion (cf. Laskowski 1984:142).

3.2.9 Stefański

Stefański (1990:6) understands diathesis as the morpho-syntactic organization (expression) of the semantic categories of the agent, patient, destinator and causer in the sentence. In his approach diathesis is distinguished from voice (*genus verbi*). While the former is the category of the sentence and concerns both the nominal and verbal system, the latter is only concerned with the category of the verb. Thus, voice can be understood as a semantic and morpho-syntactic orientation of the verb in relation to the semantic categories of the agent, patient, destinator and causer (Stefański, *ibid.*).

Stefański distinguishes the following levels of analysis (1990:6):

- morphological [STEMS, CASE ENDINGS, PERSONAL ENDINGS, AUXILIARY VERBS, etc.];
- syntactic (verb) valency [INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE WITH TWO ACTANTS, TRANSITIVE WITH THREE ACTANTS; TRANSITIVE WITH FOUR ACTANTS, AGREEMENT(S), etc.]
- syntactic (nominal) functions [SUBJECT, <VERB>, DIRECT OBJECT, INDIRECT OBJECT, etc.];
- semantic [AGENT, PATIENT, POSSESSOR, DESTINATOR, CAUSER, etc.]
- pragmatic [I, YOU];
- referential [±ANIMATE, ±HUMANE, ±MASCULINE, ±IDENTICAL, etc.]

He also distinguishes the “principal semantic constituents” which are relevant for the diathesis:

TEMPUS/ACTIO

CAUSA ----------→ EFFECTUM [mental]

INSTRUMENTUM MATERIES LOCUS [physical]

[QUANTITAS/QUALITAS]

CAUSATOR AGENS POSSESOR STATOR PATIENS DESTINATOR

[animate/human]

EGO/TU [personal]

Fig. 8. Stefański's hierarchy of the semantic constituents of sentences which are relevant for the diathesis

(Stefański 1990:247)

He also introduces the notion of the communicative space to better present the verb system of the languages with polypersonal verb inflextion (e.g. Basque, Eskimo). The center of this space is the first and the second person singular (I – patient, you – agent or I – agent, you – patient). The third peripheric element can have a passive, active or a stative character (Stefański 1990:7ff).

3.2.10 Górski

Górski inquired into the problem of diathesis in his monograph from 2008 on the marked diathesis in Polish. By marked diathesis he understands the deagentization expressed by formal means (both morphological and syntactic), in contradistinction to unmarked diathesis which is nothing else but a natural hierarchization of arguments (cf. Górski 2008:9). In his view, the marked diathesis encompasses passivum, impersonal passive constructions, and pseudoreflexivum. In all three types of constructions the agent undergoes degradation to a non-subject position or is completely excluded from the sentence. Górski concludes that in Polish the degradation of the agent, rather than the promotion of the patient, is the main function of the marked diathesis.

3.3 Case-related phenomena in modern linguistics

3.3.1 Terminological issues

In modern linguistics, terminology surrounding case phenomena in the literature of the subject is very ambiguous. Especially when one tries to apply terms developed for Latin and Greek to non-Indo-European languages. Some think (e.g. Kempf 1978, Haspelmath 2009a) that traditional perception of the category of case has become a burden to its further investigation for other languages. A broad definition, or general function of case, according to Blake reads as follows: "case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads" (Blake 1994:1). However, as Haspelmath (2009a:505f) notes, relational-dependent marking as a function of case given by Blake is also commonly achieved by adpositions.

A distinction is often made in literature between grammatical (or syntactic) and semantic (or concrete) cases (e.g. Kuryłowicz 1964). However, it is not clear-cut, because the grammatical cases do not encode solely purely syntactic relations, nor do the semantic cases encode only semantic relations (cf. Blake 1994:32ff). It is not uncommon for a syntactic case to encode a semantic relation as in the Latin example of the accusative that expresses not only the direct object, but also the semantic role of destination (cf. Blake 1994:33).

According to Haspelmath (2009a:508), the following different term pairs have been used, by different authors, for these two classes of cases:

grammatical cases	vs.	semantic cases	e.g. Blake (1994:32)
core cases	vs.	peripheral cases	e.g. Blake (1994:34)
relational cases	vs.	adverbial cases	e.g. Bergsland (1997)
grammatical cases	vs.	concrete cases	e.g.Jespersen (1924:185)
abstract cases	vs.	concrete cases	e.g. Lyons (1968:295)

Some other terms pairs, found in literature by Kibort (2008), include the following:

argument	vs.	adjunct cases
structural	vs.	semantic cases
non-local	vs.	local cases

Three milestone approaches have been distinguished by Kempf (1978) that contributed to a more universal understanding of case phenomena. The first one being Bernhardi's (1805) claim that adpositions play the same role as suffixal-inflectional cases. The second one being Noreen's introduction of the terms *casus* (morphological case) and *status* (semantic case expressed in other ways than suffixal inflection). And the third one being Hjelmslev's studies of non-Indo-European case systems, especially Caucasian cases. But, as Kempf notices, not only suffixal-inflectional cases and adpositions play role in the general theory of case. Also, word order and context shall be included in the category of case for some languages (cf. Kempf 1978:6).

In the following sections some terminological issues concerning case and related phenomena will be addressed, and some of the approaches towards the category in question will be discussed. However, many important contributions to the subject matter will be omitted in (e.g. Starosta's (1988) conception of lexicase, Dik's (1978, 1983) functional model, Anderson's (1971, 1977, 1992) localistic conception, functional-typological works of Givón (1984-1990), etc.).

3.3.2 Semantic roles and cases

The notion of case has appeared along with that of a semantic role. The two, although intertwined, refer to distinct levels of language description. However, both semantic roles and cases are related to grammatical categories. The interdependencies among these three levels are complex.

Rudzka-Ostyn (1995:53) presents a figure which depicts the possible interdependencies between semantic roles, cases and grammatical relations such as the subject and the oblique syntactic categories (direct and indirect object, and others).

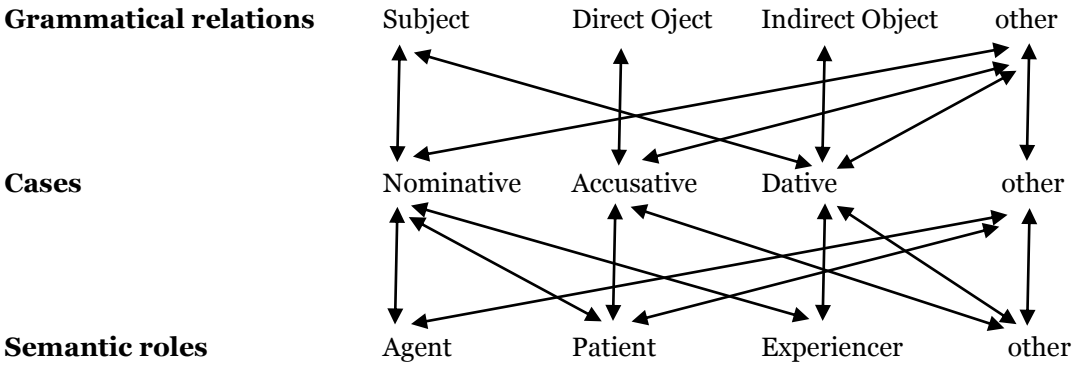


Fig. 9. Interdependencies between cases, semantic roles and grammatical relations

(adopted from Rudzka-Ostyn 1995:53)

Cases, which in fig. 9 are placed between semantic roles and grammatical relations, encode information about both the semantic roles and grammatical relations.

Within the theory of diathesis (Bańczerowski 1993, 2001, 2006) it is assumed that the structure of events is composed of participants and relations binding them and that it is reflected in the structure of sentences. In the literature of the subject the participants of events have been referred to variously (i.e. actants, arguments of a predicate, etc.). The participants of events are assigned various roles. Depending on the level of generality or specificity, scholars have distinguished, among others, verb-specific semantic roles, notional roles, semantic roles (also called thematic relations or θ-roles), generalized semantic roles, semantic macroroles and grammatical relations (cf. Palmer 1994:4ff; Van Valin 2001:28).

The following illustration taken from Van Valin (2004:64) depicts the three distinct levels of generality at which semantic roles have been discussed.

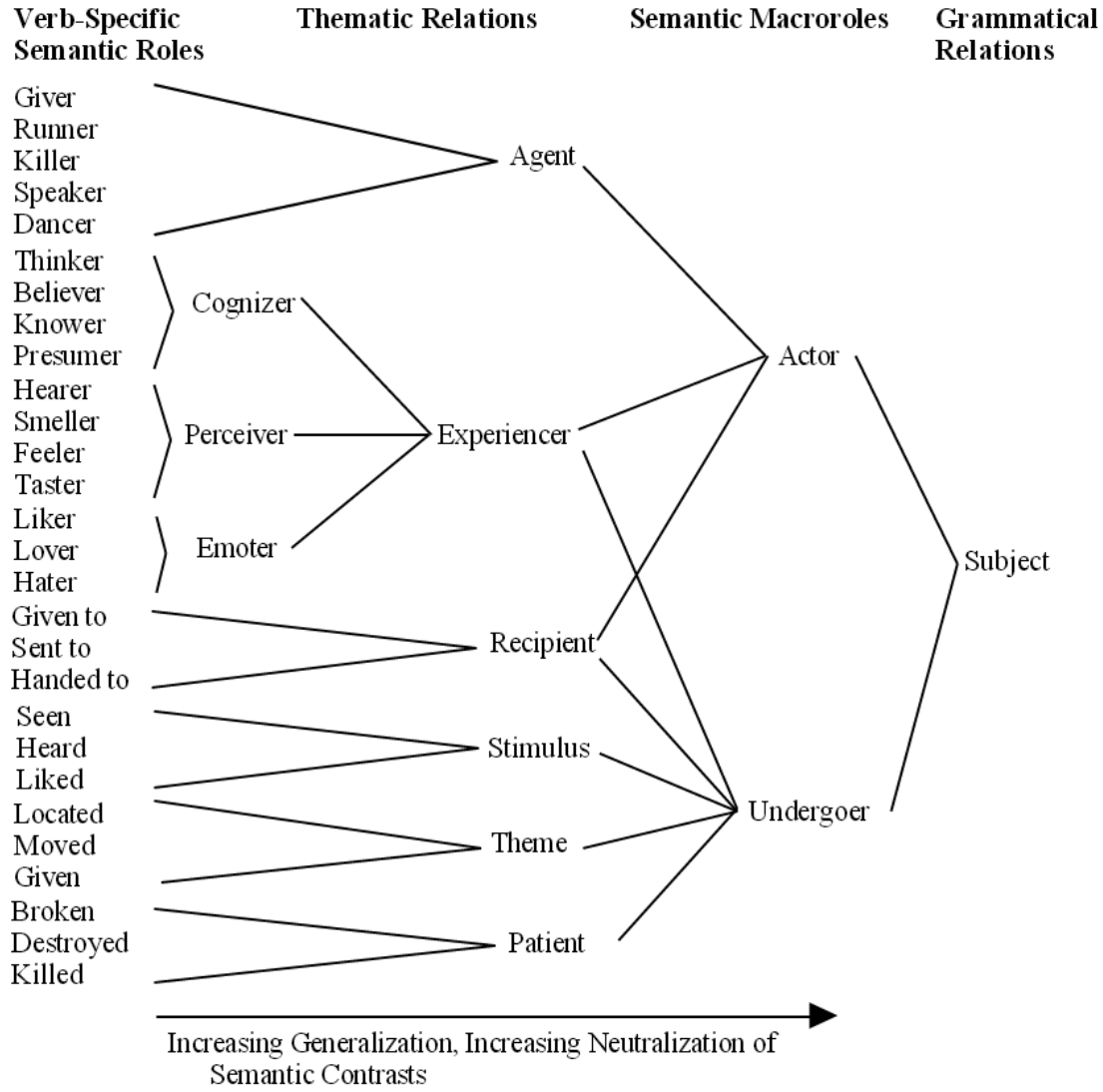


Fig. 10. Continuum from verb-specific semantic roles to grammatical relations

(taken from Van Valin 2004:64)

One of the theories claiming that the semantic relationships borne by nominal dependents to their heads make up a small, universal set is that of Fillmore's 'case grammar'. At the beginning of his discussion on 'Case Grammar', he states that "the grammatical notion 'case' deserves a place in the base component of the grammar of every language" (Fillmore 1968:2) because "there are reasonable objections to approaching the case system of one language from the point of view of the surface case system of another (for

example, Classical Latin) by merely checking off the ways in which a given case relation in the chosen standard is given expression in the language under observation" (Fillmore 1968:8).

Fillmore recognizes two types of relations – 'pure' (or 'configurational') and 'labelled' (or 'mediated') relations. In his view, 'pure relations' are those that hold, for instance, between the Subject and the constituent NP in the sentence. A 'Labelled relation', on the other hand, is for example, a relation of a NP to a sentence, or to a VP, "which is mediated by a pseudocategory label such as Manner, Extent, Location, Agent" (Fillmore 1968:16). He then concludes that "all semantically relevant syntactic relations between NPs and the structures which contain them must be of the 'labelled' type" (Fillmore 1968:17).

According to him, "the case notions comprise a set of universal, presumably innate, concepts which identify certain types of judgements human beings are capable of making about the events going on around them, judgments about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, and what got changed" (Fillmore 1968:24). The universal set of relations posited by Fillmore is the following:

> **Agentive (A)**, the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb;
>
> **Instrumental (I),** the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb;
>
> **Dative (D),** the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb;
>
> **Factitive (F)**, the case of the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as a part of the meaning of the verb;
>
> **Locative (L)**, the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb;

> **Objective (O)**, the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably the concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb (Fillmore 1968:24-25).

Further in the article, he also distinguishes: **Comitative (C), Benefactive (B), Time (C),** but does not give their proper definitions (Fillmore 1968:25ff).

Fillmore suggests that lexical entries for verbs should include abbreviated statements called 'frame features' in order to indicate the set of case frames into which the given verb may be inserted. In effect, a complex classification of the verbs in the language would be imposed. Some of the verbs would occur in more than one 'case frames', as the verb 'open' illustrated below:

[_____O]	The door opened
[_____O + A]	John opened the door
[_____O + I]	The wind opened the door
[_____ O + I + A]	John opened the door with a chisel

Fig. 11. Fillmore's case frame for 'open'

(Fillmore 1968:27)

Fillmore's main purpose was to emphasize the importance of abstract semantic roles for languages in which case distinction is very limited if it exists at all. However, some scholars are of the opinion that Fillmore only contributed to the terminological chaos of the subject matter by using the term 'case' for the concept somewhat different from the mainstream. In order to clarify this chaos, the Fillmorean cases have been sometimes referred to as

deep cases (because they were universal in Fillmore's view, that is present at 'deep structure'), **case roles** or **case relations**. In Haspelmath's opinion "it seems simpler and less confusing to call them **semantic roles**, a framework-neutral term that by now has wide currency (although it did not exist in the mid-1960s)" (Haspelmath 2009:507).

As an alternative to Fillmore's deep cases, Gruber (1965) introduced the set of thematic relations. These are conceived of as a set of localist semantic roles based on the structure of motion and location events. These roles are grounded in terms of decomposed representations of verb meaning and include Theme, Location, Source, Goal and Agent. The system was further elaborated by Jackendoff (1972) and incorporated into the semantic component of a transformational grammar (cf. Chomsky 1981, Stowell 1981, Williams 1981). Jackendoff (1987) also broke the category of Agent into three subtypes: Actor, volitional Actor, and extrinsic Instigator of Event.

The Fillmore/Gruber/Jackendoff account, as generalized by Stalmaszczyk (1996:99), is based on the following assumptions:

a. Thematic relations are atomic labels;
b. The labels are drawn from a fixed list;
c. The labels are ordered in a hierarchy;
d. The roles are linked to syntactic positions;
e. Every argument has exactly one thematic role.

Dowty's approach (1991) may be regarded as an alternative to thematic hierarchies. He argues that only two semantic roles are relevant to argument structure, namely – agent and patient. As these two roles are prototypic in a conceptual space of properties they are referred to as proto-agent and proto-patient.

Agent Proto-Role	Patient Proto-Role
volitional involvement in the event or state sentience (and/or perception) causing an event or change of state in another participant movement (relative to the position of another participant) (exists independently of the event named by the verb)	undergoes change of state incremental theme causally affected by another participant stationary relative to movement of another participant (does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)

Fig. 12. Contributing properties to Dowty's Agent and Patient proto-roles

(adapted from Dowty 1991:572)

Dowty assumes that arguments are associated with lexical entailments imposed on them by their verbs and proposes the following Argument Selection Principle and corollaries (Dowty 1991:576):

> ARGUMENT SELECTION PRINCIPLE: In predicates with grammatical subject and object, the argument for which the predicate entails the greatest number of Proto-Agent properties will be lexicalized as the subject of the predicate; the argument having the greatest number of Proto-Patient entailments will be lexicalized as the direct object.
>
> COROLLARY 1: If two arguments of a relation have (approximately) equal numbers of entailed Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient properties, then either or both may be lexicalized as the subject (and similarly for objects).
>
> COROLLARY 2: With a three-place predicate, the nonsubject argument having the greater number of entailed Proto-patient properties will be lexicalized as the direct object and the nonsubject argument having fewer entailed Proto-Patient properties will be lexicalized as an oblique or prepositional object (and if two nonsubject arguments have

approximately equal numbers of entailed P-Patient properties, either or both may be lexicalized as direct object).

NONDISCRETENESS: Proto-roles, obviously, do not classify arguments exhaustively (some arguments have neither role) or uniquely (some arguments may share the same role) or discretely (some arguments could qualify partially but equally for both proto-roles).

According to Croft (2012:192), a major drawback in Dowty's approach is that it lacks means of representing the relationship between participant roles.

3.4 Diathetic research in Swahili

Several works concerning different aspects of diathesis, predominantly transitivity, in Swahili have appeared since the first grammar of the language by Krapf was published (1850). These include, for instance, Johnson (1939), Sacleux (1939), Ashton (1947), Polomé (1967), Maw (1969), Whiteley (1968, 1972), Whiteley and Mganga (1969), Whiteley and Omar (1974), Scotton (1981), Vitale (1981), Mazrui (1983), Abdulaziz (1996), Amidu (2001), Mkude (2005). Scholars like Andrews (1985), Keenan (1985), Baker (1988), Bresnan and Moshi (1990), Alsina (1994) have written about transitivity in Bantu with some reference to Swahili (see discussion in Amidu 2001:6ff).

3.4.1 Whiteley

Whiteley, whose work *Some problems of transitivity in Swahili* (1968) may be regarded as the most prominent of those focusing on the subject matter, noticed certain lacks of dictionaries available for Swahili: "Two areas in which the existing dictionaries are particularly weak are those of transitivity and verbal extensions. There is, for example, no indication whether a verb may 'take' an object-prefix or not" (Whiteley 1968:3) or "The Standard dictionary recognizes the terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' among its abbreviations but does not appear to make use of them, so that the user has to rely on English intuitions about the nature of transitivity in Swahili" (Whiteley 1968: 9).

Whiteley defines transitivity in the following way: "The term characterizes the various relationships which obtain between a verb and a noun or nouns to which the label 'object' is often accorded. In Bantu languages this relationship may or may not be formally marked by the occurrence of an object-prefix, as we have noted above, but where such a prefix does not occur it is not apparent merely by scrutinizing particular sentences whether the relationships exemplified are comparable or not, since the presence or absence of the prefix is conditioned not merely by 'emphasis' but by the capacity of the verb to associate with one and also by the particular sentence pattern in which the verb is participating." (Whiteley 1968:10).

In order to describe transitivity patterns in Swahili, Whiteley introduces the term 'entailment', which is used to designate the potentiality for transposition of certain lexical items which stand in a surface subject and object relationship (Whiteley 1968:10; 1969:108).

> *It is a property of items participating in an object-relationship that they may also participate in a subject-relationship, and one way of exposing differences of transitivity is to transpose the item(s) in the object-relationship with those in the subject-relationship while retaining the same lexical items.* (Whiteley 1968:10)

Amidu (2001) claims that Whiteley's 'entailment' can be somehow equated with 'voice': "It [voice] describes how subject and object relations of predication-sentences are changed by their predicate verbs without changing meaning" (Amidu 2001: 20).

Whiteley deals with the following sentence types with their respective entailments. The entailing sentences, in his view, have the structure: $N(P)_{1/S(ubject)}$ +V(erb)+ $N(P)_{2/O(bject)}$.

o **Mzee yule alikufa <u>njaa</u>.**
'That man died of hunger.'

i **Mtoto huyu anapenda <u>ndizi</u>.**
'This child likes bananas.'

ii **Huyu atafaa <u>kazi</u>.**
'He'll do for the job.'

iii **Mto umejaa <u>maji</u>.**
'The river is full of water.'

iv **Mgeni wetu amefika <u>nyumbani</u>.**
'Our guest has arrived at home.' (Whiteley 1968:12)

According to Whiteley, the above sentences yield the following entailments:

E_o **nil**

Ei **Ndizi zinapendwa na mtoto huyu**.
'The bananas are liked by this child.'

Eii **Kazi itamfaa huyu.**
'The job will be suitable for him.' [translation – A.S.W.]

Eiii **Maji yamejaa mtoni.**
'Water has filled the river.' [translation – A.S.W.]

Eiv **Nyumbani pamefika mgeni wetu.**
'At home there has been arrived with our guest.' [translation – A.S.W.]
(Whiteley 1968:14ff)

The distinction between the two sets of sentences is summarised as follows:

Pi	$SsN_{1/S}$ + V [op±] + $SsN_{2/O}$	
Ei	$SsN_{2/S}$ + V –w- [op-] + na + SsN_{1-}	
Pii	$SsN_{1/S(Cl.1/2)}$ + V [op-] + $SsN_{2/O}$	
Eii	$SsN_{2/S}$+ V [op+](Cl.1/2) + $SsN_{1/O}$	
Piii	$SsN_{1/S(Cl.1-15)}$ + V [op-] + $SsN_{2/O}$	
Eiii	$SsN_{2/S}$+ V [op-] + $SsN_{1/O(Cl.16-18)}$	
Piv	$SsN_{1/S}$+ V [op±] + $SsN_{2/O(Cl.16-18)}$	
Eiv	$SsN_{2/S(Cl.16-18)}$ + V [op-] + $SsN_{1/O}$	(Whiteley 1968:14)

In all cases except the first, the objects (N_O) are entailed as subjects (N_S). The N_S is entailed as N_O only in Eii, Eiii and Eiv, with a concomitant change of nominal class (Cl.) in Eiii. In Ei, N_S is entailed as an adjunct phrase introduced by **na** ['by'] occuring concomitantly with the verbal extension **–w**- [the passive

marker] that is restricted to this pattern. Also, the presence ('+') or absence ('-') of the object prefix ('op') in the predicate is indicated.

Whiteley's work provides above mentioned transitivity patterns as well as lots of examples of verbs in predication-sentences, however, as Amidu points out, "the problem with Whiteley's theory of entailment is that it tells us hardly anything about transitivity versus intransitivity in Kiswahili and Bantu" (Amidu 2001:9).

3.4.2 Vitale

In his book Swahili Syntax (1981), Vitale proposes a description of major syntactic structures of Swahili using a modified version of the transformational grammar. As far as voice is concerned, he distinguishes five categories:

(1) active;

(2) passive;

(3) reflexive;

(4) reciprocal;

(5) causative.

Voice is realized lexically, by use of verbal, or in the author's terminology – through the insertion of features, e.g. [+refl], [+recip], [+cause] but also transformationally, through the application of syntactic movement rules.

3.4.3 Abdulaziz

In his monograph, *Transitivity in Swahili* (1996), Abdulaziz applies the framework of systemic functional grammar suggested by M.A.K. Halliday in a number of articles (i.e. Halliday 1967). Abdulaziz' work introduces some modifications to the original system networks constructed by Halliday to deal with English clause patterns.

According to Abdulaziz (1996:45ff), the structure of the Swahili clause can be described in terms of four constituents in syntagmatic relations with each other, namely: subject, predicator, complement and adjunct. Each of these realizes a participant role or roles in "the transitivity system of the clause" so that subject functions as actor, goal, causer, beneficiary, attributant or cognizant. The predicator expresses the process type and its "transitivity potential" in terms of numbers of participant roles it would associate with. The complement may be goal, attribute, phenomenon, thing or fact.

He defines transitivity as the grammar of processes, or, putting it differently, as "the syntactic expression of the speaker's experience of processes of the external world and the internal world of human consciousness" (Abdulaziz 1996:58). These processes include actions, events, states and relations, perception and ascription. The four types of process are then distinguished for Swahili system of transitivity:

i. mental process
ii. material process
iii. verbal process
iv. relational process

According to the linguist, "the process types differ fundamentally in their selection of verbal processes, participant roles, in the nature of voice systems, and generally in the way elements of structure relate to one another both syntactically and semantically" (Abdulaziz 1996: 69).

In order to exemplify his approach we shall focus on describing one of the four process types considered by Abdulaziz, namely material processes that involve things as their participants with the inclusion of animates. Verbal clauses that are associated with material processes are of the action type and involve 'doing' and 'happening'.

1. *Bakari amemleta Hamisi kitabu.* (Abdulaziz 1996:85)
   'Bakari has brought Hamisi a book.'

In this example the scholar distinguishes three participants: *Bakari* (Subject), *Hamisi* and *kitabu* (objects or complements). He assignes them the following roles "in transitivity terms" – *Bakari* (Actor), *Hamisi* (Beneficiary), *kitabu* (Goal). Some other comibinations of participant roles include, among others, the following:

a) causer + process + actor + goal;
b) causer + process + instrument + goal;
c) causer + process + actor + beneficiary + goal.

According to him, "the voice system is part of the transitivity system and has to do with ways in which elements of transitivity are arranged relative to the process" (Abdulaziz 1996:148). Voice is regarded by him as the property of the clause, not of the verb. The following two sentences are given by him as examples of the active and the passive voice, respectively:

2. *Hamisi alimpiga Juma.*
   'Hamisi hit Juma.'
3. *Juma alipigwa na Hamisi.*
   'Juma was hit by Hamisi.'

The participant roles (*Juma* – goal, *Hamisi* – actor) remain the same, but in the active clause *Hamisi* is the syntactic subject realized by the subject prefix, and *Juma* is the syntactic object realized by the object prefix, and in the case of the passive clause – *Juma* is the syntactic subject. In the passive clause no object prefix is inserted in the verb form, but we have the passive morpheme *–w-* in the predicate.

3.4.4 Amidu

Amidu is a bantuist working within the framework called "Linguistic Empirical Grammar" (LEG), whose basic principles are: explanatory relevance, plausibility, verification, confirmability and refutation. He also works within various models such as Chomskian syntax and principles, especially Government and Binding syntax, functional grammatical models and general

descriptive linguistics. As compared to the more classical frameworks which have been used in the past to deal with Swahili grammar, this book aims at an alternative approach.

In *Argument and Predicate Relations in Kiswahili : a New Analysis of Transitiveness in Bantu* (2001) the author argues that in Swahili, so-called intransitive predicates are transitive or can be transitivized by a principle called the principle of extended predication (PEP). According to Amidu (2001:67): "An extended predication in Kiswahili Bantu is a construction containing an operator predicate which takes the subject or object element, or both, of a central predicate of the PC [predicate constituent structure] or AC [argument constituent structure]. It arises when the central predicate cannot, by itself, generate all the complex morphological features required by the state of affairs and event structure speech, and it is, therefore, obliged to employ the services of anchor or operator or auxiliary predicates to assist it in realizing, as maximally as possible, the message of the state of affairs and event field of the discourse, such that the speech structure acquires maximal syntactic representation and completeness. The optional operator predicate is called an extended predicate. An extended predicate is a verbal predicate in PC and a nominal predicate in AC, and it may exhibit concord markers of its arguments. The central predicate is like a 'main' verb in PC, but it is an argument element in AC."

He therefore formulates the principle of extended predication in predicate constituent structure: "if a predicate verb class is constrained by inflectional or derivational, and/or case morphemes, or lexical structure, from realizing all its arguments, or tense, or relativity or modalic features, or a combination of these, directly within itself, it may transfer the relevant grammatical features to an extended predicate item with no morphemic restrictions, and then the central P-v [predicate verb] and its extended predicate or predicates degrammaticalize as a complex serial predicate structure, and the complex predicate may or may not retain the transitiveness of the derivant construction" (Amidu 2001:68).

The following examples illustrate the principle of extended predication (Amidu 2001:63f)[4]. The sentences marked with an asterisk, according to the author, are "ungrammatical or rather unacceptable":

1. *Kijana amekisoma kitabu changu.*
   CL7 'youth' CL1.SBJ.3sg-RECENT PAST-OBJ.CL7-'read' 'book'CL7 'mine'CL7
   'the boy has read my book'

2. **Kijana ameyekisoma kitabu changu amekipenda sana*
   CL7 'youth' SBJ.3sg-RECENT PAST-SRM.3sg-OBJ.CL7-'read' 'book'CL7 'mine'CL7 CL1.SBJ.3sg-RECENT PAST-OBJ.CL7-'like' 'very much'
   'the boy who has read my book liked it very much'

3. *Kijana ambaye amekisoma kitabu changu amekipenda sana*
   CL7 'youth' CL0 Ø-COP-'say'- CL1.SRM.3sg CL1.SBJ.3sg-RECENT PAST-OBJ.CL7-'read' 'book'CL7 'mine'CL7 CL1.SBJ.3sg-RECENT PAST-OBJ.CL7-'like' 'very much'
   'the boy who has read my book liked it very much'

The Principle of Extended Predication reveals that passive, stative, reciprocal, and other traditional intransitives are in fact transitives, and allow so-called agent or agent-like phrases as syntactic objects, and they undergo object relativization operations. Prepositional phrases are themselves arguments in Swahili and they generate subject and object agreements and allow object relativizations. It is argued that only argument elements of transitive predicates can undergo object relativization in Swahili and Bantu. The reason is that the domain of relativization is always a predicate in Swahili.

In his book Amidu assumes that: "voice operates over predication-sentences containing predicate verbs with particular inflectional and/or derivational morphemes, and/or lexical elements rather than over the predicate verb itself. Voice is, therefore, not coterminpus necessarily with the

[4] The glosses have been slightly modified by A.S.W.

morphemes in the PC [predicate constituent structure]. If and when voice coincides with morphemic markers, then I distinguish between inflectional and aspectual morphemes, on the one hand, and derivational and aspectual morphemes, on the other hand" (Amidu 2001:20).

In Amidu's view, transitivity is "simply the ability of a predicate verb to subcategorize or not for object argument MPs [mora phrases], whatever the composition of its inflectional/derivational morphemes" (Amidu 2001:21). Unlike many Indo-European scholars, Amidu does not insist on direct objecthood as a criterion of transitivity, because in Swahili objecthood is located in a base position both in the macrosyntax and the microsyntax (cf. Amidu 2001:21f).

Amidu defines an indirect object as "the one that has a goal/recipient role, whether or not it is a complement of a preposition and whether or not it has a dative pattern" (Amidu 2012:3). Distinctions such as oblique object or oblique argument versus indirect object and primary versus secondary object are, in his opinion, not adequate for Swahili internal patterns. He shows that an oblique of a transitive construction may function as a direct object or direct subject of its predicate constituent.

The following conditions of 'transitiveness in Kiswahili' are given by Amidu (2001:194ff): "A predication-sentence in Kiswahili Bantu may be deemed transitive if:

A. Obligatorily,

i. It has, at least, one subject external argument MP or ability to have at least one subject external argument MP, ±morphemic marker in the PC; and

ii. It has, at least, one object internal argument MP or ability to have at least one object internal argument MP, ±morphemic marker in the PC; and

iii. It has a PC which consists of either a zero predicate item (P-v), a simple predicate item (P-v), or a serial predicate phrase P-v1, P-v2, etc., and PC may trigger ±RFM; and

iv. The subject external argument MP/s has/have the potentiality of showing nominative SM, ±SRM, or both of these, at A1 position, and the object internal argument MP/s has/have the potentiality of showing accusative OM or OMR, or both, at A2 position in the PC of the construction, subject to contextual restrictions of selection by each PC.

B. Optionally,

v. The construction resulting from (ii-iii) may undergo passivization and have a so-called AGENT-like phrase argument in maximal predication projection; or,

vi. An intransitive construction can be derived directly via (i) or (ii) in relation to the PC in (iii) from the target transitive construction while retaining a common basic meaning, or,

vii. An alternative transitive construction can be derived from the target transitive construction generated by (i-iii) without changing meaning substantially; or,

viii. An alternative transitive construction can be derived from the target transitive construction generated by (i-iii) accompanied by antonymous change of meaning (…); or,

ix. There is an appositive coordinate NP crash at A1 position resulting in splintering of the constituents of the MP such as the remnant of the external argument is realized as an LDC comitative NP (usually singular denoting) in postverbal position which cannot dominate its PC, but SM agreement concord remains AGR z (plural denoting) in the P-v or PC (…); or

x. None of the operations (v-ix) can be performed on the A1 + P + A2 of the Pn-S.

xi. In any event, the construction is not a caseless intransitive s-A Pn-S or other intransitive construction (…)" (Amidu 2001:194ff).

As compared to the frameworks which have been previously used to deal with Swahili grammar, Amidu aims at an alternative approach, thus coming to new insights into the grammatical structure of this language.

3.4.5 Mkude

In his monograph *Towards a Semantic Typology of the Swahili Language*, Mkude claims that "the syntax of derived verbs in Swahili points to five clear cases of semantic roles i.e. Agent (marked by the causative morpheme); Objective (marked by the stative morpheme), Beneficiary (marked by the applicative morpheme); Locative (marked by the applicative morpheme) and Instrument (marked by the applicative morpheme)" (Mkude 1995:90). He also classifies Swahili verbs into the following categories:

i. Category A (intransitive verbs) – *lia* 'cry', *kua* 'grow', *ng'ara* 'shine';
ii. Category B (monotransitives) – *ingia* 'enter', *kata* 'cut', *choma* 'roast';
iii. Category C (bitransitives) – weka 'place', pa 'give', kopa 'borrow';',
iv. Category D (the verbs which require to be complemented by complex structures of different kinds) – sema 'say', sahau 'forget', sadiki 'believe'.

Mkude notices that depending on the category, Swahili verbs "respond" differently to causativisation and applicativisation. The result of applying the causative to category A verbs is the downgrading of the prior subject to object position. Category C verbs are unaccommodating to the causative, unless a special meaning is intended, i.e. 'to have something done' or 'to cause something to be done'. Group C verbs are generally not receptive to causativisation, but they are receptive to applicativisation. And verbs of the category D, according to the scholar, have mixed reactions to the causative and the applicative.

As far as passivization is concerned, the passive morpheme can be enjoined to any verb form except intransitives, reflexives and reciprocals (Mkude 1995:115). Based on the morpho-syntactic and semantic considerations, Mkude distinguishes between the dynamic passive and the stative passive. Within the dynamic passive, he further distinguishes between the agentive and the agentless passive. Within the agentive passive, he still further distinguishes between the transitive and the intransitive passive. The

stative passive is divided by him into the overtly marked (carrying the morpheme –ik-) and the non-overtly marked (i.e. *vimba* 'swell', *tuna* 'bulge').

According to Mkude (1995:124), "there is no doubt that Swahili gives special prominence to animate noun phrases. However, animate noun phrases can play different roles in a sentence. Which role is given more prominence in Swahili? The evidence that is emerging points to not the Agentive role which as we have seen can be dispensed with in many passive constructions. It is the role of 'who it happens to'. This is the role that tends to draw most attention. It is given prominence in two ways: either it is verb marked or it is the Subject of the sentence; there is no provision for its deletion, while the Agent may be deleted. What should one call this role? Dative, Benefactive, Experiencer or Locative? Probably a combination of all these".

Chapter 4: The Swahili language

The aim of this chapter is to provide some general information on Swahili language. First, some basic facts concerning its classification and geographic location will be presented. Second, an overview of selected dictionaries, monographs and articles on some aspects of Swahili grammar will be given. Third, the phonological system of the language will be briefly described. Last but not least, some more information on morphology and syntax indispensable for the purposes of the dissertation will be outlined. This will include, among other things, the categories of noun, verb, TAM system, the system of agreement and object marking. The grammatical sketch will be presented in a rather synthetic manner so as to provide the necessary background for our considerations of the problems of primary interest in this monograph.

4.1 Classification and geographic location

Swahili (originally *Kiswahili*[5]) is a Bantu language of Eastern Africa. It is spoken (in its dialectal variations) by various ethnic groups that inhabit the wide stretch of the Indian Ocean coastline from southern Somalia to northern Mozambique, including the offshore islands – Pemba, Mafia, Zanzibar, the Comoro Islands and the northern part of Madagascar. On the mainland, Swahili-speaking area reaches the Great Rift Valley. Swahili is a national, or official language, of four countries: Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is also spoken as a *lingua franca* in Somalia,

[5] The prefix *ki-* in *Kiswahili* means 'language, customs, way of life' of the people called *Waswahili*. The name of the language has its origin in the Arabic word *sāhil* meaning 'coast'. Visitors from Arabia (especially from 10th century A.D.) used the plural form *sāwahil* to name the people inhabiting the coast of East Africa, hence the name *Swahili* (cf. Polomé 1967:8f, Amidu 1995:116f).

Rwanda, Burundi, Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi. Although only 5 to 8 mln people speak Swahili as their first (native) language, the total number of its speakers exceeds 80 mln (cf. Lodhi 1993; Amidu 1995; Mulokozi 2002; Ohly et al. 1998). According to Lewis (2009), Swahili has 312,000 monolinguals.

Nurse and Hinnebusch classified Swahili as a language belonging to the Sabaki subgroup of Northeastern Coastal Bantu languages (Nurse&Hinnebush 1993). Based on geographical and linguistic criteria, Guthrie (1948) classified Bantu languages into 15 zones, later expanded to 16, labelled by upper-case letters A to S. These are followed by two digits. The first one indicates a language group and the second one a language. A lower-case letter is occasionally added in case of a dialectal variation of a language. According to this classification, Swahili bears a code G42. For instance, Mvita and Unguja – dialects of Swahili – are respectively labelled G42b and G42d.

Guthrie's classification has been extensively revised and updated by Maho at least twice (2003, 2009). In the most recent version of Maho's revision of Guthrie's list Swahili has 28 dialectal variations, four of which being extinct (Maho 2009:49).

According to a different classification (cf. Nurse&Hinnebush 1993; Hinnebusch 1996; Ohly et al. 1998), dialects of Swahili have been divided into:

(i) northern – Mwiini (sometimes considered as different language), Tikuu (Bajuni), Siu, Pate, Amu;
(ii) central – Mvita, Jomvu (Ngare), Vumba, Mtang'ata, Pemba, Tumbatu, Hadimu;
(iii) southern – Unguja, Mrima, Mafia, Makunduchi, Chifundi, Mwani;
(iv) eastern – Ngazija, Mwali, Nzwani, Mauri;
(v) western – Ngwana and Shaba.

Standard Swahili as a result of standardisation in the first half of the 20th century was based on one of these dialects, namely, Unguja (Kiunguja) – the dialect of Zanzibar. But, as Mkude (2005:2) points out, "whereas Kiunguja

has retained its distinctiveness as a dialect, standard Swahili has continued to expand and marked itself as a radically modernized version of Kiunguja".

For centuries of trade and social intercourse via the sea lanes, Swahili has absorbed huge amounts of foreign loans. These include loans from Arabic, Persian, Indian languages (e.g. Hindi), Turkish, Indonesian, Chinese, Portuguese, and more recently – English (see Lodhi 2000).

4.2 Literature on Swahili

Beyond doubt Swahili is one of the most extensively studied indigenous languages of Africa. The history of linguistic research on Swahili dates back to the first colonial missionaries visiting East Africa. To the earliest extensive descriptions of Kiunguja in English we shall include a *Handbook of the Swahili Language as Spoken in Zanzibar* written by Edward Steere and published in 1870 in London. It had several revised and enlarged editions published (e.g. Madan 1884; Helier 1943). The latter is still used today as a reference grammar by students of Swahili.

The first comprehensive Swahili-English lexicon was written by Johann Ludwig Krapf, in 1882 (*A Dictionary of the Swahili Language*). Based on the available sources, Krapf's *Outline of the Elements of the Kisuahéli Language with Special Reference to the Kinika Dialect* was the first book published on Swahili grammar (Krapf 1850). Carl Velten, another German researcher of Swahili language and culture, compiled several books on literature (e.g. *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli,* 1907), as well as dictionaries (e.g. *Suaheli-Wörterbuch. I. Teil Suaheli-Deutsch,* 1910) and grammars (e.g. *Praktische Suaheli-Grammatik nebst einem Deutsch-Suaheli Wörterverzeichnis,* 1904).

In 1909 a French missionary, Charles Sacleux, published *Grammaire swahilie*, which was completed by a survey titled *Grammaire des dialectes swahilis* (1909). Sacleux was also the author of the first *Dictionnaire swahili-français* that consisted of two volumes and was published in 1939-1941. At the

same time *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* and *Standard English-Swahili Dictionary* were compiled by Johnson in 1939.

Two dictionaries for German and Russian learners of Swahili were published in the sixties – *Suaxili-russkij slovar' (Kamusi ya kiSwahili-kiRusi)* by E.N. Mjačina (1961) and *Suaheli-Deutsches Wörterbuch* by Hildegard Höftmann (1963). Among Swahili grammars written in German *Lehrbuch des Modernen Swahili* by Brauner and Herms (1979) should be mentioned as an example of a basic course of the language.

The most comprehensive grammar of Swahili known worldwide was written by E. O. Ashton in 1944. The book entitled *Swahili Grammar (Including Intonation)* was reprinted several times as it is considered the best practical grammar of Swahili available in English. Alfons Loogman was the author of *Swahili Grammar and Syntax* (1965) and Edgar C. Polomé wrote a well-known and appreciated *Swahili Language Handbook* (1967).

Some of the most in-depth studies into Swahili morphology and syntax were carried out by the following scholars: Whiteley, *Some Problems of Transitivity in Swahili* (1968); Maw, *Sentences in Swahili*: *A Study of Their Internal Relationships* (1969); Vitale, *Swahili Syntax* (1981); Mkude, *The Passive Construction in Swahili* (2005); Schadeberg, *A Sketch of Swahili Morphology* (1984); Ohly et al. *Język suahili* (1998); Abdulaziz, *Transitivity in Swahili* (1996); Barrett-Keach, *The syntax and interpretation of the relative clause construction in Swahili* (1985); Batibo, *Morphological and semantic regularity in lexical expansion process: the case of nominal derivation in Kiswahili* (1992); Beaudoin-Lietz, *Formatives of tense, aspect, mood and negation in the verbal construction of standard Swahili* (1999); Hurskeinen, *A two-level computer formalism for the analysis of Bantu morphology* (1992); Kiango, *Syntactic analysis of Swahili verbal expressions* (2003); Kihore, *A study of the syntax of Kiswahili verbs* (1994); Amidu, *Argument and Predicate Relations in Kiswahili* (2001); Lodhi, *Verbal extensions in Bantu: the case of Swahili and Nyamwezi* (1985); Marten, *Agreement with conjoined noun phrases in Swahili* (2000); Mazrui, *The passive transformation in*

Swahili (1983); Seidl & Dimitriadis, *Statives and Reciprocal Morphology in Swahili* (2003); Ngonyani, *Towards a typology of applicatives in Bantu* (1998). There are many other important sources on Swahili morphology and syntax that are not mentioned here but can be found in the bibliography compiled by Westley (2001) or Geider (2003).

4.3 Phonology

A detailed description of the phonological system of Swahili is irrelevant to the present study. All the more so because the identification and documentation of Swahili phone inventory is still in progress. Not only Swahili has many dialectal variations, but also several sets of phones within the standard variation. It should be borne in mind that not every single sound given in the table below is pronounced by every Swahili speaker. Some speakers use the "minimal system" and omit sounds like [ð], [Θ], [ɣ], [x] using respectively [d]/[z], [f]/[s], [g], [h] [6].

Swahili vowel system has been reduced from a Proto-Bantu seven-vowel system ([a], [i], [ɪ], [ɛ], [ɔ], [ʊ] [u]) into a five-vowel one: [a], [i], [ɛ], [ɔ], [u] (cf. Schadeberg 1995:83). There is no phonemic vowel length alternation. Swahili has lost tone (unlike many other Bantu languages) and has a regular penultimate stress. The syllables are predominantly open (cf. Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 176-177).

The consonant inventory given in a figure below presents the so called "maximal system" (cf. Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993, Ohly et al. 1998) .

[6] The present chapter uses the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

		labial	**dental**	**alveolar**	**palatal**	**velar**	**glottal**
Nasal		M		n	ɲ	ŋ	
	Prenasalised	ᵐb		ⁿd	ⁿʤ	ᵑg	
	Plosives	B		d		g	
stop	**implosives**	ɓ		ɗ	ʄ	ɠ	
	Tenuis	P		t	ʧ	k	
	aspirated	pʰ		tʰ	ʧ ʰ	kʰ	
	prenasalised	ᵐv		ⁿz			
fricative	**Voiced**	V	Ð	z		ɣ	
	voiceless	F	Θ	s	ʃ	x	H
Trill				r			
approximant				l	j	w	

Fig. 13. Swahili consonants chart

4.4 Morphosyntax

Morphologically Swahili has been characterized as belonging to the class of languages described as agglutinating. The term 'agglutinative' is derived from the Latin verb *agglutinare* 'to glue together' and was introduced in linguistics in the first half of the 19th century by the combined efforts of Friedrich von Schlegel (1808), August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1818) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1822, 1836) (after Haspelmath 2009b:14). In agglutinative languages words are formed by joining affix morphemes to the lexical stem. In an ideally agglutinative type – each affix is a bound morpheme for one unit of meaning (e.g. past tense, deminutive). In other words, there is a one-to-one correspondence between affixes and meanings.

Although Swahili is often mentioned as an example of an agglutinative language, its words also exhibit properties peculiar to isolation, fusion and incorporation (cf. Mkude 1995:9).

As regards its word order, Swahili belongs to the SVO type. However, it should be noted that this is an unmarked word order and there are a number of factors in ordinary communication which can demand its change. These may be of a syntactic nature (as in object relativisation) or of a pragmatic one, such as indefiniteness, type of information (*datum versus novum*), focus or emphasis, relative length of units, etc. (cf. Vitale 1981:19, Mkude 1995:9ff). Moreover, as some scholars suggest (e.g. Bresnan and Mchombo 1987), word-order freedom in Bantu depends, among other things, on the presence of an object marker in the verb form. For instance, it has been noticed for Chichewa that without the object marker, only two orders, namely the SVO and VOS, are possible (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987).

4.4.1 The category of noun

Swahili has an elaborate noun class system that is typical of Bantu languages. The classes are numbered conventionally and refer to the reconstructed Protobantu system of noun classes. As some Protobantu classes have merged into one class in Swahili, the double number (11/14) is used to indicate the resulting class. The noun classes are usually grouped by twos to mark the contrast between singular and plural (cf. Polomé 1967:94-95; Schadeberg 2001:8). In each noun a class prefix attached to the nominal stem can be distinguished. It is called a nominal prefix. The class of a noun is also signalled by a characteristic pattern of grammatical agreement. Adjective stems (which include numerals) have nominal prefixes by which they agree with the class of the noun:

1. *m-wanamke m-zuri*
   Cl1-'woman' Cl1-'beautiful, good, nice'
   'beautiful woman'

2. *vi-tabu vi-zuri*
   Cl7-'book' Cl7-'beautiful, good, nice'
   'good books'

3. *m-toto m-moja*
   Cl1-child' Cl1-'one'
   'one child'

4. *wa-toto wa-tatu*
   Cl2-child' Cl2-'three'
   'three children'.

Pronominal modifiers, like demonstratives, take so called pronominal prefixes, that are in fact suffixes in case of proximal demonstratives (e.g. 6) :

5. *m-tu yu-le*
   Cl1-'man' Cl1.3sg-'that'
   'that man'

6. *ki-kombe hi-ki*
   Cl7-'cup' 'this'-Cl7
   'this cup'.

Pronominal prefixes are also used with possessives and quantifier-like expressions:

7. *ji-na l-angu*
   Cl5-'name' Cl5-'my'
   'my name'

8. *wa-toto w-ao*
   Cl2-'child' Cl2-'their'
   'their children'

9. *vi-tu vy-ote*
   Cl7-'thing' Cl7-'all, whole'
   'all the things'

The Bantu classes are, for the most part, not definable solely on semantic grounds (cf. Vitale 1981:13, Ohly et al. 1998:121ff). As Reynolds & Eastman (1989:65) state: "Diachronically, this noun class system is believed to have been semantically defined. In the synchronic grammar, this semantic cohesion is no longer evident". And indeed, only the nouns belonging to the class 1/2 (*m-/wa-*) have clear semantics as this class contains nouns that identify human beings. However, not all nouns denoting human beings belong to the class 1/2. Human nouns may carry the prefixes of other noun class, e.g. *m-tume* 'prophet' (Cl3), *mi-tume* 'prophets' (Cl4) (Contini-Morava 2008:130).

Bantu class number	**Class name**	**Nominal prefix**	**Examples**	**Pronominal prefix**	**Subject/verb concord (SC)**	**Object/verb concord (OC)**	**Relative affix (R)**
1	m-/ wa-	m-mw-	mtu ‘man’	y- w-	ni- (1sg) u- (2sg) a- (3sg)	-ni- -ku- -m(w)-	ye
2		w-wa-	watu ‘people’	w-	tu- (1pl) m- (2pl) wa- (3pl)	-tu- -ku- -wa-	o
3	m-/ mi-	m-	mto ‘river’	u- w-	u-	-w-	o
4		mi-	mito ‘rivers’	i- y-	i-	-i-	yo
5	ji-/ ma-	ø- ji-	tunda ‘fruit’	l(i)-	l-	-li-	lo
6		ma-	matunda ‘fruits’	ya-	ya-	-ya-	yo
7	ki-/vi-	ki- ch-	kitu ‘thing’	ki- ch-	ki-	-ki-	cho
8		vi- vy-	vitu ‘things’	vi- vy-	vi- vy-	-vi- -vy-	vyo
9	n-	ø- n-	nguo ‘cloth’	i- y-	i-	-i-	yo
10		ø- n-	nguo ‘clothes’	z-	zi-	-zi-	zo
11, 14	u-	u-	ukuta ‘wall’ uhuru ‘freedom’	u- w-	u-	-u-	o
15	ku-	ku-kw-	kusoma ‘reading’	ku-	ku-	-ku-	ko
16	locatives	pa-	mahali ‘place’	pa-	pa-	-pa-	po
17		ku-		ku-	ku-	-ku-	ko
18		m-		m-	m-	-m-	mo

Fig. 14. Swahili noun class system

4.4.2 The category of verb

Since Swahili is an agglutinating language, the verb forms usually consist of a lexical morpheme and a number of grammatical morphemes (see Fig. 15.). To address the complexity of Swahili predicates, scholars have used the term *verbal complex* (cf. Deen 2002a) or *verbal construction* (cf. Beaudoin-Lietz 1999) to describe their properties. The minimal number of morphemes in Swahili verbal complex is two. This is in case of imperative forms (the root of the verb and the final *-a*). Usually, there are three or more morphemes. The verbal root is the lexical morpheme. The position of other morphemes in the whole complex is established with respect to the lexical morpheme. For a finite simple verbal construction in Swahili, three morphemes are required. Namely, the morpheme agreeing with the subject, called subject concord (SC), the verbal root and the so called final vowel. Therefore, initial, radical and final positions within the verbal complex can be distinguished (cf. Beaudoin-Lietz 1999:11).

Morphemes that occur in positions between the initial (that is SC) and the radical may include different affixes: negative markers, tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers, relative marker, reflexive marker (*-ji-*), object concord. The positions between the radical and the final can be filled by so called verbal extensions, i.e. applicative, passive, causative, etc. (cf. Lohdi 2002). Beaudoin-Lietz (1999:12) proposes the following template to illustrate the sequence of morphemes in simple verbal constructions. The template includes the sequence of categories in verbal constructions in the linear order, although the different positions cannot all be filled in any one verbal construction.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
NEG_1	SC INF HAB	NEG_2	TAM	R	OC	ST	VB	E	F	PF

Fig. 15. The sequence of morphemes in Swahili verbal constructions

(taken from Beaudoin-Lietz 1999:12)

The positions of morphemes in a verbal construction will be briefly explained below:

1) preinitial negative marker: *ha-* or *si-* (for the 1SG);
2) subject/verb concord class marker (see Fig. 14, p. 75); *ku-* for infinitive, *hu-* for habitual;
3) postinitial negative marker: *–si-*;
4) tense/aspect/mood marker: *ø, -a-, -na-, -li-, -lisha-, -ta-, -me-, -mesha-, -ja-,*
   -japo-, -ku-, -ka-, -ki-, -nga-, -nge-, -ngali- ;
5) relative marker (see Tab.x, page y);
6) object concord (see Tab. x, page y);
7) stem marker *–ku-* obligatory with verbs where the verbal root consists of a single consonant or starts with a vowel. When the verb contains an object, the stem marker is deleted;
8) the root of the verb;
9) extension (see page …)
10) final vowel: *-a* (indicative), *–e* (subjunctive), *-i* (negative);
11) postfinal *–ini* (or allomorphic *-eni*) indicating the plurality of the addressed party (Beaudoin-Lietz 1999: 12ff).

The structure of selected verb forms will be illustrated by the following examples:

1. *m-ti* *u-me-anguk-a*
   Cl3-‘tree’ SBJ.Cl3-PERF-‘fall’-ind
   ‘The tree has fallen’

The verb in 1. agrees with the subject *mti* (Cl3) by prefix *u-* appriopriate for Cl3.

2. *wa-zazi* *wa-li-m-penda* *m-toto*
   CL2-‘parent’ SBJ.3pl-PAST-OBJ.3sg-‘love’ Cl1-‘child’
   ‘The parents loved the child’

The verb of the sentence 2) agrees both with the subject *wazazi* (CL2) by the subject marker of CL2, 3pl (*wa-*) and the object *mtoto* (CL1) by the object marker of CL1, 3sg (*m-*).

3. *Watoto wa-li-on-esh-w-a filamu.*
   'children' SBJ.3pl-PAST-'see'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'film'
   'The children were shown a film.'

In this example the predicate agrees with the subject by *wa-* (CL2, 3pl), but there is no object marking. In the predicate two 'verbal extensions' can be distinguished, namely morpheme *–sh-* expressing causative meaning and morpheme *–w-* expressing the passive.

4. *ha-li-ingi-lik-i*
   NEG-SBJ.Cl5-'enter'-STAT-ind.NEG
   'not enterable'

In this example the preinitial morpheme *ha-* together with the final vowel *–i* cosignify both negation and present.

5. *u-si-mw-amb-i-e*
   SBJ.2sg-NEG-OBJ.3sg-'tell'-APPL-subj
   'don't tell him/her'

The example contains the subject concord *u-* of the second person singular, the postinitial negative marker *–si-*, the pronominal infix of the third person singular *–mw-* as allomorph of *–m-* functioning as the object concord, the verbal root *–amb-* 'tell', the applicative sufix *–i-*, and the final vowel *–e* of the subjunctive.

4.4.3 Tense-aspect-mood (TAM)[7] significators

Polomé suggested that Bantu languages have a considerably larger number of tenses than do the Indo-European languages and that aspectual markers in

[7] The abbreviation TAM (tense(s)-aspect(s)-mood(s)/modality) (i.e. Lindfors 2003, Nurse 2003, Maho 2007) has been used along with TMA (tenses, moods and apsects) (i.e. Dahl 1985).

Bantu are especially numerous (Polomé 1967:18). Indeed, Swahili is a language with a rich TAM system. Tense/aspect is marked on a verb in position 4 (except for the habitual) of the verbal construction template proposed by Beaudoin-Lietz (1999:12). Different scholars have expressed various approaches towards the description of Swahili TAM significators. There is no agreement among them how to call particular morphemes signifying different TAM categories, probably because of the following observation made by Ashton (1944): "Except for a few *time* tenses it is a mistake to equate any one Swahili tense with any one particular tense in English for several reasons: Some tenses do not refer specifically to time, but merely to some aspect of the state or action -e.g. whether the action is completed or going on, or whether it takes place before another action or after another action" (Ashton [1944] 1993:35). In Ashton's analysis, one TAM morpheme can have many functions, both temporal and aspectual (cf. Ashton 1944:247).

The difference between some grammatical categories is vague in many languages. As Östen Dahl (1985) points out, no standard terminology exists for classifying tense, aspect and modality systems: "Most extant descriptions of the world's languages contain almost no information at all about the use of TAM categories except for the labels that the grammarian has chosen to apply to them. Even if these labels are not just taken over from school grammar - as is often the case - the terminology tends to be too idiosyncratic to warrant proper comparisons with other languages, and the few examples given are more often than not of little help, too" (Dahl 1985:2). Unfortunately, this is the case for Swahili, too. As Lindfors states (2003:17): "Swahili grammatical descriptions display a similar pattern of vagueness as regards temporal and aspectual notions".

It is not our goal to judge whose terminology best describes all the intricacies of TAM significators of Swahili, nor it is our aim to propose the new terms to describe the categories in question. We will merely present some examples of sentences with different TAM morpheme and ascribe to them the most common labels. The sentences come from existing literature as well as

the author's own field notes. Grammatical glosses under the sample sentences are provided by the present author if not otherwise stated.

However, let us first present the table containing almost all Swahili TAM morphemes and their descriptions by some of the most prominent scholars of the language. A huge amount of work on comparing TAM terminology for Swahili was undertaken by Beaudoin-Lietz (1999) in her PhD study on tense, aspect, mood and negation in Swahili. She compares some of the existing approaches towards the description of TAM markers in Swahili in an easy-to-follow table (Beaudoin-Lietz 1999:299-300). The table below is a modification of Beaudoin-Lietz' and differs from the original by adding two more columns that include Contini-Morava's (1989) and Beaudoin-Lietz' (1999) interpretations of TAM morphemes in Swahili.

TAM	**Ashton (1944)**	**Loogman (1965)**	**Polomé (1967)**	**Brauner & Herms (1979)**	**Contini-Morava (1989)**	**Beaudoin-Lietz (1999)**
li	past	the past tense	past	past, corresponds to German präteritum	past	past
ta	future	the future tense	future	future	highly probable	future
me	expressing completed action or state	the perfect	perfective/ resultative	expresses action completed in the past or at moment of speech; a process whose result expresses actual state	event time precedes temporal reference point	retrospective (mesha-completive)
na	definite time	the progressive present	'actual' present	present, mostly 'actual present'	event time includes temporal reference point	focused imperfective
a	indefinite time	the simple present	'indefinite' present	'general present'	unmarked time	imperfective
ki	ki-tense (imperfect, continuous, incomplete)	the participial	imperfective / continuous	Introduces conditional sentence, expresses a continuing action concurrent to an action in the main clause	backgroun ded event	potential

	Ashton (1944)	**Loogman (1965)**	**Polomé (1967)**	**Brauner & Herms (1979)**	**Contini-Morava (1989)**	**Beaudoin-Lietz (1999)**
hu	habitual or repetitive action	hu-form	habitual	expresses regular or customary, repetitive action	indefinite time	habitual
nge	nge-tense (supposition al condition, possible realization)	contrary-to-fact (present)	present conditional	hypothetical (present)	probability somewhat remote	hypothetical/ conditional
ngali	ngali-tense (supposition al condition)	contrary-to-fact (past)	past conditional	hypothetical (past)	probability more remote	hypothetical/ conditional
ka	ka-tense	the historical form	subescutive	used in narratives; expresses a distant action or two or more sequential actions	contingent event	consecutive
nga	nga-tense (actual concession)	expressing 'be it this or that, even if'	'actual' concessive	used in concessive sentences	-	-
ja	not yet	not-yet form	negative marker: 'not yet'	'not yet'	event negated, limited in time, affirmative possibility more likely	retrospective negative 'not yet'
ku	negative of past time	the negative past	negative marker: past	negative of 'präteritum'	event negated, limited in time, affirmative less likely	past negative
japo	japo-tense (supposition concession)	the japo-form, 'even if'	'supposition al' concessive	used in concessive sentence	-	-

Fig. 16. Comparison of terminology on TAM morphemes in Swahili

(cf. Beaudoin-Lietz 1999: 297ff)

The sentences adduced below are examples that utilize different TAM morphemes:

1. *Mwanafunzi a-na-som-a kitabu.*
   'student' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'read'-ind 'book'
   'The student is reading a book.'

2. *Mwanafunzi a-li-som-a kitabu.*
   'student' SBJ.3sg-PAST-'read'-ind 'book'
   'The student read a book.'

3. *Mwanafunzi a-ta-som-a kitabu.*
   'student' SBJ.3sg-FUT-'read'-ind 'book'
   'The student will read a book.'

4. *Mwanafunzi a-me-som-a kitabu.*
   'student' SBJ.3sg-PERF-'read'-ind 'book'
   'The student has read a book.'

5. *A-li-kuw-a a-ki-som-a kitabu kutwa nzima.*
   3sg-PAST-'be'-ind SBJ.3sg-KI-'read'-FV 'day' 'whole'
   'He was reading a book the whole day.'

6. *A-ki-soma kitabu, a-na-som-a kwa makelel*e.
   3sg-KI-'read'-ind 'book', SBJ.3sg-PRES-'read'-ind 'loudly'
   'When he reads a book, he reads it loudly.'

7. *A-ki-som-a kitabu, mpe zawadi mdogo.*
   SBJ.3SG-KI-'read' 'book', Obj.3SG-'give'-SUBJ 'present' 'small'
   'If he reads a book, give him a small present.'

8. *Wanafunzi hu-som-a vitabu.*
   Students HAB-'read'-ind books
   'Students read books.'

9. *U-nge-som-a magazeti, u-nge-ju-a.*
   SBJ.2sg-WOULD-'read'-ind 'newspapers' SBJ.2sg-WOULD-'know'-ind
   'If you read newspapers, you would know.'

4.4.4 Verbal affixes

Inflected Swahili verbs are morphologically complex. In the process of derivation up to several suffixes may be attached to the root, forming an extended verb stem, followed by the final vowel. The most common term used for derivational suffixes in Bantu is 'verbal extensions' (see e.g. Lodhi 2002, Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002). Verbal extensions change the meaning of the base verb and modify its argument structure. The most frequent and productive derivational morphemes include causative, passive, stative, applicative, and reciprocal. A verb may carry several derivational suffixes that must have a specific order in Swahili, unlike in some other Bantu languages that allow more or less freedom in the order of suffixes, with corresponding semantic differences (cf. Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002:2).

Lodhi's definition of the term 'verbal extension' is, as the author claims, wider than just consisting of the concept of 'verbal derivation' and, it includes "all the post-radical or pre-final elements of a verbal stem as tackled by Miehe (1989:23)" (Lodhi 2002:4). The following table is based on Lodhi's comparative study on verbal extensions in Swahili and Nyamwezi. To the present study, only the column containing Swahili verbal extensions is relevant, the colums for Bantu and Nyamwezi have been omitted.

Verbal Form	Verbal extensions
Simple	*-a, -i, -u, -e*
Passive	*-wa, -iwa, -ewa, -liwa, -lewa*
Neuter / Stative	*-ka, -ika, -eka, -lika, -leka, -uka*
Applicative / Prepositional	*-ia, -ea, -ilia, -elea*
Perfective	*-ilia, -elea*
Causative	*-isha, -esha, -iza, -eza, -sha, -za, -ya, -sa*
Augumentative (Intensive, Durative, Extensive)	*-ua, -oa, -za, -liza, -leza,* reduplication
Reciprocal / Associative	*-na,* (refl. *–ji-*), *-akana, -ikana, -ekana*
Conversive / Reversive	*-ua, -oa, -ia*
Static	*-ma, -mana*
Contactive / Tenacious	*-ta, -to*
Denominative / Inceptive	*-pa*
Ideophonic	*-t-, -m-, -k-, -ch-, -b-, -ng-, -g-, -mb-*
Subtractive	reduplication

Fig. 17. Post-radical elements of verbal extensions in Swahili (given preliminarily in descending order of frequency)

(adopted from Lodhi 2002:24)

The list of verbal extensions in Swahili given by Lodhi seems to be an exhaustive one. Being aware of the fact that morphophonemic processes are involved in connection with the derivational suffixes, the author also lists their allomorphs. There are at least two such processes. One is vowel harmony, the second is /l/-epenthesis or /l/-deletion.

Other scholars operate on much shorter lists of verbal extensions that only include the most productive derivational suffixes. There are also some

differences in terminologies adapted by them. For example Ashton (1937:1119f) lists the following Swahili "Verbal Derivatives":

(i) Simple *–a*
(ii) Prepositional *-ia, -ea*
(iii) Neuter *-ika*, *-eka, -uka*
(iv) Associative *-na*
(v) Passive *-wa*
(vi) Causative *-ya, -vya, -fya, -lia, -lea -za, -sha*
(vii) Positional *–ma*
(viii) Conversive *–ua* (Ashton 1937: 1119-1120).

Speaking of verbal derivation, Polomé (1967) presents the example of the verb

i. *piga* 'hit'

that constitutes a base for the following verb forms:

ii. the passive *pigwa*;
iii. the applicative *pigia* (also *pigilia*);
iv. the causative *pigisha;*
v. the reciprocal *pigana*.

Of these one can form further derivatives:

vi. the passive *pigiwa,*
vii. the passive *pigiliwa,*
viii. the passive *pigishwa*;
ix. the causative *piganisha*,

from which again

x. the passive *piganishwa*

is derived (cf. Polomé 1967:82f).

Polomé states that: "Though rather complex rules may be involved, verbal derivation proceeds according to predictable patterns, the verbal root

being followed by one ore more suffixes in a definite order" (Polomé 1967:82). Polomé also provides an elaborate description of the derivational processes of Swahili verbal themes, taking into consideration important morphophonemic alternations and giving many examples of the derived verbs with their English equivalents.

Vitale (1981:11f) lists the following categories with regard to verbal suffixation: contactive, static, reversive, reciprocative (reciprocal), benefactive, stative, passive and causative. According to him, these are connected to various types of syntactic processes: "In some cases, the morphological rules are related to the number and type of arguments on a given verb (e.g., dative and perhaps causative as well). Others involve conditions on coreferentiality (e.g. reciprocal and reflexive). Still others are treated as morphological consequences of syntactic movement rules (e.g. derived intransitive, passive, and causative)" (Vitale 1981:12).

Kraska-Szlenk in Ohly et al. (1998:60) provides the following list of Swahili verbal extensions, calling them 'derivational forms': passive, causative, applicative, stative, reversive, and reciprocal[8]. The list is very similar to that of Seidl and Dimitriadis (2002:2).

Most scholars dealing with Swahili derivational processes tend to choose the most 'neutral' or 'safe' terminology and they rather omit the term 'voice'. As Bybee (1985:20) observes: "Voice distinctions, according to a description by Barber 1975, change the relations that the surface subject has to the verb. In the active, the subject is the doer of the action; in the passive the subject is affected by the action; in the reflexive, reciprocal and middle, the subject both performs the action and is affected by the action. Voice then is relevant to the verb and to its arguments. (...) It is not surprising therefore that voice may be morphologically coded on the NPs of the sentence, on the verb or on both".

[8] The following names of the forms were given in Polish – the language of the book: "bierna, kauzatywna, kierunkowa, statywna, odwrotna, wzajemna" (Kraska-Szlenk in Ohly et al. 1998:60).

Mkude (2005:16) states that "in case of Swahili, voice is always morphologically marked on the verb". In his view, voice is a grammatical category subordinate to a broader and more intricate category, namely, transitivity (cf. Mkude 2005:17). He also states that Swahili predominantly uses morphological marking as a mechanism of turning a verb from transitive into intransitive and *vice versa*. Mkude differentiates transitive and intransitive constructions that arise from a basic lexical stock as well as those arising from derived verbs. The process of derivation, as previously suggested by Polomé (1967), can be recursive. As Mkude observes: "It is possible to link to one basic verb multiple tranzitivizing as well as detransitivizing processes" (2005:18). He exemplifies this with the verb *-pa* 'give'[9]:

-pa: *Mary a-li-m-p-a Jeni barua* (ditransitive-basic)
Mary SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'give'-ind Jane 'letter'
'Mary gave Jane a letter'

-pata: *Jeni a-li-p-at-a barua kutoka Maria* (transitive-derived)
Jane SBJ.3sg-PAST-'give'-CONT[10]-ind 'from' Maria
'Jane got a letter from Maria'

-patana: *Jeni na Maria wa-me-p-at-an-a* (reciprocal- detransed)
Jane 'and' Mary SBJ.3pl-PERF-'give'-CONT-REC-ind
'Jane and Mary are reconciled'

-patanisha: *Juma a-me-wa-p-at-an-ish-a Maria na Jeni* (causative-transitive)
Juma SBJ.3sg-PERF-OBJ.3pl-'give'-CONT-REC-CAUS-ind M. 'with' J.
'Juma has reconciled Mary with Jane'

[9] There have appeared some minor mistakes in translation by Mkude which are here corrected by the author of the present study. Also the glosses under Swahili examples have been introduced by the present author.
[10] Suffix *–at-* ,according to Polomé, "has no clearly definable function, but mostly seems to imply the concept of contact, hence the designation of the form derived with it as contactive,e.g., fumbata 'enclose with hands and arms' from {fumb} 'shut by bringing things together'(e.g. fumba macho 'close the eyes')..." (Polomé 1967:90-91).

-patanishia: Juma a-me-ni-p-at-an-ish-i-a Maria na Jeni (applicative-transitive)
Juma SBJ.3sg-PERF-OBJ.1sg-'give'-CONT-REC-CAUS-APPL-ind M.'with' J.
'Juma has reconciled Mary with Jane on my behalf'

As Mkude (2005:19) observes: "the causative and the applicative morphemes are each powerful transitivising mechanisms in Swahili". Elswhere in the monograph he adds that the causative and the applicative are the only two transitivizing morphemes in Swahili (cf. Mkude 2005:41). Both the reflexive and reciprocal "violate one important requirement of a typical transitivity event, namely that they should be two different participants" (Mkude 2005:23).

Amidu (2001) claims that derivational morphemes (e.g. basic, applicative, passive, stative, causative) that have been analysed as types of voice features are merely aspectual features of the predicate verb. By derivational aspectual morpheme he understands extension morpheme which in a predicate verb indicates "causation, or conversiveness or directionality or application, or reciprocity etc., or combinations of these" (Amidu 2001:21).

4.4.4.1 Causative

According to Kulikov, "a causative verb is expected to have one more noun phrase argument than its non-causative counterpart, since in addition to the subject and objects, if any, of that verb, there is a noun phrase expressing the person or thing that causes the action" (Kulikov 1998: 258). Causative is a complex concept with a variety of shades of meaning, therefore it is encoded in a variety of ways even within one language.

One way of encoding causativity in Swahili is by adding one of the following causative morphemes *-(l)ish-, -(l)esh-, -iz-, -ez-, -sh-, -z-, -y-,* or *-s-* to a verb, noun or adjective (cf. Lodhi 2002:24, Mkude 2005:67f). The causative suffix allows the addition of an external subject argument to the verb and at the same time the verb increases its valency. The procedure of suffixing

a verb with a causative morpheme also affects the whole argument structure. The causative construction, as Mkude states, "can be regarded as a transitive construction *par excellence* since by introducing a subject NP that has the power to cause something to happen and by demoting the existing subject to object NP position capable of being acted upon, the conditions required by Thompson and Hopper (1980) for high transitivity are abundantly met (Mkude 2005:67f)".

1. *-tayarisha* 'to prepare' ("cause to be ready") from *tayari* 'ready'
   Ninakubali ya kuwa mwalimu wangu a-me-ni-tayari-sh-a kuwa shupavu katika kazi langu.[11]
   SBJ.3sg-PERF-OBJ.1sg-ADJ'ready'-CAUS-ind
   'I feel that my mentor prepared me to be successful on my own in my profession.'

2. *-somesha* 'teach' ("cause to read, learn") from *-soma* 'read, learn'
   Bibi Jane a-na-som-esh-a Kiingereza.
   SBJ.3sg-PRES-'read, learn'-CAUS-ind
   'Ms Jane teaches English.'

3. *-lisha* 'feed' ("cause to eat") from *–la* 'eat'
   Amina a-me-l-ish-a watoto wake.
   SBJ.3sg-PERF-'eat'-CAUS-ind
   'Amina has fed her children.'

4. –ogopesha 'frighten' ("cause to fear") from –ogopa 'fear, be afraid'
   Mzee a-li-wa-ogop-esh-a watoto.
   'old (wo)man' SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3pl-'fear'-CAUS-ind 'children'
   'The old (wo)man frightened the children.'

[11] Both the sentence in 1 and its translation come from the survey published in appendix 1 of the report *Impact Assessment of Jitegemee's Vocational Training Program in Kenya (*K.Ahlgren, Jeong Min Cha, G. Nichols, E. San Segundo Riesco) available at https://sipa.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/JitegemeeFinalReport_2009_1.pdf [5.12.2014]

4.4.4.2 Passive

Passive verbs in Swahili are derived by suffixing the passive morpheme *–w-* (or its allomorphs: *-(l)iw-*, *-(l)ew-*) to an active verb. As Lodhi states (2002:5): "passive in Bantu is not treated as a «voice» opposed merely to the «active». Apart from the Passive of the Simple, there are Passive forms of the Applied/Applicative/Prepositional, Contactive, Conversive/Inversive and Causative extensions". In some Bantu languages it is also possible to add the passive morpheme to a reciprocal verb (or *vice versa*). Lodhi (2002:5) provides the following example from Zulu:

-bonana 'see one another' (REC)
-bonanwa 'be seen mutually' (REC + PASS)
-bona 'see'
-bonwa 'be seen' (PASS)
-bonwana 'be seen mutually' (PASS + REC).

In Swahili, however, it is not possible to passivize reciprocal verbs. Below some examples of passive verbs are presented:

1. *–semwa* 'be said' from *–sema* 'say'
   Maneno haya ya-li-sem-w-a na Juma
   SBJ.Cl6-PAST-'say'-PASS-ind
   'These words were said by Juma'

2. *–ibiwa* 'be robbed' from *–ibia* 'steal from/for' (APPL suffix –i-), *-iba* 'steal'
   Ni-me-ib-i-w-a viatu msikiti-ni
   SBJ.1sg-PERF-'steal'-APPL-PASS-ind 'shoes' 'mosque-LOC'
   'I had my shoes stolen at the mosque'

3. *–umwa* 'be unwell' from *–uma* 'ache'
   A-na-um-w-a kichwa
   SBJ.3sg-PRES-'ache'-PASS-FV 'head'
   '(S)he is suffering from a headache'

4.4.4.3 Applicative

Swahili applicative verbs are formed by the addition of one of the following suffixes: *-ia, -ea, -ilia, -elea*. Applicative morpheme in a verb indicates that the action is applied on behalf of, towards or with regard to some object (cf. Lodhi 2002:6).

The applicative affix normally increases the verb's valency by a non-subject argument, changing a one-argument predicate into a two-argument predicate, and a two-argument predicate into a three-argument predicate. However, it cannot be added to a three-argument predicate, because of "a ceiling to the number of object arguments that may co-occur in the syntactic core of a Swahili clause or sentence"(Mkude 2005:86). The 'ceiling' is three arguments which are not case-marked according to the author.

When the applicative affix is added to an already applicative verb it does not increase the valency of the verb, but only modifies its meaning in the way that action is repeated or intensified. However, in some other Bantu languages, such as Tswana, it is allowed to have more than one applicative morpheme in a verb, each representing a distinct object (cf. Mkude 2005:86).

It is worth mentioning that the applicative morpheme has been ascribed different terms by different scholars. They include, among others, the following terms: prepositional (e.g. Ashton 1944), directional, oblique.

Some Swahili verbs are "frozen lexical relics", which means that they appear only with the applicative morpheme and they do not have their "basic" counterpart. These, for instance, include: *-ingia* 'enter' (*-*inga*), *-kimbia* 'run (from)' (*-*kimba*), *-pokea* 'accept' (*-*poka*), *-sikia* 'hear' (*-sika) (cf. Port 1981:74).

Examples:

1. Juma *a-na-ni-fany-i-a meza*.
   SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.1sg-'make'-APPL-ind
   'He is making me a table.'

2. *Mama a-me-pik-i-a watoto ugali.*
   'mother' SBJ.3sg -PERF-'cook'-APPL-ind 'children' 'ugali'
   'The mother cooked ugali for the children.'

3. *Watoto wa-me-pik-i-w-a ugali na mama.*
   'children' SBJ.3pl-PERF-'cook'-APPL-PASS-ind 'ugali' 'by' 'mother'
   'The children had ugali cooked by mother.'

4.4.4.4 Reciprocal

The reciprocal is marked on the verb via the verbal derivational suffix *-an-,* which has been variously analysed as *–(a)n(a)* (Vitale 1981: 11, Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002:17). This derivation results in the loss of one argument, namely the object, which, together with the subject of the base verb, becomes a collective subject of the reciprocal verb. This is illustrated below.

1. *Amina a-na-pend-a Ahmed*
   SBJ.3sg-PRES-'love'-ind
   'Amina loves Ahmed'

2. *Ahmed na Amina wa-na-pend-an-a*
   SBJ.3pl-PRES-'love'-REC-ind
   'Amina and Ahmed love each other'

However, there also exist a construction with the reciprocal morpheme *–an-* that does not have reciprocal semantics. It has been referred to as the "reciprocal stative" (Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002).

3. *I-na-sem-ek-an-a*
   Cl.4-PRES-'say'-STAT-REC-ind
   'It is said (that)'

4.4.4.5 Reflexive

The reflexive in Swahili is conveyed by the infix *–ji-* that takes place between the TAM marker and the root of a verbal construction as shown below:

1. *Juma a-na-ji-si-fu.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PRES-REFL-'praise'-ind
   'Juma praises himself.'

2. *Ni-li-ji-fich-a.*
   SBJ.1sg-PAST-REFL-'hide'-ind
   'I hid myself.'

4.4.4.6 Stative

The stative morpheme in Swahili seems to be difficult to characterize as it does not possess one clearly defined function. Stative verbs in Swahili may have one of the following extensions: *-ka, -ika, -eka, -lika, -leka, -uka***.** In Bantu studies the suffix *–ik-* (or *-ek-*) has been variously described as stative, intransitive, neuter, neuter-stative, neuterpassive, agentless passive, potential, metastatic-potential, or anticausative (Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002:3). So many terms exist because the stative morpheme in Swahili as well as in other Bantu languages has several ranges of uses. These include for instance:

a) canonical stative meaning – application to transitive change-of-state verbs like *–vunja* 'break':

1. *Kikombe ki-me-vunj-ik-a.*
   'cup' Cl7 SBJ.Cl7-PERF-'break'-STAT-ind
   'The cup is broken.'

   The stative form here indicates an intransitive state or condition. No agents are allowed in such a kind of construction.

b) potential/ability interpretation – the verb *–vunjika* can also have the meaning 'breakable'. In other words it conveys the meaning of a capability.

c) the reciprocal stative – a construction in which the stative morpheme is followed by the reciprocal morpheme like in the following example:

2. *Magari aina zote ya-na-pat-ik-an-a.*
   'cars' 'kind' 'all' Cl.6-PRES-'get'-STAT-REC-ind
   'All kinds of cars are available.'

As noted before, this kind of construction does not have a reciprocal meaning. We should also add that verb *–*patika* (*-pata* 'get' followed by the stative morpheme) is not acceptable in Swahili according to Mkude (2005:148). Verbs like *–ona* 'see', *-taka* 'want', and *–weza* 'be able to' behave similarly. Nevertheless, there are discrepancies among native speakers as to which verbs may have stative-reciprocal extension (cf. Mkude 2005:148, Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002:5). As Seidl and Dimitriadis observe: "Swahili statives are regularly ambiguous between a state and a potential meaning" (2002: 7).

d) middle construction - the Swahili stative morpheme promotes an instrument of an intransitive verb to subject position in a construction similar to English middles:

3. *Kitanda ki-na-lal-ik-a vizuri.*
   'bed' Cl7 SBJ.Cl7-PRES-'sleep'-STAT-ind 'well'
   'The bed sleeps well.' (Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002: 11)

Seidl and Dimitriadis also notice that: "Although the Swahili stative is compatible with a number of intransitive verbs, such verbs are always unergative: It can be seen from the following examples that *-ik* is incompatible with unaccusative verbs, indicating that its successful application requires the suppression of an external argument" (Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002: 12).

4.4.4.7 Combined Verbal Extensions

As noted before, Swahili verb may take several different suffixes at the same time which follow the verbal root. Nevertheless, there are some restrictions as to their number and order. These restrictions do not comprise strictly of a determined set of rules. There are rather some tendencies that allow certain combinations of verbal extensions in certain contexts (cf. Kraska-Szlenk in Ohly et al. 1998:60-61). Polomé lists only two rules for such kinds of combinations:

b) some suffixes like *–at-* (contactive form) or *–am-* (static form) can only be added directly to the root;
c) no suffix other than the final vowel *–a* can be added after the suffix *–w-* of the passive form (Polomé 1967:91).

Examples below show some of the possible combinations of verbal suffixes:

1. *a-me-la-z-w-a hospitali-ni*
   3SG-PERF-'sleep'-CAUS-PASS-FV 'hospital'-LOC
   'he/she was admitted to hospital'

2. *wa-li-pig-an-ish-w-a*
   3PL-PAST-'beat'-REC-CAUS-PASS-FV
   'they were caused to fight'

3. *pend-ez-ek-a* (Polomé 1967:93)
   'love/like'-CAUS-STAT-FV
   pend-ez-an-a (Polomé 1967:93)
   'be pleased'

4. *pend-ez-an-a*
   'love/like'-CAUS-REC-FV
   'please one another'

In case of verbs with several suffixes the last suffix determines the general syntactic structure of the verb, while the first one shapes its internal

semantic relations. Every suffix that is added to the verb respectively enriches or impoverishes the verb's argument structure. The final valency of the verb is determined by the valencies of the base verb and the valencies of derived forms. That is why it is impossible to link together those suffixes that reduce the number of arguments, namely the stative, the passive and the reciprocal[12] (cf. Kraska-Szlenk in Ohly et al. 1998:62).

4.4.5 The category of object

Bantu languages display a remarkable range of object marking patterns. The term "object marker" refers to a type of grammatical morpheme attached to the verb predicate that agrees with the class of the object. Not only Bantu languages differ in a number of object markers (from one up to several), but also in their position with regard to the verb stem (which can be prestem, postfinal, or both) (cf. Beaudoin-Lietz et al. 2004).

Along with the term "object marker" or "object concord", the term "object pronoun" has been used in Bantu linguistics. The lack of terminological consensus reveals an important question about the syntactic status of object markers in Bantu: are they agreement markers or pronouns? The issue has drawn attention of many scholars who carried out numerous studies on various aspects of objects in Bantu including Swahili (e.g. Wald 1979; Hyman & Duranti 1982; Allen 1983; Bresnan & Mchombo 1987; Bresnan & Moshi 1990; Alsina & Mchombo 1993; Keach 1995; Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997; Bentley 1998; Ngonyani 1998; Woolford 1993, 1999; Morimoto 2002, Beaudoin-Lietz *et al.* 2004; Marten & Kula 2007; Marten, Kula & Thwala 2007; Riedel 2009a, 2009b, Amidu 2012).

As Riedel (2009a) observes, it is even questioned whether some Bantu languages have objects at all, and if so how they may be identified. She concludes that: "This is because there is no overt case marking or any other

[12] There are verbs in which we can distinguish stative and reciprocal morpheme at the same time, but those verbs are not reciprocal in meaning. This case has been called "reciprocal stative" by Seidl and Dimitriadis (2002).

morphological marking on the object noun phrase which could distinguish objects from adjuncts. (...) What is more, adjuncts, locative phrases and other non-arguments often appear as bare nouns (insofar as not being introduced by a prepositional phrase or determiner), just like objects. (Riedel 2009a:7).

Amidu (2012), for instance, defines an indirect object as "the one that has a goal/recipient role, whether or not it is a complement of a preposition and whether or not it has a dative pattern" (Amidu 2012:3). Distinctions such as oblique object or oblique argument versus indirect object and primary versus secondary object are, in his opinion, not adequate for Swahili internal patterns. Oblique of a transitive construction in Swahili may also function as a direct object or direct subject of its predicate constituent.

According to Hyman & Duranti (1982), the notion of an indirect object is inadequate for Bantu. In order to distinguish between objects and other postverbal noun phrases, the scholars propose the three frequently used tests:

i. word order (the ability to appear in the immediately postverbal position);
ii. subjectivization (the ability to passivize);
iii. cliticization (the ability to trigger object marking on the verb) (cf. Hyman and Duranti 1982:220, Riedel 2009a:7).

On the basis of studies conducted across Bantu languages, there have been concluded that word order is the weakest of the three criteria of establishing the object status of a postverbal noun (cf. Hyman and Duranti 1982:223, footnote 6).

Since, according to Hyman & Duranti (1982:223), "a postverbal noun not preceded by a preposition can either be an object or a prepositionless oblique", other factors can be taken into consideration while deciding whether this noun displays object properties. These include semantic case relations, person-animacy, and determindness. As far as case relations are concerned, "benefactives have greater access to object properties than recipients, which in turn have greater access than patients and instruments" (Hyman & Duranti 1982:224). When personal hierarchy is concerned, the first person attracts

object properties more than a second person, the second person more than the third. In animacy hierarchy human is greater than animal, which in turn is grater than non-animate (*ibid.*).

According to Riedel (2009a:41), while subject marking is obligatory in most of the Bantu languages, object marking is much less uniform across Bantu and much more restricted in its distribution. She believes that object marking is never obligatory for all objects in any Bantu language. As far as Swahili is concerned, many sources state that object marking is obligatory with animate and optional with inanimate objects. However this statement is too much oversimplified. In order to demonstrate that let us cite the following examples from Mkude (2005:37) [13]:

1. *Mwalimu a-na-m-pig-a mwanafunzi.*
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'beat'-ind 'student'
   'A/the teacher is beating a/the student.'

2. *Mwalimu a-na- pig-a wanafunzi.*
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg -PRES- beat'-ind 'students'
   'A/the teacher is in the habit of beating students.'

3. *Sara a-na-som-a kitabu.*
   Sara SBJ.3sg -PRES-'read'-ind 'book'
   'Sara is reading a book'

4. *Sara a-na-ki-som-a kitabu.* (?)
   Sara SBJ.3sg -PRES-OBJ.Cl7-'read'-ind 'book'
   'Contrary to expectation, Sara is reading the book' (?)

The question mark by the last sentence was added by Mkude in order to express uncertainty of its interpretation. The following two sentences have been consulted with a native speaker of Swahili:

i. *Mtoto anasoma kitabu.*
ii. *Mtoto anakisoma kitabu.*

[13] The glosses to the examples are attached by A.S.W.

He explained that two sentences mean exactly the same, but in the second one the book seems to be kind of alive at first glance as including a noun-class prefix in a verb is typically the case for living things.

The informant was then asked to translate the two sentences into English. After a while of hesitation he translated them as follows:

5. *Mtoto anasoma kitabu.*
   The child is reading a book.

6. *Mtoto anakisoma kitabu.*
   The child is reading the book.

This led him to conslusion that: “When used thus with a non-living thing, the noun-class prefix in a verb is a little like the definite article in English, indicating a particular, known item. If you were to create the questions that these answers would be responses to, the first question would be: 'Mtoto anafanya nini?' - anasoma kitabu. The second question would be, Kitabu kiwapi? - Mtoto anakisoma” (Mkude 2005:37ff).

As far as object agreement in Swahili is concerned, Seidl & Dimitriadis (1997:373) rightly state that: “there is no semantic or lexical class of objects for which object marking is obligatory, nor is there any class for which it is impossible”. They only claim that subject agreement is almost always mandatory for finite verbs, but the use of the object marker is optional (subject to subtle discourse factors). Object marking is possible with every semantic class of objects, although it is more frequent with animate objects.

Deen (2006:223) observes that object agreement in Swahili is obligatory when the object is specific, but is prohibited when the object is non-specific. Ngonyani (1995:9) claims that: “only one of the objects may be marked on the verb. The object that is closest to the verb is the one that is marked”. If we take into consideration applied objects, Ngonyani (1995) observes that objects expressing maleficiary, beneficiary and goal may be marked on the verb, whereas those expressing instruments, location and motive cannot be marked.

Marten and Kula (2007: 229) observe that "Bantu languages can be divided into symmetrical and asymmetrical languages, depending on whether in double object constructions in the relevant language, both post-verbal NPs behave as primary objects (symmetrical), or whether only one NP does (asymmetrical). This difference has been noted frequently in the literature, and several different analyses, based on different Bantu languages, have been proposed (e.g. Baker 1988, Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Rugemalira 1991, 1993, Mchombo and Firmino 1999)."

Since in Swahili only one of the objects, that is the benefactive can be promoted to the subject of the corresponding passive, Swahili has an asymmetrical passivization pattern, which is exemplified below (examples taken from Marten and Kula 2007:232-233).

7. *Asha a-li-pik-il-iw-a chakula cha asubuhi na Juma.*
   Asha SBJ.3sg-PAST-'cook'-APPL-PASS-ind 'food (Cl7) of morning' 'by' Juma
   'Asha was cooked breakfast for by Juma.'

8. **chakula cha asubuhi ki-li-pik-il-iw-a Asha na Juma*
   'food (Cl7) of morning' SBJ.Cl7-PAST-'cook'-APPL-PASS-ind Asha 'by' Juma
   'Breakfast was cooked for Asha by Juma'

Three different passive patterns are distinguished in linguistics for double object constructions (cf. Bresnan& Moshi 1990; Woolford 1993; Alsina 1996 (in opposition to Woolford 1993)). According to Woolford (1993), Swahili represents the English type of passivization. In this type only the accusative object with the highest thematic role[14] can passivize, and transitive and ditransitive impersonal passives are impossible, regardless of whether the language allows intransitive impersonal passives. The examples below are cited from Vitale (1981 130-131):

[14] The thematic hierarchy used by Woolford (1993) is as follows agent > benefactive > goal > theme > instrument/locative.

9. *Halima alimpa Fatuma zawadi.*
   Halima she-pst-her-give Fatuma gift
   'Halima gave Fatuma a gift.'

10. *Halima alimpa zawadi Fatuma.*
    Halima she-pst-her-give gift Fatuma
    'Halima gave Fatuma a gift.'

11. *Fatuma alipewa zawadi na Halima.*
    Fatuma she-pst-give-pass gift by Halima
    'Fatuma was given a gift by Halima.'

12. **Zawadi ilipewa Fatuma na Halima.*
    gift it-pst-give-pass Fatuma by Halima
    'A gift was given Fatuma by Halima.'

4.4.6 Relativization

Shadeberg (1989) distinguishes the following three morphologically distinct relative verb constructions in Swahili:

A. subject concord – verb stem – relative concord

B. subject concord – { na (PRES) / li (PAST) / taka (FUT) / si (NEG) } – relative concord – verb stem

C. amba – relative concord SENTENCE

A. (watu) wasemao kiswahili	(those) who speak Swahili
B. (watu) wanaosema kiswahili	(those) who are speaking Swahili
C. (watu) ambao hawatasema kiswahili	(those) who will not speak Swahili (Shadeberg 1989:33).

In terms of internal reconstruction, constructions of type A seem to be the oldest in Swahili. From a comparative perspective, type C constructions are thought to be the most recent since they are not present in other Bantu languages closely related to Swahili (cf. Schadeberg 1989:34f). Among these types, type C constructions can be used in all relevant verb forms, type B constructions are restricted to present tense (*-na-*), future tense (*-taka-*), past tense (*-li-*) and present tense negative (*-si-*) and type A is "the so-called general relative without reference to time, aspect or mood" (Hurskeinen 2009:3).

According to Schadeberg, type C is nothing but a special case of type A. The stem *–amb-* does not function as a verb in modern Swahili, only as a complementizer *kwamba* (i.e. *Alisema kwamba chakula ni kidogo kwa wakati huu* 'He/she told that there is little food for the time being'). However, there exist a very common verb including the stem *–amb-* and this is the applicative verb *–ambia* 'to tell' (i.e. *Aliniambia kwamba chakula ni kidogo kwa wakati huu* 'He/she told me that there is little food for the time being'). Hence, it is hypothesized that *–amba* is an older verb 'to say' (cf. Schadeberg 1989:34).

It is worth to note there is little information about *participia* in Swahili available in Swahili grammar books. For instance, Mohammed in *Modern Swahili Grammar* (2001) only states that: "in situations where English would utilize the present or past participle, Swahili would employ relativization" (Mohammed 2001:183). He adds that Swahili participles are expressed by means of relativizing them (*ibid.*). The expression "a stolen purse" would be translated as *mkoba ulioibiwa* and this, according to Mohammed, reads "a purse which is stolen" (cf. Mohammed 2001:183).

Although the problem of *participia* is problematic in Swahili, scholars of the language do compare some of Swahili verb forms and other structures to English participles. For example Loogman (1965:202) compares the Swahili *-ki-* form with the English present participle partly on the grounds that sentences with the morpheme *–ki-* may be translated with the English gerund. This can be illustrated by *Nilimwona akicheka* 'I saw him laughing'.

A little mention on *participia* in Swahili is given by Vierke (2011) in her extensive monograph *On the Poetics of the Utendi*: *A Critical Edition of the Nineteenth-century Swahili Poem "Utendi Wa Haudaji" Together with a Stylistic Analysis*. She emphasizes that participles, *nomina agenti*, *enye*-constructions and relative constructions are particularly frequent as part of the poetic style of *tendi* as they bring about a more 'archaic tone' as well as constitute means of underlining characters' particular achievements (cf. Vierke 2011:380). As examples of participle constructions, Vierke cites *mpanda mbingu* 'the heaven-climber'or *mnena kweli* 'truth-teller' (*ibid*.).

She also notes that it is difficult to differentiate participles from *nomina agenti*. She found alternative forms like *mpowa kutombea* and *Muombezi* 'the intercessor' co-existing throughout the text of *Utendi*. Some of the *nomina agenti* found in *Utendi* are name-like lexicalized nouns, other seem to be *ad hoc* creations (cf. Vierke 2011:381f). Another problem encountered by Vierke in her analysis of *Utendi* was the distinction between participles and relative constructions. Her point of departure was that participles are not marked with respect to tense or aspect. However, relative constructions of type A as described by Schadeberg (1989) are also atemporal. Vierke also mentioned *enye*-constructions as similar to participles in this respect that they "contain both nominal and verbal characteristics, such as nominal agreement, with both predicative and attributive functions on one hand, but object marking and verbal extensions on the other: *mwenye kutushufa'ia* 'who intercedes on our behalf'; *tu wenye kuwasikia* 'we [are people] who obey them'... " (Vierke 2011:382).

Chapter 5: Towards the theory of diathesis in Swahili

The following and subsequent chapters attempt to analyse a fragment of the category of diathesis in Swahili within the framework of the general theory of diathesis developed by Jerzy Bańczerowski (1980, 1993, 2001, 2006) and continued by Kordek (2002), Bielecki (2005) and Stroński (2011).

Bańczerowski's reason for starting his research on diathesis was simply the lack of a formal theory of thereof, "which would be comprehensive enough to describe and explain in a systematic and consistent way the totality of diathetic phenomena in a language" (Bańczerowski 1993:19). In *Systems of semantics and syntax. A determinational theory of language* (1980) he elaborated an axiomatic linguistic theory, which became the ground for his further linguistic investigations, including those into the category of diathesis.

The first draft of the general theory of diathesis was published in 1993 in form of a brief article, in which the diathetic meaning of *transmissivity* was characterized. In the following two articles from 2001 and 2006 Bańczerowski applied his concept respectively to Korean and Japanese, dealing predominantly with transitivity. Under his supervision several theses concerning different aspects of diathesis were written. These include the category of diathesis in Chinese (Kordek 2000) as well as transitivity in Finnish and Estonian (Bielecki 2005).

The present work modestly attempts to apply the framework of the general theory of diathesis to Swahili. So far the theory has not yet been applied to any African language. Employing the general theory of diathesis to Swahili causes certain difficulties as the language considerably differs from those tested so far in terms of its typological properties.

Since the theory has been labeled as general, its applicability to every natural language, including Swahili, is taken into account. Some terms used in the theory, e.g. *concasion* might seem to be not entirely adequate. It is because *concasion* operates on both the category of voice and case employing such terms as *Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Ergative*, *active verb, passive verb, adjectival perfective participle,* etc. As Swahili does not have an overt case marking, it is sometimes difficult to establish the cases of the major syntactic roles within the theory of diathesis, especially when a given sentence (or desentential syntagma) has a complicated diathetic structure. However, it is not impossible to do so, because Swahili operates in a nominative-accusative system and particular cases can be figured out from the word order, cross-referencing system of agreement (e.g. presence of the object significator within the predicate), pre- or postpositions, or even from the context.

As mentioned before, the category of voice is also crucial to diathesis. *Concasions* within the present theory employ such labels as *active/passive verb* for the predicate encoding the relation between the participants of a given event. These labels, however, do not include information about the morphological constituents of a given verbal form in Swahili – that is the subject and object significators and about the so called *verbal extensions* that signify the meanings of applicativity, causativity, reflexivity, reciprocity, and others.

5.1 The notion of a linguistic theory

In his *Systems of Semantics and Syntax* (1980), Bańczerowski indicates that scientific theories do not directly describe the natural phenomena under investigation, but rather an idealization of them abstracting away from various complicating factors. He emphasizes that the semantic model of a linguistic theory cannot be identified with the objective reality. Nevertheless, our cognition of the correspondent fragments of the reality can be achieved through a theory by means of appropriate predictions. Collecting linguistic facts and describing them constitutes a point of departure for construction of

explanations, models, theories concerning the properties of language and language communication.

Linguistic theories are therefore sets of empirical hypotheses about a class of natural language phenomena. An empirical hypothesis is a statement about a class of phenomena that should be explicit, systematic, unambiguous, general, and falsifiable. Linguistics, being an empirical science, should provide for methods and procedures of empirical verification of its theoretical assertions (cf. Bańczerowski 1980:9).

Linguistic theories can be grouped with respect to their formal shape, starting with informal theories that exhibit the least degree of formalization, ending with axiomatic theories that exhibit the highest degree of formalization. Since, according to Bańczerowski (1980:11), informal linguistic theories are usually far from being satisfactory for precise descriptions as they frequently employ ambiguous terms, only a theory which exhibits a sufficient level of formalization allows for precise description, explanation and prediction of the properties of language and language communication, both generally and specifically. Such a theory should incorporate the following four components:

(i) language of theory;
(ii) the set of theorems;
(iii) domains of theory;
(iv) verification methods.

The language of a theory has to have a means for denoting the concepts of the domain under consideration, their properties and relations defined on those concepts. For this purpose theory uses a set of expressions both simplex and complex (names and formulae). The language of a theory has rules for the construction of well-formed formula as well as rules of logical deduction. In the construction of axiomatic theories the axioms are fundamental theorems as they account for basic properties of objects and relations among them. Axioms should be intuitively clear, obvious and unquestionable. All the properties of concepts which are not expressed by axioms must be proved. Further, a theory should be empirically verifiable. By verifying, we check if the

deduced theorems do not contradict the observable data. If a contradiction is discoverd, the theory needs improvement as it does not reflect an adequate image of a given fragment of reality (cf. Bańczerowski 1980:11ff).

5. 2 Theoretical foundations of the category of diathesis

Undoubtedly, diathesis belongs the most complex lingual categories, since it covers areas of semantics, syntax and morpho-syntax and embraces both the category of voice and case. The theory of diathesis is concerned with sentences and desentential syntagms (that is syntagms derived from sentences) in terms of syntactic organization of their semantic structure and of their flection, because, analogically to words, sentences and desentential syntagms inflect and form the corresponding paradigms (cf. Bańczerowski 2001, 2006).

At the foundation of the present theory lies the assumption that sentences refer to events and therefore the structure of events is reflected in sentences. Constituents of sentences refer to extra-lingual entities and mirror relations occurring between those entities. Diathetically relevant properties of events are conceived of as diathetic-significata or diathetic meanings. Each diathetic meaning is complex and will be viewed as suprasignificatum with regard to its subsignificata (cf. Bańczerowski 2001, 2006).

Bańczerowski draws a clear terminological distinction between a linguistic discipline and its subject matter and proposes two terms: diathetology and diathesis. The former could be viewed as "a discipline dealing with sentences and desentential syntagms, with regard to how they reflect the structure of events or states-of-affairs being designated by them" (Bańczerowski 2006:5), the latter, diathesis, is treated as the domain of diathetology.

Further, diathetology as a class of linguistic theories can be divided into general and particular diathetology. Theories constructed within general diathetology are universal, applicable to all languages. Particular diathetological theories are limited to an individual language or a group of languages (Bańczerowski 2006:5).

5.2.1 Primitive and some defined terms

Every axiomatic theory has to have a means for denoting the concepts of the considered domain, their properties and relations and operations defined on these concepts (Bańczerowski 1980:11). For the sake of diathetic research, Bańczerowski has so far proposed at least two sets of primitive terms and formulated at least three sets of axioms (postulates). The following set of primitive terms, which meanings should be obvious without being defined, is based on the previous proposals (Bańczerowski 2001, 2006):

(i) ***Sen*** – the set of all actual sentences,
(ii) ***Stg*** – the set of all actual syntagms,
(iii) ***Std*** – the set of all actual sentoidons,
(iv) ***Tgm*** – the set of all syntactic words (tagmons),
(v) ***hfn*** – the relation of homophony,
(vi) ***dsg*** – the relation of designation,
(vii) ***sgf*** – the relation of signification,
(viii) ***lkf*** – the relation of lexification,
(ix) ***smf*** – the relation of semification,
(x) ***Evts*** – the set of all events,
(xi) ***Evrs*** – the set of all eventors,
(xii) ***evtf*** – the relation of eventification,
(xiii) ***PTT*** – the set of all ptotonic meanings,
(xiv) ***PTZ*** – the set of all ptotizygic meanings,
(xv) ***Ptn*** – the set of all ptotons,
(xvi) ***Pzr*** – the set of all ptotizygitors,
(xvii) ***syd*** – the relation of syndiatheticality,
(xviii) ***Cas***– the set of all case-tagmons,
(xix) ***Voc*** – the set of all voice-tagmons,
(xx) ***tq*** – the relation of tagmonal qualification (determination),
(xxi) ***Stc*** – the set of all syntactic categories.

Although the theory has been formulated with the aid of the axiomatic method, we have resigned here from applying the logico-mathematical

apparatus. Instead, the intuitive sense of the primitive terms and auxiliary defined notions will be given. The author of the theory himself never published it in a fully formalized form noting that the axiomatization of the theory is only a matter of applying the proper formal means.

The explanations of the primitive terms and auxiliary defined notions are based on Bańczerowski (2001, 2006) and Bańczerowski & Lê Đình (2012).

In contrast to many theoretical frameworks, a **sentence** constitutes a primitive term in the general theory of diathesis. A distinction should be made between a sentence as an abstract entity and an actual sentence which is a special kind of utterance, functioning in communication as certain whole. An actual sentence is produced *hic et nunc*, by a definite speaker, in a definite time and space. Although actual sentences are communicatively indivisible, their "segmentation or division into linearly disjunct parts is possible and results in units or segments of various kinds" (Bańczerowski 2006:7).

The term 'dicton'[15], present in the previous proposals (cf. Bańczerowski 2001, 2006; Stroński 2011), is here replaced by **tagmon** (Bańczerowski & Lê Đình 2012) which I find more adequate. Tagmons, or syntactic words, are minimal units of syntax and they are capable of entering syntactic relations with other tagmons in order to form intrasentential syntagms (*ibid.*). Affixes, adpositions, particles, auxiliaries, and the like, are intratagmonic constituents. The following sentence consists of four tagmons, put in the brackets below:

1. *The boy fell off a bike in the park.*
   (the boy) (fell off) (a bike) (in the park)
   or
   (the boy) (fell) (off a bike) (in the park)

[15] A dicton is conceived of as a maximal unit of morphology and a minimal unit of syntax, conveying both lexical and grammatical meaning at the same time. Dictons are semantically complete objects and no synsemantical unit can be regarded as dicton. Dictons are actual units and can be linearly continuous or discontinuous (cf. Bańczerowski 2001, 2006; Stroński 2011).

An **actual syntagm** is a certain sensical combination of tagmons. It consists of at least two tagmons forming together a meaningful expression. A desentential syntagm – a syntagm derived from an actual sentence – is called a **sentoidon**. Sentoidons are never sentences, and they usually result from the nominalization or participialization of sentences. The sentoidon is defined rather than primitive term in Stroński (2011:160), and it appears as a syntagm which comprises a dicton [≈tagmon] conveying ptotizygic meaning and which is not a sentence.

A **sentive** is here defined as either an actual sentence or a sentoidon and has been introduced for the sake of brevity.

The proposed theory assumes that language is inseparable from the reality it refers to. The property of lingual signs to represent the corresponding entities of extralingual reality finds its reflection in the **relation of signation**. Under this term we shall understand jointly **the relation of designation** and **the relation of signification**. A sign designates an object and signifies its properties. The designated object is a **designatum**, and the signified property a **significatum** or **meaning** of the sign. Meanings can be signified either in a lexical or a semical (grammatical) way. In this manner, within signification **lexification** and **semification** can be distinguished. Two signs are **homolexical** only if they convey identical lexical meaning and **homosemic** only if they convey identical grammatical meaning. Meanings can be simple or composite. The **relation of being a subsignificatum of** binds two meanings, if one is a constituent of another. The relation of signification will be appropriately restricted in due course only to those aspects of signation which are relevant to diathesis.

At the foundation of the general theory of diathesis lies the assumption that sentives designate **events** and signigfy the properties of events, whereas tagmons designate the participants of the events and signify the properties of these participants. Therefore, the **structure of events** is reflected in the **structure of sentives**. In other words, the structure of sentives is specified by the structure of events – a sentive apprehends a corresponding

event in a lingual way. Within each **event** we distinguish the set of participants (**eventors**), and at least one interparticipant relation (**eventificator**). Both eventors and eventificators as constituents of the events will be jointly referred to as **eventives**.

The diathetically relevant properties of events will be conceived of as **diathetic significata (dth-significata)** or, simply, **diathetic meanings (dth-meanings)**. Events may be transitive, transmittive, causofective, utive, locationative, motive, etc. Consequently, they will display the following properties: transitivity, transmittivity, causofectivity, utivity, etc. But the signification of these meanings depends upon the signification of their constituent submeanings that is **diathetically relevant properties of eventives**.

Each dth-meaning is complex and consists of submeanings being referred to as **ptoseozygic meanings.** Within the set of ptoseozygic meanings two subsets are distinguished:

(i) the ***set of all ptotonic meanings (PTT)***, and
(ii) the ***set of all ptotizygic meanings (PTZ)***.

These notions have been coined by Bańczerowski (2006:9) following the Greek concept of *ptosis* used to denote case. Tagmons or intratagmonic constituents relevant to diathesis must 'fall' in the required cases and voices in order to signify proper ptotonic and ptotizygic meanings. The second part of the word 'ptotizygic' originates in Greek *zygón* 'yoke' and has been used methaphorically as ptotons are bound by ptotizygitors.

The terms **ptoton** and **ptotizygitor** are defined in Stroński (2011:160). In his view, ptoton is a dicton conveying a ptotonic meaning, and ptotizygitor is a dicton conveying a ptotizygic meaning. Ptotonic dictons represent the participants in events (eventors), while ptotizygic dictons represent relations binding those participants (eventificators). In the present proposal, ptotons and ptotizygitors belong to the primitive terms.

Diathetic submeanings are signified by ptotons and ptotizygitors. Ptotonic meanings and ptotizygic meanings are jointly referred to as ptoseozygic meanings. The set of ptoseozygic meanings will have as its elements, among other meanings, the following listed in the table below:

ptoseozygic meanings	
ptotonic meanings	**ptotizygic meanings**
Agentivity, Patientivity, Emittority, Recipientivity Usority, Instrumentality Causatority, Consecutority, Locatority, Locativity, …	Transitificatority, Transmittificatority, Intransitificatority, Utificatority, Causofectificatority, Locatificatority, …

Fig. 18. Examples of ptoseozygic meanings

Ptoseozygic meanings which are compatible (homogenous) will be called **syndiathetical**. They are bound by the **relation of syndiatheticality** (***syd***), that is diathetic homogeneity. In other words, all syndiathetic ptoseozygic meanings form the corresponding dth-meaning. For instance Agentivity, Patientivity and Transitificatority are syndiathetical and form Transitivity. The dth-meaning of Transmittivity is comprised of the following ptoseozygic meanings: Emittority, Recipientivity, Transmitificatority, and (optionally) Emissivity. While ptoseozygic meanings characterize the eventives within events, dth-meanings characterize the events as certain wholes.

Some of diathetic sub-meanings appear to be congruent and can be grouped into diathetic dimensions, that is sets of all homogenous diathetic

meanings (Bańczerowski 1993). For example, such diathetic meanings as Transitivity and Intransitivity would form one dimension.

Both the categories of voice and case are relevant to diathesis, therefore two sets of tagmons have been distinguished:

(i) the set of all case-tagmons (***Cas***), and
(ii) the set of all voice-tagmons (***Voc***).

Case-tagmons and voice-tagmons belong to the primitive notions and are jointly referred to as positon-tagmons (***Psn***). The family of cases includes, among others such categories as Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive, etc. The family of voice-dictons comprises for instance: active verb, passive verb, verbal noun, active participle, passive participle, etc.

As Bańczerowski states: "[Voice and Case] are categories which a grammar of a given language usually has at its disposal" (Bańczerowski 2006:11). It shall be noted here that Bantu languages differ considerably to Indo-European languages in terms of coding those two categories. Swahili does not have any overt case marking, however its cross-referencing system of agreement and the word order operate in an accusative system (cf. Blake 1994:120). The information about case in Swahili is encoded linearly and also within the verb. As far as the category of voice is concerned, Swahili predicates may incorporate morphemes that signify particular verbal voices (e.g. reflexive, reciprocal, passive, etc.). The verbal morphemes in question shall be taken into consideration while determining particular diathetic meanings.

Syntactic categories are also regarded as primitive terms within the general theory of diathesis (e.g. in Bańczerowski 2001 , Stroński 2011). They include: subject, direct object, indirect object, adverbial, attribute, etc.

5.2.2 Semantic and determinational structure

Sentives consist of tagmons that are bound, among other relations, by the relation of ***tagmonal qualification (tgmq)*** (or ***determination***) which belongs to the primitive terms of the theory. It is assumed that tagmonal qualification binds pairs of tagmons. The first member of such a pair is tagmon as qualificatum (determinatum), the second member is tagmon as qualificator (determinator). Every sentive *s* can be associated with a system of ***tagmonal qualification (determination)*** that consists of:

(i) the set of tagmons forming *s*, and
(ii) the set of pairs of tagmons which enter the relation of qualification within *s*.

Bańczerowski (2001) exemplifies this system with the English sentence *The cat caught a mouse* in which the following pairs of dictons belonging to the relation of dictonal qualification can be distinguished: (the cat, caught), (caught, a mouse). The system of dictonal qualification of the sentence adduced above is the following:

({the cat, caught, a mouse}, {(the cat, caught), (caught, a mouse)}

This system of dictonal qualification can be represented by means of the following graph, in which the arrows indicate the relation of qualification:

the cat
↑
caught
↑
mouse

The relation of tagmonal qualification may be restricted both to thetonic tagmons as well as to positon-tagmons, and it may be extended to thetonic categories as well as to positon-tagmonal categories.

The relation of thetonic-tagmonal qualification within sentive s binds only those thetons which are constituents of s. However, since sentive s may

signify more than one diathetic meaning Σ, the relation is restricted to only those thetons which signify diathetic meaning Σ.

Similarly, the relation of positonal-tagmonal qualification within sentive s binds only those positons which are constituents of s and which form diathetic meaning Σ.

The symptoson of sentive s with respect to diathetic meaning Σ is the form of the system (X, R), where X is a subset of thetons within sentive s, and R is the relation of thetonic-tagmonal qualification binding the tagmons in s.

The concason of sentive s with respect to diathetic meaning Σ is the form of system (X, R), where X is a subset of positons within sentive s, and R is the relation of positonal-tagmonal qualification binding the tagmons in s.

The concason of sentive s and the symptoson of the same sentive appear to be identical.

5.2.3 Symptosis and Concasion

The class of all ptotons which signify the same ptotonic meanings will be called a **ptosis**. Categories such as Agent, Patient, Emittor, Recipient, Causator, etc. are particular **ptoses.** Correspondingly, the class of all ptotozygitors which signify the same ptotozygic meanings will be called a **ptotozygosis**. Categories such as Transitificator, Transmittificator, and Causofectificator are particular **ptotizygoses**.

The **symptosis** of a sentive s results from replacing the ptoseozygic tagmons in the qualificational structure of *s* by appropriate ptoseozygoses. The symptosis of a given sentive reflects the syntactic organization of semantic (ptoseozygic) categories in this sentive. The following graph represents the system of tagmonal qualification of the sentence *The cat caught a mouse* (or is a representation of a symptoson):

the cat
↑
caught
↑
mouse

If the dictons in this graph are replaced by the corresponding ptoseozygoses, we arrive at the symptosis of this sentence, which is represented as follows:

Agent
↑
Transitificator
↑
Patient

Every diathetic meaning can be accessed by at least one symptosis. In other words, each diathetic meaning specifies the set of all corresponding symptoses.

As shown above, ptoseozygic tagmons may be represented by semantic categories in order to form symptoses, or by morphosyntactic categories relevant for the diathetic structure of sentives and form so called concasions.

The **concasion** of a given sentive reflects the syntactic organization of morphological categories of Case and Voice within this sentive. Concasion is the relation of tagmonal qualification restricted to position-tagmons in the sentive. In other words, it is positonal qualification in the sentive. The concasion for the sentence *The black cat caught a small mouse* is represented by the following graph:

Nominative
↑
Verbum Finitum Activum
↑
Accusative

5.2.4 Symptosic and concasional flection

Although diathetic symptosis and concasion are different entities, they are interdependent. Each symptosis is specified by at least one concasion. The concepts of diathetic flection and diathetic paradigm can be introduced in terms of symptosis as well as in terms of concasion. Any two sentives are bound by the **relation of symptosic flection** if only they are homolexical and they signify the same diathetic meaning, but their symptosons with respect to this meaning are represented by different symptoses.

Correspondingly, the **relation of concasional flection** binds any two sentives if only they are homolexical but their concasons are represented by different concasions. The symptoses for particular dth-meanings can be viewed as universal semanto-syntactic patterns enabling us to code lingually events of extralingual reality. In contradistinction to symptoses, concasions are more language-specific (cf. Bańczerowski 2001).

5.2.5 Relation of concasional symptosis specification for

Symptoses characterizing sentives are dependent upon the corresponding concasions within the sentives. Or, putting it differently, certain concasions specify appropriate symptoses. This depenendency has been captured by Bańczerowski (2006:18) as the **relation of concasional symptosis specification for**. A given concasion specifies a corresponding symptosis for a sentive, if the concason of the sentive represented by the concasion is at the same time the symptoson of the sentive represented by the symptosis.

5.2.6 Diathetic paradigm

One of the fundamental concepts of the present theory is that of **diathetic paradigm**, which is conceived of as a class of sentives fulfilling certain conditions. A class of sentives is a diathetic paradigm established with regard

to a given diathetic meaning if only it satisfies, among the others, the following postulates:

Po (i) All sentives belonging to the diathetic paradigm signify a given diathetic meaning,

Po (ii) All sentives belonging to the diathetic paradigm are homolexical,

Po (iii) Any two sentives belonging to the paradigm are either in the relation of symptosic flection or in the relation of concasional flection.

Examples of diathetic paradigms will be given in due course for each diathetic meaning.

5.2.7 Diathetic potential of a verbal root

The notion of diathetic potential of a verbal root is broader than that of diathetic paradigm. The diathetic potential of a verbal root could be conceived of as a number of diathetic meanings specified by sentives, whose predicates include a given verbal root.

For instance the root *–som-* 'read' (also 'learn') in Swahili is present in the following verbs:

1. *som-a*
   'read'-ind
2. *som-an-a*
   'read'-REC-ind
3. *som-w-a*
   'read'-PASS-ind
4. *ji-som-a*
   REFL-'read'-ind
5. *som-esh-a*
   'read'-CAUS-ind

6. *ji-som-esh-a*
   REFL-'read'-CAUS-ind
7. *som-e-a*
   'read'-APPL-ind
8. *som-ek-a*
   'read'-STAT-ind
9. *som-e-an-a*
   'read'-APPL-REC-ind
10. *ji-som-e-a*
    REFL-'read'-APPL-ind
11. som-e-w-a
    'read'-APPL-PASS-ind
12. *som-esh-w-a*
    'read'-CAUS-PASS-ind
13. *som-esh-e-a*
    'read'-CAUS-APPL-ind
14. *som-esh-e-w-a*
    'read'-CAUS-APPL-PASS-ind
15. *som-esh-an-a*
    'read'-CAUS-REC-ind
16. *som-esh-e-an-a*
    'read'-CAUS-APPL-REC-ind
17. *som-esh-ek-a*
    'read'-CAUS-STAT-ind
18. *som-ek-ek-a*
    'read'-STAT-STAT-ind

All of those verbs are listed in TUKI dictionary (2004), however only few of them are explained. For instance *someka* means *wezekana kusomwa* 'be possible to read, be legible' [transl. A.S.W.], but no explanation is given for *somekeka*, even though *–eka* is listed as a possible extension for *someka* at the end of the entry (TUKI 2004:380). It seems that possible verbal extensions have been generated automatically for most verbs in TUKI. Also the fact shall

be taken into consideration that sometimes the meaning of the verbal root is no longer retained after adding one or more verbal suffixes to the root. For instance *enda* means 'go', but *endelea* ('go'-APPL-ind) means 'continue'.

The concept of diathetic potential of a verbal root refers to those verbs which have identical verbal roots and the basic meaning of the root in each verb is retained regardless the suffixation. Hence, the diathetic potential of *soma* 'read' equals the number of diathetic meanings specified by sentives whose predicates include the root *–som-* bound with the meaning 'read'. These include such diathetic meanings as intransitivity, transitivity, transmissivity, causativity, reflexivity and reciprocality, among the others.

5.2.8. Postulates of diathesis

Within the general theory of diathesis at least two sets of postulates (axioms) have been proposed. The following set of axioms, given in informal language is based on the previous proposals (cf. Bańczerowski 2001, 2006; Stroński 2011). It should be noted that the list is not exhaustive yet.

P01 The sets of sentives, tagmons and ptoseozygic meanings are non-empty.

P03 Each dth-meaning is signified by some sentive.

P04 Each sentive signifies some diathetic meaning.

P05 Every sentive consists of at least one tagmon.

P06 Every sentive has exactly one voice tagmon.

P07 Each ptoseozygic meaning is signified by a corresponding tagmon.

P08 Each ptotonic meaning cannot be signified by more than one ptoton within a sentive.

P09 If there are two ptotons belonging to the same Case within the same sentive, then they signify different ptotonic meanings.

P010 Within the same sentive, a ptoton is either directly qualified (determined) by the sentival ptotizygitor or it qualifies (determines) the latter.

Chapter 6: Transitivity

A transitive event is usually defined as a dynamic event which involves two distinct participants – an intentionally acting agent, and a patient who is directly affected as a result of the transfer of energy from the agent.

> *In accordance with the etymology of the term, semantic transitivity evokes the idea of something passing (transit) from one participant to the other, from agent to the object. We are led to think that a sentence meaning, for instance "the gardener killed the rabbit" is typically transitive, since it implies some intention in the agent which is realized in the action, whose effect is to modify the state of the object: from the will in the gardener's mind something is passed into the outer world, a thing which is manifested in the fact that the rabbit is dead.* (Lazard 1998:236 cited after Kittilä 2002:27)

Within the theory of diathesis, the diathetic meaning of Transitivity is formed by the following ptoseozygic meanings: Agentivity, Patientivity and Transitificatority. Transitivity specifies the set of the following three symptoses:

1. ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)}),
2. ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(PAT, TSF), (TSF, AGT)}),
3. ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(TSF, AGT), (TSF, PAT)}).

What is more, depending on which thetosis (AGT, PAT or TSF) presupposes the subject, or subject-like, category, the following types of symptoses should be distinguished:

(i) sentential agentive symptosis,
(ii) sentential patientive symptosis,
(iii) desentential agentive symptosis,

(iv) desentential patientive symptosis,
(v) desentential agentificatorial symptosis,
(vi) desentential patientificatorial symptosis.

There are more types of symptoses than actual symptoses, because (1) both sentences and desentential syntagms are taken into consideration, (2) two typed of Transitificator are distinguished, namely – agentificator and patientificator. Hence, desentential agentificatorial symptosis and desentential patientificatorial symptosis can be jointly referred to as transitificatorial desentential symptosis. The range of symptoses for Transitivity is shown below:

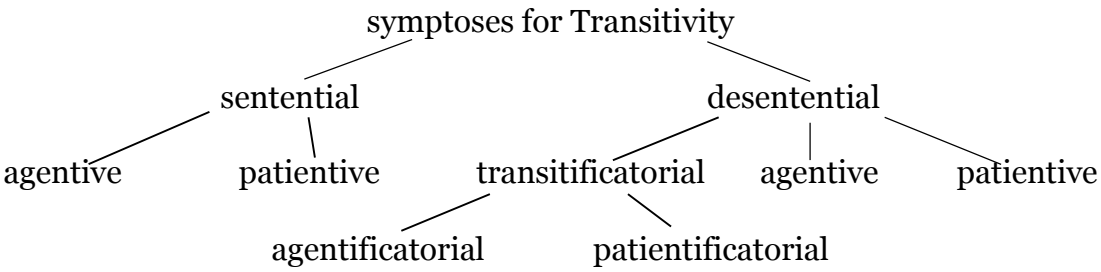


Fig.19. Symptosic range of Transitivity

The interdependency between symptoses and their types is shown below:

SYMPTOSIS	TYPE OF SYMPTOSIS
({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)})	sentential agentive symptosis
	desentential agentive symptosis
({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(PAT, TSF), (TSF, AGT)})	sentential patientive symptosis
	desentential patientive symptosis
({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(TSF, AGT), (TSF, PAT)})	desentential agentificatorial symptosis
	desentential patientificatorial symptosis

Fig. 20. Symptoses and types of symptoses for Transitivity

The symptoses distinguished above can be viewed as universal syntactic patterns. A language may prefer some symptoses over the other, which means that it imposes certain restrictions upon the occurences of particular symptoses. Or, some of the symptoses from the symptosic range of Transitivity might not operate in a given language at all.

The division into sentential and desentential symptoses is necessary, as not only sentences convey diathetic meanings, but certain syntagms are also capable of doing so. Syntagms like *his reading a book* also represent transitive events and their internal diathetic structures can be viewed as desentential symptoses.

As indicated earlier, diathetic meanings are thought to be universal, they are expressed in every human language. A set of symptoses specified by a given diathetic meaning can be differentiated for any sentive of a given language. Each symptosis is realized by at least one concasion in a language. Sometimes, one and the same concasion codes more than one symptosis. In that case, we deal with a kind of diathetic ambiguity or underspecification in terms of diathetic meaning. Or, we just assume that some sentives are bisignificative (or n-significative) as they indicate two (n) diathetic meanings at a time. It is often the case where transitivity intertwines with transmittivity.

The following table shows which syntactic categories are occupied by which ptoseozygic categories within the diathetic meaning of Transitivity in sentences and desentential syntagms.

symptoses for Transitivity	**syntactic categories**		
	Subject or **Subject-like category**	**Predicate**	**Oblique syntactic categories** (Direct Object, Indirect Object, Circumstantial (Adverbial), Attribute)
sentential agentive symptosis	Agent	Agentive Transitificator	Patient
sentential patientive symptosis	Patient	Patientive Transitificator	Agent
desentential agentive symptosis	Agent	-	Patient (Oblique), Transitificator (Attribute to the Agent)
desentential patientive symptosis	Patient	-	Agent (Oblique), Transitificator (Attribute to the Patient)
desentential agentificatorial symptosis	Agentive Transitificator	-	Agent, Patient
desentential patientificatorial symptosis	Patientive Transitificator	-	Agent, Patient

Fig. 21. Syntactic organization of symptoses for Transitivity

6.1 Symptoses and Concasions for Transitivity in Swahili

The diathetic meaning of Transitivity specifies in Swahili the set of the following three symptoses, that is all the theoretically assumed symptoses:

(i) ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)}),

(ii) ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(PAT, TSF), (TSF, AGT)}),

(iii) ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(TSF, AGT), (TSF, PAT)}).

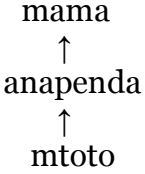
These can be further divided into the following types: sentential agentive symptosis, sentential patientive symptosis, sentential patientoagentive symptosis, desentential agentificatorial symptosis, desentential patientificatorial symptosis, desentential agentive symptosis and desentential patientive symptosis.

In order to exemplify the process of establishing the symptoses of particular sentives let us consider the following Swahili sentence in terms of its diathetic meaning.

1. *Mama anapenda mtoto*
   'Mother loves a child'

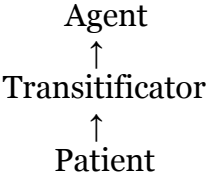
The symptoson associated with this sentence may be represented by the following graph which arrows reflect the determinational structure:

(6.1)



The concason for sentence 1 is identical to the symptoson presented above. The symptosis of this sentence is the following (it is the sentential agentive symptosis to be discussed later):

(6.2)



As mentioned above, Agent, Transitificator and Patient are bound by the relation of syndiatheticality and form the diathetic meaning of Transitivity. The concasion of the discussed sentence is the following:

(6.3)

Nominative
↑
Finite Active Verb
↑
Accusative

The morphosyntactic representation of sentence 1 is presented in the table below:

Sentive	Mama	a-na-penda	mtoto
Morphological structure	Ø-mama 9Cl-'mother'	1SG-PRES-'love'	m-toto 1Cl-'child'
Sentence Structure	Subject	Predicate	Object
Symptosis	Agent	Transitificator	Patient
Concasion	Nom.	V Act.	Acc.

The cases of Nominative and Accusative have been established on the basis of word order.

6.1.1 Sentential agentive symptosis

The sentential agentive symptosis is very common in Swahili and it presupposes an Agent as subject category, a Patient as object category, and an Agentive Transmittificator, that is an Agentificator, as predicate. The concasion for this symptosis does not differ much from other languages because the Agent appears as Nominative, the Patient as Accusative and the Agentificator as an active verb. Let us call this concasion the nominative-accusative concasion.

SENTENTIAL AGENTIVE SYMPTOSIS	SENTENCE STRUCTURE	NOMINATIVE ACCUSATIVE CONCASION
Agent	Subject	Nominative
↑	↑	↑
Agentificator	Predicate	Active Verb
↑	↑	↑
Patient	Object	Accusative

This symptosis is available for sentives in all tenses and aspects. It is also available for sentives with inanimate agents, however such usages will be predominantly methaporical (cf. Stroński 2011:184).

All the sentences given below represent the sentential agentive symptosis:

1. *Mtoto a-na-som-a kitabu.*
   'child' SBJ.1sg-PRES-'read'-ind 'book'
   'The child is reading a book.'

2. *Mtoto a-na-ki-som-a kitabu.*
   'child' SBJ.1sg-PRES-OBJ.Cl7-'read'-ind 'book' (Cl.7)
   'The child is reading the book.'

3. *Mbwa a-li-mw-u-a Faris.*
   'dog' SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'hurt'-ind 'Faris'
   'The dog has beaten Faris.'

4. *Mama a-li-pik-a chakula.*
   'mother' SBJ.1sg-PAST-'cook'-ind 'food'
   'Mother cooked food.'

Concasion ({Nom., Act. V, Acc.}, {Nom., Acti.V}, {Act. V, Acc.}) also specifies symptosis ({Instrument, Transitificator, Patient/Experiencer}, {Instrument, Transitificator}, {Transitificator, Patient/Experiencer}. This type of symptosis is exemplified by the following sentive:

5. *Risasi i-li-m-pig-a askari.*
   'bullet'(CL9) SBJ.CL9-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'hit'-ind 'soldier'
   A bullet hit the soldier.

Instruments in the position of a subject have been regarded as inanimate Agents (e.g. Jackendoff 1990:259). After passivization, the sentive adduced above has the following shape:

6. *Askari a-li-pig-w-a (na) risasi.*
   'man' SBJ.3sg-PAST-'hit'-PASS-ind 'by' 'bullet'.
   A man was shot by/with a bullet.

The bracket above indicates that *na* 'by' can be omitted because *piga risasi* 'to shoot' ('hit' + 'bullet') is a complex predicate (cf. Olejarnik 2009). An additional argument, namely the Agent, may be added to the predicate:

7. *Mtu a-li-pig-w-a (na) risasi na* askari.
   'man' SBJ.3sg-PAST-'hit'-PASS-ind 'by' 'bullet' 'by' 'soldier'
   A man was shot by a soldier.

The ptoseozygic meanings involved in the diathetic meaning of 7 are the following: Patientivity, Transitificatority (Patientificatority), Instrumentality and Agentivity.

Another example of a sentive with an instrumental subject is shown below:

8. *Jiwe li-li-vunj-a dirisha.*
   'stone'(CL5) SBJ.CL5-PAST-'break'-ind 'window'
   A stone broke the window.

Entities like natural forces also appear in the position of subject and are often regarded as agents, even though they lack the feature of volitionality/ intentionality. Conceiving natural forces as agents may be interpreted as an animistic metaphor.

9. *Upepo u-li-vunj-a mti.*
   'wind'(Cl.11) SBJ.CL.11-PAST-'break'-ind 'tree'
   The wind broke the tree.

6.1.2 Sentential patientoagentive symptosis

A separate type of symptosis needs to be distinguished for Swahili that presupposes a Patient as subject category, an Agent as an object or oblique syntactic category, and an Agentive Transmittificator, that is, an Agentificator, as predicate. Let us call this type sentential patientoagentive symptosis, because the Patient appears in the position which is usually occupied by an Agent, that is as subject of the predicate, but the predicate is an active verb (sic!). This symptosis, just like the previous one, is specified by the nominative-accusative concasion.

SENTENTIAL PATIENTOAGENTIVE SYMPTOSIS	SENTENCE STRUCTURE	NOMINATIVE ACCUSATIVE CONCASION
Patient	Subject	Nominative
↑	↑	↑
Agentificator	Predicate	Active Verb
↑	↑	↑
Agent	Object	Accusative

This kind of symptosis is very rare in Swahili and it imposes certain restrictions upon its occurrence. All the sentives that represent the patientoagentive symptosis have their counterparts that represent the agentive sentential symptosis. Consider the following two examples:

1. *Watu wa-me-kul-a chakula.*
   'people' SBJ.1pl-PERF-'eat'-ind 'food'
   'People ate the food.'

2. *Chakula ki-me-kula watu.* (cf. Whiteley & Mganga 1969:114)
   'food'(CL.7) SBJ.CL7-PERF-(inf)'eat'-ind 'people'
   'The food ate people.'

The second sentive has been translated into English purely morpho-syntactically, without referring to a common extra-linguistic experience in which food does not eat people. And indeed, the example 2 refers to a situation in which these were actually the people who ate the food, not the other way around. Thus, there is a conflict between the lexical and the syntactic-structural meaning of 2. The structure of sentive 2 is emphatic and represents, what Whiteley calls a "strong retrospective focus on S[ubject] (or on O[bject], if one is thinking of the original (...) sentence [e.g. 1 above]" (Whiteley & Mganga 1969:111, notes added).

The sentives 1 and 2 are homolexical and refer to the same event, namely to the act of eating food by people. However, the construction in 2 would appear only in certain contexts. A context for *chakula kimekula watu wengi* was given by Mganga in Whiteley & Mganga (1969):

> *Watoto wawili waliachiwa chakula na mama yao kula wakati yeye atakapokuwa amekwenda sokoni. Huko nyuma wao watoto wakaalika wenzao wengine kula chakula, kwa hiyo basi hawakushiba. Mama aliporudi aliwauliza, mbona mnaelekea hamkushiba? Mtoto mmoja akajibu, <u>chakula kimekula watu wengi</u>.*
>
> Two children had their food left for them by their mother while she went to the market. After she'd gone the children invited their playmates in for food, so they weren't full. When their mother returned she asked, how is it you don't appear to be full? One of them said, <u>the food had to do for lots of people</u>. (Whiteley & Mganga 1969:114f, emphasis added)

The predicate in 2 agrees with *chakula*, that is the subject. On the concasional level, the Patient appears as Nominative and the predicate as an active verb (no passive morphology is present). On the basis of word order we only assume that the Agent appears as Accusative, just like the Patient in 1. However, the use of object concord within the predicate is not possible here, which makes the patientoagentive symptosis different to the agentive symptosis. It thus occurs that a morphosyntactic scheme (concasion) does not

clearly presuppose a given symptosis. It should be also added that the sentential patientoagentive symptosis is only realized by sentences in which the subject and the object are entities of different ontological status, e.g. animate *versus* inanimate being or there are other factors (like special context – see Whiteley & Mganga 1969:114f) which enable distinction between the Agent and the Patient of the event. Another test for telling the Agent from the Patient in sentence 2 is that of the following two implications:

(i) *Kama chakula kimekula watu, chakula kimeliwa na watu.*
'If „the food ate the people", then the food was eaten by the people.'

(ii) *Kama chakula kimekula watu, watu wameliwa na chakula.*
'If „the food ate people", then the people were eaten by the food.'

These implications should then be verified by native speakers. One of the informants holds that sentence (i) is true, whereas (ii) is nonsensical.

6.1.3 Sentential patientive symptosis

The sentential patientive symptosis presupposes a Patient as subject, an Agent as an oblique syntactic category, and a Patientive Transitificator, that is Patientificator as predicate. The concasion for this symptosis requires the Patient to appear as Nominative, the Patientificator as a passive verb and the Agent to be a constituent of a prepositional phrase with *na*, hence NA-case. The concasion for ths symptosis will be called nominative-NA-case concasion.

SENTENTIAL PATIENTIVE SYMPTOSIS	SENTENCE STRUCTURE	NOMINATIVE NA-case CONCASION
Patient	Subject	Nominative
↑	↑	↑
Patientificator	Predicate	Passive Verb
↑	↑	↑
Agent	Oblique Object	NA-case

All the sentences adduced below represent the sentential patientive symptosis:

1. *Mwizi a-me-kamat-w-a na polisi.*
   'thief' SBJ.3sg-PERF-'catch'-PASS-ind 'by' 'police'
   'The thief has been caught by the police.'

2. *Mtoto a-li-um-w-a na mbwa.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PAST-'hurt'-PASS-'ind 'by' 'dog'
   'The child was bitten by a dog.'

3. *Chakula bora ki-me-pik-w-a* na mama.
   'food' (Cl7) 'good' SBJ.Cl7-PERF-'cook'-PASS-ind 'by' 'mother'
   'A good food has been cooked by mother.'

4. *Barua hii i-me-andik-w-a na mtu yule.*
   'letter' (Cl9) 'this' SBJ.Cl9-PERF-'write'-PASS-ind 'man' 'that'
   'This letter has been written by that man.'

Concasion ({Nominative, Passive Verb, NA-case}, {Nominative, Passive Verb}, {Passive Verb, NA-case}) does not solely specify the sentential patientive symptosis. Consider the difference between the following two examples.

5. *Salim a-li-um-w-a na nyoka.*
   Salim SBJ.3sg-PAST-'hurt'-PASS-ind 'by' 'snake'
   'Salim was bitten by a snake.'

6. *Salim a-li-um-w-a na kichwa.*
   Salim SBJ.3sg-PAST-'hurt'-PASS-ind 'by' 'head'
   'Salim suffered from a headache.'

The diathetic meaning of 5 is clearly transitive as it involves the following ptoseozygic meanings: Patientivity, Transitificatority (Patientificatority) and Agentivity. The sentence 6, although almost identical to 5, cannot be regarded as transitive, because *kichwa* 'head' lacks agentive properties. The participant represented by the subject of the predicate should be regarded as an Experiencer, or Maleficiary, or Malefactive Experiencer, rather than a Patient. The example below is an active counterpart of 6, in which

the subject (*kichwa* 'head') represents rather a Stimulus than an Agent, even though the concasion of the sentive is identical to the concasion representing the sentential agentive symptosis. What is more, the object is morphologically incorporated in the predicate.

7. *Kichwa ki-li-mw-uma* (*Salim*).
   Cl7.'head' Subj.Cl.7-Past-Obj.3sg-'hurt' Salim
   'The head hurt him (Salim).'

6.1.4 Desentential agentificatorial symptosis

The desentential agentificatorial symptosis is a subtype of the transitificatorial symptosis which requires a Transitificator for subject-like category, both an Agent and a Patient for oblique syntactic categories. This kind of symptosis presupposes the nominalization of the Transitificator. In the agentificatorial type, it is the nominalization of an active verb. There is a separate noun class in Swahili for nominalized verbs – the class numbered 15. A nominalized verb form is identical to the infinitive verb form (e.g. *kusoma* 'to read' and *kusoma* Cl.15 'reading').

1. *Ku-safisha kw-etu kwa darasa (kulimfurahisha mwalimu).*
   'cleaning' (Cl.15) Cl.15-'our' 'of' 'class' ('made the teacher happy')
   'Our cleaning of the class (made the teacher happy).'

6.1.5 Desentential patientificatorial symptosis

The desentential patientificatorial symptosis also constitutes a subtype of the transitificatorial symptosis which requires a Transitificator for subject-like category, both an Agent and a Patient for oblique syntactic categories. This kind of symptosis presupposes the nominalization of the Patientificator, it involves passive morphology, that is *-w-* incorporated into the nominalized verb.

1. *ku-pig-w-a kw-ake na askari*
   Cl.15-'beat'-PASS-*a* Cl.15-'his/her' 'by' 'soldier'
   'bitting him/her by a soldier'

2. *Ku-kamat-w-a kwa Pistorius (mwaka jana kuliwashangaza wengi sana nchini Afrika Kusini…)* (www.harakatinews.com)
   Cl.15-'arrest'-PASS-*a* 'of' Pistorius ('last year shocked many people in the South Africa…')
   'being arrested of Pistorius' or 'Pistorius' being arrested'

The Patient in 2 (*Pistorius*) appears as Genitive which is encoded by the preposition *kwa*.

6.1.6 Desentential agentive symptosis

In this kind of symptosis an Agent is realized as subject-like category, a Patient as an oblique syntactic category, and a Transitificator as an attribute to the Agent or adverbial. The attributification of the Transitificator presupposes its agentive participialization. Participia in Swahili are realized through relativization (by use of a relative affix attached to the verb), by use of *–enye* construction or as *nomina agenti*.

1. *Mtu a-li-ye-pik-a chakula (ni mpishi mzuri).*
   'man' 3sg-PAST-REL-'cook'-ind 'food'
   'The man who cooked the food (is a good cook).'

2. *Nyoka a-li-ye-mw-um-a Salim (amekamatwa).*
   'snake' SBJ.3sg-PAST-REL-OBJ.3sg-'hurt'-ind Salim
   'The snake that bit Salim (has been caught).'

3. *m-fanya-kazi (amechoka)*
   1sg-'do'-'work' ('got tired')
   'the worker (got tired)'

4. *mw-enye ku-pika mi-kate*
   3sg-ENYE INF-'cook' Cl4-'bread'
   'the one who bakes bread'/ 'the baker'

5. *w-enye ku-beba mizigo*
   3pl-ENYE INF-'carry' 'cargo'
   'those who carry the cargo'

6. *A-li-po-uz-a kuku wa-tano (aliweza kunua kondoo).*
   3sg-PAST-REF.CL16-'sell'-ind 'chicken'(CL9) CL2-'five' ('could buy a sheep').
   'When (s)he sold five chickens ((s)he could buy a sheep).'

The sentence 6 presents a construction with grammaticalised *–po-* as a relative of time. The affix *–po-*, belonging to CL16 is one of the three locative affixes and refers to a definite place. The two left *–ko-* (CL17) and *–mo-* (CL18) refer to an indefinite place and a place inside, respectively.

6.1.7 Desentential patientive symptosis

Also this kind of symptosis is represented solely by desentential syntagms. The desentential patientive symptosis requires a Patient as a subject-like category, an Agent as an oblique syntactic category, and a Transitificator as an attribute to the Patient or adverbial. The attributification of the transitificator presupposes its patientive participialization, that is turning it into a passive participle, which will find exemplification in the following sentences. As mentioned erlier, participia in Swahili are realized through relativization (by use of a relative affix attached to the verb), by use of *–enye* construction or as *nomina agenti*.

1. *Chakula ki-li-cho-pik-w-a na mama (kilikuwa tamu).*
   'food' (Cl.7) SBJ.Cl.7-PAST-REL(Cl.7)-'cook'-PASS-ind 'by' 'mother'
   'The food that was cooked by mother (was delicious).'

2. *Salim a-li-ye-um-w-a na nyoka (amekufa).*
   Salim SBJ.3sg-PAST-REL(3sg)-'bit'-PASS-ind 'by' 'snake'
   'Salim, who was bitten by a snake, (died).'

3. *Nyumba i-li-yo-jeng-w-a na Juma (imeshauzwa).*
   'house' (Cl9) SBJ.Cl9-PAST-REL(Cl9)-'build'-PASS-ind 'by' Juma (has already been sold)
   'The house built by Juma (has already been sold).'

4. *Mw-enye ku-kamat-w-a (aliletwa na polisi).*
   3sg-ENYE INF-'catch'-PASS-ind ('was brought by the police')
   'The one caught (was brought by the police).'

5. *a-li-po-kamat-w-a na polisi*
   SBJ.3sg-PAST-REL.CL16-'catch'-PASS-ind 'by' 'police'
   'when (s)he was caught by the police'

6.2 Diathetic paradigm for Transitivity in Swahili

Below a preliminary list of sentives belonging to a diathetic paradigm specified by the meaning of Transitivity is given. The sentives refer to the event of 'reading a book by a child'. As mentioned earlier, the following postulates, among the others, must be satisfied in order to name a class of sentives a diathetic paradigm established with regard to a given diathetic meaning:

> Po (i) All sentives belonging to the diathetic paradigm signify a given diathetic meaning (here Transitivity);
>
> Po (ii) All sentives belonging to the diathetic paradigm are homolexical (here the sentives are homolexical with regard to the event of 'reading a book by a child');
>
> Po (iii) Any two sentives belonging to the paradigm are either in the relation of symptosic flection or in the relation of concasional flection.

1. *Mtoto a-na-som-a kitabu.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'read'-ind 'book' (CL7)
   'The child is reading a book.'

2. *Mtoto a-na-ki-som-a kitabu.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.CL7-'read'-ind 'book' (CL7)
   'The child is reading the book.'

3. *Kitabu kinasoma mtoto.*
   'book' (CL7) SBJ.CL7-PRES-'read'-ind 'child'
   'The child is reading the book' (lit. 'The book is reading the child')

4. *mtoto amba-ye a-na-som-a kitabu*
   'child' (CL1) AMBA-REL(CL1) SBJ.3sg-PRES-'read' ind 'book'
   'the child who is reading a book'

5. *mtoto a-na-som-a-ye kitabu*
   'child' (CL1) 3sg-PRES-'read'-(ind)-REL(CL1) 'book'
   'the child who is reading the book'

6. *mtoto a-ki-som-a-ye kitabu*
   'child' (CL1) 3sg-OBJ.CL7-'read'-(ind)-REL(CL1) 'book' (CL7)
   'the child (who is) reading the book'

7. *Kitabu ki-na-som-w-a na mtoto.*
   'book' (CL7) SBJ.CL7-PRES-'read'-PASS-ind 'by' 'child'
   'The book is being read by the child.'

8. *kitabu ki-na-cho-som-w-a na mtoto*
   'book' (CL7) SBJ.CL7-PRES-'read'-PASS-ind 'by' 'child'
   'the book which is being read by the child'

9. *kitabu a-ki-som-a-cho mtoto*
   'book' (CL7) 3sg-OBJ.CL7-'read'-(ind)-REL(Cl7) 'child'
   'the book the child is reading'

10. *mtoto m-soma-ji kitabu*
    'child' PRON.3sg-'read'-JI 'book'
    'the child, the reader of the book'

11. *Mtoto a-li-kuwa a-na-soma kitabu.*
    'child' SBJ.3sg-PAST-'be' 3sg-PRES-'read' 'book'
    'The child was reading a book.'

12. *Kitabu ki-li-kuwa ki-na-som-w-a na mtoto.*
    'book' (CL7) SBJ.CL7-PAST-'be' CL7-PRES-'read'-PASS-ind 'by' 'child'
    'The book was being read by the child.'

13. *ku-soma kw-ake kitabu*
    CL15-'read' CL15-POSS 'book'
    'his reading the book'

14. ?*kusomwa chake na mtoto*
    CL15-'read'-PASS-*a* CL7-POSS 'by' 'child'
    'it's being read by the child'

15. *a-li-po-som-a kitabu*
    3sg-LOC-'read'-ind 'book'
    'when he was reading the book'

16. *mw-enye ku-soma kitabu*
    3sg-ENYE inf-'read' 'book'
    'the reader of the book'

17. *ch-enye ku-som-w-a na mtoto*
    CL7-ENYE inf-'read'-PASS-*a* 'by' 'child'
    'the one read by the child'

The paradigm presented above is obviously not complete, yet it exhausts all the symptoses for Transitivity in Swahili listed in chapter 6.1. These include: sentential agentive symptosis (sentives 1, 2, 11), sentential patientoagentive symptosis (sentives 3), sentential patientive symptosis (sentive 7, 12), desentential agentificatorial symptosis (sentive 13), desentential

patientificatorial symptosis (sentive 14), desentential agentive symptosis (sentives 4, 5, 6, 10, 15, 16) and desentential patientive symptosis (7, 8, 9, 17).

The sentive 14 is dubious – rather unacceptable. However, one could imagine conditions in which the sentive could be accepted. These would be of a methaporical nature in which *kitabu* 'book' was animated and therefore having the consciousness of 'being read'. The sentence *Kusomwa chake na mtoto kulimfurahisha Kitabu* 'Its being read by the child pleased the Book' would be such an example.

Chapter 7: Transmittivity

The diathetic meaning of Transmittivity is formed by the following ptoseozygic meanings: Emittority, Recipientivity and Transmittificatority. Putting it strictly, those three diathetic submeanings form what is to be called the Atomic Transmittivity in contradistinction to the Extended Transmittivity or, simply, Transmittivity, that will be explained in due course.

The Atomic Transmittivity specifies the set of the following symptoses:

1. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
2. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}),
3. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}).

The following types of symptoses are distinguished for the Atomic Transmittivity:

(i) sentential emittorial symptosis,
(ii) sentential recipientive symptosis,
(iii) desentential emittorial symptosis,
(iv) desentential recipientive symptosis,
(v) desentential emittorificatorial symptosis,
(vi) desentential recipientificatorial symptosis.

The two latter can be jointly referred to as transmittificatorial desentential symptosis. The classification of symptoses for Atomic Transmittivity is shown below:

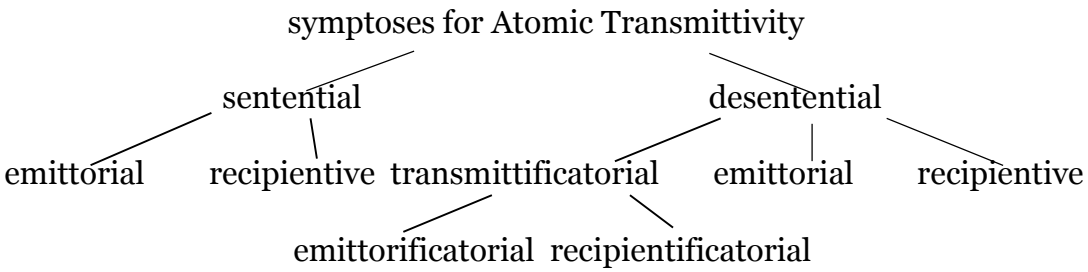


Fig. 22. Symptosic range of AtomicTransmittivity

The sentential emittorial symptosis presupposes an Emittor as subject category, Emittorial Transmittificator as predicate, and Recipient as an oblique syntactic category. Emittorial Transmittificator usually manifests itself as *verbum emittendi* that is 'give', 'lend', 'hand', 'send', etc. The sentential recipientive symptosis presupposes a Recipient as subject category, Emittor as an oblique syntactic category, and Recipientive Transmittificator as predicate. The predicate of such a symptosis is manifested by *verbum recipiendi* like 'receive', 'obtain', 'inherit' or by passivized *verbum emittendi* such as 'be given', 'be granted', etc. Transmittificatorial symptoses (Emittificatorial and Receptificatorial) require a Transmitificator for subject category, both an Emittor and a Recipient for oblique syntactic categories such as direct or indirect object, circumstantial or attribute. Noticeably, subjectification of Transmittificator presupposes its nominalization. This kind of symptosis can only be realized by desentential syntagms.

symptoses for Atomic Transmittivity	**syntactic categories**		
	Subject or **Subject-like category**	**Predicate**	**Oblique syntactic categories** (Indirect Object, Circumstantial (Adverbial), Attribute)
sentential emittorial symptosis	Emittor	Emittorial Transmittificator	Recipient
sentential recipientive symptosis	Recipient	Recipientive Transmittificator	Emittor
desentential emittorial symptosis	Emittor	-	Recipient (Oblique), Transmittificator (Attribute to the Emittor)
desentential recipientive symptosis	Recipient	-	Emittor (Oblique), Transmittificator (Attribute to the Recipient)
desentential emittorificatorial symptosis	Emittorial Transmittificator	-	Emittor, Recipient
desentential recipientificatorial symptosis	Recipientive Transmittificator	-	Emittor, Recipient

Fig. 23. Syntactic organization of symptoses for Atomic Transmittivity

Transmittivity may be extended by an additional component, that is a thing being transmitted, here called Emissive. The diathetic meaning of (Extended) Transmittivity is formed by the following ptoseozygic meanings: Emittority, Recipientivity, Emissivity and Transmittificatority. It specifies the set of the following symptoses:

1. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
2. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}),
3. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}),
4. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
5. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),
6. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, RCP,), (TSMF, EMS)}),
7. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}),

8. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),
9. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}),
10. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR., TSMF), (TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMS)}),
11. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}),
12. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}),
13. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS), (TSMF, RCP)}).

The following types of symptoses for Transmittivity are distinguished:

(i) sentential emittorial symptosis,
(ii) sentential recipientive symptosis,
(iii) sentential emissive symptosis,
(iv) desentential emittorial symptosis,
(v) desentential recipientive symptosis,
(vi) desentential emissive symptosis,
(vii) desentential emittorificatorial symptosis,
(viii) desentential recipientificatorial symptosis,
(ix) desentential emissificatorial symptosis.

The last three may be jointly referred to as transmitificatorial desentential symptosis.

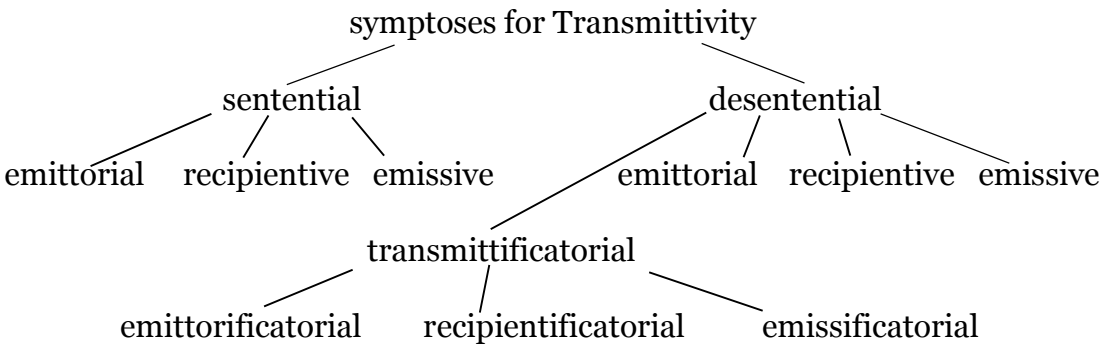


Fig. 24. Symptosic range of Transmittivity

symptoses for Transmittivity	**Subject** or **Subject-like category**	**Predicate**	**Oblique syntactic categories** (Direct Object, Indirect Object, Circumstantial (Adverbial), Attribute)	
sentential emittorial symptosis	Emittor	Emittorial Transmittificator	Emissive	Recipient
sentential recipientive symptosis	Recipient	Recipientive Transmittificator	Emittor	Emissive
sentential emissive symptosis	Emissive	Emissive Transmittificator	Recipient	Emittor
desentential emittorial symptosis	Emittor	-	Emissive, Recipient, Transmittificator	
desentential recipientive symptosis	Recipient	-	Emittor, Emissive, Transmittificator	
desentential emissive symptosis	Emissive	-	Emittor, Recipient, Transmittificator	
desentential emittorificatorial symptosis	Emittorial Transmittificator	-	Emittor, Emissive, Recipient	
desentential recipientificatorial symptosis	Recipientive Transmittificator	-	Emittor, Emissive, Recipient	
desentential emissificatorial symptosis	Emissive Transmittificator	-	Emittor, Emissive, Recipient	

Fig.25. Syntactic organization of symptoses for Transmittivity

7.1 Symptoses and Concasions for Transmittivity in Swahili

The diathetic meaning of Transmittivity specifies in Swahili the set of the following 13 symptoses:

14. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
15. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}),
16. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}),
17. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
18. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),
19. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, RCP,), (TSMF, EMS)}),
20. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}),
21. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),
22. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}),
23. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR., TSMF), (TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMS)}),
24. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}),
25. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}),
26. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS), (TSMF, RCP)}).

The following types of symptoses should be distinguished for the diathetic meaning of Transmittivity in Swahili: sentential emittorial symptosis, sentential recipientive symptosis, sentential emissive symptosis, desentential emittorial symptosis, desentential recipientive symptosis, desentential

emissive symptosis, desentential emittificatorial symptosis, desentential recipientificatorial symptosis, desentential emissificatorial symptosis.

7.1.1 Sentential emittorial symptosis

The sentential emittorial symptosis requires an Emittor for subject category, both a Recipient and Emissive for oblique syntactic categories, such as Direct or Indirect Object, Circumstantial (Adverbial), or Attribute, and an Emittorial Transmittificator, that is an Emittorificator, for predicate. The sentential emittorial symptoses constist of either three or four ptoseozygoses.

Emittority, Recipientivity and Transmittificatority form the so called Atomic Transmittivity. The concasion for the sentential emittorecipientive symptosis will be called "nominative-dative concasion", since it requires the Emittor to appear as Nominative, the Transmittificator as an active verb, and the Recipient as Dative. The Dative case of the object in Swahili is signified by the presence of an applicative morpheme in the predicate and additionally the object may be preceded by a preposition *kwa* 'for' or *kwa ajili ya* 'for the sake of someone'.

SENTENTIAL EMITTORECIPIENTIVE SYMPTOSIS	SENTENCE STRUCTURE	NOMINATIVE DATIVE CONCASION
Emittor	Subject	Nominative
↑	↑	↑
Emittorificator	Predicate	Active (APPL) Verb
↑	↑	↑
Recipient	Object	Dative

Transmittive sentives lacking the Recipient argument but including the Emissive can also be differentiated. Examples of sentives that are grammatically transitive, but lexically transmittive in English include *The millionaire gives away money* or *The old man emanates wisdom*.

The sentential emittoemissive symptosis would have the following shape:

SENTENTIAL EMITTOEMISSIVE SYMPTOSIS	SENTENCE STRUCTURE	NOMINATIVE ACCUSATIVE CONCASION
Emittor	Subject	Nominative
↑	↑	↑
Emittorificator	Predicate	Active (APPL) Verb
↑	↑	↑
Emissive	Object	Accusative

As mentioned earlier, the nominative-accusative concasion that specifies the sentential emittoemissive symptosis is identical with the concasion realizing the sentential transitive symptosis. Or, putting it differently, the two symptoses are neutralized within this concasion. It is therefore arguable if there is any need of differentiating this type of symptosis for transmittivity if, in fact, the sentives representing this type can also be interpted as transitive. At this point Stroński would probably consider blending of different diathetic meanings, here transitivity and transmittivity, which results in what he calls a "hybrid symptosis" (cf. Stroński 2011:203). However there is a difference between concasions for transitive and transmittive symptoses. The predicates of transmittive sentives in Swahili include the applicative morpheme, even if the Recipient is not expressed. On these grounds such sentives in Swahili should be interpreted as grammatically transmittive.

The nominative-accusative concasion might not be an only concasion for the sentential emittoemissive symptosis. Let us consider the following sentences:

1. *Mimea i-na-to-a dawa.*
   'plants' (CL4) SBJ.CL4-PRES-'emit'/'provide' (APPL)-ind 'medicine'
   'Plants provide medicine.'

2. *Dawa i-na-to-lew-a na mimea.*
   'medicine' (CL9) SBJ.CL9-PRES-'emit'-PASS-ind 'by' 'plants' (CL4)
   'The medicine is produced by plants.'

3. *Dawa i-na-to-lew-a kutoka kwa mimea.*
   'medicine' (CL9) SBJ.CL9-PRES-'emit'-PASS-ind 'from' 'plants' (CL4)
   'The medicine is produced from plants.'

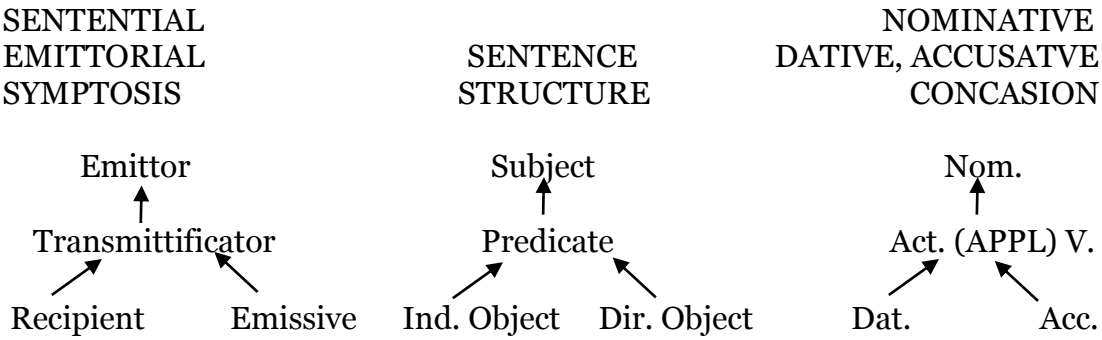
The online dictionary kamusi.org lists among the other translations for *toa,* the following: 'put out', 'issue', 'emit', 'generate', 'remove', 'take away', 'produce', 'publish'. The verb includes the applicative morpheme, although no 'basic' form (*ta*) exists for this verb. The noun phrase in sentence 3 (*kutoka kwa mimea* 'from the plants') indicates the elative case, not the accusative.

In atomic transmittive events it is the operation of transmission itself that is emitted by the Emittor to/for the Recipient and there is no Emissive. The sentives given below represent such event:

3. *Askari a-na-hudum-i-a nchi.*
   'soldier' SBJ.1sg-PRES-'serve'-APPL-ind 'country'
   'The soldier serves the country.'

4. *Mume a-na-m-tet-e-a mke wake.*
   'husband' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'defend'-APPL-ind 'wife' 'his'
   'Husband defends his wife.'

The sentential emittorial symptosis and the corresponding concasion for Transmittivity extended by the Emissive, have the following shape:



The concasion for this symptosis requires the Emittor to appear as Nominative, the Recipient as Dative and the Emissive as Accusative.

The "Extended" Transmittivity, or Transmittivity proper, has been formed by fusion of two diathetic meanings, namely – Transitivity and the Atomic Transmittivity. The Emittor is at the same time the Agent and the Emissive – the Patient.

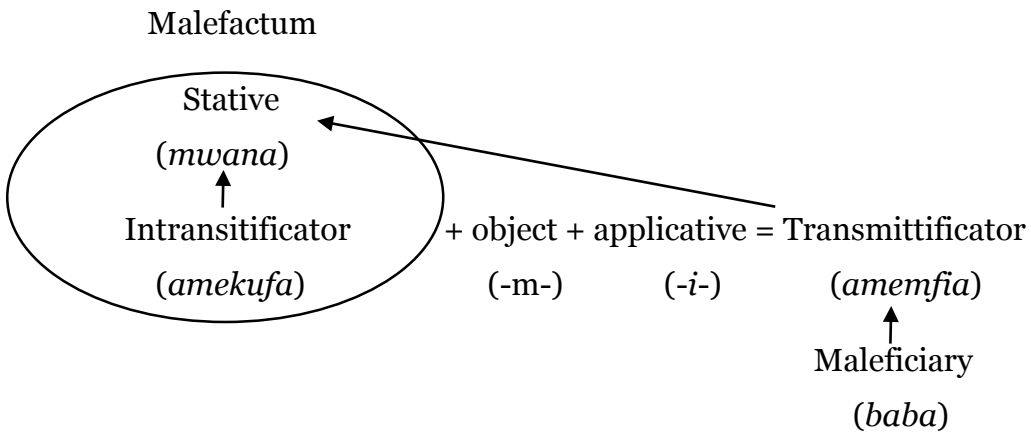
The diathetic meaning of Transmittivity is closely related to those of Benefactivity and Malefactivity. Under some conditions benefactive and malefactive events may be recognized as two types of transmittive events. Two such conditions could be volitionality and consciousness of the participants of an event, especially the Benefactor. In a typical benefactive event the Emittor/Benefactor does something volitionally and consciously for the benefit of the Recipient/Beneficiary. This something usually involves another participant of the event, or even a whole subevent, and should be referred to as Emissive/Benefactum. Malefactive events constitute the opposites of benefactive events in that the Recipient/Maleficiary is affected adversely by the Emittor/Malefactor.

Beneficiaries (as well as Maleficiaries) and Recipients are coded alike in Swahili, that is by use of applicative verbs. However, this does not concern inherently triptosic predicates like *–p-* 'give'. An applicative morpheme also appears in predicates of sentives that are difficult to be classified as typically transmittive. Consider the following example:

5. *Mwana a-me-m-f-i-a baba.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PERF-OBJ.3sg-'die'-APPL-ind 'father'
   'The child died to his father's bereavement.' (lit. '… died for the father')

Although the predicate in 5 includes an applicative morpheme, the whole sentive does not refer to a typical transmittive event. The main reason is that the subject (*mwana* 'child') lacks agentive properties – it is unconscious and unvolitional (ignoring the situation of a consciously attempted suicide in order to affect the father adversely), and therefore cannot be regarded as Malefactor. By contrast, the object (*baba* 'father'), is clearly Maleficiary.

In order to determine the symptosis for sentive 5 let us assume that the whole event of the child's death (*mwana amekufa* 'the son died') is a Malefactum (circled below). Then, the symptosis of the sentive *Mwana amemfia baba* would have the following shape:



The Malefactum for sentence 5 is determined as an intransitive event consisting of a Stative represented by *mwana* 'child' and an Intransitificator *amekufa* 'has died' which is not present in the sentive, at least not independently. Only after applicativization of the intransitive verb *–f-* 'die', and after addition of the argument *baba* 'father', the predicate *amemfia* becomes a Transmittificator of a kind. This example shows that diathetic structure of a sentive is sometimes complex.

The sentives given below represent the sentential emittorial symptosis either in its minimal or extended variant:

6. *Daktari a-na-tib-i-a wagonjwa.*
   'doctor' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'treat'-APPL-ind 'ill people'
   'A doctor treats ill people.'

7. *Mwalimu a-na-m-som-e-a mwanafunzi kitabu.*
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'read'-OBJ.3sg-APPL-ind 'student' 'book'
   'The teacher is reading a book for the student.'

8. *A-li-ni-fungu-li-a mlango.*
   SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.1sg-'open'-APPL-ind 'door'
   '(S)he opened the door for me.'

9. *Juma a-li-m-p-a zawadi baba-ke.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'give'-ind 'present' 'father'-'his'
   'Juma gave his father a present.'

Since *–p-* 'give' is already a triptosic predicate, there is no applicative morpheme in the predicate in 9.

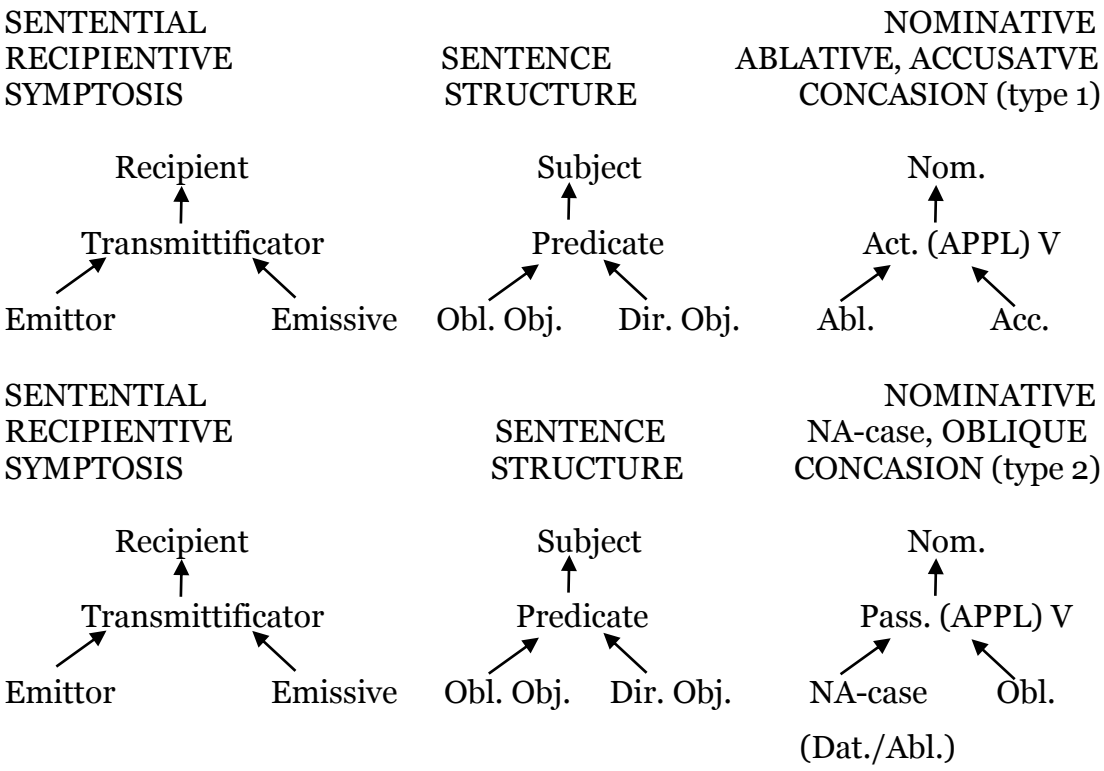
10. *Ni-na-mw-andik-i-a barua.*
    SBJ.1sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'write'-APPL-ind 'letter'
    'I am writing him/her a letter.' / 'I'm writing a letter to him/her.'

The diathetic meaning of 10 is neutralized between transmittive and benefactive.

7.1.2 Sentential recipientive symptosis

The sentential recipientive symptosis has the structure in which a Recipient appears as subject, an Emittor and Emissive function as oblique syntactic categories, and a Transmittificator, more precisely – a Recipientive Transmitificator, is a predicate.

There are at least two concasions that realize the sentential recipientive symptosis (to be referred to as concasion 1 and concasion 2 in the present chapter). In the concasion of type 1 a Transmittificator manifests itself as an active verb which could be described as belonging to the class of *verba recipiendi*. An Emittor in concasion 1 functions as Ablative, based on the grounds that it is preceded by a preposition *kutoka (kwa)* 'from', and an Emissive appears as Accusative. In the concasion of type 2 a Transmitificator is a passive verb, the emittor is introduced through a *na*-phrase, and the Emissive – as a complement to the verb is in an oblique case.



The symptosis presented above is a maximal variant consisting of all four ptoseozygoses comprising the diathetic meaning of transmittivity. The other options exclude the Emittor or/and the Emissive.

The concasion 1 is represented by the following sentive:

1. *Ni-li-pok-e-a zawadi kutoka kwa Juma.*
   SBJ.1sg-PAST-'get'-APPL-ind 'present' 'from' Juma
   'I received a present from Juma.'

The concasion 2 is represented below:

2. Ni-li-p-ew-a zawadi na Juma.
   SBJ.1sg-PAST-'give'-PASS-ind 'present' 'by' Juma
   'I was given a present by Juma.'

3. Ni-me-pik-i-w-a chakula na mama.
   SBJ.1sg-PERF-'cook'-APPL-PASS 'by' 'mama'
   'I was cooked some food by mother.'

4. *Ni-me-ib-i-w-a pesa na mwizi.*
   SBJ.1sg-PERF-'steal'-APPL-PASS-ind 'money' 'by' 'thief'
   'I was robbed of money by a thief.'

5. *A-me-andik-i-w-a barua na mume wake.*
   SBJ.3sg-PERF-'write'-APPL-PASS-ind 'letter' 'by' 'husband' 'her'
   'She was written a letter (to/for) by her husband.'

Sentence 5 is ambiguous in terms of its diathetic meaning. In a transmittive reading of the event the wife is the Recipient (the addressee of the letter), while in a benefactive reading she is the Beneficiary of the fact that her husband wrote the letter, but the addressee is some other person.

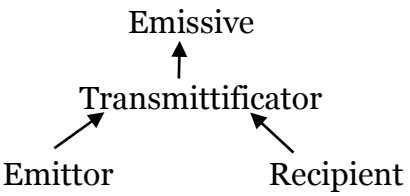
7.1.3 Sentential emissive symptosis

The sentential emissive symptosis requires an Emissive for subject of the sentence, both an Emittor and Recipient for oblique syntactic categories, such as Circumstantial (Adverbial), or Attribute, and an Emissificatorial Transmittificator, that is an Emissificator, for predicate. The sentential emissive symptosis constists of either three or four ptoseozygoses.

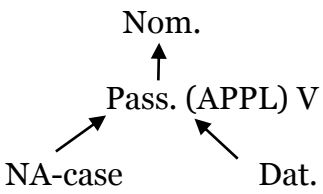
SENTENTIAL EMISSIVE SYMPTOSIS 1	NOMINATIVE DATIVE CONCASION	NOMINATIVE NA-case CONCASION
Emissive	Nom.	Nom.
↑	↑	↑
Transmittificator	Pass. (APPL) V	Pass. (APPL) V
↑	↑	↑
Recipient	Dat.	NA-case

SENTENTIAL EMISSIVE SYMPTOSIS 2	NOMINATIVE NA-case CONCASION
Emissive	Nom.
↑	↑
Transmittificator	Pass. (APPL) V
↑	↑
Emittor	NA-case

SENTENTIAL
EMISSIVE
SYMPTOSIS 3



NOMINATIVE
NA-case, DATIVE
CONCASION



The sentential emissive symptosis of type 3 has been regarded as non-existent in the language (e.g. Vitale 1980:130f). The following sentence taken from Vitale (1980:131) is regarded by him as unacceptable:

1. * *Zawadi i-li-p-ew-a Fatuma na Halima.*
   'gift'(CL9) SBJ.CL9-PAST-PASS-ind Fatuma 'by' Halima
   'A gift was given to Fatuma by Halima.'

The sentence given below represents the sentential emissive symptosis of type 1 and the nominative/dative concasion. This concasion applies to sentives with passivized *verba emittendi*:

2. *Kazi yake i-li-p-ew-a mtu mwingine.*
   'job' (CL9) 'his/her' SBJ.CL9-PAST-'give'-PASS-ind 'man' 'another'
   'His/her job was given someone else.'

The following sentence represents the sentential emissive symptosis of type 1 and the nominative/NA-case concasion, which applies to sentives with passivized *verba recipiendi*.

3. *Tangazo hi-lo li-me-poke-lew-a na watu wengi.*
   'announcement'(CL5) 'this'-REF(CL5) SBJ.CL5-PERF-'receive'APPL-PASS-ind 'by' 'people' 'many'
   'The announcement was received by many people.'

The sentence below represents the sentential emissive symptosis of type 2 and the nominative/NA-case concasion, which applies to sentives with passivized *verba emittendi*.

4. *Chakula ki-ta-to-lew-a na kampuni.*
   'food'(CL7) SBJ.CL7-FUT-'receive'APPL-PASS-ind 'by' 'people' 'many'
   'The food will be distributed by the company.'

7.1.4 Desentential emittorial symptosis

In this kind of symptosis an Emittor is realized as a subject-like category, a Recipient and an Emissive as oblique syntactic categories, and a Transmittificator as an attribute to the Emittor. The Transmittificator becomes an active participle after its attributification. As mentioned earlier, participia in Swahili are realized through relativization (by use of a relative affix attached to the verb), by use of *–enye* construction or as *nomina agenti*.

1. *a-li-ye-wa-p-a watu zawadi*
   3sg-PAST-REL-OBJ.3pl-'give'-ind 'people' 'presents'
   'the one who gave people presents'

2. *M-toa zawadi (amenishangaa).*
   3sg-'give' 'present' ('surprised me')
   'The giver of a present (surprised me).'

3. *Mw-enye kutoa zawadi (amenishangaa).*
   3sg-ENYE 'give' 'present' ('surprised me')
   'The giver of the present (surprised me).'

7.1.5 Desentential recipientive symptosis

This kind of symptosis presupposes a Recipient as a subject-like category, an Emittor and an Emissive as oblique syntactic categories, and a Transmittificator as an attribute to the Recipient. In the case of *nomina recipiendi* (e.g. *pata* 'get'), the Transmittificator becomes an active participle, whereas in the case of *nomina emittendi* (e.g. *pa* 'give', *toa* 'emit'), the Transmittificator becomes a passive participle after its attributification. The

Recipient and Transmittificator may jointly function as a *nomen recipiendi*. Also, *-enye* construction is used.

1. *m-p-ew-a zawadi*
   3sg-'give'-PASS-FV 'present'
   'the reciever of the present'

2. *Msichana a-li-ye-p-ew-a zawadi na babake (alimshukuru)*
   'girl' 3sg-PAST-REL-'give'-PASS-ind 'present' 'by' 'her father' ('thanked him')
   'The girl who was given the present by her father (thanked him).'

3. *Mw-enye kupata zawadi (alifuraha).*
   3sg-ENYE 'get' 'present' ('was happy')
   'The receiver of the present (was happy).'

7.1.6 Desentential emissive symptosis

In this kind of symptosis an Emissive is realized as a subject-like category, an Emittor and a Recipient as oblique syntactic categories, and a Transmittificator as an attribute to the Emissive. The Transmittificator becomes a passive participle after its attributification. The participialization of the Transmittificator is achieved through relativization.

1. *Pesa zi-li-zo-pe-w-a Wizara hii (ni kidogo sana).*
   'money' CL10-PAST-REL(Cl10)-'give'-PASS-ind 'ministry' 'this' ('is very little')
   'The money given to this ministry (is very little).'

7.1.7 Desentential emittificatorial symptosis

The desentential emittificatorial symptosis is a subtype of the transmittificatorial symptosis which requires a Transmittificator for subject-equivalent category, an Emittor, a Recipient and an Emissive for oblique syntactic categories. This kind of symptosis presupposes the nominalization of

the Transmittificator. In the emittificatorial type, it is the nominalization of an active verb.

1. *Ku-m-let-e-a chakula (kulimfurahisha).*
   Cl15-OBJ.3sg-'bring'-APPL-*a* 'food' ('made him happy')
   'Bringing him food made him happy.'

7.1.8 Desentential recipientificatorial symptosis

The desentential recipientificatorial symptosis requires a Recipientive Transmittificator, that is a Recipientificator for subject-like category, an Emittor, a Recipient and an Emissive for oblique syntactic categories. It presupposes the nominalization of a Recipientificator.

1. *Ku-p-ew-a pesa na mume wake ni haki yake.*
   Cl15-'give'-PASS-*a* 'money' 'by' 'husband' 'her' 'is' 'right' 'her'
   'Being given money by her husband is her right.'

7.1.9 Desentential emissificatorial symptosis

The desentential emissificatorial symptosis is another subtype of a transmittificatorial symptosis. It presupposes an Emissive Transmittificator, that is an Emissificator as a subject-equivalent category. An Emissive, a Recipient and an Emittor are realized by oblique syntactic categories. In this kind of symptosis the Emissificator is nominalized. Although theoretically possible, this type of symptosis is rarely realized in Swahili, and if so – the Emissive is animate/human.

1. *Ku-pelek-e-w-a kwake na jeshi la polisi mahakama-ni …*
   Cl15-'deliver'-APPL-PASS-*a* 'his/her' 'by' 'police' 'court-LOC'
   'His being delivered by the police to the court.'

7.2 Diathetic paradigm for Transmittivity in Swahili

The diathetic meaning of Transmittivity consists of either three or four ptoseozygoses. Emittority, Recipientivity and Transmitifficatority form the so called Atomic Transmittivity, which can be further extended by an additional ptoseozygic meaning, namely Emissivity. The following diathetic paradigm for Transmittivity has been established with regard to the event of 'reading the book by someone for someone's else's benefit'. The following participants are involved in the event:

(i) *mwalimu* 'teacher',
(ii) *mtoto* 'child',
(iii) *kitabu* 'book'.

The corresponding ptoses are the following:

(i) Emittor,
(iv) Recipient,
(v) Emissive.

The verb *som-e-a*, that is the Transmittificator of the event, consists of the root *som* 'read' and an applicative morpheme.

1. *Mwalimu a-na-m-som-e-a mtoto kitabu.*
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'read'-APPL-ind 'child' 'book'
   'The teacher is reading a book for the child.'

2. *Mtoto a-na-som-ew-a kitabu na mwalimu.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'read'-PASS-APPL-ind 'book' 'by' 'teacher'
   'The child is being read a book for by the teacher.'

3. *mwalimu a-na-ye-m-som-e-a mtoto kitabu*
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg-PRES-REL-OBJ.3sg-'read'-APPL-ind 'child' 'book'
   'the teacher (who is) reading a book for the child'

4. *mtoto a-na-ye-som-ew-a kitabu na mwalimu*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PRES-REL-'read'-PASS-APPL-ind 'book' 'by' 'teacher'
   'the child (who is) being read a book for by the teacher'

5. *ku-som-e-w-a kitabu na mwalimu*
   INF/CL15-'read'-APPL-PASS-ind 'book' 'by' 'teacher'
   '(his) being read a book for by the teacher'

6. *ku-som-e-a mtoto kitabu*
   INF/CL15-'read'-APPL- ind 'child' 'book'
   'reading a book for the child'

The paradigm presented above is defective. If all the three ptoses involved in a transmittive event - the Emittor, the Recipient and the Emissive – were of equal ontological status (e.g. animate/human), the paradigm would be complete as the Emissive would have the potential to function as subject.

Chapter 8: Causativity

8.1 Introductory remarks

Causativity is a complex diathetic meaning that has been studied extensively from many different perspectives, in a great number of languages and across a variety of linguistic frameworks. Some of the more important contributions to the study of causative constructions include, *inter alia*, Xolodovič (1969), Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij (1969, 1973), Shibatani (1975), Comrie (1975, 1985), Givón (1980), Foley and Van Valin (1984), Baker (1988), Croft (1991), Alsina (1992), Song (1996), Dixon (2000), Alexiadou *et al.* (2006), Alexiadou (2010), Schäfer (2008).

Causatives are defined by some as verbs referring to a causative situation, that is a causal relation between two events: the causing event and the caused event (cf. Kulikov 2001:886, Song 2009:59). The conditions for two events to be qualified as a causative situation are the following, according to Song (1976:1-2):

a) the relation between the two events is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of one event, the 'caused event', has been realized at t_2 which is after t_1, the time of the 'causing event'; and

b) the relation between the causing and the caused event is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is wholly dependent on the occurrence of the causing event; the dependency of the two events here must be to the extent that it allows the speaker to entertain a counterfactual inference that the caused event would not have taken place at that particular time if the causing event had not taken place, provided that all else had remained the same. (Song 1976:1-2)

In typological studies causatives have been classified into three main types: the lexical, the morphological, and the syntactic (analytic or periphrastic) type (Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij 1973, Givón 1980, Comrie 1981). In lexical type the two sub-events of a causative situation are expressed in a "single predicate", e.g. the Swahili *–ua* 'kill'. In morphological causative constructions the predicate expressing the idea of causation undergoes some derivational process, in the case of Swahili this is the *–sh- /–z-* suffix attached to the verbal root, or their allomorphs, e.g. *–fisha* 'kill' (*-fa* 'die' + APPL 'sh'). An analytic construction uses regular syntactic devices to express the idea of causation, and involves two predicates:

1. *A-li-m-fany-a a-f-e.*
   SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'make'-ind SBJ.3sg-'die'-subj
   '(S)he made him/her die.'

2. *A-li-ni-sabab-ish-a mimi ku-chek-a.*
   SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.1sg-'cause/reason'-CAUS-ind 'I' inf-'laugh'-ind
   '(S)he caused me to laugh.'

3. *A-li-ni-fany-a ni-chek-e.*
   SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.1sg-'make' -ind SBJ.1sg-'laugh'-subj
   '(S)he made me laugh.'

4. *Juma a-na-m-sabab-ish-a mtoto kula/a-kul-e.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'reason'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'eat'(INF)/ 3sg-'eat'-subj
   'Juma is causing the child to eat.'

The most common semantic distinction within causative events is that between **direct** and **indirect** causation (e.g. Comrie 1985:333), sometimes referred to as **contactive** and **distant** causation (e.g. Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij 1969:28), or **manipulative** and **directive** causation (Shibatani 1973, 1976). Causation is direct if the causer is physically involved in the execution of the caused event. This physical contact entails the existence of a spatiotemporal

contiguity between the causing and the caused event to the extent that they are not clearly distinguishable.

> "This spatio-temporal overlap of the causing and the caused event motivates conceptualization of the entire direct causative situation as a single event. Therefore it is a good first approximation to define direct causation as a situation involving an agentive causer and a patientive causee and indirect causation as one involving two agentive participants, one an agentive causer and the other an agentive causee." (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002:89).

The following two sentences in Swahili exemplify direct and indirect causation, respectively:

5. *A-li-(u)-fungu-a mlango.*
   SBJ.3sg-PAST-(OBJ.Cl3)-'open'-ind 'door' (Cl3)
   '(S)he opened the door.' [directly]

6. *A-li-u-fungu-sh-a mlango.*
   SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.Cl3-'open'-CAUS-ind 'door' (Cl3)
   '(S)he opened the door.' [indirectly, e.g. by pressing a button]

However, the above distinction, that is the absence *vs.* presence of the causative morpheme to indicate direct *vs.* indirect causation in Swahili seems to work only in case of lexical causatives (e.g. *fungua* 'open').

A similar phenomenon was observed in Nivkh, where lexical causatives are used to encode direct causation, while morphological ones are used to encode indirect causation (Comrie 1981). However, morphological causatives in Swahili when derived from intransitive verbs like *–l-* 'eat' or *–amk-* 'wake up' also encode direct causation, so the distinction made be Comrie (1981) does not necessarily apply to Swahili.

Another phenomenon distinguished within linguistic representations of causal relations is that of a **causative alternation**. A causatively alternating verb has both a transitive and an intransitive meaning, or putting it differently can be used transitively or intransitively. The transitive variant is called

a causative, while its intransitive counterpart – an anticausative (cf. Alexiadou *et al*. 2006, Alexiadou 2010). Typical English examples of verbs expressing, in other words, the **inchoative-causative** alternation are 'open (intr.)/(tr.)', 'wake up (intr.)/(tr.)', 'dry (intr.)/(tr.)' (Haspelmath 1993).

The inchoative-causative alternation in the understanding of Haspelmath (1993) is expressed in Swahili by the following three pairs of verb-types:

a. lexical (plain) causative and morphological anticausative (*–k-*);
b. lexical (plain) anticausative and morphological causative (-sh-/-z-);
c. morphological anticausative (*–k-*) and morphological causative (-sh-/-z-).

The following examples represent the verb-types mentioned above:

7. *Ni-me-vunj-a kikombe.*
   SBJ.1sg-PERF-'break'-ind 'cup'
   'I broke the cup.'

8. *Kikombe ki-me-vunj-ik-a.*
   'cup'(CL7) SBJ.CL7-PAST-'break'-STAT-ind
   'The cup is broken.'

9. *Bei zi-me-pand-a.*
   'price' (CL9/10) SBJ.CL10-PERF-'rise'-ind
   'The prices have risen.'

10. *Serikali i-me-pand-ish-a bei ya umeme.*
    'government' (CL9) SBJ.CL9-PERF-'rise'-CAUS-ind 'price' 'of' 'electricity'
    'The government has raised the price of electricity.'

11. *Barafu i-me-yeyu-k-a.*
    'ice' (CL9) SBJ.CL9-PERF-'melt'-STAT-ind.
    'The ice melted.'

12. *Joto li-na-yeyu-sh-a theluji ya Kilimanjaro.*
    'heat' (Cl5) SBJ.Cl5-PRES-'melt'-CAUS-ind 'snow' 'of' Kilimanjaro.
    'The heat is melting the snow of Kilimanjaro.'

8.2 Symptoses for Causativity

The diathetic meaning of causativity is clearly intertwined with that of transitivity. As Lyons (1977:490) put it: "Causativity involves both causality and agency (in so far as they are, in fact, distinguishable)." The most popular distinction between causative and transitive events seems to be that an Agent is conceived of as an entity which itself directly executes an action, while a Causer only indirectly in some way contributes to its execution. In many cases however it is a matter of interpretation whether a given event is transitive or causative, or both. From one angle causativity could be interpreted as double transitivity, or meta-transitivity, that is a complex diathetic meaning involving two transitive events, in which two Agents can be distinguished:

1. *Mama a-na-m-l-ish-a mtoto mkate.*
   'mother' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'bread'
   'The mother is feeding the child with bread.'

Both *mama* 'mother' and *mtoto* 'child' are Agents, however of different statuses in the event. The situation encoded by the sentence 1 includes the following subevents:

2. *Mama a-na-m-l-ish-a mtoto.*
   'mother' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child'
   'The mother is feeding the child.'

3. *Mtoto a-na-ku-l-a mkate.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PRES-inf-'eat'-ind 'bread'
   'The child is eating bread.'

The events encoded in 2 and 3 could be viewed as transitive events comprising the causative situation encoded by 1. The diathetic meaning of causativity consists, in our view, of the following four ptoseozygoses: Causator,

Effector/Agent, Effective, Causofectificator. It must be borne in mind, however, that each ptoseozygosis comprising causativity is complex in this respect that, for instance, the Effector is also an Agent of the transitive subevent, or a Stative of the intransitive subevent; the Effective of a causative situation is also a Patient of the transitive subevent, etc.

Some of the interdependencies between causativity and transitivity can be viewed in the table below, where Ex.1, 2, 3 refer to the sentences already adduced above:

Ex.1	*Mama*	*anamlisha*	*mtoto*		mkate.
	Causator	Causofectificator	Effector		Effective
Ex.2	*Mama*	*anamlisha*	*mtoto.*		
	Agent	Transitificator	Patient		
Ex.3			*Mtoto*	*anakula*	*mkate.*
			Agent	Transitificator	Patient

Fig. 26. Causativity as "double transitivity"

The following considerations on Causativity limit themselves to simplex sentences and morphological causatives. In order to embrace the so called peripherastic causative constructions the theory will need to be extended properly.

The diathetic meaning of Causativity consists of at least three ptoseozygoses, that is a Causator, an Effector and a Causofectificator. The Causator is the entity directly or indirectly acting on the Effector by bringing about the change of the Effector's state or carrying about the caused event. The Effector, often referred to as causee, is the entity undergoing the change of state. The types of symptoses for causativity limited to the three ptoseozygoses are shown in the table below:

symptoses for Causativity	**syntactic categories**		
	Subject or **Subject-like category**	**Predicate**	**Oblique syntactic categories** (Direct Object, Indirect Object, Circumstantial (Adverbial), Attribute)
sentential causative symptosis	Causator	Causative Causofectificator	Effector
sentential effectorial symptosis	Effector	Effectorial Causofectificator	Causator
desentential causative symptosis	Causator	-	Effector (Oblique), Causofectificator (Attribute to the Causator)
desentential effective symptosis	Effector	-	Causator (Oblique), Causofectificator (Attribute to the Effector)
desentential causatificatorial symptosis	Causative Causofectificator	-	Causator, Effector
desentential effectorificatorial symptosis	Effectorial Causofectificator	-	Causator, Effector

Fig. 27. Symptoses for Causativity 1

An additional component, that is an Effective will be now added to the event. The Effective is a participant of the caused event and is usually bound with the Effector by the relation of transitivity. Therefore the symptosis for causativity consists of four ptoseozygoses. Theoretically, since a causative chain of events can be viewed as a sequence of multiple events, the number of ptoseozygoses could be iterated with no constraints. And although it is rare, some languages (e.g. Turkic languages, Kinyarwanda[16]) do allow double or

[16] At *http://www.kimenyi.com/causatives-in-kinyarwanda.php* Kimenyi gives the following example of a triple causative in Kinyarwanda translated into English:
Umwáalimú y-a-sóm-eesh-eesh-eesh-ej-e ababyéeyi abáana ibitabo indórerwamó.
The teacher made the parents have the children read books with glasses.

even triple morphological encoding of causativity within the single verb. In such cases the figure showing the possible symptoses for multiple causative constructions would need a proper extension. The table below presents the possible types of symptoses for causativity based on the following four ptoseozygozes: Causator, Causofectificator, Effector and Effective.

symptoses for Causativity	**Subject** or **Subject-like category**	**Predicate**	**Oblique syntactic categories** (Direct Object, Indirect Object, Circumstantial (Adverbial), Attribute)	
sentential causative symptosis	Causator	Causative Causofectificator	Effector	Effective
sentential effectorial symptosis	Effector	Effectorial Causofectificator	Causator	Effective
sentential effective symptosis	Effective	Effective Causofectificator	Effector	Causator
desentential causative symptosis	Causator	-	Effector, Effective, Causofectificator	
desentential effectorial symptosis	Effector	-	Causator, Effective, Causofectificator	
desentential effective symptosis	Effective	-	Causator, Effector, Causofectificator	
desentential causatificatorial symptosis	Causative Causofectificator	-	Causator, Effector, Effective	
desentential effectorificatorial symptosis	Effectorial Causofectificator	-	Causator, Effector, Effective	
desentential effectificatorial symptosis	Effective Causofectificator	-	Causator, Effector, Effective	

Fig. 28. Symptoses for Causativity 2

The possible symptoses for the diathetic meaning of Causativity are therefore the following:

1. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
2. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR)}),
3. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, CSR)}),
4. ({CSR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSRF), (CRSF, EFV)}),
5. ({CSR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSRF), (CRSF, CSR,)}),
6. ({CSR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSRF, EFV), (CRSF, CSR,)}),
7. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
8. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
9. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR,), (CSFR, EFV)}),
10. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
11. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
12. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
13. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV), (CSFR, EFR)}).

8.3 Symptoses for Causativity in Swahili

The diathetic meaning of Causativity specifies in Swahili the set of the following 10 symptoses:

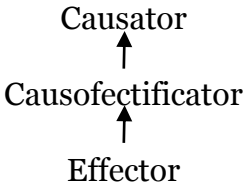
1. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
2. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR)}),
3. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, CSR)}),
4. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
5. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
6. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR,), (CSFR, EFV)}),
7. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
8. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
9. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
10. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV), (CSFR, EFR)}).

The following types of symptoses are distinguished among them:

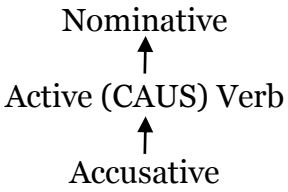
(i) sentential causative symptosis,
(ii) sentential effectorial symptosis,
(iii) sentential effective symptosis,
(iv) desentential causative symptosis,
(v) desentential effectorial symptosis,
(vi) desentential effective symptosis,
(vii) desentential causatificatorial symptosis,
(viii) desentential effectorificatorial symptosis,
(ix) desentential effectificatorial symptosis.

8.3.1 Sentential causative symptosis

The sentential causative symptosis is very common in Swahili. It presupposes a Causator as subject, both an Effector and an Effective as oblique syntactic categories, and a Causofectificator, as predicate. The Effective is an additional ptosis, without which the symptosis for causativity has the following shape:



The concasion for this symptosis is identical to that for the sentential transitive symptosis. The Causator, which is the Agent's counterpart appears as Nominative, the Effector, standing for the Patient, as Accusative and the Causofectificator as an active verb.



The only morphological difference between a causative and a transitive sentence is the presence of the causative morpheme in the predicate of the former and its absence in the predicate of the latter. Consider the following two examples:

1. *Juma a-li-fung-ish-a mlango.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PAST- 'close'-CAUS-ind 'door'
   'Juma had the door closed.' [by someone/something]

2. *Juma a-li-fung-a mlango.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PAST-'close'-ind 'door'
   'Juma closed the door.' [himself]

All the sentences adduced below represent the sentential causative symptosis that consists of three ptoseozygoses:

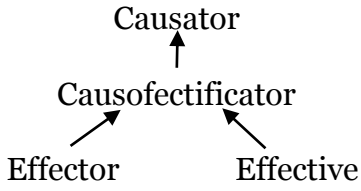
3. *Juma a-na-m-l-ish-a mtoto.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child'
   'Juma is feeding the baby.'

4. *(...) Mungu a-li-m-f-ish-a yeye muda wa miaka mia.* [Quran, Surat Al-Baqarah:259]
   'god' SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'die'-CAUS-ind 'he' 'time' 'of' 'years' 'a hundread'
   '(...) God caused him to die for one hundred years.'

5. *Fatima a-li-chem-sh-a maji.*
   Fatima SBJ.3sg-PAST-'boil'-CAUS-ind 'water'
   'Fatima boiled the water.'

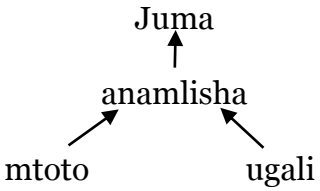
A causative symptosis extended by the Effective has the following shape:

SYMPTOSIS

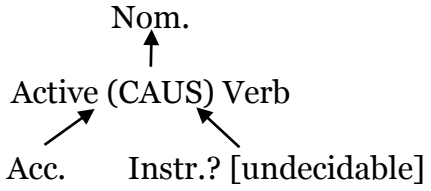


The sentence given below represents it:

6. *Juma a-na-m-l-ish-a mtoto ugali.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'ugali'
   'Juma is feeding the baby with porridge.' (lit. 'porridge to the baby')



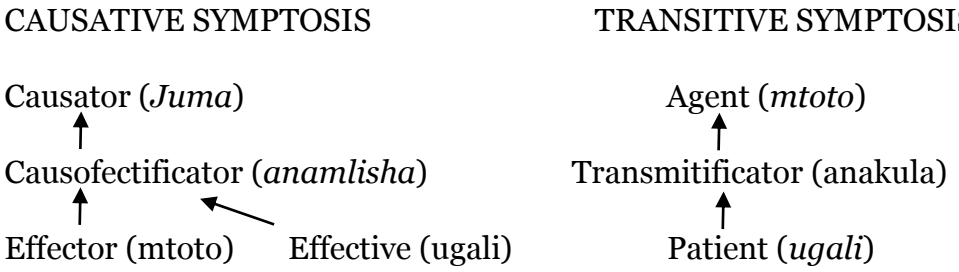
One of the concasions for this symptosis requires the Causator to appear as Nominative, the Effector as Accusative, the Effective as Instrumental, and the Causofectificator as an active verb with causative morphology.



Although there is no morphological significator for the Instrumental case in sentence 6, *ugali* might be perceived as a kind of an Instrument. If we translate the sentence 6 into English (*Juma is feeding the baby with porridge*) or Polish (*Juma karmi dziecko kaszą*), the concasion presented above is still working. However such substitution cannot be treated as evidence for *ugali* to be in Instrumental case. Sentence 6 may as well be translated into English as *Juma is feeding porridge to the baby*, in which case *porridge* is Accusative. Polish does not allow such a transformation.

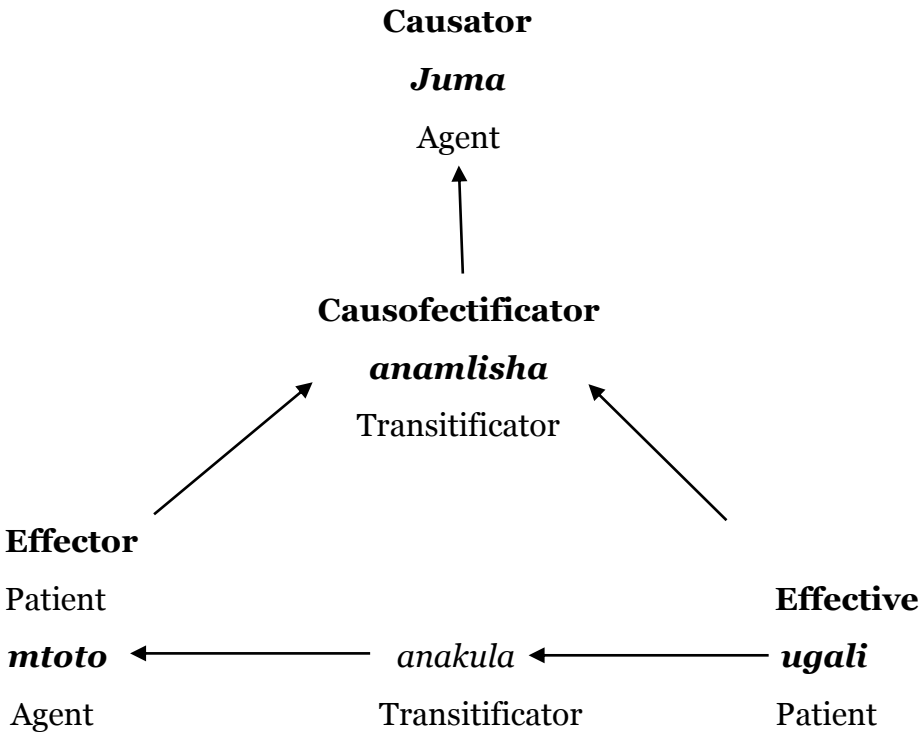
The main difficulty with establishing the concasion for the sentential causative symptosis, apart from the lack of the morphological significator of the Effective's case, is the very nature of the causative situation, that is – its complexity.

Within the causative event one can distinguish its subevent. The sentence *Juma anamlisha mtoto ugali* refers to an event within which a transitive subevent represented by the sentence *Mtoto anakula ugali* can be distinguished.

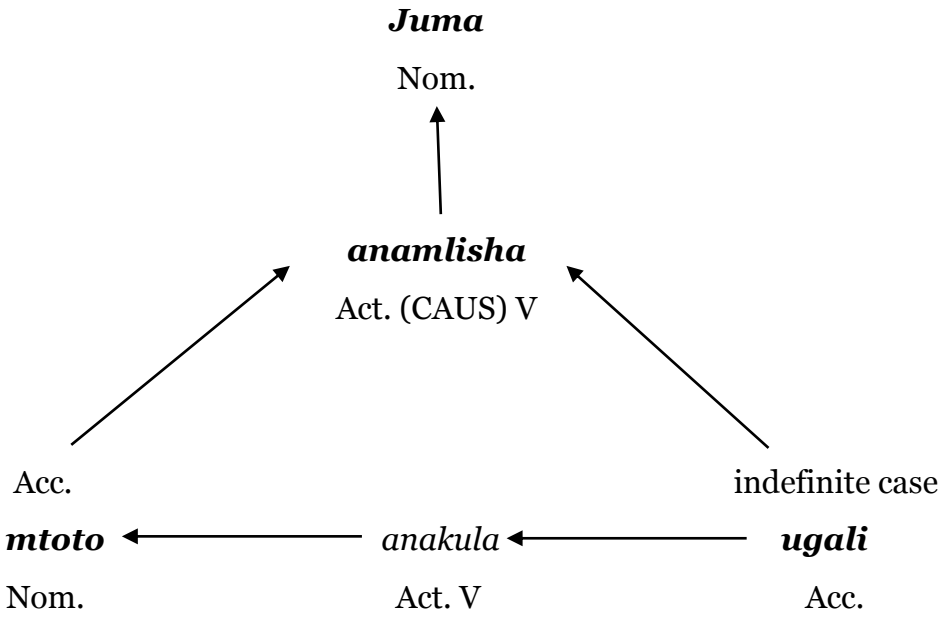


The figure above shows the sentential causative symptosis on the left, and the sentential transitive symptosis that represents the event caused by the Causator, on the right side. The figure below shows the sentential causative symptosis for the sentence *Juma anamlisha mtoto ugali* and the transitive relations between the eventors. *Juma* is the Causator of the event *mtoto*

anakula ugali but also an Agent in relation to *mtoto*. *Mtoto* is the Effective but also a Patient in relation to *Juma* and an Agent in relation to *ugali*. Ugali is the Effective but also a Patient of a transitive event.



The Transitificator *anakula* is not overtly present in the discussed sentence, however it can be considered as a part of the Causatificator *anamlisha*. Therefore, it could be concluded that Swahili is capable of condensing two (or sometimes three) predicate meanings within a word by use of verbal suffixes. The figure below represents the concasion for the sentential causative symptosis taking into account all diathetic relations between the eventors.



All the sentences adduced below represent the sentential causative symptosis:

7. *Faris a-li-m-pik-ish-a Amina ugali.*
   Faris SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'cook'-CAUS-ind Amina 'ugali'
   'Faris made Amina cook porridge.'

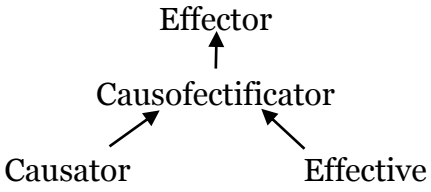
8. *Upepo u-li-ang-ush-a mti.*
   'wind' SBJ.Cl3-Past-'fall'-CAUS-ind 'tree'.
   'The wind toppled down the tree.'

9. Mwalimu a-na-wa-som-esh-a wanafunzi vitabu.
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3pl-'read'-CAUS-ind 'students' 'books'
   'The teacher is making students read books.'

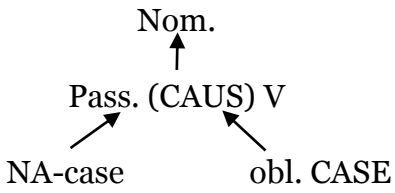
8.3.2 Sentential effectorial symptosis

The sentential effectorial symptosis presupposes an Effector as subject, a Causator and an Effective as oblique syntactic categories and a Causofectificator as predicate. The concasion for this symptosis requires the Effector to appear as Nominative and the Causofectificator as a passivized causative verb.

SYMPTOSIS



CONCASION



The Causator is often absent from the sentence because in the sentential effectorial symptosis the emphasis is put on the caused event. However, if the Causator is present as a complement to the verb it is usually preceded by the preposition *na* 'by'. The Effective appears as a complement to the verb. All the sentences listed below represent the sentential effectorial symptosis:

2. *Mwanafunzi a-li-som-esh-w-a kitabu na mwalimu.*
   'student' SBJ.3sg-PAST-'read'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'book' 'by' 'teacher'
   'The student was made to read the book by the teacher.'

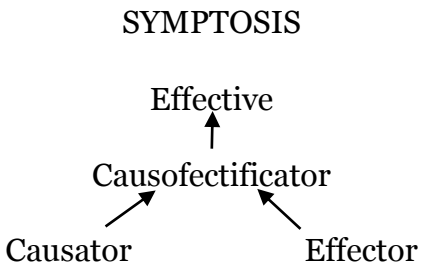
3. *Jirani a-na-kond-esh-w-a na uchu wa mali.*
   'neighbour' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'slim'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'crave' 'of' 'wealth'
   'The neighbor is being eaten up by his crave for wealth'

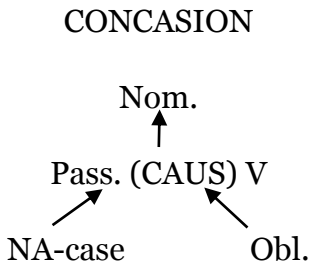
4. *Mtoto huyu a-na-l-ish-w-a ugali kila siku.*
   'child' 'this' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'porridge' 'every' 'day'
   'This child is fed porridge every day.'

5. *A-me-lip-ish-w-a pesa nyingi.*
   SBJ.3sg-PERF-'pay'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'money' 'much'
   '(S)he was made to pay a lot of money.'

8.3.3 Sentential effective symptosis

The sentential effective symptosis presupposes an Effective as a subject category, a Causator and an Effector as oblique syntactic categories, and a Causofectificator as predicate. In the concasion for this symptosis the Effective appears as Nominative and the Causofectificator as a passivized causative verb. The Effector is a complement that immediately follows the predicate, and the Causator is a complement preceded by the preposition *na* 'by'.





This kind of symptosis is relatively rare in Swahili and one reason for using it is to express a degree of adversativity.

4. *Chakula ki-li-l-ish-w-a wafungwa na askari. (ulishaji na nguvu)* (Abdulaziz 1996:156)
   'food' (Cl7) SUBJ.Cl7-PAST-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'prisoners' 'by' 'officer' ('feeding by force') (glosses by A.S.W.)
   'The food was made to be eaten by the prisoners by the officer.' (a forced feeding) (transl. Abdulaziz *ibid.*)

8.3.4 Desentential causative symptosis

In this kind of symptosis a Causator is realized as a subject-equivalent category, an Effector and an Effective as oblique syntactic categories, and a Causofectificator as an attribute to the Causator. The Causofectificator becomes an active participle after the attributification of the corresponding verb. Participia in Swahili are realized through relativization (by use of a relative affix attached to the verb), by use of *–enye* construction or as *nomina agentis,* as shown in the examples below:

1. *a-li-ye-ni-nyw-esh-a pombe*
   3sg-PAST-REL-OBJ.1sg-'drink'-CAUS-ind 'alcohol'
   'the one who made me drink alcohol'

2. *m-chek-esha-ji*
   3sg-'laugh'-CAUS-*ji*
   'a comedian' (=the one who makes laugh)

3. *mw-enye ku-chek-esh-a*
   3sg-ENYE INF-'laugh'-CAUS-ind
   'the one who makes laugh'

8.3.5 Desentential effectorial symptosis

This kind of symptosis presupposes an Effector as a subject-equivalent category, a Causator and an Effective as oblique syntactic categories, and

a Causofectificator as an attribute to the Effector. The Causofectificator becomes a passive participle.

1. *wachekeshwaji*
   'people laughed at' ('lit. laughed at people'
2. *mfundishwaji*
   'a thaught person' / 'a person who is being thaught'
3. *a-li-ye-nyw-esh-w-a dawa*
   'the one who was made drink the medicine'
4. *ng'ombe a-na-ye-l-ish-w-a nyasi pekee*
   'cow' 3sg-PRES-REL-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'grass' 'solely'
   'a cow fed with grass solely'

8.3.6 Desentential effective symptosis

In this kind of symptosis an Effective is realized as a subject-equivalent category, an Effector and a Causator as oblique syntactic categories, and a Causofectificator as an attribute to the Effective. The Causofectificator undergoes attributification. The attributification of the Causofectificator is achieved with the addition of the relative affix. This kind of sympotosis is extremely rare in Swahili.

1. *chakula ki-li-cho-l-ish-w-a wageni na Fatuma*
   'food' (CL7) CL7-PAST-REL(CL7)-''eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'guests' 'by' 'Fatuma'
   'the food that was made to be eaten by the guests by Fatuma'

8.3.7 Desentential causatificatorial symptosis

The desentential causatificatorial symptosis is a subtype of the causofectificatorial symptosis which requires a Causofectificator for subject-like category, a Causator, an Effector and an Effective for oblique syntactic categories. This kind of symptosis presupposes the nominalization of the

Causofectificator. In the causatificatorial type of symptosis it is the nominalization of an active causative verb.

1. *Ku-wa-pand-ish-a watalii mlima-ni (ku-li-kuw-a kazi yake).*
   CL15-OBJ.3pl-'climb'-CAUS-ind 'tourists' 'mount'-LOC (SBJ.CL15-PAST-'be'-ind 'job' 'his')
   'Making the tourists climb the mountain (was his job).'

8.3.8 Desentential effectorificatorial symptosis

The desentential effectorificatorial symptosis requires an Effectorial Causofectificator, that is Effectorificator for subject-like category, a Causator, an Effector and an Effective for oblique syntactic categories. It presupposes the nominalization of an Effectorifficator, which is the nominalization of a passivized causative verb.

1. *Ku-som-esh-w-a bure na mwalimu (ku-li-m-saidi-a sana).*
   Cl15-'read'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'free' 'by' 'teacher' SBJ.Cl15-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'help'-ind 'much'
   ' (his/her) being thaught for free by the teacher (helped him/her a lot).'
2. *Ku-am-sh-w-a na simu* (*ku-li-m-kasiri-sh-a*).
   Cl15-'awake'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'by' 'phone' (SBJ.Cl15-PAST-'annoy'-CAUS-ind)
   'Being woken up by the phone (annoyed him).'

8.3.9 Desentential effectificatorial symptosis

Theoretically, the desentential effectificatorial symptosis could be differentiated as a subtype of a causofectificatorial symptosis. Practically it is very rare, if it exists at all in Swahili. It would presuppose an Effective Causofectificator, that is an Effectificator as a subject-like category. A Causator, an Effector and an Effective would be realized by oblique syntactic categories. The condition must be met that Effective is animate/human. In this

kind of symptosis the Effectificator is nominalized, however there is no causative marking in the nominalized verb. The two sentences below refer to a causative situation:

1. *Hamisi a-li-m-pig-ish-a Juma Ahmed.*
   Hamisi SBJ.3sg-PAST-OBJ.3sg-'beat'-ind Juma Ahmed
   'Hamisi made Juma beat Ahmed.'

2. *?kupigwa kwa Ahmed na Juma kwa sababu ya Hamisi*
   Cl15-'beat'-PASS-FV 'of'(Cl15) Ahmed 'by' Juma 'because of' Hamisi
   'Ahmed's being bitten by Juma because of Hamisi.'

Sentive 1 is the realization of the sentential causative symptosis, while sentive 2 has been designed to express the desentential emissificatorial symptosis. The Causator is indicated by the expression *kwa sababu ya* 'because of'. The noun *sababu* means 'reason, cause'.

8.4 Diathetic paradigm for Causativity in Swahili

The paradigm presented below is based on the event of 'mother's making the child eat porridge'. The following participants are involved in the event:

(i) *mama* 'mother',
(ii) *mtoto* 'child',
(iii) *ugali* 'porridge'.

The corresponding ptoses are the following:

(i) Causator,
(ii) Effector,
(iii) Effective.

The Transmittificator is comprised of the verb *kula* 'eat' and the causative morpheme.

1. *Mama a-na-m-l-ish-a mtoto ugali.*
   'mother' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'porridge'
   'The mother is feeding the child with ugali. / The mother is making the child eat ugali.'

2. *Mtoto a-na-l-ish-w-a ugali na mama.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'child' 'porridge'
   'The child is being fed with porridge by the mother. / The child is being made eat porridge by the mother.'

3. *Ugali i-na-l-ish-w-a mtoto na mama.*
   'porridge' CL9-PRES-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'child' 'by' 'mother'
   'The porridge is being made to be eaten by the child by the mother'

4. *mama a-na-ye-l-ish-a mtoto ugali*
   'mother' 3sg-PRES-REL-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'ugali'
   'the mother (who is) feeding the baby with porridge / 'the mother (who is) making the child eat porridge'

5. *mtoto a-na-ye-l-ish-w-a ugali na mama*
   'child' 3sg-PRES-REL-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'porridge' 'by' 'mother'
   'the child (who is) being fed with porridge by the mother / the child who is being made eat porridge by the mother'

6. *ugali i-na-yo-l-ish-w-a mtoto na mama*
   'porridge'(CL9) CL9-PRES-REL(CL9)-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'child' 'by' 'mother'
   'the porridge that is being made to be eaten for the child by the mother'

7. *ku-l-ish-w-a ugali na mama*
   INF/CL15-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'porridge' 'by' 'mother'
   'being fed with porridge by the mother / being made eat porridge by the mother'

8. *ku-l-ish-a mtoto ugali*
   INF/CL15-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'porridge'
   'feeding the child with porridge / making the child eat porridge'

9. *ku-m-l-ish-a mtoto ugali*
   INF/CL15-'eat'-OBJ.3sg-CAUS-ind 'child' 'porridge'
   'feeding the child with porridge / making the child eat porridge'

10. *mw-enye ku-m-l-ish-a mtoto ugali*
    3sg-ENYE INF-OBJ.3sg-'eat'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'porridge'
    'the feeder of the child with ugali / the one feeding the child with ugali'

11. *mw-enye ku-l-ish-w-a ugali na mama*
    3sg-ENYE INF-'eat'-CAUS-PASS-ind 'porridge' 'by' 'mother'
    'the one being fed ugali by the mother'

The paradigm presented above exhaust all symptoses for Causativity in Swahili proposed in the present monograph, except the desentential effectorificatorial symptosis, which is impossible by virtue of the Effective (*ugali* being inanimate. Therefore the paradigm presented above is defective. If the criterion of animacy/humanness of all the participants was met the paradigm would be complete.

Chapter 9: Other diathetic meanings

The aim of the present chapter is to briefly outline some other diathetic meanings which are relevant to be distinguished in Swahili because of the commonly occurring verbal affixes such as *–k-, -an-, -ji-*.

9.1 Intransitivity

The diathetic meaning of Intransitivity is formed by the following two ptoseozygic meanings – Stativity and Intransitificatority. The Stative is the entity being at a certain state. The sentential stative symptosis presupposes the Stative as subject and the Intransitificator as predicate. The concasion for this symptosis requires the Stative to appear in nominative, whereas the predicate is an active intransitive verb. Intransitive verb is either inherently (lexically) intransitive or can be made intransitive by use of the suffix *–k-*. Such verbs are most commonly referred to as stative verbs, however other labels have been used in Bantu studies that include intransitive, neuter, neuter-stative, neuterpassive, agentless passive, potential, metastatic-potential, or anticausative (Seidl&Dimitriadis 2002:3). And indeed, we should not bind the affix –k- merely with the Intransitivity.

1. *Mtoto a-na-lal-a.*
   'child' SBJ.3sg-PRES-'sleep'-ind.
   'The child is sleeping.'

2. *Mti u-me-angu-k-a.*
   'tree' (Cl3) SBJ.Cl3-PERF-'fall'-STAT-ind
   'The tree has fallen down. / The three is in the state of having fallen down.'

3. *Gari li-me-simam-a.*
   'car' Cl5 SBJ.Cl5-PERF-'stop'-ind
   'The car has stopped.'

9.2 Reciprocity

The diathetic meaning of reciprocity is definitely complex. Each of the participants involved in a reciprocal situation is both the source and the goal of the action. In Swahili the suffix *–an-* attached to the verbal root is used to express the reciprocal character of the action.

1. *Ali a-na-pig-an-a na Juma.*
   Ali SBJ.3sg-PRES-'hit'-REC-ind 'with' Juma.
   'Ali is fighting with Juma.'

2. *Juma anapigana na Ali.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PRES-'hit'-REC-ind 'with' Ali
   'Juma is fighting with Ali.'

3. *Juma na Ali wanapigana.*
   Juma 'and' Ali SBJ3pl-PRES-'hit'-REC-ind.
   'Juma and Ali are fighting.'

The sentences adduced above refer to a reciprocal situation in which two transitive events can be distinguished that are denoted by the following two sentences:

4. *Ali a-na-m-pig-a Juma.*
   Ali SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'beat'-ind Juma
   Ali is beating Juma.

5. *Juma a-na-m-pig-a Ali.*
   Ali SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'beat'-ind Juma
   Juma is beating Ali.

Juma and Ali are therefore both Agents and Patients of the reciprocal event signified by 1, 2, and 3.

9.3 Reflexivity

The diathetic meaning of Reflexivity comprises of Reflexority and Reflexivizatority (cf. Stroński 2011:159). In the sentential reflexive symptosis the Reflexor, that is en entity acting upon itself, is realized as subject, while the

Reflexivizator as predicate. The concasion for this symptosis presupposes the Reflexor as nominative, and the Reflexivizator as a reflexive verb. Swahili reflexives are signified by *–ji-*, which unlike other verbal affixes, appears before the verbal root.

1. *Juma a-na-ji-pend-a.*
   Juma SBJ.3sg-PRES-REFL-'love'-ind
   'Juma loves himself.'

2. *Mtu yu-le a-li-ji-pig-a picha.*
   'man' 3sg-DEM SBJ.3sg-PAST-REFL-'hit'-ind 'photo/picture'
   'That man took a picture of himself.'

3. *Msichana a-li-ji-fich-a chumba-ni ch-ake.*
   'girl' SBJ.3sg-PAST-REFL-'hide'-ind 'room'(CL7)-LOC CL7-POSS.3sg
   'The girl hid in her room.'

9.4 Combined diathetic meanings

Swahili predicates are sometimes very complex as up to several voice morphemes may be attached to the verb simultaneously. Sentences with such predicates have complex diathetic structures. Consider the following example:

1. *Mwalimu a-na-ni-som-esh-e-a mtoto wangu kitabu.*
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.1sg-'read'-CAUS-APPL-ind 'child' 'my' 'book'
   'The teacher (to my benefit) is making my child read the book'

Four participant are involved in the event: *mwalimu* 'teacher', *mother* expresses as *–ni-* (OBJ.1sg), *mtoto* 'child' and *kitabu* 'book'. The diathetic meaning of the sentence is complex and comprises of the following simplex, or atomic, diathetic meanings: transitivity, transmittivity and causativity. Two sentences can be 'derived' from sentence 1:

2. *Mwalimu a-na-m-som-esh-a mtoto wangu kitabu.*
   'teacher' SBJ.3sg-PRES-OBJ.3sg-'read'-CAUS-ind 'child' 'my' 'book'
   'The teacher is making my child read the book.'

3. *Mtoto a-na-som-a kitabu.*
   'child' 3sg-PRES-'read'-ind 'book'
   'The child is reading the book.'

In sentence 1 *mwalimu* 'teacher' can be interpreted as an Emittor (Benefactor) with respect to *–ni-* '(for) me', a Causator/Agent with respect to the event implied by sentence 3; *-ni-* '(for) me' is the Recipient (Benefactive) of the events implied by sentences 2 and 3; *mtoto* 'child' is the Agent in sentence 3, the Effector/Patient in sentence 2; 'kitabu' is the Patient of sentence 3 and Effective of sentence 2.

It is therefore interesting to view Swahili predicates in the light of compound diathetic meanings. Some diathetic meanings seem to be incompatible in Swahili. For instance the morphemes *–ji-* (signifying Reflexivity) and *–an-* (signifying Reciprocity) do not coexist within a verb. Among the others, the following combinations of morphemes (listed in a linear order they appear in predicates) are possible in Swahili:

(i) APPL-CAUS: end-el-ez-a 'develop' ('make something go');
(ii) CAUS-APPL: som-esh-e-a 'teach (somebody) for someone (else)';
(iii) CAUS-REC: *som-esh-an-a* 'teach one another';
(iv) REC-CAUS: *pig-an-ish-a* 'make (people) fight with one another';
(v) APPL-REC: *som-e-an-a* 'read for one another';
(vi) REFL-CAUS: *ji-som-esh-a* 'make yourself learn'/'teach oneself';
(vii) REC-APPL: *gomb-an-i-a* 'quarrel about'.

The PASS and STAT morphemes have been excluded from the combinations above, nevertheless they may also coexist with some of the morphemes already mentioned. There are however certain restrictions upon the occurrence of certain combinations of morphemes in certain verbs, which will be discussed in our future works.

Chapter 10: Relations between symptoses and concasions

Symptosis and concasion are different entities, yet they are interdependent. Symptoses presuppose the existence of corresponding symptosons. Concasions represent appropriate classes of concasons. Symptoses characterizing sentives are dependent upon the corresponding concasions within the sentives. In other words, certain concasions specify appropriate symptoses. A given concasion specifies a corresponding symptosis for a given sentive, if the concason of the sentive represented by the concasion is at the same time the symptoson of the sentive represented by the symptosis.

In the sentive s *Mtoto anasoma kitabu* 'The child is reading a book' signifying the diathetic meaning of Transitivity, the following concason is distinguished ({*mtoto, kitabu, anasoma*}, {(*mtoto, anasoma*), (*anasoma, kitabu*)}), which appears to be identical with the symptoson of the sentive s. The concason is represented by the following concasion ({Nom., Acc. Act.V}, {(Nom., Act.V), (Act. V, Acc.)}), and the symptoson is represented by the following symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)}). Thus the concasion ({Nom., Acc., Act.V}, {(Nom., Act.V), (Act. V, Acc.)}) specifies the symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)}).

In the diathetological grammar of Swahili, the following postulates, besides those listed in 5.2.8, should be accepted:

P011 The diathetic meaning of Transitivity specifies in Swahili the set of the following three symptoses:

4. ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)}),
5. ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(PAT, TSF), (TSF, AGT)}),
6. ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(TSF, AGT), (TSF, PAT)}).

Po12 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Act.V}, {(Nom., Act.V), (Act.V, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)}).

Po13 Concasion ({Nom., Acc. Act.V}, {(Nom., Act.V), (Act.V, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(PAT, TSF), (TSF, AGT)}) under conditions described in 6.1.2.

Po14 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Pass.V}, {Nom, Pass.V}, {Pass.V, NA-case}) specifies symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(PAT, TSF), (TSF, AGT)}).

Po15 Concasion ({Gen., Gen., VN/inf}, {VN/inf, Gen.}, {VN/inf, Gen.}) specifies symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(TSF, AGT), (TSF, PAT)}).

Po16 Concasion ({Gen., NA-case, Pass.VN/Pass.inf}, {(Pass.VN/Pass.inf, Gen.), (Pass.VN/Pass. Inf, NA-case)}) specifies symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(TSF, PAT), (TSF, AGT)}).

Po 17 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Rel.P}, {(Nom., Rel.P), (Rel.P, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({AGT, PAT, TSF}, {(AGT, TSF), (TSF, PAT)}).

Po 18 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Pass. Rel.P}, {(Nom., Pass. Rel.P), (Pass.Rel.P, NA-case)} specifies symptosis ({PAT, AGT, TSF}, {(PAT, TSF), (TSF, AGT)}).

Po 19 The diathetic meaning of Transmittivity specifies in Swahili the set of the following 13 symptoses:

27. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
28. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}),
29. ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}),
30. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
31. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),
32. ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, RCP,), (TSMF, EMS)}),
33. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}),
34. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),
35. ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}),

36. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR., TSMF), (TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMS)}),
37. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}),
38. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}),
39. ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 20 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Act.APV}, {(Nom., Act.APV), (Act.APV, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 23 Concasion ({Nom., Dat./Abl., Act.APV}, {(Nom., ActAPV), (Act.APV, Dat./Abl.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}).

Po 21 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Act.APV}, {(Nom., Act.APV), (Act.APV, Acc.)}) specifies the following symptoses:

(i) ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),
(ii) ({RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 22 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Pass.APV}, {(Nom., Pass.APV), (Pass.APV, NA-case)}) specifies the following symptoses:

(i) ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),
(ii) ({EMS, EMR, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}).

Po 23 Concasion ({Nom., Obl., Pass.APV}, {(Nom., Pass.APV), (Pass.APV, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 24 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Pass.APV}, {(Nom, Pass.APV), (Pass.APV, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 25 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Acc., Act.APV}, {(Nom, Act.APV), (Act.APV, Dat.), (Act.APV, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 26 Concasion ({Nom., Dat./Abl., Acc., Act.APV}, {(Nom., Act.APV), (Act.APV, Dat./Abl.), (Act.APV, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({RCP, EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 27 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Obl., Pass.APV},{(Nom., Pass.APV), (Pass.APV, NA-case), (Pass.APV, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({RCP, EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 28 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., NA-case, Pass.APV},{(Nom., Pass.APV), (Pass.APV, NA-case), (Pass.APV, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, EMR, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 29 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Abl., Pass.APV},{(Nom., Pass.APV), (Pass.APV, Abl.), (Pass.APV, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, EMR, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 30 Concasion ({Gen., NA-case, Pass.APVN/inf}, {(Pass.APVN/ inf, Gen.), (Pass.APVN/ inf, NA-case)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMR)}).

Po 31 Concasion ({Gen., Dat., APVN/inf}, {(APVN/inf, Gen.), (APVN/inf, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR.), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 32 Concasion ({Gen., Acc., APVN/inf}, {(APVN/inf, Gen.), (APVN/inf, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMS.), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 33 Concasion ({Gen., Obl., Pass.APVN/inf}, {(Pass.APVN/inf, Gen.), (Pass.APVN/inf, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, RCP.), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 34 Concasion ({Gen., Dat., Acc., APVN/inf}, {(APVN/inf, Gen.), (APVN/inf, Dat.), (APVN/inf, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis

({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 35 Concasion ({Gen., NA-case, Acc., Pass.APVN/inf}, {(Pass.APVN/inf, Gen.), (Pass.APVN/inf, NA-case.), (Pass. APVN/inf, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 36 Concasion ({Gen., NA-case, LOC, Pass.APVN/inf}, {(Pass.APVN/inf, Gen.), (Pass.APVN/inf, NA-case.), (Pass. APVN/inf, LOC)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 37 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Acc., Rel.APP}, {(Nom, Rel.APP), (Rel.APP, Dat.), (Rel.P, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 38 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Rel.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.APP), (Rel.APP, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 39 Concasion ({Nom., Dat./Abl., Rel.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.APP), (Rel.APP, Dat./Abl.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}).

Po 40 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Rel.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.APP), (Rel.APP, Acc.)}) specifies the following symptoses:

(iii) ({EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}),

(iv) ({RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 41 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Rel.Pass.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.Pass.APP), (Rel.Pass.APP, NA-case)}) specifies the following symptoses:

(iii) ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}),

(iv) ({EMS, EMR, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR)}).

Po 42 Concasion ({Nom., Obl., Rel.Pass.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.Pass.APP), (Rel.Pass.APP, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 43 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Rel.Pass.APP}, {(Nom, Rel.Pass.APP), (Rel.Pass.APP, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 44 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Acc., Rel.APP}, {(Nom, Rel.APP), (Rel.APP, Dat.), (Rel.APP, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMR, RCP, EMS, TSMF}, {(EMR, TSMF), (TSMF, RCP), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 45 Concasion ({Nom., Dat./Abl., Acc., Rel.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.APP), (Rel.APP, Dat./Abl.), (Rel.APP, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({RCP, EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 46 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Obl., Rel.Pass.APP},{(Nom., Rel.Pass.APP), (Rel.Pass.APP, NA-case), (Rel.Pass.APP, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({RCP, EMR, EMS, TSMF}, {(RCP, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, EMS)}).

Po 47 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., NA-case Rel.Pass.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.Pass.APP), (Rel.Pass.APP, NA-case), (Rel.Pass.APP, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, EMR, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 48 Concasion ({Nom., Dat., Abl., Rel.Pass.APP}, {(Nom., Rel.Pass.APP), (Rel.Pass.APP, Abl.), (Rel.Pass.APP, Dat.)}) specifies symptosis ({EMS, RCP, EMR, TSMF}, {(EMS, TSMF), (TSMF, EMR), (TSMF, RCP)}).

Po 49 The diathetic meaning of Causativity specifies in Swahili the set of the following 10 symptoses:

11. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
12. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR)}),
13. ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, CSR)}),
14. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),

15. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
16. ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR,), (CSFR, EFV)}),
17. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
18. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV)}),
19. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
20. ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV), (CSFR, EFR)}).

Po 50 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Act.CSV}, {(Nom., Act.CSV), (Act.CSV, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}).

Po 52 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Obl., Act.CSV}, {(Nom., Act.CSV), (Act.CSV, Acc.), (Act.CSV, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSR., CSFR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, EFV)}).

Po 51 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Pass.CSV}, {Nom, Pass.CSV}, {Pass.CSV, NA-case}) specifies symptosis ({EFR, CSR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR)}).

Po 53 Concasion ({Nom., Obl., NA-case, Pass.CSV}, {(Nom., Pass.CSV), (Pass.CSV, Obl.), (Pass.CSV, NA-case)}) specifies symptoses:

(i) ({EFR, EFV, CSR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFV), (CSFR, CSR)}),
(ii) ({EFV, EFR, CSR, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, CSR)}).

Po 54 Concasion ({Nom., Obl., Pass.CSV}, {Nom, Pass.CSV}, {Pass.CSV, Obl.}) specifies symptoses:

(i) ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),
(ii) ({EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFV)}).

Po 55 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Rel.CSP }, {(Nom., Rel.CSP), (Rel.CSP, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}).

Po 56 Concasion ({Nom., Acc., Obl., Rel.CSP}, {(Nom., Rel.CSP), (Rel.CSP, Acc.), (Rel.CSP, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSR., CSFR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, EFV)}).

Po 57 Concasion ({Nom., NA-case, Rel.Pass.CSP}, {Nom, Rel.Pass.CSP}, {Rel.Pass.CSP, NA-case}) specifies symptosis ({EFR, CSR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, CSR)}).

Po 58 Concasion ({Nom., Obl., NA-case, Rel.Pass.CSP}, {(Nom., Rel.Pass.CSP), (Rel.Pass.CSP, Obl.), (Rel.Pass.CSP, NA-case)}) specifies symptoses:

(iii) ({EFR, EFV, CSR, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFV), (CSFR, CSR)}),

(iv) ({EFV, EFR, CSR, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, CSR)}).

Po 59 Concasion ({Nom., Obl., Rel.Pass.CSP}, {Nom, Rel.Pass.CSP}, {Rel.Pass.CSP, Obl.}) specifies symptoses:

(iii) ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(EFV, CSFR), (CSFR, EFR)}),

(iv) ({EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(EFR, CSFR), (CSFR, EFV)}).

Po 60 Concasion ({Gen., Acc., CSVN/inf}, {(CSVN/inf, Gen.), (CSVN/inf, Acc.)}) specifies symptosis ({CSR, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, CSR.), (CSFR, EFR)}).

Po 61 Concasion ({Gen., Obl., Pass.CSVN/inf}, {(Pass.CSVN/inf, Gen.), (Pass.CSVN/inf, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({EFV, EFR, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR.), (CSFR, EFV)}).

Po 62 Concasion ({Gen., Acc., Obl., CSVN/inf}, {(CSVN/inf, Gen.), (CSVN/inf, Acc.), (CSVN/inf, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({CSR, EFR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, EFV)}).

Po 63 Concasion ({Gen., NA-case, Obl., Pass.CSVN/inf}, {(Pass.CSVN/inf, Gen.), (Pass.CSVN/inf, NA-case.), (Pass. CSVN/inf, Obl.)}) specifies symptosis ({EFR, CSR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV)}).

Po 64 Concasion ({Gen., NA-case, LOC, Pass.CSVN/inf}, {(Pass.CSVN/inf, Gen.), (Pass.CSVN/inf, NA-case.), (Pass. CSVN/inf, LOC)}) specifies

symptosis ({EFR, CSR, EFV, CSFR}, {(CSFR, EFR), (CSFR, CSR), (CSFR, EFV)}).

The list of postulates presented above is not yet exhaustive. It shows the interdependencies between symptoses and concasions from the point of view of concasions. The list could be extended in order to present those interdependencies from the point of view of symptoses. Also, a type of desentential syntagms like *mpewa zawadi* 'the receiver of the present' has been excluded from the analysis as the present author is not certain yet about the morphosyntactic status of such constructions in the light of the general theory of diathesis. Nevertheless the sets of concasions and symptoses presented above, together with the interdependencies between them, shed light on the diathetic code of Swahili.

Chapter 11: Conclusions

Describing a substantial fragment of diathesis in Swahili, that is transitivity, transmittivity and causativity, was a rather difficult and challenging task. The present monograph constitutes the first approach to diathesis in the language under description within the framework of the general theory of diathesis elaborated by Bańczerowski (1980, 1993, 2001, and 2006) and continued by his students. Swahili predicates are morphologically capacious as they include up to several voice significators simultaneously (e.g. causative-applicative-passive), thus making the diathetological system of the language rather complex.

In her analysis the author established diathetological semantic schemata (symptoses) and diathetological morphosyntactic schemata (concasions) in relation to both simple (atomic) and composite diathetic meanings of transitivity, transmittivity and causativity. She identified 3 symptoses for transitivity and 13 symptoses for each transmittivity and causativity. She also differentiated 6 types of symptoses for transitivity, 9 types of symptoses for each transmittivity and causativity.

The analysis revealed that almost all theoretically possible symptoses are practically applied in Swahili. Nevertheless, some symptoses turned out to be represented by Swahili sentences and desentential syntagms extremely rarely by cause of certain semantic restrictions imposed on their occurrences (e.g. required animacy of all the event's participants).

Within the category of diathesis in Swahili, the author established that transitivity, transmittivity and causativity specify 3, 13 and 10 symptoses respectively. Additionally 7 types of symptoses for transitivity and 9 types of symptoses for each transmittivity and causativity were differentiated.

The next step on the way towards the description of diathesis in Swahili was that of establishing the sets of concasions specifying particular symptoses. The number of the distinguished concasions equals 7, 30 and 15 for transitivity, transmittivity and causativity respectively. It has been shown that most of the concasions encode symptoses unambiguously. In other words, those concasions are autosymptosic, that is they specify unambiguously the corresponding symptosis. Nevertheless, some concasions appeared to be synsymptosic. The interdependencies between symptoses and concasions established in the course of analysis could be regarded as laws being formulated in terms of the proposed theory of diathesis for Swahili.

These findings are rather preliminary, nevertheless, they may turn out to be helpful for more refined research in this domain. Such a research should eliminate possible deficiencies and revise the list of postulates for diathesis in Swahili, also with respect to the remaining diathetic meanings such as intransitivity, reciprocity and reflexivity.

Finally, the author would like to express her hope that this study has contributed to further diathetological discussion not only within the scope of Swahili, but also from the perspective of the general theory of diathesis.

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Summary in Polish: Streszczenie

KATEGORIA DIATEZY W JĘZYKU SUAHILI.
TRANZYTYWNOŚĆ, TRANSMITYWNOŚĆ, KAUZATYWNOŚĆ.

Niniejsza rozprawa ma charakter synchroniczny a jej przedmiotem jest znaczny fragment diatezy języka suahili, jakim są trzy główne systemy diatetyczne – tranzytywność, transmitywność i kauzatywność. W ramach każdego z tych systemów zbadano znaczenia diatetyczne, kategorie diatetyczne, kategorialne schematy semantyczne i morfosyntaktyczne, paradygmaty diatetyczne oraz relacje (operacje) między schematami. Szczegółowe cele rozprawy dotyczą ustalenia kategorialnych schematów semantycznych (symptozji) oraz kategorialnych schematów morfosyntaktycznych (konkazji) wyznaczanych przez odpowiednie znaczenia diatetyczne.

Przeprowadzone badania, jak i teoretyczne ujęcie bazują na materiale językowym zebranym podczas badań terenowych w Tanzanii, w Dar-es-Salaam i na Zanzibarze, prowadzonych w dwóch okresach: wrzesień 2009 – sierpień 2010 oraz lipiec-sierpień 2014. Przykłady pozyskano zarówno od kobiet, jak i mężczyzn, w wieku pomiędzy 20 a 55 lat. Dokładna liczba informatorów, którzy wnieśli swój wkład w obecny kształt niniejszej rozprawy obejmuje około 20 osób. Każda z tych osób była konsultowana w różnym stopniu. Niejednokrotnie informatorzy byli nieświadomi faktu, iż są źródłem materiału badawczego – notowano fragmenty ich wypowiedzi ze słuchu. Innym razem przykłady elicytowano za pomocą pytań zadawanych w języku suahili. Zdarzało się również autorce samodzielnie konstruować zdania i sprawdzać ich akceptowalność wśród informatorów.

Celem naukowym rozprawy jest próba teorii diatezy języka suahili w zakresie tranzytywności, transmitywności i kauzatywności w oparciu o koncepcję aksjomatycznej teorii diatezy Jerzego Bańczerowskiego (1980, 1993, 2001, 2006), rozwijaną również w pracach Kordka (2000), Bieleckiego (2005) i Strońskiego (2011). Dotychczas teorię tę zastosowano do języków japońskiego, koreańskiego, chińskiego, fińskiego, estońskiego oraz hindi. Niniejsza dysertacja jest pierwszą pracą, w której wykorzystano ogólną teorię diatezy w badaniach nad językiem afrykańskim, jakim jest suahili należący do rodziny języków bantu.

Z zamiarem przybliżenia czytelnikowi treści rozprawy już w Rozdziale 2 dokonano wstępnego i w miarę całościowego przeglądu jej poszczególnych rozdziałów.

Zanim jednak przystąpiono do szczegółowej analizy diatezy języka suahili, dokonano przeglądu starożytnych i nowożytnych koncepcji lingwistycznych dotyczących diatezy, strony i przypadka w ogóle. Przytoczone zwięzłe streszczenia niektórych publikacji dają informatywną, choć zapewne wybiórczą orientację w dziedzinie badań. Niejednokrotnie kluczem w doborze konkretnych językoznawców było wyłącznie stosowanie przez nich w pracach terminów „strona" i/lub „diateza". Mimo, iż dobór prac może sprawiać wrażenie chaotycznego, w istocie ukazuje wieloaspektowość ujęć badanych kategorii językowych. Stanowi także kontrastujące tło dla niniejszego studium, opartego na zgoła odmiennych założeniech metodologicznych.

W dalszej kolejności dokonano przeglądu prac dotyczących diatezy języka suahili. Okazało się, iż różnym aspektom tej kategorii poświęcono już wiele badań. Były to prace obejmujące wybrane fragmenty diatezy, np. konstrukcje bierne (Mkude 2005) lub tranzytywność (Abdulaziz 1996; Amidu 2001, 2012; Whiteley 1968), z wykorzystaniem innych niż obecna metodologii, przy czym żaden z ich autorów nie posługiwał się terminem „diateza" (*diathesis*). Zdecydowana większość językoznawców zajmujących się składnią języka suahili, jak również innych języków bantu, swoje sądy na temat

obiektów językowych osadza w szeroko pojętym paradygmacie generatywistycznym.

By umożliwić każdemu potencjalnemu czytelnikowi należyte zapoznanie się z wynikami badań niniejszej rozprawy, autorka uznała za konieczne poświęcenie odrębnego rozdziału językowi suahili. Jest to Rozdział 4, w swej naturze heterogeniczny, w którym zawarto zarówno ogólne, jak i szczegółowe informacje dotyczące języka, niezbędne z punktu widzenia przedmiotu rozprawy.

Natomiast Rozdział 5 wraz z następującymi po nim rozdziałami poświęcono już wyłącznie autorskiej próbie teorii diatezy języka suahili w oparciu o ogólną teorię diatezy Bańczerowskiego (1993, 2001, 2006). Diateza jako jedna z najbardziej złożonych kategorii językowych obejmuje swym zasięgiem obszary semantyki, składni i morfosyntaktyki, bazuje na współdziałaniu kategorii strony oraz przypadka. Diateza jest kategorią dotyczącą zdań i syntagm odzdaniowych, w odróżnieniu od strony, która jest kategorią orzeczenia.

Zarówno zdania (oraz syntagmy odzdaniowe), jak i zdarzenia należą do pojęć kluczowych niniejszej teorii. Zdania odnoszą się do zdarzeń, stanów rzeczy, innymi słowy, oznaczają je, lecz również sygnifikują ich szczególne własności. Zależność między rzeczywistością językową a rzeczywistością pozajęzykową można rozumieć w kategoriach sprzężenia zwrotnego. Z jednej strony struktura zdarzeń odzwierciedla się w strukturze zdań, z drugiej zdania wyznaczają pewną strukturę zdarzeń. Można więc założyć, że struktura zdarzeń znajduje semantyczne i syntaktyczne ujęcie w zdaniach języka. W zdarzeniach można wyróżnić uczestników (partycypantów) oraz relacje zachodzące między uczestnikami. Tak uczestnicy zdarzeń, jak i relacje ich wiążące są reprezentowane przez odpowiednie signifikatory, tj. odpowiednie jednostki językowe.

Przedmiotem zainteresowania w niniejszej rozprawie, szczególnie ważnym dla określenia relacji diatetycznych, są typy interakcji pomiędzy uczestnikami zdarzeń. Analizie zostały poddane zdania (i syntagmy

odzdaniowe) przenoszące znaczenia tranzytywności, transmitywności i kauzatywności.

U podstaw zmodyfikowanej na potrzeby niniejszej rozprawy teorii diatezy leży zbiór 21 terminów pierwotnych:

(i) ***Sen*** – zbiór wszystkich aktualnych zdań,
(ii) ***Stg*** – zbiór wszystkich aktualnych syntagm,
(iii) ***Std*** –zbiór wszystkich aktualnych sentoidonów,
(iv) ***Tgm*** **–** zbiór wszystkich aktualnych tagmonów (wyrazów syntaktycznych),
(v) ***hfn*** –relacja homofonii,
(vi) ***dsg*** – relacja desygnacji,
(vii) ***sgf*** –relacja sygnifikacji,
(viii) ***lkf*** – relacja leksyfikacji,
(ix) ***smf*** – relacja semifikacji,
(x) ***Evts*** – zbiór wszystkich zdarzeń,
(xi) ***Evrs*** – zbiór wszystkich uczestników zdarzeń,
(xii) ***evtf*** – relacja ewentyfikacji,
(xiii) ***PTT*** – zbiór wszystkich znaczeń ptotycznych,
(xiv) ***PTZ*** – zbiór wszystkich znaczeń ptotyzygicznych,
(xv) ***Ptn*** – zbiór wszystkich ptotonów,
(xvi) ***Pzr*** – zbiór wszystkich ptotyzygitorów,
(xvii) ***syd*** – relacja diatetycznej homogeniczności,
(xviii) ***Cas***–zbiór wszystkich tagmonów przypadkowych,
(xix) ***Voc*** –zbiór wszystkich tagmonów strony,
(xx) ***tq*** – relacja tagmonalnej determinacji,
(xxi) ***Stc*** – zbiór wszystkich kategorii syntaktycznych.

Jak już wspomniano, zdania (i formy odzdaniowe) odzwierciedlają konkretne zdarzenia, stany rzeczy:

Mama anampenda mtoto. ‘Matka kocha dziecko.’

Na płaszczyźnie syntaktycznej wyróżniamy tagmony odnoszące się do uczestników zdarzeń (*mama* ‘matka’, *mtoto* ‘dziecko’) oraz tagmony

oznaczające relację pomiędzy uczestnikami (*anampenda* ‘kocha (je)’). Tagmony przenoszą znaczenia ptotyczne (np. agentywność – *mama*, pacjentywność – *mtoto*) albo ptotyzygiczne (tranzytyfikatoryjność – *anampenda*). Pewne znaczenia są homogeniczne i przez relację homogeniczności diatetycznej zostały pogrupowane w znaczenia diatetyczne: np. agentywność, pacjentywność i tranzytyfikatoryjność są homogeniczne względem tranzytywności. Wszystkie tagmony przenoszące określone znaczenie należą do danej kategorii semantycznej (np. agensa) i posiadają reprezentację morfologiczną oraz syntaktyczną. Symptozje będące abstrakcyjną reprezentacją syntaktyczną oraz konkazje będące abstrakcyjną reprezentacją morfosyntaktyczną mają służyć odzwierciedleniu kategorii semantycznych w obrębie struktury syntaktycznej i morfologicznej zdania.

schemat determinacyjny	**schemat syntaktyczny**	**symptozja**	**konkazja**
mama	podmiot	agens	mianownik
↑	↑	↑	↑
anampenda	orzeczenie	tranzytyfikator	czas. czynny
↑	↑	↑	↑
mtoto	dopełnienie	pacjens	biernik

Punktem wyjścia jest schemat syntaktyczny ukazujący położenie jednostek zdaniowych w logu determinacji (por. Bańczerowski 1980:76). Symptozje otrzymujemy ze schematu syntaktycznego reinterpretując kategorie syntaktyczne (takie jak podmiot, dopełnienie) odpowiednimi kategoriami semantycznymi (takimi jak agens, pacjens, kauzator).

Każde z badanych znaczeń diatetycznych (tranzytywność, transmitywność, kauzatywność) przedstawiono w świetle odpowiedniego systemu symptozji, które je sygnifikują. Symptozja jest rozumiana jako schemat kategorialny skonstruowany z relewantnych diatetycznie kategorii semantycznych powiązanych relacją kategorialnej determinacji. Operowanie kategorialno-semantycznymi schematami (symptozjami) w pewien sposób porządkuje nam semantykę diatezy, ułatwiając jej opis. Tranzytywności przypisano zbiór 3 symptozji, natomiast transmitywności i kauzatywności

przypisano po zbiorze 13 symptozji. Dodatkowo wyodrębniono typy symptozji, których liczba wyniosła 6 dla tranzytywności oraz po 9 dla transmitywności i kauzatywności.

Dysponując kategorialnymi schematami semantycznymi możemy badać ich empiryczną realizację w zdaniach konkretnego języka. Zatem kolejnym krokiem było sprawdzenie na podstawie zebranego materiału językowego, które symptozje i jakie ich typy operują w języku suahili. Okazało się, że w badanym języku w praktycznym zastosowaniu są wszystkie symptozje dla tranzytywności i transmitywności oraz 10 z 13 symptozji dla kauzatywności. Wśród nich wyróżniono 7 typów symptozji dla tranzytywności, po 9 typów symptozji dla transmitywności i kauzatywności.

Następnie podjęto próbę ustalenia dla języka suahili zbiorów konkazji, tj. kategorialnych schematów morfosyntaktycznych, przypisanych poszczególnym symptozjom. Najważniejszą rolę w schematach konkazyjnych odgrywają kategoria strony oraz kategoria przypadka. Wyznaczono 7 konkazji dla tranzytywności, 30 konkazji dla transmitywności i 15 konkazji dla kauzatywności.

W pracy wprowadzono również pojęcie paradygmatu diatetycznego oraz przedstawiono przykłady paradygmatów diatetycznych dla tranzytywności, transmitywności i kauzatywności. Początkowo ustalony zbiór 10 postulatów teorii diatezy rozszeczono o kolejne 54 postulaty teorii diatezy języka suahili. Relacje pomiędzy symptozjami a konkazjami ustalone w drodze analizy materiału badawczego można uważać jako prawa sformułowane w oparciu o proponowaną teorię diatezy języka suahili.

Autorka ma nadzieję, iż uzyskane wyniki mogą mieć pewną wartość dla przyszłych badań nie tylko w dziedzinie diatezy języka suahili, ale również w dziedzinie diatezy w ujęciu ogólnym.