

# OBJECT MARKING IN AFFECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SWAHILI

Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie <sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*This paper seeks to examine the conditions that govern the occurrence or non- occurrence of the object marker in affective constructions (i.e., constructions involving Possessor Raising such as **Alimshika mkono Ali** 'He held him (by the) hand Ali' and **Mwili ulimtetemeka** '(her) body trembled (her)') in Swahili. From data drawn from a corpus of affective constructions, this study demonstrates that the conditions for animate object marking in affective constructions differ from those for object marking elsewhere in Swahili syntax and may violate some rules such as 'object selection prohibition rules' in Mukama (1976).*

## 1. Introduction

Marten & Ramadhani (2001) have indicated that object marking in Swahili and indeed in other Bantu languages is not as simple as it appears. Some studies have shown that besides the animate/inanimate conditions for object marking in Swahili and in other Bantu languages, other features that may determine the use or non-use of the object marker are [+definiteness]/[-definiteness] (Woodford 2001); [+focus]/[-focus] (Morimoto 2002). Seidl & Dimitriadis (1997: 373) further point out that 'In Swahili there is no semantic or lexical class of objects for which object marking is obligatory.' Their point is that beyond the above conditions for object marking, in Swahili discourse function may be the ultimate determiner of the use or non-use of an object marker. That is, a discourse goal may lead to the inclusion of the object marker where it is normally not expected, or to the exclusion of the object marker where it is normally expected.

However, the data for most studies on object marking have not included 'affective constructions', that is, constructions that "involve a person affected (patient) and a part of the body or other thing intimately connected with them (property), featuring as two independent arguments

<sup>1</sup>Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie is Senior lecturer and Head of the Department of Modern Languages, University of Ghana.

of the verb rather than components of a single noun phrase.” (Dzahene-Quarshie 2010: 11). (1) – (4) below are examples of affective constructions.

- (1) **Akili zi-me-ku-ruka<sup>1</sup>**  
10-Mind 10SM-Perf-1OM2-jump  
You are out of your mind. <u8.13: (A93) >
- (2) **Kijasho ki-ka-m-chururika**  
7-Sweat 7SM- Sbsc-1OM3-drip  
Sweat was dripping from him. <u11.7: (A95)>
- (3) **A-ka-m-kamata mkono Musa.**  
1SM-Sbsc-1OM3-grip 4-hand Musa  
She got hold of his hand. (<u9.18>: (A587))
- (4) **Wa-li-m-funga dada<sup>3</sup> miguu na mikono**  
2SM Pst 1OM3 tie 1(9)-sister 4-legs and 4-hands  
They tied (my) sister’s legs and hands. <d21.7: (A594a) >

At the end of the English gloss of each example, the source of the construction appears in brackets. First, reference is made to the particular book, page and paragraph in a bracket <>, and if the example is from an appendix in Dzahene-Quarshie (2010), the appendix number is also cited in a second bracket () as in (1) – (4) above.

A number of studies (Keach & Rochemont 1994; Hinnebusch & Kirsner 1980; Scotton 1981a and b; Schrock 2007; Dzahene-Quarshie 2010) have discussed different aspects of the privileged treatment of inalienable possession in Swahili syntax in the light of various grammatical and syntactic theories such as Government and Binding (Keach & Rochemont 1994) and Lexical Function Grammar (Schrock 2007). Most studies focus more on the construction type (3) and (4) rather than on types (1) and (2). Therefore the paper concentrates more on the construction type in (1) and (2).

Using a descriptive approach, this study seeks to contribute to the discourse on object marking in Swahili by examining the conditions for object marking in these affective constructions. The paper points out that the general rules for object marking may be violated by the notion of affectedness and that the conditions that govern the occurrence or non-

occurrence of the object marker in affective constructions differs from the general conditions for object marking elsewhere in Swahili grammar, hence the need to include affectedness/non affectedness as one of the determiners of the occurrence or non-occurrence of the object marker.

The Swahili data for this study were drawn from a text based corpus of affective and related constructions extracted from three Swahili novels by two Coastal Swahili writers culled from Dzahene-Quarshie (2010). Written text based data were chosen because affective constructions often express emotions and state of mind and are expressed of third persons. By their nature, they are mostly used in narratives by authors to manifest the characters' emotional and mental states to readers. Also, two different authors were chosen as a form of control.

First, the paper describes the terms possessor raising and possessor deletion as fairly cross-linguistic phenomena that are manifest in some languages such as Korean, Sotho and Haya. Secondly, it outlines the general conditions for object marking in Swahili. Then, the relationship between object marking and transitivity is examined briefly. Next, the conditions for object marking in affective construction are examined, pointing out the violation of a general object selection prohibition rule in Swahili syntax by affective constructions. The paper then concludes that possessor raising constitutes one of the conditions for object marking in Swahili and that it may also violate some object selection prohibition rules.

## **2. Possessor raising and possessor deletion**

In the literature the constructions referred to above as affective have been referred to with several labels such as 'external possession construction' (Schrock 2007:1), 'inalienable possession' construction (Tomioka & Sim 2007:1) and 'affected possessor construction' (Hyman & Duranti 1982). In these constructions, the promotion of the affected possessor or personal referent of the verb by introducing it as an extra independent argument (sometimes with a concomitant marking in the verb by object prefixing) to indicate the relationship between the inalienable possession and the person affected by the action of the verb has been described as 'possessor raising' (Keach & Rochemont 1994), and this promoted or affected person has also been referred to as the 'extensive case' (Scotton 1981b). These constructions of Inalienable possession are

grammatically marked in many languages of the world such as Bantu languages. In some languages like Swahili, they tend to be used side by side with normal possessive constructions. In others like Sotho of South Africa, all relationships between an item that can be considered to be a whole and another that can be considered to be a part to that whole are grammatically marked by the introduction of an extra object NP without a preposition (Voeltz 1972). In affective constructions the affected person who is not directly affected by the action of the verb but is only a referent of the inalienable or intimate possession in the construction features as an argument which in Swahili may be represented in the verb by an object marker. Although it is the inalienable possession that is directly affected by the action of the verb, the affectedness is experienced by the possessor of the inalienable possession. Examples (5) – (7) below illustrate affective constructions from Sotho, a South African Bantu language; Haya, a Bantu language; and Korean respectively.

Sotho

(5) **P. openta tafole leoto.**

P. paints the table the leg. <Voeltz, 1972 ex 7j>

Haya

(6) **ŋ-ka-hénd’ ómwáán’ ómukôno**

I-P3-break child arm

‘I broke the child’s arm’ <Hyman 1977, ex 13>

Korean

(7) **Chelswu-ka Sunhee-lul son-ul cap-ass-ta.**

Chelswu-NOM Sunhee-ACC hand-ACC grab-PAST-decl.

‘Chelswu grabbed Sunhee by the hand.’ <Tomioka & Sim 2007, ex 1a>

In (5), the relationship between the two post verbal arguments is whole/part, ‘table’ and ‘(its) leg’. In (6) and (7) the relationship between ‘child’ and ‘arm’ and ‘Sunhee’ and ‘hand’ is inalienable.

Data from several languages indicate that the range of items that participate in these special constructions differ from language to language. In some languages like Haya, only parts of the body (i.e., strictly

inalienable possessions) participate in affective constructions (Hyman 1977). In others such as Sotho, all relationships that are considered to have a whole/part relationship (such as a person and his body part, a house and its door) participate in affective constructions (Voeltz 1972), and in others like Swahili, the range of items goes beyond strictly inalienable items such as body parts to include other items that are intimately connected to the affected person such as emotions, mental and psychological states, body fluids and gases and clothing worn on the body. Hence Dzahene-Quarshie (2010: 162) suggests the term ‘intimate possession’ as a cover term for all items that participate in the construction. The term ‘affected person’ is used to refer to the possessor of the intimate possession. Besides possessor raising, another associated phenomenon has been described as ‘possessor deletion’, in this case in constructions that involve an affected person performing an action on himself, that is, to an intimate possession which he owns; the possessive marker is not used to indicate the possessive relationship between him and the intimate possession. Consider the structure of the following constructions:

Haya

(8) **η-k-óógy’**            **émikôno**

I- P3-wash            hands

‘I washed my hands’

(lit. I washed hands) <Hyman 1977, ex 7>

French

(9) **vous**    **vous**    **êtes**    **lavé**    **les**    **mains**

you    you    have    washed the    hands

You have washed your hands.

(lit. You have washed the hands) <Dzahene-Quarshie 2010, ex 25>

Swahili

(10) **a-li-tikisa**                    **kichwa**

1SM-Pst-nod                    7-head

He nodded.

(lit. He nodded head) <d57.8: (A713)>

In (8) – (10) possessive markers are not used to indicate the possessive relationship between ‘I’ and ‘Hands’, ‘you’ and ‘hands’ and ‘he’ and

‘head’ respectively. This phenomenon occurs where the affected person functions as both the agent and patient of the verb that is the instigator and recipient of the action of the verb. Hyman (1977:100) refers to the phenomenon as a ‘possessor deletion rule’. Dzahene-Quarshie (2010) refers to such constructions as ‘auto-referential affective constructions’, as in the construction possessor deletion indicates automatic reference of the intimate possession to the affected person. The ‘head’ in (10) automatically refers to the subject which is represented by the subject prefix so that there is no need for a possessive marker.

### 3. Conditions for Object Marking in Swahili

In Swahili the established conditions for object marking are animacy and definiteness, as stated above. Animate objects are obligatorily represented in the verb by the object marker (Ashton, 1944) as in (11) below.

- (11) **Mwalimu**      **a-li-m-fundisha**      **mwanafunzi**  
 1-Teacher      1SM-Pst-1OM3-teach      1-student  
 The teacher taught the student.

Inanimate objects are not usually represented in the verb by the object marker; however, they are obligatorily marked in the verb by the object marker to indicate definiteness or focus as in (12).

- (12) **Ni-li-i-andika**      **barua**      **hii**      **mwenyewe**  
 1SM-Pst-9OM-write      9-letter      this      1-myself  
 I wrote this letter by myself.

Where a relative item refers to the object of a clause, object marking is obligatory, as in (13).

- (13) **Nguo**      **ni-li-zo-zi-nunua**      **jana**      **zi-me-ibi-wa**  
 10-Clothes      1SM-Pst-10Rel-10OM-buy      yesterday      10SM-Perf-steal-pass  
 The clothes which I bought yesterday have been stolen.

Seidl & Dimitriadis (1997) argue that besides the above conditions, some discourse considerations such as information status may lead to the use or non-use of an object marker. Thus the non-use of an object marker to represent the animate object watu ‘people’ in (14) serves a discourse purpose. ‘People’ here does not refer to any particular people, thus it has the feature [-definite].

(14) **Wakati huu Rosa a-li-hitaji watu wa ku-m-tuliza.**

11-Timethis Rosa 1SM-Pst-need 2-people Prep to-  
1OM3-comfort

‘At that time Rosa needed someone to care for her.’ (Seidl & Dimitriadis1997, ex 2b)

#### 4. Transitivity and object marking

Object marking can also be considered from the perspective of the transitivity pattern of the verb in question. Swahili verbs can generally be classified as transitive and intransitive, although again sometimes it is not so easy to determine transitivity. Simple transitive verbs in Swahili tolerate or allow single arguments after the verb, as in (15a).

(15a) **Mtoto a-na-kunywa maji**

1-Child 1SM-Pres-drink 6-water

The child drinks water.

In Bantu, one test for transitivity is said to be the verb’s ability to tolerate object marking, as in (15b) (Hyman & Duranti, 1982:218). Thus the verb **-kunywa** is transitive because it can take an object prefix representing **maji** ‘water’.

(15b) **Mtoto a-na-ya-kunywa maji**

1-Child 1SM-Pres-6OM-drink 6-water

The child drinks (it) water.

Another proof of transitivity is the ability of a construction to undergo passive inversion. Similar to other languages, in principle intransitive verbs in Swahili prohibit object NP selection and therefore prohibit object marking in the verb (Mukama 1976). Verbs that do not tolerate object marking include intransitive verbs such as **-iva** ‘be ripe’ in (16), stative verbs and motion verbs such as **-toka** ‘come from’ in (17) and passive verbs such as **-kamatwa** ‘be arrested’ in (18).

(16) **Maembe ya-me-iva sana**

6-Mangoes 6SM-Perf- be ripe very

The mangoes are very ripe.

- (17) **Mkulima**      **a-na-toka**      **kijiji-ni**  
 1-Farmer      1SM-Pres-come from      farm-Loc  
 The farmer comes from the village.
- (18) **Mwizi**      **a-li-kamat-wa**      **na**      **polisi**  
 1-Thief      1SM-Pst-arrest-pass      by      police  
 The thief was arrested by the police.

There are also ditransitive verbs in Swahili. They take two arguments after the verb and in this case, by default, it is the animate object that gets to be marked in the verb as object marker. A typical ditransitive verb in Swahili is the dative verb ‘to give’. In (19), the two objects of the verb **-pa** are **zawadi** ‘gift’ and **wanafunzi** ‘students’. The latter is represented by the object marker because it is animate.

- (19) **Mwalimu**      **a-li-wa-pa**      **zawadi**      **wanafunzi**  
 1-Teacher      1SM-Pst-2OM3-give      9-gift      2-students  
 The teacher gave the students gifts.

Also, prepositional or applicative verbs require two object NPs after the verb because they usually express the act of doing something for or on behalf of another person. The beneficiary which is the animate object (direct object) therefore is marked in the verb as object prefix and the thing that is done as the inanimate object, as in (20).

- (20) **A-li-m-lete-a**      **simu**      **mteja**  
 1SM-Pst-1OM3-bring-Appl      9-phone      1-customer  
 He brought the customer a phone.

The only condition under which a simple transitive verb can take on a second object is by adding the applicative extension to the verb. Without the applicative extension the verb **-leta** in (20) can only have one object. The applicative extension may also indicate motion towards Ports (1981), but when it does, the verb requires only one object, as in (21) below.

- (21) **Maiti**      **ya-li-ni-j-ia**      **kasi**  
 6-Death      6SM-Pst- 1OM1-come-Appl      fast  
 Death approached me speedily.



Without the applicative extension the motion verb **ja** ‘come’ does not allow object marking.

In the next section we examine the conditions for object marking in intransitive affective constructions and transitive affective constructions.

### 5. Conditions for object marking in affective constructions

In Swahili generally, three canonical affective construction types are identified (Dzahene-Quarshie 2010). Two of these involve possessor raising, as in (1 - 2) above and (22) below and (3 - 4) above and (23) below. The third construction type, one that involves possessor deletion, as in (10) above, will not be discussed further since it does not involve affective object marking (See Dzahene-Quarshie 2007).

The first construction type (1, 2, 22) is referred to as an intransitive affective construction and the second (3, 4, 23) as a transitive affective one. In these constructions, the raised possessor represents the affected person. The presence of the object marker is by virtue of the intimate relationship between the ‘possessor’ (affected person) and ‘possessee’ (intimate possession) referred to in the construction.

Intransitive affective construction has the structure:

Subject (Intimate possession) + (SM+tense marker+OM (affected person)+verb) as in (22) below.

- (22) **Mwili u-li-m-tetemeka**  
 3-body 3SM-Pst-1OM3-tremble  
 His body trembled. <u109.4, (A136)>

The transitive affective construction has the structure: Subject + (SM+tense+OM (affected person)+verb) + object 1 (intimate possession) + object 2 (affected person), as in (23).

- (23) **Biti Kocho a-li-m-kamata mkono Tamima.**  
 Biti Kocho 1SM-Pst-1OM3-take hold of 3-hand Tamima  
 Biti Kocho held Tamima's hand. <u54.4, (A590)>

To a large extent, it can be argued that the affective object marker is distinct from the ordinary animate object marker in the sense that the direct animate object of a transitive verb is the direct target of the action of the verb, whereas the affective object marker is only present by virtue of the presence of an inalienable or intimate possession.

### 5.1 Object marking in intransitive affective constructions

As indicated in (24a) and (24b), while the omission of the animate object marker in the non-affective construction is not acceptable, the omission of the affective object marker in (25a) is acceptable, as in (25b). The argument is that while the non-affective object is the direct recipient of the action of the verb **-piga** ‘beat’, the affective object in (25a) is not the direct recipient of the action of the verb **-tiririka** ‘trickle’.

(24a) **Mwalimu a-li-wa-piga wanafunzi**  
 1-Teacher 1SM-Pst-2OM3-beat 2-students  
 The teacher spanked the students

(24b) \***Mwalimu a-li-piga**  
 1-Teacher 1SM-Pst-beat  
 The teacher spanked

(25a) **Machozi ya-li-m-tiririka**  
 6-Tears 6SM-Pst-1OM3-trickle  
 Tears trickled him  
 He shed tears. <u133.2, (A145)>

(25b) **na machozi ya-ka-tiririka ovyo.**  
 and 6-Tears 1SM-Sbsc- trickle anyhow  
 and tears trickled uncontrollably. <u133.2, (A145)>

The point here is that in affective constructions possessor raising is achieved through the introduction of an NP object through object marking in the verb. In other words possessor raising is a precondition for affective object marking. There is sufficient evidence which attests that without possessor raising there will be no need for object marking in these constructions. Consider the following sets of constructions, (26a-26c) and (27a-27c):

- (26a) **nywele**            **zake**    **zi-me-timka**  
 10-hair            her    10SM-Perf-ruffle  
 Her hair was ruffled. <ny54.4, (A373)>
- (26b) **nywele**            **zi-me-timka**            **ovyo**  
 10-hair            10SM perf ruffle            untidily  
 Her hair was ruffled untidily. <u153.4, (A373)>
- (26c) **nywele**            **zi-me-m-timka**  
 10-hair            10SM Perf 10M3-ruffle  
 Her hair was ruffled. <u56.5, (A124)>
- (27a) **mikonoya**        **Rehema**            **i-li-tetemeka**  
 4-hand of        Rehema            4SM Pst tremble  
 Rehema's hands trembled. <u140.1, (A396)>
- (27b) **mkono**            **u-ka-tetemeka**  
 3-hand            3SM Sbsc tremble  
 His hand trembled. <d92.1, (A275)>
- (27c) **Mikono na miguu i-li-kuwa i-ki-m-tetemeka.**  
 4-hands and 4-legs 4SM-Pst-be 4SM-Cncm-10M3-tremble  
 Her hands and legs were trembling. <u56.9, (A125)>

Example (26a) is a possessive construction in which the relationship between the object (intimate possession) **nywele** 'hair' and the affected person is expressed through the use of a possessive marker **zake** 'her'. Example (27a) is a genitive construction in which the possessive relationship between **mkono** 'hand' and the affected person '**Rehema**' is expressed by the associative marker **ya** 'of'.

Examples (26b) and (27b) represent related constructions in which no explicit reference is made to the affected person; neither through possessor raising nor possessive marking. It can be argued that possessor deletion actually takes place here. The personal referents of **nywele** 'hair' in (26b) and **mkono** 'hand' in (27b) are explicit in preceding sentences, hence the omission of an explicit relationship between them and their respective

possessors (affected persons). The possessor of **nywele** ‘hair’ occurs in a noun phrase which is subject to the immediate preceding sentence in the book. The possessor of **mkono** ‘hand’ interestingly occurs as a subject in a preceding sentence seventeen sentences away.

However (26c) and (27c) are affective constructions in which the affected persons feature as raised possessors. The verbs **-timka** ‘ruffle’ and **-tetemeka** ‘tremble’ are typical intransitive verbs in Swahili. They are stative verbs and therefore would normally not tolerate object marking, yet in these cases, as a result of the intimate relationship between the intimate possession **nywele** ‘hair’ (26c) and **mikono na miguu** ‘hands and legs’ (27c) and their possessors, the affective object markers (affected persons), the referents are introduced into the construction and given a direct object status and feature as object markers in the verb.

The important point to note is that this process which has been referred to as possessor raising takes place irrespective of the transitivity status of the verb. Even where verbs which are usually used transitively are used in this construction, there is an indication that they are used intransitively because it is possible to use them without possessor raising. In example (28a) the verb **-piga** ‘beat’ is usually used transitively, that is, it occurs with an affective object marker **-m-**, but in its non-affective usage it does not occur with an object, in other words, it is used intransitively, as in (28b)

(28a) **Moyo**                      **u-li-m-piga**  
 3-Heart                      3SM-Pst-1OM3-beat  
 (His) heart beat (him)

(28b) **Moyo**                      **u-li-piga**                      **mbio**  
 3-Heart                      3SM-Pst-beat                      fast  
 (His) heart beat fast

Nevertheless, in (29a), **-shika** another typical transitive verb occurs with an object, but its counterpart (29b) without an object is not grammatically acceptable. This proves that the object marker in the construction is not a raised possessor but a direct object of a transitive verb and therefore requires an object in order to be grammatically correct. Examples (24a) and (24b) above are comparable with (29a) and (29b).

(29a) **Hofu u-li-m-shika**  
11-Fear 11SM-Pst-1OM3-hold  
Fear gripped her.

(29b) **\*Hofu u-li-shika**  
11-Fear 11SM-Pst-hold  
Fear gripped

From the above illustrations, it can be argued that possessor raising violates the object selection prohibition rule by the introduction of the affective object in an otherwise intransitive verb.

## 5.2 Object marking in intransitive affective constructions within the narrative continuum

In this section we demonstrate that affective object marking has a particular discourse function within the narrative continuum. Swahili, unlike some Bantu languages, allows the use of affective constructions side by side ordinary intransitive and/or possessive constructions.

As mentioned in Section 1 above, by their very nature, they usually express emotions, state of mind and other involuntary actions like sweating, trembling etc. Within the narrative, there are also other discourse considerations that come to play in the choice of affective versus non-affective usage. Dzahene-Quarshie (2010) demonstrates that possessor raising is a mechanism that allows the movement of the affected person to sentence initial position to serve as a topic to several clauses within a narrative. This topicalisation also ensures clarity of referents in a narrative where there is more than one personal referent involved and there are frequent switches between them as subjects to different sentences. As stated in (Dzahene-Quarshie, 2010:146)

“In continuous narrative, the (topicalisation) mechanism is used first of all to draw attention to the foregrounded item which usually is the affected person. Secondly it is a mechanism that indicates or points to change of referent, especially in a continuous text where there are frequent switches between two or more referents.”

The text (30) below illustrates this point.

- (30) 1 **Fumu sasa woga u-me-m-toka.**  
 Fumu now 14-fear 14SM-Perf-1OM3-come from  
 Now fear had gone out of Fumu.
- 2 **Jicho la hasira ka-li-toa.**  
 5-eye of 9-anger Sbsc-5-OM-come out  
 He stared with an angry eye.
- 3 **Sauti i-me-m-tetemeka.**  
 9-voice 9SM-Perf-1OM3-tremble  
 His voice trembled.
- 4 **Bila ya shaka, a-li-lo-li-sema**  
 without of doubt, 1SM-Pst-5Rel-5OM-say
- 5 **li-li-kuwa tusi kubwa kwa Fauz ambaye**  
 SM-Pst-be 5-insult 5-big for Fauz 1-Rel-  
**a-li-hisi kama ka-chom-wa kisu cha**  
 1SM-Pst-feel as Sbsc-stab-PASS 7-knive of  
**chembe cha moyo; mtimko wa damu**  
 7-pit of 3-heart 3-shot of 9-blood  
**u-li-timka ghafla, pumzi zlimfoka**  
 3-SM-Pst-shoot up suddenly 10-breath 10Pst-1OM3  
**ovy, ufidhuli u-li-mw-enda na ari**  
 excessively, 14-arrogance 14SM-Pst-1OM3-go and 9-pride  
**ya ujana i-li-m-shawishi vibaya.**  
 of 14-youth 9SM-Pst-1OM3-entice badly

Undoubtedly what he said was a great insult to Fauz who felt as if he had been stabbed right in the heart with a knife. Adrenaline surged suddenly, he panted uncontrollably, arrogance went out of him and youthful pride pressed him strongly.

- 5 **Kama mwanajeshi hodari a-li-shusha bunduki**  
 Like 1-soldier clever 1SM-Pst-lowered 9-gun
- Yake a kagonga tako lake kwenye ardhi.**  
 9-Poss 1SM-Sbsc-hit 5-buttocks 5-Poss-3 on 9-ground

Like a skilled soldier he lowered his gun and hit its bottom on the ground.

- 6     **Vumbi**            **li-li-timka.**  
       5-dust            5SM-Pst-rise up  
       Dust rose up.
- 7     **Fumu moyo** **u-ki-m-gota,**            **lakini** **a-li-simama**  
       Fumu 3-heart 3SM-Pst-1OM3-beat but 1SM-Pst-stand

**kidete,**            **ushupavu**        **u-ki-mw-enda.**  
       firmly            11-bravery        11SM-Cncm-1OM3-go  
       Fumu's heart thumped but he stood fast, and maintained a brave front.

- 8     **Fauz sasa malaika** **ya-me-m-simama,** **aliuma**  
       Fauz now 6-goose flesh 6SM-Perf-1OM3-stand 1SM-Pst-hurt

**meno na ku-sikiliza** **uchungu wa maneno ya Fumu**  
       6-teeth and Inf-listen 14-bitterness of 6-words of Fumu

**u-ki-m-panda na ku-m-teremka** **upesi upesi.**

14SM-Cncm-1OM3-rise and Inf-1OM3-descend fast fast

Now Fauz had goose flesh, he clenched his teeth, feeling the bitterness of Fumu's words rise and descend in him rapidly. <d8.1 2, ex 2>

In text (30), the author uses the mechanism of topic switching and foregrounding as a narrative style to recount a highly emotional encounter between two men. All affective constructions in the text have been underlined for easy identification. Sentence 1 is an affective construction in which the affected NP Fumu features as a pre-sentential topic and is also marked in the verb as the object. This structure brings the affected person into the foreground. The affected person also serves as an antecedent referent to sentences 2 and 3. In 4-6 the second referent Fauz is brought to the foreground through a relative clause formation. In 7, Fumu is brought back to the foreground as a pre-sentential topic of an affective construction.

It can be argued that this kind of topicalisation is achieved only through possessor raising. Without possessor raising in the form of the affective object marker, the affective person cannot feature as a pre-sentential topic in sentences 1, 7 and 8 in (30). \***Fumu sasa woga umetoka**, \***Fumu moyo ukigota**, \***Fauz sasa malaika yamesimama**. Therefore possessor raising

or affective object marking is a pre-condition for the topicalisation of the affected person.

It must be pointed out that the affective NP may occur in object position, that is, after the verb. In this case also the affective object marking is obligatory, as in (31) and (32). They will not be grammatically acceptable without the affective object marker. In other words, where the affective NP is present, the affective object marker is obligatory. No discourse consideration can make (31) and (32) acceptable without possessor raising. They can only be acceptable if the affective NP is absent, as in (26b) and (27b)

- (31) **Chozi li-li-m-tiririka Farashuu**  
 5-Tears 5SM-Pst-IOM3-trickle Farashuu  
 Tears trickled down Farashuu. <u59.3, (A167)>
- (32) **Huku mikonoi-ki-m-tetemeka Makuudi**  
 There 4-hands 4SM-Cncm-IOM3-tremble Makuudi  
 As Makuudi's hands trembled. <u108.6, (A168)>

Although generally, an affective version and the possessive version are in a paradigmatic relation, occasionally both possessor raising and possessive marking may occur, as in (33) and (34).

- (33) **uso wake kidogo u-li-ku-wa u-me-m-parama**  
 11-Face his little 11SM-Pst-INF-be 11SM-Perf-IOM3-dry up  
 His face was a little dried up. <u114.4, (A454)>
- (34) **tamaa yake i-li-m-cheza shere**  
 9-Desire his 4SM-Pst-IOM3-mock  
 His impatience mocked him. <d49.16, (A444)>

### 5.3 Object marking in transitive affective constructions

Object marking in transitive affective constructions is less complicated. As mentioned earlier, the verbs involved in this construction type are simple transitive verbs that normally take one object elsewhere, but if they participate in affective constructions, possessor raising is obligatory, as in (35a) and (36a), and therefore they take two objects: the affected person and the intimate possession respectively. Possessor raising



introduces a second object NP (affective object) which is obligatorily marked in the verb by an object marker as in (35a) and (36a). Examples (35b) and (36b) are alternative non affective constructions that manifest a possessive relationship between the intimate possession and its possessor. The alternative where there is neither possessor raising nor possessive marking as in (26b) and (27b) above is not possible, as in (35c) and (36c). This is because in Swahili syntax when a verb takes two objects one of them ought to be marked in the verb as object prefix, and if one is animate it is the animate object that is automatically marked in the verb by the object marker. The choice then is between affective and possessive construction. Without possessor raising in examples (35a) and (36b), and without a possessive relationship between the possessor and the intimate possession, the construction as indicated in (35c) and (36c) cannot be grammatically acceptable.

(35a) **Mama Jeni a-li-m-vuta mkono Maimuna**  
 Mama Jeni 1SM Pst IOM3 pull 4-hand Maimuna  
 Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna's hand. <u64.3, (A591)>

(35b) **Kisha a-li-li-vuta-vuta shati lake**  
 then 1SM-Pst-5OM-pull-pull 5-shirt his  
 Then she pulled at his shirt and put it tidy. <d77.1, (A618)>

(35c) **\*Mama Jeni a-li-vuta mkono Maimuna**  
 Mama Jeni 1SM Pst pull 3-hand Maimuna  
 Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna's hand.

(36a) **a-ki-m-shika bega Maimuna**  
 1SM-Sbsc-IOM3-hold 5-shoulder Maimuna  
 taking hold of her shoulders. <u39.1, (A588)>

(36b) **Rehema a-li-i-shika mikono migumu ya Sulubu**  
 Rehema 1SM Pst 4OM hold 4-hands 4-hard of Sulubu  
 Rahema held Sulubu's rough hands. <ny95.2, (626)>

(36c) **\*a-ki-shika bega Maimuna**  
 1SM-Sbsc-hold 5-shoulder Maimuna  
 taking hold of her shoulders

Another observation is that when the relationship between the intimate possession and the possessor is marked by possessive marking

or genitival connector there is often a concomitant representation of the intimate possession in the verb by an object marker, as in (35b) and (36b). It is obvious then that while the affective option focuses on the affected person, the possessive option focuses on the intimate possession, hence its representation by the object marker. Nevertheless, though not often, the object marker may be absent in the possessive or genitive option, as in (37).

- (37) **Bibi**                    **a-li-ng'ang'ania** **miguu**                    **ya**                    **Fumu**  
 1 (9)-Woman    1SM-Pst-cling    4-legs                    of                    Fumu  
 The woman clung on to Fumus legs.                    <d95.7, (A619)>

The data indicate that possessor raising and possessive NP selection are in paradigmatic relation; where one occurs, the other does not. Both possessor raising and possessive marking cannot co-occur in a construction, as in (38).

- (38) \***Mama Jeni**    **a-li-m-vuta**                    **mkono ya Maimuna**  
 Mama Jeni                    1SM Pst IOM3 pull    3-hand of Maimuna  
 Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna's hand.

From the above discussion it is evident that the intransitive affective construction and the transitive affective construction behave distinctively in terms of conditions for affective object marking.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper we have argued that it is important to include object marking in affective constructions in the study of object marking in Swahili. It has been illustrated that one of the conditions for object marking in Swahili is possessor raising, that is, object marking in two distinct construction types, the intransitive affective construction and the transitive affective constructions. Possessor raising violates object selection prohibition rules in Swahili where intransitive affective constructions are concerned. Despite the fact that most of the verbs used in the construction are intransitive and ordinarily would prohibit object marking, affective object marking occurs regularly.

Again, in the intransitive affective construction, the affective object marking is obligatory where the affected person features as a presentential topic or as an affective object NP. The conclusion here is that

without an explicit pre-sentential or post-verbal affective object NP, affective object marking is not obligatory in an otherwise intransitive affective construction. Where affective object marking is not used, the relationship between the affected person and intimate possession may be marked by a possessive marker or possessor deletion (that is, where the affective possessor is left as understood).

In transitive affective constructions verbs that would normally tolerate only a single object allow a second object NP which features obligatorily in the verb as an affective object marker. Unlike the intransitive affective construction where it is possible to have a grammatically acceptable construction without possessor raising or possessive marking, in transitive affective constructions without possessor raising only a construction in which the relationship between the intimate possession and affected person is expressed by possessive or genitive marking is possible. A complete possessor deletion option is not available. Where there is possessor deletion, affective object marking is obligatory. These conditions for object marking are certainly distinct from the general conditions for object marking. A further study on object marking in affective constructions in naturally occurring narratives is recommended for comparison since the corpus for this study is text based.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Most of the Swahili data used in this paper are cited from the appendix of Dzahene-Quarshie (2010). The following abbreviations and notations are used for the interlinear annotations.

### Interlinear annotations

#### Tenses

perf	<i>me</i>	perfect tense
pres	<i>-na-</i>	present tense
pst	<i>-li-</i>	past tense
sbsc	<i>-ka-</i>	subsecutive tense
cncm	<i>-ki-</i>	concomitant tense

#### Verbal elements

SM subject marker preceded by noun class number eg. 1-SM

OM object marker preceded by noun class number and followed by grammatical person if animate. E.g., 1-OM-3

Rel relative marker

Loc locative marker

Appl applicative extension

Refl reflexive marker

Pass passive extension

Text references: <initial letter of text title. page. para (appendix number)> or <author, year: example number>. All unlabelled examples are author's own data

#### Texts

d Dunia mti mkavu

ny Nyota ya Rehema

u Utengano

*Other abbreviations*

NOM nominative case

ACC accusative case

P<sub>3</sub> past tense

<sup>2</sup> When animate nouns which do not belong to the animate class1/2 are used, 1 or 2 is used to indicate that they are animates, and in brackets the number of their actual class is given. In (4) *dada* is a noun from class 9, but it is animate and therefore follows the rules of concord for class 1, not class 9. So 1 indicates that it takes animate concord. The following table is a guide to the Swahili concord system.

noun class number	noun class prefix	subject marker	object marker	Associative marker
1 (1 pers) (2 pers) (3 pers)	m- or ø	ni- u- a-	-ni- -ku- -m-	wa
2 (1 pers) (2 pers) (3 pers)	wa-	tu- m- wa-	wa- wa-	wa
3	m-	u-	u-	wa
4	mi-	i-	i-	ya
5	j(i)- or ø	li-	li-	la
6	ma-	ya-	ya-	ya
7	ki-	ki-	ki-	cha
8	vi-	vi-	vi-	vya
9	n-	i-	i-	ya
10	ny-	zi-	zi-	za
11	u-	u-	u-	wa

14	u-	u-	u-	wa
15	ku-	ku-	ku-	kwa
16		pa-	pa-	pa
17		ku-	ku-	kwa
18		m-	m-	mwa

## References

Dzahene-Quarshie, J. (2007). Auto-referential affective construction: An aspect of the syntax of inalienable possessions in Swahili. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, 18, 91-106.

Dzahene-Quarshie, J. (2010). *Inalienable possession: The syntax of personal reference in Swahili*. Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Hinnebusch, T & Kirsner, R. (1980). On the inference of ‘inalienable possession’ in Swahili. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 2, 1 16.

Hyman, L. M. (1977). The syntax of body parts. In A. Duranti & L. M. Hyman (Eds.). *Haya grammatical structure*. University of Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics, 6, 99 117..

Hyman, L. M & Duranti, A. (1982). On the object relation in Bantu. In P. Hopper and S. Thomson (Eds.). *Syntax and semantics, Studies in Transitivity*, 15, 217 239.

Keach, C. N & Rochemont, M. (1994). On syntax of possessor raising in Swahili. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 23, 1, 81 106.

Marten, L & Ramadhani, D. (2001). An overview of object marking in Kiluguru. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 1, 259-275.

Mohamed, M. S. (1976). *Nyota ya Rehema*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Mohamed, S. A. (1980a). *Dunia Mti Mkavu*. Nairobi: Longman.

Mohamed, S. A. (1980b). *Utengano*. Nairobi: Longman.

Morimoto, Y. (2002). Prominence mismatches and differential object marking in Bantu. In M. Butt and T. H. King (Eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG02 Conference*. National Technical University of Athens: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/> [accessed on 10/09/11]

Mukama, R. (1976). Toward the anatomy of the object selection prohibiting rules in Swahili. *Kiswahili*, 46, 6-25.

Schrock, T. B. (2007). Syntactic exorcism: Toward an LFG analysis of Swahili 'external possession'. *GIALens*, 3, 1-11. <http://www.gial.edu/GIALens.htm> [accesses on 15/11/11]

Scotton, C. M. (1981a). Extending inalienable possession: The argument for an extensive case in Swahili. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, 3, 159-174.

Scotton, C. M. (1981b). Rethinking inalienable possession in Swahili: The extensive case. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 8*, 121-124.

Seidl, A. & Dimitriadis, A. (1997). The discourse function of object marking in Swahili. *Chicago Linguistic Society*, 33, 373-389.

Tomioka, S. & Sim, C-Y. (2007). *The event semantic root of inalienable possession*. [http://www.semantics.archive.net/Archive/WVIM2M3Y/sim\\_tomioka\\_possession.pdf](http://www.semantics.archive.net/Archive/WVIM2M3Y/sim_tomioka_possession.pdf) [accessed on 10/09/11]

Voeltz, E. F. K. (1972). Inalienable possession in Sotho. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 6*, 255-266. (Papers in honour of William E. Welmers).