This dissertation has been submitted
for examination with our approval as
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A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO THE MORPHOLOGY
OF VERBAL EXTENSIONS IN KIDAWIDA WITH
COMPARATIVE STATEMENTS OF THE SAME
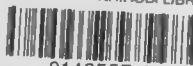PHENOMENON MADE WITH RESPECT TO
KISWAHILI

By

ILONGO, AGNES PIUS

A dissertation submitted in partial
fulfilment for the degree of Master
of Arts in the University of Nairobi.

March 1983

Symbols used:

IPA	Orthographic
p	p
b	b
β	w
t	t
d	d
ɟ̊	j
č	ch
f	f
v	v
s	s
z	z
š	sh
k	k
g	g
ɣ	gh
ħ	h
m	m
n	n
ɲ	ny
ŋ	ng
mb	mb
nd	nd
nɟ	nj
ng	ng
l	l

IPA	Orthographic
r	r
w	w
j	y
a	a
e	e
i	i
o	o
u	u

Abstract:

The TG proposed by Chomsky (1957) and (1967)
has received many criticisms (see Dik 1978 - Preface).
Linguists such as Dik have come up with a non-
transformational grammar and used it to analyse
languages.

Our work is an attempt to use FG as a model
to analyse the morphology of Kidawida verbal extensions
with comparative statements of the same phenomenon
made with respect to Kiswahili.

The first chapter of the work is a general
introduction to the two languages, Kidawida and
Kiswahili. In chapter two, we have an introductory
comparative short review of Kiswahili and Kidawida
noun morphology. Chapter three deals with·the
morphology of the verb and verbal extensions.
Chapter four which is the main part of our work, an
attempt is made to analyse the verbal extension
using FG, thus generalizations are made concerning
the functions of verbal extensions.

Our final chapter is the conclusions. where we
sum up mainly the findings of chapter four. We also
point out the practical issues in this section.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Languages

Both Kiswahili and Kidawida are Bantu languages
belonging to a large family of languages spoken
south of the Sahara. The languages belonging to
this family are closely related and usually show
characteristic structural features. It is therefore,
assumed that the verbal morphology of Kidawida and
Kiswahili would bear some certain similarities.

1.11 Kidawida

Kidawida is spoken by the people occupying the
Taita/Taveta district of the Coast Province of
Kenya, some a hundred miles or so from Mombasa on
the way to Nairobi. The district has been divided
into three divisions of Voi, Wundanyi and Taveta
for administrative purposes. Taita country is very
hilly, making it an important geographical
phenomenon when distinguishing the various dialects
of Kidawida language.

Taita[1] as Mkangi (1978) says is a Kiswahili
version of the local name Dawida· (Daβida) and
according to this version, the language is referred
to as Kitaita and the people as Wataita. For our
purposes, we shall refer to the people of Taita as
Wadawida and their language as Kidawida.

Guthrie (1948:78) has classified Kidawida as

a Bantu language belonging to Zone E, 74a of the
Eastern Bantu language group.

Righa (1978) mentions that there are three
major dialects of Kidawida and he names them as
Kidawida proper (spoken in Wundanyi Division),
Kisagala (Voi Division) and Kituweta (spoken in
Taveta). It is true that these are all dialects
of Kidawida, but Righa's idea of the three main
dialects does not agree with Bostock (1950) who
mentions only Kidawida and Kituweta as being the
languages of two tribes occupying Taita/Taveta
district.

Kikasigau which is neither mentioned by Righa
nor Bostock has been defined as a microdialect of
Kidawida by Nurse (1978). Möhlig (1980) says that:

> it seems that all Daβida[3] dialects
> are mutually understandable and
> form one single dialect cluster.

(Möhlig 1980:24)

The Dawida dialects listed by Möhlig which have
also been mentioned by Righa are as follows: Buru,
Chawia, Ghazi, Kidaya, Kigala, Kigombo, Kipusi,
Kishamba, Mbale, Mbaramgondi, Mgambonyi, Mgange,
Mkororo, Mrugua, Mraru, Msau, Mwanda, Mwarungu,
Ndile, Ndome, Ngerenyi, Ronge, Sechu, Shelemba,
Wumingu, Werugha, Wesu, Wumari, Wundanyi,
Wongonyi and Wusi.

It is, however, important to note that although
these sub-dialects are mutually understandable,
there is some slight difference in the spellings
and pronunciation of vocabularies. These differences
can be realised when we attempt a comparative
phonological analysis at word level. This area,
however, needs a thorough research.

Nurse (1978) has tried to show with linguistic
evidence that the Kidawida major dialects of Dabida,
Kikasigau, Kisagala and Kituweta are historically
related.

The language is spoken by about 135,000 people
according to the figure given by Möhlig (1980).

1.12 Kiswahili

Kiswahili according to Guthrie (1948) is
classified as belonging to Zone G-G42; of the Eastern
Bantu language group. Kiswahili has many dialects,
scholars like Polomé (1967) mentions about fifteen,
while Ireri Mbaabu (1978) mentions twenty two and
Möhlig (1980) mentions only seven. Some of the
Kiswahili dialects spoken along the East African
Coast are, Tikuu, Siu, Pate, Amu, Moita, Shirazi,
Vumba, Chifundi, Mtangata, Tumbatu. There is also
what is considered as Standard dialect. For our
purposes we shall use this dialect.

It is very difficult to obtain data specifying
the exact number of Kiswahili speakers. Those who

speak it as their first language are most of the
people who inhabit the East African Coast and the adjacent
islands, otherwise the number of speakers acquiring
it as their second language has grown considerably
throughout East Africa and also other parts of
Africa.

1.13 Comparative Analysis at Word level:

Languages belonging to one family such as
Kidawida and Kiswahili have many things in common.
There are many ways of sorting out the similarities
in order to come up with such conclusion. One of
the ways is to carry out a comparative phonological
analysis at word level. We shall use this phenomenon
to observe that there are some similarities between
Kiswahili and Kidawida:

Kiswahili	Kidawida	gloss
1) ngu/o	ngu/wo	'cloth'
2) m/ko/no	m/ko/nu	'arm'
3) pu/a	mbu/a	'nose'
4) ki/nu	ki/du	'mortar'
5) nji/a	chi/a	'path'
6) njo/o	cho/o	'come'
7) ne/nda	ghe/nda	'go'
8) ta/tu	i/da/du	'three'
9) tu/a	du/a	'put down'
10) vi/mba	vi/mba	'swell'
11) ku/mi	i/ku/mi	'ten'

12) o/mba	lo/mba	'pray'
13) ng'o/mbe	ng'o/mbe	'cow'
14) mbu/zi	mbu/ri	'goat'
15) o/ta	o/da	'busk'

The above examples have been extracted from verbs and nouns. If we look at the lists of the words above, we see that they look alike. Historical linguists would tell us the various factors which contributed to some sound changes, and the addition of some morphemes in some cases.

1.20 Problem of the Research:

This study is a preliminary analysis of the verbal extensions in Kidawida with comparative statements of the same phenomenon made with respect to Kiswahili.

Traditional structuralist grammarians like Ashton (1944) has written on the morphology of nouns, verbal extensions of Kiswahili in an ad hoc manner, that is to say, by just describing various verbal suffixes without carrying out a theoretical analysis. On the other hand no comparative analysis has been made on the verbal extensions of Kiswahili and Kidawida languages using a functional approach.

Polomé (1967:29) says that,

It has been assumed that the Nyika

> dialects, spoken in the Coastal
> areas immediately behind the
> Swahili Coastal strip on either
> side of Malindi, are closely
> related to Swahili than to Taita,
> spoken further inland west of
> Voi.

Lack of comprehensive comparative research on the

languages of the Coastal area provides a major problem i

indicating their degree of relationship with

Kiswahili in a more precise way.

1.21 Aims of the Study

In this study we are attempting a functional approach to the study of the morphology of Kidawida verbal extensions with comparative statements of the same phenomenon made with respect to Kiswahili. We hope not only to provide a precise analysis of the verbal extensions but also show that the functional theory proposed by Dik (1978) can adequately describe a language with extensive morphological structure. We shall therefore, discuss the morphology of the verb by taking the general function of the several verbs into account. We also hope to show that there is a lot of morphological similarities between Kidawida and Kiswahili verbal extensions.

1.22 Scope and Limitations

Both Kiswahili and Kidawida have various forms of verbal extensions. The traditional approach to the description of Kiswahili verbs tend to specify the syntactic and semantic functions of an extended form without giving any rules concerning the semantic changes.

In our current study we shall concern ourselves with the analysis of the following verbal extensions:

1) Passive

2) Applicative

3) Causative

4) Reciprocal

5) Stative

6) Conversive (Reversive)

Kidawida and Kiswahili being very rich in
verbal morphology calls for intensive analysis.
It would, however, be beyond the limits of this work
to deal with all the aspects concerning the
morphology of the verb. For this purpose, we have
limited ourselves to the above mentioned verbal
extensions. We do hope that the outline given on
the analysis will show that functional grammar can
be used to analyse aspects of grammar, such as the
morphology of verbal extensions.

We have given an outline of the introductory
comparative of Kiswahili and Kidawida noun'
morphology. In one section of the work we have
also outlined verb morphology of the two languages.
These outlines will give the reader a general view
of the structure of the languages, in preparation
for the analysis in chapter four.

1.23 Literature Review

There is no work to my knowledge at present on
a functional approach to the morphology of verbal
extensions in Kidawida with comparative statements
of the same phenomenon made with respect to
Kiswahili. Most of the available works on Kiswahili

verb only specifies the syntactic and semantic
functions of extended verbal forms.   There is
however no detailed work on Kidawida verbal
extensions.   Mention of Kidawida verbs has been
done by Righa (1978) when he says that,

> The Kidawida verbal form is
> composed of various
> constituents which all appear
> in a fixed order but do not
> necessarily occur simultaneously.

                              (Righa 1978:14)

Polome (1967) and Ashton (1944) have done quite a
lot on verb morphology of Kiswahili, they however
just list the verb suffixes and describe how they
alter the meaning of the verb stem.   These works
on verbal extensions are primarily of great
interest to those people wanting to learn the
language but not a linguistic analysis of any
aspect.   These works are considered very useful
only as sources of data.

     Polome argues that verbal extensions involve
complex rules, but the process conforms to
predictable patterns, the verbal root being
followed by one or more suffixes in a definite
order.

     It is said that verbal extension such as the
causative expresses the cause of the action
expressed by the verb stem and that the applicative
extension adds an additional argument to the verb

to which it is attached.

Statements made by traditional structuralist grammarians are correct for a good number of Kiswahili verbs but Abdulaziz and Samuelsdorff (1981) argue that,

> the weakness of such an approach
> is that it is too morphologically
> based, ignoring to a large extent
> the function of the verb within
> large syntactic units on the one
> hand and the reality of actual
> usage on the other.

(Abdulaziz & Samuelsdorff 1980:1)

Descriptive works on verbal extensions of Kiswahili have been done. For example Dorothea Driever (1976) writing on aspects of a case grammar of Mombasa Swahili, analyses some verbal extensions. The descriptive model she used was that of case grammar as proposed by Fillmore (1968). Scotton (1967) has also analysed Swahili Causative Extended verb forms, whereby the descriptive model used was Transformational Grammar as outlined by Chomsky (1965).

There are also some works where the Functional model has been used. Dik (1979) has analysed some seventeen English sentences, using the model which he had proposed in 1978. Other works include a paper presented by M.H. Abdulaziz and P.O. Samuelsdorff in 1980 at the University of Nairobi on Semantic analysis of the Swahili

Applicative extension.

Gathenji (1981) has also attempted a functional analysis of some verbal extension in Gikuyu. All the authors who have used a functional approach to the analysis of their works, are of the opinion that the model can adequately describe a language to achieve a better understanding of the communicative concept in languages.

1.24 Theoretical Framework

In our analysis we have used the functional model of grammar as proposed by Dik (1978). The FG model sees language as an instrument of social interaction with the main goal of communication. This approach, however, does not allow syntax, semantics and pragmatics to be considered as independent levels of grammar of a language as in Transformational Generative model of Chomsky (1965).

Functional model of grammar describes a language from the three levels of syntax, semantics and pragmatics as part and parcel of a process, and Dik summarises it as follows:

> Pragmatics is the all
> encomposing framework
> within which sematics
> and syntax must be studied;
> semantics is subservient
> to pragmatics and syntax to
> semantics; the priorities
> run from pragmatics via
> sematics to syntax.

(Dik 1978: 5)

Halliday holds the same opinion about the form of
functional grammar when he says,

> What we recognise as "grammar,"
> therefore, in its traditional
> sense as a linguistic level
> (i.e. syntax, and morphology
> chapters in the description of
> a language, is the inter-
> functional hook-up: the
> intergration of the various
> functional components into a
> unified structural form. A
> clause in English is a realizat-
> ion of meaning potential derived
> from the interpersonal and
> textual functions. It embodies
> all these components at the same
> time. But this is not done in a
> discrete, segmental fashion such
> that we can identify one bit of
> a clause as expressing one
> function and another bit as
> espressing another. What we
> find, rather, is that the
> clause as a whole expresses
> all functions through the total
> set of its structural and lexical
> resources.

> (Halliday 1976:24)

There are three functional levels which are
realised in functional grammar. Dik specifies
these levels when he states the following:

> Semantic functions specify
> the roles which the referents of
> the terms involved play within
> the state of affairs designated
> by the predication in which they
> occur. Syntactic functions
> specify the perspective from
> which that state of affairs is
> presented in the linguistic
> expression. Pragmatic functions
> specify the informational status
> of the constituents within the
> wider communicative setting in
> which they occur.

> (Dik 1978:13)

Dik's opinion about Semantic Functions is quite

similar to that proposed by Fillmore in his Case

Grammar approach when he says,

> The case notions comprise a set
> of universal presumably innate
> concepts which identify certain
> type of judgements human beings
> are capable of making about
> events that are going on around
> them.

(Fillmore 1968:24)

The difference, between Dik and Fillmore is that

in his case grammar approach, Fillmore uses

transformational model concepts presupposing deep

structures while in Dik's functional model there
                                                    structure
are no transformations in the sense of feature

changing operations as in Chomsky (1965), while

Dik proposes construction rules that immediately

generate the set of well formed expressions

within one level.

In the lexicon, basic predicates are provided.

Basic predicates are not formed according to some

synchronically productive process, while derived

ones are formed by means of predicate formation

rules. Basic predicates are given "with all the

information relevant for their semantic and

syntactic behaviour in linguistic expressions"

(Dik 1978: 15). This information, however, is

        contained in the predicate frames. Each

predicate-frame is liable to the following

information about a predicate :

1) the lexical form

Kiswahili	Kidawida	'gloss'
Ua	bwaga	'kill'

2) The syntactic category to which it belongs

e.g. Ua is a verbal predicate.

3) The number of arguments it requires. This
is marked by argument variable

e.g. Ua_v (X_1), (X_2).

4) The selection restrictions which the
predicate puts on its arguments

e.g. Ua_v $(X_1:$ animate (X_1) $(X_2:$ animate (X_2)
                     human

The predicate Ua 'kill' requires two arguments.
In the case of this verb 'kill' the arguments can
be characterised by the selection restriction
'animate' and the other one also by the selection
restriction 'animate'. In simple explanation,
X_1 could be a human being or an animal and X_2 could
also either be human or animal - this can be
realised in the following pairs of sentences:

i) Juma aliua ng'ombe - Juma (animate) ng'ombe (anim
                              (human)   (anim

'Juma killed the cow.'

ii) Ng'ombe aliua Juma - ng'ombe (animate)

Juma (animate)

(human)

'The cow killed Juma'.

iii) <u>Kidawida</u>

iii) Juma wabwaga ng'ombe.

'Juma killed the cow'.

iv) Ng'ombe yabwaga Juma.

'The cow killed Juma'.

5) The semantic functions fulfilled by the arguments.

E.g. $Ua_V (X_1)_{AG} (X_2)_{GO}$.

The verb ua 'kill' requires one of the arguments
to have the semantic function of Agent (Ag) and
the other one of Goal (GO).

In summary we can say that, a complete predicate-
frame for the predicate ua - 'kill' would be as
follows:

$ua_V (X_1 : \underline{human}(X_1)AG (X_2 : animate(X_2)GO$.

After filling the argument slots in the predicate
frame with the appropriate arguments and Term
Operators one gets a nuclear predication as the
one below:

$ua_V (dx_1 : Juma(x_1))AG (dx_2 : cow(X_2))GO$

This nuclear predication thus designates the state
of affairs in which some definite person called
'Juma' killed a definite animal called 'cow'.
By nuclear predication Dik means the application of
a predicate to an appropriate number of terms
functioning as arguments to that predicate. 'Nuclear
predication is arrived at through the insertion of
appropriate terms into the argument slot of some
predicate' (Dik 1978:15).

A Nuclear predication designates a set of
states of affairs. Dik, however, defines the
semantic functions of arguments by realising four
basic types of state of affairs along two parameters
of Dynamism and Control as the diagram below shows:-

	State of Affairs	
	+dynamic EVENT	-Dynamic SITUATION
+Controlled	Action	Position
-Controlled	Process	State

(Dik 1978: 34)

There is a distinction between nuclear
arguments and satellites. Satellites specify
further properties of the nuclear state of affairs,
that is they provide optional additions to the

information present in the nuclear predication.
Nuclear arguments are, however, necessary for
defining the state of affairs.

There are various nuclear semantic functions
according to functional grammar. These are
defined as follows:

Agent (AG):   the entity controlling the Action.

Goal (GO):   the entity to which the Action is
                  applied by the Agent.

Recipient (REC): refers to the entity to which
                  something is transferred.

Beneficiary (BEN): the entity which receives the
                  benefits of the Action.

Direction (DIR): refers to the place towards which
                  something is moved.

Processed (PROC): entity affected by the process.

Location (LOC): where an entity keeps itself in
                  position in question.

Positioner (PO): entity controlling a position.

Force (FO):   an instigator or an autonomous
                  cause of a process.

We also have two syntactic functions, of
Subject and Object. Syntactic functions can be

assigned to arguments whereby subject assignment
determines the perspective from which the state of
affairs is described, while object assignment
specifies further such a perspective. In functional
grammar there are four pragmatic functions. These
are Focus, Theme, Topic and Tail. Dik elaborates
these functions in the statement which follows:

> A constituent with Theme function
> presents a domain or universe of
> discourse with respect to which
> it is relevant to pronounce the
> following predication. A
> constituent with Tail function
> presents, as an 'afterthought'
> to the Predication, information meant
> to clarify or modify (some constituent
> in) the predication. A constituent
> with Topic function presents the entity
> 'about' which the Predication predicates
> something in the given setting.
> A constituent with Focus function
> presents the relatively most important
> or salient information with respect
> to the pragmatic information of the
> Speaker and the Addressee.

<div align="right">(Dik 1978:130)</div>

Pragmatic functions are assigned to constituents of
linguistic expressions in a similar way as syntactic
functions are.

As there are no transformations in FG, then the
only way of arriving at complete predications is the
insertion of appropriate terms into the argument
slots of predicate-frames and into satellite slots
which are, however, optional additions.
'The predicate-frame is the most fundamental building

block for the construction of the structures
underlying linguistic expressions' (Dik 1978:54).

1.25 Methodology

Most of the data for analysis as per Kiswahili
was obtained from written works such as Ashton
(1944), Polomé (1967) and other literary works on
Kiswahili languages.

In the case of Kidawida, written texts especial
'Chuo cha Malagano Mawishi' that is the New Testament
in Kidawida and other Kidawida texts have been
consulted. I also used my intuition as a native
speaker of Kidawida. I have also made use of
class notes on comparative Bantu from lectures
delivered by Dr. Derek Nurse formerly of Kenyatta
University, where I was an undergraduate student.

1.30 Kidawida Phonology

We decided to have an additional section of
Kidawida consonants and vowels, for the purpose of
listing out symbols used in the study.

1.31 Consonants

In Kidawida as well as in Kiswahili, we have
single and nasal compound consonants. In this
section we shall only describe consonants and
vowels first by giving examples of words in which
they occur.

We have the following Kidawida consonants:

IPA symbols			Kidawida	Gloss
p	as in		parua	'tear'
b	"	"	bora	'sing'
β	"	"	ʒaʒa (wawa)	'grandmother'
t	"	"	ṫima	'try'
d	"	"	duma	'send'
ɟ	"	"	ɟoka	'climb'
č	"	"	chura	'fill'
f	"	"	fuwe	'baboon'
v	"	"	vala	'fingers'
s	"	"	suwa	'scratch'
z	"	"	zama	'go bad'
š	"	"	mshuru	'a piece of cloth'
ɣ	"	"	.ghora	'say'
h	"	"	hao	'where'
m	"	"	mao	'mother'
n	"	"	nao	'then'
ɲ	"	"	mnyango	'door'
ŋ	"	"	ng'ondi	'sheep'
mb	"	"	mbuwa	'garden'
nd	"	"	ndona	'spring'
ɲɟ	"	"	nɟala	'famine'
ng	"	"	ngoru	'scar'
l	"	"	lala	'sleep'
r	"	"	rogua	'greet'

w as in   wula   'intestines'

j   "   "   yapo   'mine'

We shall try to show in Table I the consonants
according to their manner and place of articulation[1]

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p b		t d	č	nǰ	k g
Fricative		f v	s z	š		γ
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ
Liquid			r· l			
Glide	w				j	
Nasal compound	m·b		nd	nǰ		ng

There are twenty five consonants and two glides.

1.32 Vowels:

Kidawida like most Bantu languages, has a five ??.
vowel system. These are given in   a summary in
the following table below - [5].

Figure II.

High i Front   Back u

Low
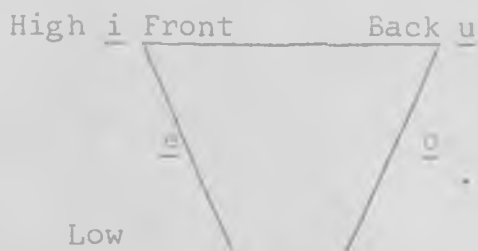
These vowels occur in syllabic forms as seen below:

Kidawida:		Gloss
kala	-	'sharp'
vindo	-	'food'
kora	-	'burn'
ruda	-	'pull'
enda	-	'go'

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Introductory Comparative Study to Kiswahili
and Kidawida Noun Morphology

2.10 Introduction:

In this chapter we shall attempt an introductory
comparative study to the noun morphology of Kiswahili
and Kidawida languages. We shall therefore describe
the noun classes and the various ways in which nouns
are formed. The aim of this chapter is to give the
readers a general background to the noun morphology
of the two languages, hoping that it will help us to
have a clear background when we discuss verb
morphology in the next chapter.

2.11 Noun Morphology:

Ashton says that,

> Nouns in Swahili fall into classes
> distinguished by nominal prefixes.
> These are termed Class Prefixes
> with two exceptions, the prefix in
> the plural Class differs from that
> of singular Class.

(Ashton 1944:10)

A noun is made up of a stem and affixes. The
nominal stem can either be a root or a derived
stem, for example: In Kiswahili we have the following
roots:

	root	Prefix	- Noun	Gloss
1)	-tu	m	- mtu	'person'
2)	-tu	wa	- watu	'persons'
3)	-ti	,m	- mti	'tree'
4)	-ti	mi	- miti	'trees'
5)	limi	u	- ulimi	'tongue'

We have nouns from derived stems such as:

Verb root	derived stem	noun	gloss
6) -gomb-	-gomvi	ugomvi	'quarrels'
7) -tumik-	-tumishi	utumishi	'service'
8) -lew-	-levi	ulevi	'drunkardness'

In Kidawida we have the following examples of
nominal stem:

	root	Prefix	noun	gloss
9)	-ndu	mu	mundu	'person'
10)	-ndu	wa	wandu	'persons'
11)	-di	m	mdi	'tree'
12)	-di	mi	midi	'trees'
13)	-du	ki	kidu	'mortar'
14)	-du	vi	vidu	'mortars'

In supporting Ashton's claim as quoted above, Righa
has the following statement regarding Kidawida nouns,
when he says:

Kidawida nouns belong to a set
of classes marking their singular
and plural forms respectively,
whereas the nominals and the
pro-nominal stems and the flexional
forms of verbs appear in all
classes with specific concord
prefixes whose choice depends
upon the noun with which they are
connected.

(Righa 1978:13)

Generally, Kiswahili and Kidawida noun classes
are grouped systematically with grammatical and
semantic underlying ideas according to the prefixes
which they take. It should not, however, be imagined
that nouns are grouped into their classes strictly
in accordance with these ideas, as nouns will be
found in different classes which do not conform to
the general tendency of the class in mention. Nouns
are said to have semantic function because they
indicate the nature of things referred to (such as
human, animals, objects etc.). Nouns also have
grammatical functions as a clear distinction is made
on singular and plural forms.

Kidawida noun classes are given in Table I
below:

Class	marker	noun	gloss
1	mu	mundu	'person'
2	wa (βa)	wandu	'persons'
3	m	mdi	'tree'
4	mi	midi	'trees'

class	marker	noun	gloss
5	i	ighi	'egg'
6	ma	maghi	'eggs'
7	ki	kidu	'mortar'
8	vi	vidu	'mortars'
9	N	ng'ondi	'sheep' (singular)
10	n	ng'ondi	'sheep' (plural)
11/6	wu	wukongo	'sickness'
	ma	makongo	'sicknesses'
12	ka	kamwana	'small child'
13	du	duwana	'small children'
15	ku	kubora	'singing'
16,17,18	ando	ando	'place'

From the above table the distinction between classes
9 and 10, that is class 9 nouns and their plural
forms is not marked. The difference can only be
realised when an adjective is added to the noun,
for example

Class 9

19) Ng'ondi yapo yaboie.

   'my sheep is beautiful'.

Class 10

20) Ng'ondi rapo raboie,

   'My sheep are beautiful'.

Kiswahili noun classes:

<u>Table II</u>

<u>Class</u>	<u>marker</u>	<u>noun</u>	<u>gloss</u>
1	m	<u>mtu</u>	'person'
2	wa	<u>watu</u>	'persons'
3	m	<u>mti</u>	'tree'
4	mi	<u>miti</u>	'trees'
5	ji	<u>jina</u>	'name'
6	ma	<u>majina</u>	'names'
7	ki	<u>kiatu</u>	'shoe'
8	vi	<u>viatu</u>	'shoes'
9	N	<u>Nyumba</u>	'house'
10	n	<u>nyumba</u>	'house'
11/10	u	<u>uso/nyuso</u>	'face/faces'
14/6	u	<u>ugonjwa/</u> <u>magonjwa</u>	'sickness/ sicknesses'
15	ku	<u>kucheza</u>	'playing'
16	pa	<u>pale</u>	'
17	ku	<u>kule</u>	'place'
18	m	<u>mle</u>	

Like in Kidawida Kiswahili Classes 9 and 10
are similar in grammatical functions as these do
not distinguish between singular and plural except
when used with different concordial agreements
such as pronominal or verbal concords, thus,

Class 9

21) Nyumba ile nzuri ni yangu.

'That beautiful house is mine'.

22) Nyumba zile nzuri ni zangu.

'Those beautiful houses are mine'.

Nouns dominate sentences in the state of affairs in which they are involved. Words relating to the noun are introduced into concordial relationship with it by affixes known as concords. Each noun may have two types of concords namely:

i) Pronominal (which includes the connective and referential particles, demonstratives, possessives and interrogatives).

ii) verbal.

Kidawida concordial affixes

Class	Nominal	pronominal	verbal
1	mu	u	wa
2	wa	wi	wa ~ βa
3	m	ghu	gwa
4	mi	i	ya
5	i	ji	ja
6	ma	ghi	gha
7	ki	chi	cha
8	vi	vi	va
9	N	i	ya

Class	Nominal	Pronominal	Verbal
10	n	ri	ra
11	wu	ghu	gwa
12	ka	ki	gha
13	du	du	ka
15	ku	ku	dwa
16	ando	ku	kwa
17	"	"	"
18	"	"	"

Kiswahili concordial affixes.

Class	Nominal	Pronominal	Verbal
1	m	yu	a
2	wa	wa	wa
3	m	u	u
4	mi	i	i
5	ɟi	li	li
6	ma	ya	ya
7	ki	ki	ki
8	vi	vi	vi
9	N	i	i
10	n	zi	zi
11/10	u ~ m	u	u
14/6	u-y	my	u
15	ku	ku	ku
16	pa	pa	pa
17	ku	ku	ku
18	m	mu	mu

2.12 Noun Formation

Noun formation both in Kiswahili and Kidawida follow various processes. For example nouns can be formed from other nouns or from verbs. Each noun formed is always marked by prefixes or suffixes used in forming them and they can be grouped into the various noun classes as summarised above (2.11).

2.120 Formation of Nouns from other Nouns

Nouns can be formed from other nouns. In Kidawida this can be done by prefixing [wu-] to a noun stem, for example:

Noun stem	noun	gloss
23) (m) -ka	wuka	'womanhood'
24) (m) -kelu	wukelu	'stupidity'
25) (mdwa) -womi	wuwomi	'manhood'
26) (m) -zuri	wuzuri	'richness/ riches'

Nouns of this nature belong to Class 11.

In Kiswahili such nouns would be formed by prefixing [u-] to a noun stem, such as:

Noun stem	noun	gloss
27) (m) -sichana	usichana	'girlhood'
28) (m) -jinga	ujinga	'stupidity'
29) (m) -toto	utoto	'childhood'
30) (m) -tu	utu	'selfhood'

and they belong to class 14 of Stative nouns.

2.121 Formation of Nouns from verbs

Derived nouns are formed by adding a nominal suffix to a verbal root or even to a verbal stem already containing one or more derivational suffixes. There are various nominal derivation suffixes in Kiswahili and Kidawida:

(i) Suffix [i].

Agentive nouns are formed by adding the prefix [m-] to a verb root and suffixing [-i] to it, for example in Kidawida we have the following:

Verb root	noun	gloss
31) -bor-	mbori	'singer'
32) -logh-	mloghi	'witch'
33) -nugh-	mnughi	'follower'
34) -dek-	mdeki	'cook'
35) -lomb-	mlombi	'beggar'

and in Kiswahili we have:

Verb root	noun	gloss
36) -lea-	mlezi	'guardian'
37) -lind-	mlinzi	'protector'
38) -jeng-	mjenzi	'builder'
39) -lim-	mlimi	'cultivator'
40) -funz-	mfunzi	'teacher'

Nouns bearing this suffix can take prefix [ma] to express the whole process by which the action is performed, for example in Kiswahili we have:

verb	noun	gloss
41) ˈlea	malezi	'upbringing'
42) ongoza	maongozi	'management'
43) tumika	matumishi	'services'
44) pika	mapishi	'cooking'

In Kidawida we get such nouns as follows:

verb	noun	gloss
45) lela	maleli	'upbringing'
46) deka	madeki	'cooking'
47) lima	malimi	'cultivation'

If [u] is prefixed to the verb root and [-i] is suffixed to it, then the abstract concept of the action as a whole is expressed. For example:

Kiswahili

verb root	noun	gloss
48) -tumik-	utumishi	'services'
49) -ongoz-	uongozi	'leadership'
50) -le-	ulezi	'education'
51) -chuku-	uchukuzi	'transportation'
52) -la-	ulafi	'greed'

In Kidawida we do not have [u-] as a prefix
as seen above in the Kiswahili examples of (Nos.
48-52). Instead we have prefix [wu-]. Therefore,
if we prefix [wu-] to a verb root and suffix [-i]
to it we get the abstract concept of the action.

Kidawida

Verb root	noun	gloss
53) -lak-	wulaki	'desires'
54) -kal-	wukali	'sharpness'
55) -dumik-	wudumiki	'service'

(ii) Suffix [-u]:

The use of suffix [-u] in Kiswahili indicates
a state. When used with [m-] - [wa-] prefixes it
applies to a person or persons in a definite state,
for example:

verb	noun	gloss
56). tulia	mtulivu	'gentle person'
57) potea	mpotevu	'uncaring person'
58) tukuka	mtukufu	'exalted person'
59) sikia	msikivu	'obedient person'
60) angalia	mwangalivu	'careful person'

In Kidawida, however, this is not common. We have a
limited number for examples.

verb	noun	gloss
61) kela	mkelu	'stupid person'
62) ongoa	mwongofu	'saved person'

In Kiswahili when the state itself is to be expressed
then prefix [u-] has to be used, as seen below:

Kiswahili

verb	noun	gloss
63) tulia	utulivu	'calmness/gentleness'
64) potea	upotevu	'uncaringness'
65) tukuka	utukufu	'glory'

Kidawida:

verb	noun	gloss
66) kela	wukelu	'stupidity'
67) ongoa	wuongofu	'savedness'

In Kidawida, however, the prefix is [wu-] but
the same concept is expressed.

(iii) Suffix [-o]:

This suffix has several functions which vary
according to the prefix with which it is used. In
most cases the prefix is [ki-] or [u-] especial
for concrete things and here the suffix [-o] indicates
the instrument which performs the action of the
verb. Sometimes the ultimate result of the verb
is expressed when this suffix is used with the

class-prefix [m-], [ma-] and [n-], for example,

Kiswahili

verb	noun	gloss
68) funika	kifuniko	'lid (cover)'
69) ziba	kizibo	'stopper'
70) pima	kipimo	'measure'
71) fungua	ufunguo	'key'
72) fagia	ufagio	'broom, brush'
73) tega	mtego	'trap'
74) sikia	sikio	'ear'
75) unda	nyundo	'hammer'

Kidawida:

verb	noun	gloss
76) findika	kifindiko	'stopper'
77) fwagia	mfwagio	'broom/brush'
78) chana	kichano	'pounding stone'
79) rugha	mrigho	'blocking sticks (e.g. of cowshed)'
80) degha	mdegho	'trap'

The following examples will illustrate the concept of the ultimate result of the action:

Kiswahili

verb	noun	gloss
81) sema	msemo	'saying'
82) enda	mwendo	'gait'

verb	noun	gloss
83) cheza	mchezo	'play'
84) nena	neno	'word'
85) waza	wazo	'thought'
86) patana	mapatano	'agreement'
87) ota	ndoto	'dream'

Kidawida

verb	noun	gloss
88) shinika	shiniko	'wonders'
89) tima	matimo	'trials'
90) tumbulià	matumbulio	'answers'
91) kota	makoto	'questions'

(iv) Suffix[-e]

In Kiswahili, nouns ending with[-e] express passivity. These nominal derivations indicate the person or object either experiencing or undergoing the action, and are used with a good number of class-prefixes for example:

verb	noun	gloss
92) umba	kiumbe	'a created thing'
93) teua	mteule	'a chosen one'
94) tuma	mtume	'a sent one'
95) kata	mkate	'bread'

In Kidawida the passivity concept is not expressed by this suffix but by [-wa] for example:

verb	noun	gloss
96) duma	mdumwa	'a sent one'
97) funda	mfundwa	'an advised one'
98) sima	msimwa	'a defeated one'
99) telia	mtelelwa	'a despised one'

2.122 Nouns Qualifying Nouns:

Some nouns which express the agent of the
action or impersonal agency are formed by a
qualifying noun to establish the meaning for
example, in Kiswahili we have:

verb	noun	gloss
100) shona	mshona viatu	'shoemaker'
101) panda	mpanda mlima	'mountain climber
102) piga	mpiga picha	'photographer'
103) uza	mwuza nguo	'cloth seller'
104) funga	kifunga bei	'deposit'

In Kidawida:

verb	noun	gloss
105) dema	mdema midi	'tree feller'
106) shona	mshona nguwo	'dress maker'
107) kaba	mkaba picha	'photographer'
108 uza	muuza wandu	'slave trader'

2.123 Nouns formed with Possessive Particles

In both Kiswahili and Kidawida, names of close

relatives do take a compound form of the possessive.

Kiswahili		gloss
109) mwenzi - wangu	mwenzangu	'my companion'
110) baba - yangu	babangu	'my father'
111) dada - yake	dadake	'his/her sister'
112) shangazi - yake	shangazie	'his/her aunt'

Kidawida:

113) mwana wapo	mwanapo	'my child'
114) mghenyi wapo	mghenywapo	'my friend'
115) wawa wako	wawayo	'your grandmother'

2.124 Nouns formed by Reduplication

Reduplication as Polome (1967) says, occurs occasionally in nominal derivation for the sake of expressiveness, but it can be considered as a process of word formation, for example:

Kiswahili

noun	gloss
116) kinaganaga	'openness'
117) kizunguzungu	'giddiness'
118) kimachomacho	'readiness'

I am not sure about this process of word formation as regards (to) Kidawida, although we have such words like kizunguzugu but I think this is borrowed from Kiswahili.

It has been seen, however, that nouns can be
formed through various ways, by prefixing certain
class markers and suffixing nominal derivation
suffixes to verb roots or verb stems.

The nominal derivation suffixes of Kiswahili
at times differ with those of Kidawida as seen
above in 2.121 with (iv suffix [-e]).

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Verb Morphology

In this chapter we shall discuss the morphology
of the verb in both Kidawida and Kiswahili. Before
we can discuss the verbal extensions, it is
necessary to discuss the verbal form.

The verb in Kidawida, as well as in Kiswahili,
consists of stems and affixes which appear
systematically. A discussion of verb morphology
is necessary in this chapter as it is a preparation
for the analysis of the verbal extensions in the
next chapter which is the focus of our study.

3.10 Pattern of Verb Root

Polomé says that:

> The basic pattern of the
> Swahili root consists of
> an initial consonant, a
> vowel and a final
> consonant.
>
> (Polomé 1967:83).

There are, however, different patterns of the verb
root. These will be illustrated by giving various
examples.

(I) CVC Pattern (Consonant Vowel Consonant)

verb root	verb	gloss
1) tum- as in	tuma	'send'

	verb root		verb	gloss
2)	lew-	as in	lewa	'get drunk'
3)	tem-	as in	tema	'cut'
4)	pig-	as in	piga	'beat, strike'
5)	pit-	as in	pita	'pass'

We also have the same pattern in Kidawida

	verb root		verb	gloss
6)	ghcr-	as in	ghora	'say'
7)	bor-	" "	bora	'sing'
8)	lod-	" "	loda	'point at'
9)	lal-	" "	lala	'sleep'
10)	lol-	" "	lola	'look for'

I also agree with Polomé (1967) that the CVC pattern
is the basic pattern that is, it is the commonest in
Kiswahili and also in Kidawida.

(II) There is also the C pattern (Consonant) in
both Kiswahili and Kidawida, for example:

Kiswahili:

	verb root		verb	gloss
11)	p-	as in	pa	'give'
12)	f-	" "	fa	'die'
13)	l-	" "	la	'eat'

Kidawida:

14)	j-	as in	ja	'eat'

	verb root		verb	gloss
15)	k-	as in	ka	'take'

(III) V Pattern (Vowel)

Kiswahili

	verb root		verb	gloss
16)	o-	as in	oa	'marry'
17)	u-	as in	ua	'kill'

This pattern however does not exist in Kidawida.

(IV) VC Pattern (Vowel Consonant)

We have the VC pattern in both languages.

Kiswahili:

	verb root		verb	gloss
18)	um-	as in	uma	'hurt'
19)	on-	" "	ona	'see'
20)	ib-	" "	iba	'steal'
21)	ot-	" "	ota	'dream'
22)	ap-	" "	apa	'swear'
23)	it-	" "	ita	'call'
24)	og-	" "	oga	'bathe'

Kidawida

	verb root		verb	gloss
25)	iwa	as in	iwa	'steal'
26)	od-	as in	oda	'bask'
27)	id-	" "	ida	'pass'

	verb root		verb	gloss
28)	al-	as in	ala	'to weed'
29)	ogh-	" "	ogha	'bathe'

(V) We also have the VNC (Vowel Nasal Consonant) pattern in both Kidawida and Kiswahili.

Kiswahili:

	verb root		verb	gloss
30)	und-	as in	unda	'mould'
31)	end-	" "	enda	'go'
32)	imb-	" "	imba	'sing'

Kidawida:

	verb root		verb	gloss
33)	ond-	as in	onda	'bring'
34)	amb-	" "	amba	'say'
35)	enj-	" "	enja	'send'
36)	inj-	" "	inja	'remove'

(VI) CwVC Pattern (Consonant glide w, Vowel and
    Consonant):

Kiswahili:

	verb root		verb	gloss
36)	mwag-	as in	mwaga	'spill'
37)	twet-	" "	tweta	'pant'

Kidawida:

	verb root		verb	gloss
39)	kwany-	as in	kwanya	'gather'
40)	bwagh-	" "	bwagha	'kill'
41)	wada-	" "	wada	'take/accept'

(VII) CVNC Pattern (Consonant Vowel Nasal Consonant)

Kiswahili:

	verb root		verb	gloss
42)	vimb-	as in	vimba	'swell'
43)	tend-	" "	tenda	'do'
44)	fung-	" "	funga	'fasten'

3.20 Verbal Forms:

A Kiswahili or Kidawida verb is composed of several segments with different functions, but the Pre-initial and post-initial are both negative markers.

Polome (1967:110) gives the following various segments:

(1) Pre-initial

(2) Initial

(3) Post-initial

(4) Marker

(5) Infix

(6) Root

(7) Suffixes

(8) Final

(9) Postfinal.

3.21 The Pre-initial:

The pre-initial is the negative marker which appears before the subject prefix. It occurs when a sentence is in the negative form.

In Kiswahili the pre-initial prefix is [ha].

45) Jambo hili halisahauliki.

halisahauliku

'This issue is unforgetable'.

46) Matunda hayataiva vizuri.

'The fruits will not ripen well'.

47) Juma hakufika shuleni leo.

'Juma did not reach school today'.

48) Hatutapika chakula leo.

'We shall not cook today'.

49) Hawataenda sokoni.

'They will not go to the market'.

In Kidawida the Pre-initial is marked by the morpheme nde- as shown below:

50) Ilagho iji ndejiliwikagha.

'This issue is unforgetable'.

51) Matunda ndeghiwurue nicha.

'The fruits are not ready'.

ndeghiwurue

52) Juma ndeuvikie skuli linu.

'Juma did not reach school today'.

53) Ndedidekagha linu.

'We shall not cook today'.

54) Ndewiendagha sokonyi kesho.

'They will not go to the market tomorrow'.

3.22 The Initial:

This is a pronominal subject prefix which is
added to the verb before any other prefix unless
the verb is in the negative.   The prefix agrees
with the subject pronoun according to the grammatical
and semantic functions as in the following examples:

Kiswahili:

55) Nyumba haitabomolewa (class 9).   *haitabomolewa*

'The house will not be destroyed'.

56) Mtu atashitakiwa leo (class 1).

'The man will be accused today'.

57) Jambo hili litatuhuzunisha (class 5).

'This issue will make us sad'.

58) Mambo haya hayataendelea hive (class 6).

'These issues will not go on like this'.

59) Miti ha<u>i</u>takatwa (class 4).

'The trees will not be cut'.

Kidawida

60) Nyumba nde<u>i</u>bongololwagha (class 9).

'The house will not be destroyed'.

61) Mdi nde<u>ghu</u>zoghuagha (class 3).

'The tree will not grow'.

62) Ighi <u>ja</u>jigwa (class 5).

'The egg has been eaten'.

63) Kidu <u>cha</u>korwa (class 7),

'The mortar has been burnt'.

64) Ng'ondi <u>ya</u>bwagwa (class 9).

'The sheep is killed'.

3.23 <u>Post-initial</u>:

The post-initial occurs in a negative form. In Kiswahili the post-initial morpheme is [-si-]as seen in the following sentences:

65) U<u>si</u>mwambie,

'Do not tell her/him'.

66) Tu<u>si</u>ende kwake,

'Let us not go to his/her place'.

67) Wa<u>si</u>ende leo,

'They should not go today'.

68) Matunda yasiliwe.   y =ṣ.ḷu͜͡e

'Fruits should not be eaten'.

Kidawida

69) Kusemghone.

'Do not tell her/him'.

70) Diseende kwake.

'Let us not go to his/her place'

71) Wiseende linu.

'They should not go today'.

72) Matunda ghisejigho.

Fruits should not be eaten'.

In Kidawida as.seen, the post-initial negative
morpheme is [-se-].

3.24 The Marker (Tense/Aspect Marker)

Tense as Ropert says:

> specifies the temporal status of
> the event vis-a-vis the moment of
> speaking...Taking the moment of
> speaking as the reference point
> an event may be prior to it (PAST),
> subsequent to it (FUTURE) or
> simultaneous with it (PRESENT)

(Ropert 1977:39).

We shall discuss the three referential points

of the Tense Marker, that is Past, Future and

Present.

a) Past Tense

The past tense marker is [-li-], thus:

73) Ali alienda Mombasa jana,

'Ali went to Mombasa yesterday'.

74) Tulimaliza kulima.

'We finished cultivating'.

75) Walikula mchele jana.

'They ate rice yesterday'.

76) Nyumba ilijengwa mwaka jana.

'The house was built last year'.

The above are simple past tenses in Kiswahili.

Kidawida:

In Kidawida we have several Past Tenses.

(i) Immediate Past which usually refers to some
few moments after the action took place:

77) Naenda idakoni.

'I have just gone'

78) Nabora!

'I have sang!'

(ii) Time Adverbs:

This form refers to some time in the day when
the action took place.

79) Naendieghe ikesho,

'I went this morning'.

80) Damuwonieghe ikesho.

'We saw her/him this morning',

(iii) We also have the Near Past which expresses
the idea that the action took place some few
days ago:

81) Neendieghe iguo.

'I went yesterday'.

82) Neendieghe Mombasa jumwa isirie.

'I went to Mombasa last week'.

(iv) Remote Past:

Usually this tense refers to a much longer
time for example a year or so:

83) Nereendieghe Nairobi kala.

'I went to Nairobi long time ago',

84) Deredekieghe marughu mwaka ghusirie,

'We cooked bananas last year',

b) Present Tense

There are three aspect distinctions in the
present tense, that is:

perfect, progressive and habitual.

(i) <u>Simple Present</u> ( )

<u>Kiswahili</u>:   <u>Kidawida</u>:

85) Ninaenda   88) Naweenda
     'I am going'   'I am going'

86) Ninashona   89) Naweshona
     'I am sewing'   'I am sewing'

87) Tunakula   90) Daweja
     'We are eating'   'We are eating'

(ii) <u>Perfect Aspect</u> (The marker is [-me-])

91) Ameenda
     'He has gone'

92) Tumeenda
     'We have gone'

93) Wamekunywa maji
     'They have drunk water'

<u>Kidawida</u>: (The marker is [-gh-])

94) Waghenda
     'He has gone'

95) Daghenda
     'We have gone'

96) Waghiunywa machi
     'They have drunk water'

(iii) <u>Progressive Aspect</u>: (Kaaprogovare)

<u>Kiswahili</u> (Marker is [-ki-])

97) Utawakuta wak<u>i</u>la.

'You will find them eating'.

98) Tuliwakuta wak<u>i</u>pigana.

'We found them fighting'.

99) Tutawaona wak<u>i</u>andika.

'We shall see them writing'.

<u>Kidawida</u> (Marker is [-ki-]).

100) Kuwikuagha wik<u>i</u>ja.

'You will find them eating'.

101) Dewikueghe wik<u>i</u>kabana.

'We found them fighting'.

102) Diwiwonagha wik<u>i</u>andika.

'We shall see them writing'.

(iv) <u>Habitual Aspect</u>

In Kiswahili the marker is [-hu-].

103) Mary <u>hu</u>enda sokoni.

'Mary goes to the market'.

104) Mtoto <u>hu</u>lia kila siku.

'The child cries everyday'.

105) Sisi <u>hu</u>lima asubuhi.

'We dig in the morning'.

Kidawida (Marker is[-gh-]).

106) Mary waendagha sokonyi.
      'Mary goes to the Market'

107) Mwana walilagha kila ituku
      'The child cries always'.

108) Isi dalimagha nakesho.
      'We dig in the mornings'.

c) Future Tense

In Future Tense there are several Aspects but there are differences between Kiswahili and Kidawida. Common ones are: Habitual, Progressive and Perfective.

(i) The Future Tense marker in Kiswahili is [-ta-]. We have in the simple form:

(109) Nitaenda kesho.
       'I will go tomorrow'.

(110) Atalima kesho.
       'He will cultivate tomorrow'.

Kidawida

(111) Niendagha kesho.
       'I will go tomorrow'.

(112) Ulimagha kesho.
       'He/she will cultivate tomorrow.

(ii) In Kidawida we have the Remote Future as seen in:

(113) Nichalima mwaka ghuchagha
       'I will cultivate by next year'.

114) Uchaenda mwaka ughuja shumu.

   'He will go by the other year'.

iii) <u>With Habitual Aspect</u>:

<u>Swahili</u>

115) Nitakuwa nikienda kila siku.

   'I will be going every day'.

<u>Kidawida</u>

116) Nichakaia nikienda kila ituku.

   'I will be going everyday'.

iv) The Habitual aspect is similar syntactically with
   the <u>Progressive</u> but not semantically.

<u>Kiswahili</u>

117) Nitakuwa nikienda atakapofika.

   'I will be in the process of going when he
    arrives'.

<u>Kidawida</u>

118) Nichakaia nikienda iji wavika.

   'I will be in the process of going when he
    arrives'.

v) <u>With Perfective</u>

   <u>Kiswahili</u>

      Nitakuwa nimeenda.

      'I will have gone'.

Kidawida

    120) Nichakaia naenda.

          'I will have gone'

3.30 Mood

   Morphemes marking mood are sometimes suffixed
to the verb roots. We have moods such as:

1) Imperative

   Polome (1967:114) says that, the Imperative
mood is restricted to the expression of commands and
occurs only in the second person.

2) Subjunctive - is used in specific contexts
expressing permission, prohibition, compulsion,
purpose or similar concepts.

3.31 Imperative Mood

   The imperative mood, as said above expresses
a command addressed to the second person -for example:

Kiswahili

121) Funga mlango.
      'close the door'.

122) Toka huku,
      'Come out of here'.

The imperative mood will only need a postfinal
morpheme [-ini] or [-eni], if the command is addressed

to the second person plural as seen below:

123) Someni

'Read'

124) Fungeni mlango

'Close the door'

In Kidawida we have the following examples of the imperative mood:

125) enda   'go'   (2nd person singular)

126) endenyi 'go'   (2nd person plural)

127) Ja   'eat' (2nd person singular)

128) Jenyi   'eat' (2nd person plural)

In Kidawida the imperative takes the suffix [-nyi] when the command is addressed to the second person plural.

3.32 The Subjunctive Mood

(i) Examples expressing permission:

Kiswahili:

129) nenda   'go'   (2nd person singular)

130) soma   'read' (2nd person singular)

131) nendeni 'go'   (2nd person plural)

132) someni   'read' (2nd person plural)

The morpheme [-ku] which also expresses permission

can be introduced with another verb, thus:

133) Unaweza kusoma   - 'You can read' (singular)

134) Mnaweza kusoma   - 'You can read (2nd person

                                              plural)

<u>Kidawida</u>:

135) Ghenda   'go'   (2nd person singular)

136) Ghendenyi 'go'   (2nd person plural)

As in Kiswahili, the morpheme [ku-] can also be
added to the verb 'soma' but another verb has to be
introduced - the 'can' verb; for example:

137) Kwadima kughenda   - 'You can go' (2nd person

                                              singular)

138) Mwadima mwende - 'You can go' (2nd person

                                            plural)

In the plural, however, the prefix is different as it
agrees with the class of the noun.

(ii) <u>Expressing Prohibition</u>:

<u>Kiswahili</u>:

139) Usiende - 'do not go' (2nd person singular)

140) Msiende - 'do not go' (2nd person plural)

141   Usilie   - 'do not cry' (2nd person singular)

142   Msilie   - 'do not cry' ("   "   plural)

Kidawida:

143) Kuseghende   - 'do not go' (2nd person singular)

144) Mseghende   - 'do not go' ("   "   .plural)

145) Kuselile   - 'do not cry' (2nd person singular)

146) Mselile   - 'do not cry' ("   "   plural)

(iii) Expressing Compulsion:

    This mood is realised by tone of the speaker:

147) Mtachukua! - 'You will have to take'

                    (2nd person plural)

148) Utachukua! - 'You will have to take'

                    (2nd.person singular)

Kidawida:

149) Mdwagha!   - 'You will have to take'.

                    (2nd person plural)

150) Kudwagha! - 'You will have to take'

                    (2nd person singular)

3.40 Infix:

    The infix morpheme can be inserted after the
subject prefix and before the verbal root for
example:

151) Ni/ta/wa/omb/eni/ - 'I will ask you'

                    (2nd person plural)

The [-wa-] is the pronominal infix of the second

person plural, which is functioning as a direct
object.

3.50 Root:

All verbal forms contain a verbal root to which
all other suffixes are added. This is the nucleus
of the verbal extension.

3.60 Verbal Extensions:

In Kiswahili as well as in Kidawida or any
other Bantu language, it is possible to suffix
certain morphemes to the verb root thus resulting
in extended forms of the intransitive. The derived
extensions follow some order governed by systematic
syntactic and semantic implications. Before the
verb is extended it is said to be in its basic
form, for example:

Kiswahili:

	verb	gloss
152)	-bomoa	'pull down'
153)	-kata	'cut'
154)	-vunja	'break'
155)	-soma	'read'
156)	-andika	'write'

While in Kidawida we have the following:

	verb	gloss
157)	-ghenda	'go'

verb	gloss
158) -chura	'fill'
159) -bora	'sing'
160) -deka	'cook'

3.61 The Applicative Extension:

The applicative morpheme in Kiswahili is [-i-] or [-e-].

	Basic form	Applicative Extension	gloss
161)	funga	fungia	'close for'
162)	tia	tilia	'put in for'
163)	weka	wekea	'keep for'
164)	pika	pikia	'cook for

In Kidawida the applicative morpheme is [-i-].

	Basic Form	Applicative Extension	gloss
165)	rugna	rughia	'cook for'
166)	rede	redia	'bring for'
167)	chora	choria .	'draw for'.
168)	bora	boria	'sing for'

The addition of the applicative morpheme requires an addition of a noun with the semantic function of Beneficiary. For example the following sentences would be rendered ungrammatical if a noun was not added:

169) *Mary alipikia chakula[7].

   'Mary cooked food for'.

170) *Juma alifungia mlango.

   'Juma closed the door for'.

In Kidawida:

171) *Chao wadekia vindo.

   'Chao cooked food for'.

172) *Mghalu waboria.

   'Mghalu sang for'.

The correct entries would be as follows:

173)   Mary alipikia watoto chakula.

   'Mary cooked food for children',

174)   Juma alifungia watoto mlango.

   'Juma closed the door for the children'.

175)   Chao wadekia wana vindo.

   'Chao has cooked food for children'.

176)   Mghalu waboria waghenyi.

   'Mghalu sang for visitors'.

The syntactic fact is that the indirect object is
obligatory.   ᵥₙ traditional term—ₛ

3.62   The Causative:

   Both in Kiswahili and in Kidawida the Causative
suffix is [-ish-] or [-esh-] depending on the rule

of vowel harmony.   In very few cases the morpheme
is [-z-].

Kiswahili:

	Basic form	Causative	gloss
177)	funga	fungisha	'cause to close'
178)	pika	pikisha	'cause to cook'
179)	kimbia	kimbiza	'cause to run'

Kidawida:

	Basic form	Causative	gloss
180)	rugha	rughisha	'cause to cook'
181)	vina	vinisha	'cause to dance'
182)	deka	dekesha	'cause to cook' *??

These verbs as their name implies express causation,
though as Ashton (1944:232) says 'not always along
lines logical to an English way of thinking'.   A
verb like:

183)   chemsha   -   'bubble up'

is a causative extended shape from an existing base
form.   Sometimes the Causative form involves only
two nouns, that is, the Agent and the Goal as seen
below:

Kiswahili:

184)   Juma aliendesha gari.

     'Juma drove a car'.

In this case something is done to the Goal thus
sentence (184) means:

185)   Juma alilifanya gari liende.
       'Juma made the car to go'.

186)   Nilizimisha moto.
       'I put off the fire'.

meaning:

187)   Niliufanya moto uzime.
       'I made the fire to stop / to go off'.

We, however, could say that a Causative verb indicates
the action which 'causes' its object to be, to become
or to do that which is expressed in the basic form
of the verb.

3.63   The Passive:

    The Passive morpheme both in Kiswahili and in
Kidawida is [-w-]. Most Kiswahili and Kidawida
verbs in the passive can either be in the simple
form or extended forms.

Kiswahili:

verb	Passive (simple form)	gloss
188) -piga	pigwa	'be beaten'
189) -funga	fungwa	'be closed'

Passive in the extended form:

	verb	derived form	passive	gloss
190)	-piga	pigia	pigiwa	'be.beaten for'
191)	-funga	fungia	fungiwa	'be closed for'

Kidawida:

	verb	passive (simple)	gloss
192)	-kaba	kabwa	'be beaten'
193)	-rugha	rugwa	'be closed'

Passive in the extended form:

				gloss
194)	-kaba	kabia	kabilwa	'be beaten for'
195)	-rugha	rughia	rughilwa	'be closed for'

The verb takes the passive voice usually when the
object of the Active verb becomes the subject of
the Passive, for example: ·

Kiswahili:

Active:

196)   Juma alipika chakula.
       'Juma cooked food'.

In this sentence Juma is the subject with semantic
function of Agent while food is the object with
semantic function of Goal.

In Kidawida:

197)   Juma wadeka vindo.

       'Juma cooked food'.

When the verb is in the Passive form the 'chakula'
will become the Subject and 'Juma' the Object, thus:

198)   Chakula kilipikwa na Juma.

       (Subj/Go)   (Ag/Obj)

We can also get the concept of the passive in the
prepositional form,

Kiswahili:

199)   Maria alinipikia chakula.

       'Maria cooked me some food'.

200)   Nilipikiwa chakula na Maria.

       'Food was cooked for me by Maria'.

Kidawida:

201)   Mwandoe wanilimia mbuwa.

       'Mwandoe dug for me the shamba'.

202)   Nilimilwa mbuwa ni Mwandoe.

       'The shamba was dug for me by Mwandoe'.

In Kiswahili the Agent of the Passive verb is
preceeded by [-na-] while in Kidawida it is [-ni-].

3.64   The Reciprocal:

The Reciprocal extension is sometimes referred
to as the 'Associative form' because as Ashton (1944:
240) says, in addition to reciprocity [-an-] expresses
other aspects of association. With this morpheme,
Causative forms or Prepositional forms will express
concerted action or reciprocity respectively while ,
if it is suffixed to a stative form, it will imply
interdependence.

Kiswahili:

From a simple verb

203)   piga   -   'fight'

we get the Associative form

204)   pigana   -   'fight each other' ,

From a causative extension we get:

205) chezesha - chezeshana   'make each other dance'

From a static extension we get:

206) shikana   -   shikamana   'be in a state of
                                    holding together'

Examples showing interdependence:

207) Watu hushirikiana,

      'People cooperate',

208) Mary na Juma wanasikilizana.

     'Mary and Juma get on well'.

Kidawida:

Simple form

209) Manya - manyana   'Know each other'

    From a causative extension.

210) Boresha - Boreshana   'Make each other sing'

Interdependence can be seen in such a sentence:

211) Wandu walimianagha

    'People cultivate for each other'

3.65 Stative Extension:

    In Kiswahili as well as in Kidawida the Stative
Suffix is either [-ik-] or [-ek-] depending on
vowel harmony. The Stative verb expresses two
concepts namely 'state' without any agency involved.
These verbs also express 'potentiality' that is if
a subject is capable of receiving a particular
action or not.

Kiswahili:

verb root	stative	gloss
212) fany-	fanyika	'be done'
213) pig-	pigika	'be beaten'
214) pik-	pikika	'be cooked'

Kidawida:

	verb root	stative	gloss
215)	bony-	bonyeka	'be done'
216)	bor-	boreka	'be sang'
217)	rug-	rughika	'be closed'

(i) Examples with no Agent referred to:

Kiswahili:

218) Chakula kimepikika.

'The food has cooked'.

219) Maji yamemwagika.

'The water has spilled'.

Kidawida:

220) Vindo vadekeka.

'The food has cooked'.

221) Machi ghadika.

'The water has spilled'.

(ii) Examples expressing Potentiality:

222) Shamba hili lalimika.

'This shamba is capable of being dug'.

223) Mlima huu wapandika.

'This hill is capable of being climbed'.

Kidawida:

224) Chia iidika.

'The path is capable of being crossed'.

225) Mbuwa ilimika.

'The shamba is capable of being dug'.

3.66 The Conversive:

This verbal extension is sometimes called the
'Reversive'. The Conversive Suffix in Kiswahili
and in Kidawida is either [-o-] or [-u-] depending
on vowel harmony. The conversive form expresses
the opposite meaning to that expressed in the verb
root.

Kiswahili:

	verb root	conversive form	gloss
226)	zib-	zibua	'unstop'
227)	va-	vua	'undress'
228)	kunj-	kunjua	'unfold'
229)	chom-	chomoa	'extract'
230)	fum-	fumua	'unstitch'

Kidawida:

231)	rugh-	rughua	'open'
232)	rw-[8]	rua	'undress'

However, a verb like degua is already in the
Conversive form, otherwise the opposite of degua
'put down' is wikiria - 'put on fire'.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Analysis of The Verbal Extensions

In this chapter we shall try to provide an analysis of the following primary verbal extensions:

1) Applicative

2) Causative

3) Passive

4) Reciprocal

5) Stative

6) Conversive

Verbal derivation occurs when certain morphemes are suffixed to a verbal root. A verbal extension which consists of only a verbal root and the derivative morpheme will be termed primary verbal extension. On the other hand there are some verbal extensions which result from enlarged roots with one or more suffixes serving as a basis for a chain of derivations that is, verbal themes, these extensions will be termed secondary.

In our study we shall only deal with the primary verbal extensions otherwise dealing with secondary verbal extensions will be outside our scope and limitations.

We have used the terms by which the verbal extensions are known in traditional definitions as will be found in Ashton (1944) or in Polomé (1967). We shall analyse each verbal extension to

see what conclusions we can draw as per its
functions and status in the two languages. Before
we can analyse the verbal extensions, we feel it
is necessary to mention the categories in which
verbs are classified. There are transitive
activity verbs. By the term transitive, it is
meant that those verbs which normally take a direct
Agent. On the other hand we have intransitive
verbs which normally do not denote activities but
rather states or processes. This categorization
is important as we shall discuss our verbal extension
on the semantic type of verb stems, that is the
environment in which they occur, and how the type
of verb stems affects the semantic functions of
the added arguments in the areas where necessary.

4.1 Applicative:

The grammatical change associated with the
applicative extension is the addition of an
argument to the nuclear predication of the verb
stem. If there is no addition of an argument,
then the predicate is incomplete thus rendering the
sentence ungrammatical. The addition of the
applicative suffix [-e] or [-i-] affects the
nuclear predication as shown in the examples below.

Kiswahili:

1) Mary alipika chakula,

    'Mary cooked food'.

2) Mary alipikia watoto chakula.

   'Mary cooked food for children'.

3)* Mary alipikia chakula.

   'Mary cooked food for'.

Kidawida:

4) Mary wadeka vindo.

   'Mary cooked food'.

5) Mary wadekia wana vindo.

   'Mary cooked food for children'.

6)* Mary wadekia vindo.

   'Mary cooked food for'.

The above sets of sentences (1 and 4) are
basic structures of nuclear predications while
(2 and 5) are in the applicative form with the
added argument present, but in (3 and 6) there is
no argument added, thus the sentences are
incomplete and unacceptable forms. However, the
correct forms of (nos. 3 and 6) are represented
by (nos. 2 and 5) respectively.

The added argument has become part of the
nuclear predication in the applicative form. We
therefore, can say that we arrive at the applicative
form through a productive process whereby a verb
can be extended by suffixing [-i-] or [-e-] to
it. The applicative can be derived in the

predicate formation by a rule that makes it possible for the morpheme [-i-] or [-e-] to be added to the verb stem, thus providing us with predicate-frames such as the following:

Kiswahili:

(i) $Pikia_V$ $(x_1:human$ $(x_1))_{AG}$ $(x_2: \begin{Bmatrix} tea \\ food \end{Bmatrix}$ $(x_2))GO$

$(x_3:animate$ $(x_3))_{BEN}$

Kidawida:

(ii) $dekia_V$ $(x_1:human(x_1))_{AG}$ $(x_2:food(x_2))_{GO}$

$(x_3:animate$ $(x_3))_{BEN}$

This predicate-frame indicates that pikia - 'cook for' is a three-place predicate of syntactic type verb, taking as arguments an animate term in the function of Agent, and a term indicating some kind of food in the function of Goal and a third term indicating an animate in the function of BENEFICIARY.

A predicate frame for (No.1) would be:

$Pika_V(x_1:human(x_1)_{AG}$ $(x_2:food(x_2))_{GO}$

Pika is a two-place (transitive) verb requiring an animate (human) Agent and an edible Goal.

We have said above that, the applicative form adds an extra argument to the nuclear

predication, thus becoming part of the nuclear predication of the verb stem. The semantic type of the verb stem controls the semantic functions of the added argument.

Action verbs may add arguments with a BENEFICIARY, DIRECTION or LOCATION or INSTRUMENT function and also REASON function.

Kiswahili:

7) Alipikia chakula chungu,
   'He/she used the pot for cooking',

8) Mary alikatia mkate kisu,
   'Mary used a knife to cut bread',

Kidawida:

9) Wadekia nyungu vindo,
   'He/she used the pot to cook'.

10) Mary wadumbuia mkate ndagha,
    'Mary used a knife to cut bread'.

In the above sentences (7-10) the added argument bears the semantic functions of instrument thus we get a predicate-frame such as the following:

(iii) $Katia_V(x_1:human(x_1))_{AG}$ $(x_2:thing(x_2))_{GO}$

$(x_3:thing(x_3))_{INST}$.

Below are examples of added arguments with Direction

function.

Kiswahili

11)   Aliwatupia mawe.

'She/he threw stones at them'.

12)   Alikimbilia Nairobi.

'He ran towards Nairobi'.

Kidawida

13)   Wawikumbia magho.

'He/she threw stones at them'.

14)   Wakimbiria Nairobi.

'He/she ran towards Nairobi'

Some added arguments may have the semantic functions of Location; as shown in the examples below:

Kiswahili

15)· Alirudia nyumbani pesa.

'He/she came back to the house for money'.

Kidawida

16)   Wawuria nyumbenyi pesa.

'He/she came back to the house for money'

In the above sentences nyumbani 'house' is the Location while pesa 'money' is the Goal. In this same syntactic environment pesa 'money' could

bear the function of Reason - meaning that, the reason why he/she had to come back to the hou was to collect money.

Verbs of process add an argument with the semantic function of Location, for example:

Kiswahili

17)   Anaharibikia mjini.
      'He/she is getting spoilt in the city'.

18)   Alivimbia mkono msituni.
      'He/she got the hand swollen in the forest'.

Kidawida

19)   Wawanonekia mzinyi.
      'He/she is getting spoilt in the city'.

20)   Odevimbia mkonu isakenyi.
      'He/she got her/his hand swollen in the
       forest'.

Verbs of state add a term with the semantic function of Beneficiary, Reason or Location as will be shown in the examples below:

Kiswahili

21)   Juma alimpendea Mary urembo.
      'Juma loved Mary for her beauty'.

Kidawida

22) Juma udemkundia Mary wurembo.

'Juma loved Mary for her beauty'.

In the above sentences (21 and 22) the added argument <u>urembo</u> - 'beauty' bears the semantic function of Reason, such that, the reason why Juma loved Mary was the beauty in her.

Kiswahili

23) Mary alimpendea bwanake nguo.

'Mary liked the clothes for her husband'.

Kidawida

24) Mary udemkundia mdwawomi wake nguwo.

'Mary liked the clothes for her husband'.

These sets of sentences (23 and 24) <u>Bwana</u> 'husband' is the Beneficiary as the action of liking the clothes was done on his behalf by the wife.

Kiswahili

25) Nilimwonea huruma darasani.

'I had pity on him/her in the classroom'.

Kidawida

26) Nidemwonia wughoma kilasinyi.

'I had pity on him/her in the classroom'.

In this case (No. 25) <u>darasani</u> - classroom is the

Location where somebody had pity on another.

In some cases the applicative may make a satellite of the stem into part of the nuclear predication. Dik says that,

> Any nuclear predication can
> be extended by means of
> 'satellites' which specify
> further properties of the
> nuclear state of affairs
> as a whole.

(Dik 1978:17)

Satellites specify functions such as Beneficiary, Reason, Manner, Purpose, (and so on) of the Action, as we have tried to show in the above examples.

Satellites can also be assigned pragmatic functions of Focus, for example:

Kiswahili

27) Mtoto alianguka majini.

'The child fell down (into the water)'.

28) Mtoto aliangukia majini.

'The child fell down (into the water)'.

Kidawida

29) Mwana wabuduka machinyi.

'The child fell down (into the water)'.

30)   Mwana wabudukia machinyi.

      'The child fell down (into the water)'.

In (No. 28) the majini 'into the water' takes
the pragmatic function of Focus. We can say
mtoto alianguka 'the child fell' but it is
unacceptable to say mtoto aliangukia 'the child
fell into'.

      Some verbs in the applicative extension seem
ambiguous, for example:

Kiswahili

31)   Nilimnunulia Ali gari.

      'I bought Ali a car'. or

      'I bought a car instead of Ali'.

32)   Alituibia chakula.

      'He/she stole food from us'.

      'He/she stole food for us'.

Kidawida

33)   Namguia Ali igare.

      'I bought Ali a car'. or

      'I bought a car instead of Ali',

34)   Wadiiwia vindo.

      'He/she stole food from us'. or

      'He/she stole food for us'.

The ambiguity in such a case can be solved by
adding a satellite with a Reason function or a

Purpose function in such sentences.

Kiswahili

35)   Nilimnunulia Ali gari kwani hakuweza kufika.

'I bought Ali a car, because he could not come'.

This means that Ali was the one to carry out the
Action of buying a car, but since he was absent,
then someone had to buy the car instead of him.

36)   Nilimnunulia Ali gari kwani alipita mtihani

'I bought Ali a car because he passed his exams'

In (No. 36) it means that the purpose of buying Ali
a car was a result of his doing well in the exams.

Kiswahili

37)   Maria alikimbilia chakula.

'Maria ran for food/towards food'.

38)   Babu alikimbilia shule

'Babu ran for the school (e.g. in sports). or

'Babu ran towards the school'.

Kidawida

39)   Maria wakimbiria vindo.

'Maria ran for food/towards food'.

40)   Babu wakimbiria skuli

'Babu ran for the school (e.g. in sports). or

'Babu ran towards the school'.

In the above sentences (Nos. 37 and 39) the ambiguity can be solved by the semantic functions of either Goal or Direction, this the following predicate-frames for (no. 37).

(iv) kimbilia$_V$ (x$_1$:animate(x$_1$))$_{AG}$ (x$_2$: food (x$_2$))$_{GO}$

(v) kimbilia$_V$ (x$_1$:animate(x$_1$))$_{AG}$ (x$_2$: food (x$_2$))$_{DIR}$

4.2 Causative:

There are two main causative morphemes both Kiswahili and Kidawida, namely [-ish-] and [-esh-]. The morpheme [-iz-] also occurs in both languages, but it is not very common. The grammatical change marked by the causative morphemes is similar to that of the applicative in as far as an extra argument is added.

The [-ish-] or [-esh-] causative suffix can be added to one-place verbal predicates (intransitive verbs) changing them to two-place (transitive verbs) as seen below.

Kiswahili

1) Rashid amelala.

'Rashid has slept'.

2) Rashid amelalisha watoto.

'Rashid has put the children to bed',

3) Tumechoka.

   'We are tired' (We have become tired).

4) Jua limetuchosha.

   'The sun has made us tired'.

Kidawida

5) Rashid walala.

   'Rashid has slept',

6) Rashid amelalisha watoto.

   'Rashid has put the children to bed'.

7) Dasilwa.

   'We are tired', (we have become tired)

8) Iruwa jadisirisha.

   'The sun has made us tired'.

Two-place verbal predicates can add the causative morpheme [-ish-] or [-esh-]to become a three-place predicate.

Kiswahili

9) Rosa alipanda garini.

   'Rosa climbed into the car'.

10) Rosa alimpandisha mtoto garini.

    'Rosa lifted the child up into the car'.

11) Kumbuka kulima shamba.

    'Remember to dig the garden'.

12) Kumbusha watoto kulima.

   'Remind the children to dig the garden'.

   (lit. make children remember to dig)'.

Kidawida

→13) Rosa wajoka igarenyi.

   'Rosa climbed into the car'.

14) Rosa wajosha mwana igarenyi.

   'Rosa lifted the child into the car'.

15) Ghesha kulima mbuwa.

   'Remember to dig the garden'.

16) Gheshesha wana kulima mbuwa.

   'Remind the children to dig the garden'.

From the above description we can say that
the main function of the causative suffix is to
add a second argument to one-place predicates and
a third one to two-place predicates. The semantic
function of the added term usually depends very
much on the semantic type of the verb stem (that
is if transitive or intransitive).

Verbs of Action normally add a term with a
GOAL function:

Kiswahili

17) Mama amelia.

   'Mother has cried'.

18) Mama ameliza watoto.

'Mother made children cry'.

19) Baba amezima taa.

'Father put off the light'.

20) Baba amezimisha taa.

'Father put off the light'.

Kidawida

21) Mao walila.

'Mother has cried'.

22) Mao waririsha wana.

'Mother made children cry'.

23) Wana walua.

'The children are dirty'.

24) Wana walusha nyumba.

'The children made the house dirty'.

Verbs of process (intransitive verbs) add an argument with the semantic functions of Agent or Force as seen in the following:

Kiswahili

25) Juma amechoka.

'Juma has become tired'.

26) Kazi imemchosha Juma.

'The work made Juma tired'.

27) Watoto wameshiba,

'The children are satisfied'.

28) Roda ameshibisha watoto.

'Roda made the children satisfied'.(with food)

Kidawida

29) Juma wasilwa,

'Juma has become tired'.

30) Kazi yamsirisha Juma,

'The work made Juma tired'.

31) Wana waghuda,

'The children are satisfied',

32) Roda waghudisha wana.

'Roda made children satisfied'. (with food)

33) Mbeo yapeperusha makaratasi,

'The wind blew the papers',

The causative morphemes cannot be added to
all verbs in both Kidawida and Kiswahili, be they
transitive or intransitive, and there is no
definite way of telling the verbs which will add
the suffixes and those that will not. For example,
in Kiswahili a transitive verb like:

bomoa   -   'pull down'

will not allow the causative suffix [-ish-] so

that we could get a form like:

    * <u>alibomoisha ukuta</u> - 'He made the wall pull

                              down',

while a transitive verb:

    <u>andika</u> - 'write'

allows the causative morpheme so that we can get:

    <u>Aliandikisha barua</u> - 'He had the letter written'.

On the other hand, most intransitive verbs allow the
addition of causative morphemes for example in

    <u>chokesha</u> - 'make tired'

or as the lists below show:

	Kiswahili		Kidawida	gloss
34)	kondesha	-	darumisha	'make to loose weight'
35)	chakaza	-	ghosesha	'make to fade away
36)	poza	-	horesha	'make to cool down'
37)	teketeza	-	nonesha	'make to destroy'

In the causative form, usually we have 'double
causatative'. This means that in the state of
affairs which prevails, there are two Agents involved
in the action of the verb.

    The double causative adds an extra Agent to
the nuclear predication of the verb stem in question

such as the following sentences.

Kiswahili

38) Mwalimu ameimbisha watoto.

'The teacher made children sing'.

39) Baba amefungisha mtoto mlango.

'Father made the child close the door'.

Kidawida

40) Mwalimu woboresha wana.

'The teacher made children sing'.

41) Aba warughisha mwana mnyango.

'Father made the child close the door'.

In sentence (38) there are two Agents that is <u>mwalimu</u> who is the initiator of the action and is passively involved in the Action, while the 'children' are the secondary Agents actively involved in the act of singing. The teacher is in a position of not doing the singing but only initiates the action.

Predicate-frames of such a double causation would appear as follows:

i) $\text{Imbisha}_v (x_1:\text{human}(x_1))_{AG}1 \quad (x_2:\text{human}(x_2))_{AG}2$

'cause to sing' $\qquad (x_3:\text{song}(x_3))_{GO}$

AG^1 = Primary Agent

AG^2 = Secondary Agent

ii) $rushisha_v(x_1:human(x_1))_{AG}1(x_2:human(x_2))_{AG}2$

   'cause to cook' $(x_3:food(x_3))$

We stated earlier (4.2) that the causative
extension adds an extra argument to the nuclear
predication of the verb stem. The semantic
function of the added argument depends on the
semantic type of the verb stem.

   Verbs of Action usually add an Argument with
the semantic function of a secondary Agent, such
as the following examples show:

Kiswahili

42) Rosa anacheza.

   'Rosa is playing'.

43) Rosa anachezesha mtoto.

   'Rosa is making/helping the child to play'.

44) Alikimbia.

   'He/she ran'.

45) Alikimbiza watoto.

   'He/she made the children run'.

Kidawida

46) Rosa wawesarigha.

   'Rosa is playing'

47) Rosa wawesarighisha mwana.

   'Rosa is helping/making the child to play'.

48) Wakimbia.

'He/she ran',

49) Wakimbirisha wana,

'He/she made the children to run',

In sentence (42) mtoto is the secondary Agent
while Rosa is Primary Agent. Verbs of process
on the other hand can add arguments with the
semantic function of Force, Agent or Reason as
we shall see in the following:

Kiswahili

50) Baridi ilipeperusha nguo

'The wind scatered clothes'

Kidawida

51) Mbeo yapurusha nguwo

'The wind blew clothes'

In the two sets of sentences the 'wind' is the
Force of the Process which involved the scattering
of clothes.

Kiswahili

52) Dawa imeponyesha maumivu.

'The medicine cured the pain',

Kidawida

53) Wughanga gwahoresha kuwawo.

'The medicine cured the pain',

In a sentence like,

54) Juma amemkasirisha Mary.

'Juma has annoyed Mary'.

It has been pointed out by Ashton (1944) that the
Causative Morphemes in Kiswahili are [-ish-], [-esh-]
and [-ez-] or [-iz-]. Earlier we had agreed
Ashton's opinion, but in the course of listing out
examples we came up with another causative morpheme
that is [-ush-] as seen in (No. 12) in the word
kumbusha - 'remind'

From the above description we see that the
meaning of the causative is accounted for by the
semantic type of the verb stem and also the
semantic functions of the arguments in the
predication.

4.3 Passive

The passive morpheme is [-w-] in both Kiswahili
and Kidawida. This morpheme may be added to a verb
root to form a passive extension. In Kiswahili as
well as in Kidawida the Passive permits the
construction of Agentless sentences. A verb may
be put in the Passive form by assigning syntactic
functions of Subject to the Goal as seen below:

Kiswahili

1) Hamisi alipika chakula.

'Hamisi cooked food'.

In this sentence (1) 'Hamisi' is the Agent and
also the Subject while the chakula - 'food' is
the Goal and Object. If the above sentence is to
be put in the Passive form, then chakula should
become the Subject, thus:

2) Chakula kilipikwa na Hamisi,

'The food was cooked by Hamisi'.

or

3) Mama anashona nguo.

'Mother is sewing clothes'.

4) Nguo zinashonwa na mama.

'The clothes are being sewn by mother'.

Kidawida

5) Hamisi wadeka vindo,

'Hamisi cooked food'.

6) Vindo vadekwa ni Hamisi.

'Food has been cooked by Hamisi'.

7) Mao washona nguwo,

'Mother has sewn clothes'.

8) Nguwo rashonwa ni mao,

'Clothes have been sewn by mother'.

The above sentences (2,4, and 6) are two-place
predicate-frames as shown in the following:

i) Pikwa$_v$(x$_1$:human(x$_1$))$_{AG}$ (x$_2$:food(x$_2$))$_{GO/SUBJ}$.

   'cooked'

ii) Shonwa$_v$(x$_1$:human(x$_1$))$_{AG}$ (x$_2$:nguo(x$_2$))$_{GO/SUBJ}$.

   Dik says that,

> the selection of any one argument
> as a point of departure for
> describing the state of affairs
> is brought about by assigning the
> syntactic function subject to
> that argument. Thus Subject
> assignment determines the
> perspective from which the state
> of affairs is described.

   (Dik 1978:71).

In the above example (7) <u>mao</u> - 'mother' is the

subject since the state of affairs is viewed

from her perspective, but in (No. 8)

   nguwo - 'clothes'

is the subject. Sentences, even if paraphrased,

can describe the same states of affairs but the

syntactic differences account for the description

from different perspectives, Dik gives the

following examples:

a) John gave the book to Mary.

b) The book was given to Mary by John.

c) Mary was given the book by John.

Sentence (a) and (c) synonymous in describing the

same state of affairs.

Our Kiswahili and Kidawida examples:

<u>Kiswahili</u>

9) Ali amepika chai.

    'Ali has prepared some tea'.

10) Chai imepikwa na Ali.

    'Tea has been prepared by Ali'.

11) Ali amempikia Hamisi chai.

    'Ali prepared tea for Hamisi'.

12) Chai imepikiwa Hamisi na Ali.

    Tea has been prepared for Hamisi by Ali'.

<u>Kidawida</u>

13) Ali wadeka chai.

    'Ali has prepared some tea'.

14) Chai chadekwa ni Ali.

    'Tea has been prepared by Ali'.

15) Ali wamdekia Hamisi chai.

    'Ali prepared tea for Hamisi'.

16) Chai chadekelwa Hamisi ni Ali.

    'Tea was prepared for Hamisi by Ali'.

In the above sentence (No. 9) 'Ali' is the Subject
while <u>chai</u> 'tea' in (no. 10) is the subject. The
state of affairs that is described is the same,
but it is done in a different perspective and as

- 94 -

Dik clearly says,

> Just as one may need different
> pictures of the same object
> for different purposes, one may also
> also need different linguistic
> presentations of the same state
> of affairs for different
> purposes.

<div align="center">(Dik 1978:71)</div>

This however, explains why sentences (15 and 16)
though having the same truth-connections are not
interchangeable in every context. This claim
refutes the opinion that the passive form of the
verb is a result of the object and subject
exchanging positions in a sentence.

We said earlier on that the Passive allows
Agentless construction, therefore below are some
examples to illustrate this phenomenon:

Kiswahili

17) Chakula kimepikwa.

'Food has been cooked'.

18) Mtoto amepigwa.

'The child has been beaten'.

Kidawida

19) Vindo vadekwa.

'The food has been cooked'.

20) Mwana wakabwa.

'The child has been beaten'. -

We realise such Agentless construction if an extra argument has not been added. The Agent is implied but not inserted in the construction. Thus a predicate-frame for an such a construction would be:

iii) $Pikwa_v(x_1:human(x_1))_{AG}$ $(x_2:food(x_3))_{GO/SUBJ}$.

We also have three-place predicates in the Passive form. A sentence like (No. 16) would have the following predicate-frame:

iv) $dekwa_v(x_1:human(x_1))_{AG}$ $(x_2:food(x_2)_{GO}$

$(x3:animate(x_3)_{BEN/SUBJ}$

We have seen from the examples given that the passive form can be explained by the assignment of syntactic functions of Subject and Object. The rules usually will specify that if there is a Beneficiary function in the predication and it has not been assigned subject function, then it has to be the object.

It is, however, not surprising to find that sometimes the Passive cannot be accounted for by the assignment of subject function especial in cases where there is only one argument in the predication, as we shall try to show below.

Kiswahili

21) James amelala.

'James has slept'.

22) Kumelalwa na James.

   ('lit. - It has been slept by James'.)

23) Maria ameimba.

   'Maria has sang'.

24) Kumeimbwa na Maria.

   ('lit. - It has been sang by Maria'),

Kidawida

25) James walala.

   'James has slept'.

26) Kwalaligwa ni James.

   ('lit. - It has been slept by James'.)

27) Maria ameimba.

   'Maria has sang'.

28) Kwaboregwa ni Maria.

   ('lit. - It has been sang by Maria'.)

   A possible way of accounting for the passive
form in such sentences given above is by the
assignment of the Pragmatic function of Focus.

Dik defines Focus,

> as that pragmatic function
> which characterises constituents
> which present the relatively
> most important or salient
> information with respect to
> the pragmatic information of
> the Speaker and the Addressee.

                    (Dik 1978:149)

In sentence (21) the speaker is making a statement
assuming that the Addressee knows somebody called
James, and that he may be asleep. In sentence
(22) the Speaker assumes that the Addressee does
not know the fact that a person called James known
to the Addressee is asleep. The Speaker then
wants to give the Addressee new information.
The predicate which receives the emphasis contains
the most important information not known to the
Addressee. The predicate is therefore assigned
the pragmatic functions of Focus as seen in the
following Predicate-frames.

v)   Lalwa$_V$ (x_1:James(x_1))$_{AG}$ —no ~~dictionary~~ lexical entry

     FOC   ~~(found)~~ or derivation —

                                                       ~~have~~ lalwa

vi) Borwa$_V$ (x_1:Maria(x_1))$_{AG}$

     FOC

In a sentence like:

29) Kumelalwa nyumbani na James,

     (lit. - It has been slept by James in the

           house')

the added argument has the semantic function of
Location, thus such a Predicate-frame as follows

vii) Lalwa$_V$ (x_1:human(x_1)$_{AG}$ (x_3:nyumba(x_3))$_{LOC}$

     FOC

Usually the Agent of the Passive verbal form is
preceded by NA as in (10) in Kiswahili, while

in Kidawida it is NI as in (no. 14).

The Passive extension as seen in the above
description can be accounted for by the assignment
of syntactic functions of Subject to the Goal or
Agent depending on which perspective angle for
viewing the state of affairs, and also the
assignment of pragmatic functions of Focus on the
information which is to receive greater emphasis,
between an Addressee and a Speaker.

4.4 Reciprocal

The suffix [-an-][9] can be added to a verb root
to express the concept of reciprocity, associative
and interdependence, thus 'Reciprocal' is a cover
term.

The grammatical change associated with the
'Reciprocal' extension is the reduction of the
arguments.

Ashton says that:

> The force of -NA largely
> depends upon the preceding
> suffix and the meaning of
> the root itself. Generally
> speaking -NA suffixed to
> the Simple Prepositional or
> Causative forms expresses
> reciprocity or concerted
> action or Contactive forms
> implies interaction and
> interdependence.

(Ashton 1944: 240-241)

The reciprocal can have a plural animate or
conjoined subject and no object.

If -NA is suffixed to a simple form, for
example:

Kiswahili

1) piga - 'hit' we get pigana 'hit each other'
2) penda - 'love' " " pendana 'love each other'
3) jua - 'know' " " juana 'know each other'

Kidawida

4) kaba - 'hit' kabana 'hit each other'
5) kunda - 'love' kundana 'love each other'
6) manya - 'know' manyana 'know each other'

In this environment the Reciprocal expresses the
associative form whereby the two parties involved
in the state of affairs do to each other the
referred action of the verb stem.

Also when -NA is used with the prepositional
form it expresses associative.

Kiswahili

7) pigia - 'beat for' pigiana 'beat for each other'
8) Ngojea - 'wait for' ngojeana 'wait for each other'
9) chekea - 'laugh to' chekeana 'laugh to each other'

The same case applies if the reciprocal morpheme
-NA is suffixed to a causative form, it also

expresses the associative as in:

Kiswahili

10) pendeza - 'please' <u>pendezana</u> 'love each other'

11) fikisha - 'reach' <u>fikishana</u> 'reach each other'

Kidawida

12) kunda - 'please' <u>kundanisha</u> 'make to love each
                                                        other'

13) vikisha - 'reach' <u>vikishana</u> 'reach each other'

If -Na is suffixed to a Static form it implies
interdependence,

Kiswahili

14) <u>shikama</u> - 'be in a state of holding'
     <u>shikamana</u> - 'be in a state of holding together'

15) <u>fungama</u> - 'be in a fixed position'
     <u>fungamana</u> - 'be in a fixed position together'

In situations where we have a conjoined subject
as the following examples will show, we can
separate the arguments so that one appears after
the verb with the preposition <u>na</u> - 'and', even
after such a change, the verbal extension will
still retain the meaning conveyed before, for
example:

Kiswahili

16) Mary anapendana na Juma.

'Mary and John love each other'.

17) John walibadilishana nguo na Peter.

'John and Peter exchanged clothes'.

Kidawida

18) Mary wakundane na Juma.

'Mary and John love each other'.

19) John wabadilishana nguwo na Peter.

'John and Peter exchanged clothes'.

In a rare syntactic environment the reciprocal can occur with a singular animate subject and an object.

Kiswahili

20) Mama alipeana chakula.

'Mother gave out food'.

21) Ng'ombe hupeana maziwa.

'The cow provides milk'.

Here we have an Agent doing something to someone. In another environment, the reciprocal can occur with an inanimate subject with no object as the following examples show:

Kiswahili

22) Magari yaligongana.

    'The trains collided',

23) Nyumba ziliangukiana.

    'The houses fell on each other'.

24) Miti ilishikamana.

    'The trees intertwined'.

25) Maji yaligandamana.

    'Water froze'.

Kidawida

26) Magari ghatikana.

    'Trains collided',

27) Nyumba rabuiana.

    'Houses fell on each other'.

Sometimes when the reciprocal morpheme is added
to a verb stem it gives the meaning of
interdependence, thus:

Kiswahili

28) Majirani hulimiana.

    'Neighbours help each other dig'.

29) Wazazi husikilizana.

    'Parents understand each other'.

Kidawida

30) Majirani walimianagha.

'Neighbours help each other dig'.

31) Wazazi wasikiranagha.   *Wavi*

'Parents understand each other'.

The reciprocal is a derived predicate as it is formed by a productive rule that adds the suffix [-an-] to the verb root or stem. Thus the predicate formation component should provide us with such predicate frames as follows:

i) $Pikiana_V$ $(x_1 : animate(x_1))_{AG/BEN}$.
'cook for each other'

ii) $Peana_V$ $(x_1)_{AG}$ $(x_2)_{GO}$.
'give others'

The type of verbs whether Process, Action of Stative does not affect the semantic functions of the arguments. For example Process verbs like

angukiana - 'falling on each other'

will not differ syntactically from Action verb pigana - 'fight each other'

4.5 Stative

The Stative morpheme [-ik-] or [-ek-] can be added to verb stem to form Stative extension. The

Stative extension does not require an additional argument. The number of Arguments are reduced when the verb is in the Stative form, and usually it marks the deletion of the Agent, as it cannot co-occur with the Stative form.

Kiswahili

1) Mtoto alifunga mlango.

   'The child closed the door'.

2) Mlango umefungika.

   'The door is closed'.

3) Mlango unafungika.

   'The door is closing (itself)'.

4) Mlango unafungika.

   'The door is closable.

Kidawida

5) Mwana warugha mnyango.

   'The child closed the door'.

6) Mnyango gwafungika.

   'The door is closed'.

7) Mnyango gwawefungika.

   'The door is closing'.

8) Mnyango ghufungika.

   'The door is closable'

Sentences (1 and 5) bear the Agent as they are not
in the Stative form, but nos (2-4) and (6-8) the
Agent is deleted.

Ashton says that,

> Stative verb express two
> different concepts...
>
> 1) They express 'State'
>   without reference to
>   Agency.
>
> 2) They also express
>   Potentiality i.e.
>   whether or not the
>   subject is capable of
>   receiving a given
>   action.
>
> (Ashton 1944:227)

In some environments, the Stative is ambiguous
between the concept of 'Potentiality' and
Process especially when it is in the present
tense with the Progressive aspect, for example:

Kiswahili

9) Ukuta wabomoka.

    'The wall is falling/is capable of falling

                  easily'.

10) Chai yamwagika.

    'Tea is pouring/is capable of pouring easily'.

Kidawida

11) Nganda iwuduka.

    'The wall is falling/is capable of falling

                  easily'.

12) Chai chidika.

'The tea is pouring/is capable of pouring

easily'.

In the above examples (9-12) a process is described which in the end results in a state.

Examples of Process/State without implication of an Agent.

Kiswahili

13) Mfuko wa karatasi watoboka upesi.
'A paper bag gets torn easily'.

14) Kitambaa chararulika vizuri.
'The material tears easily well'.

Kidawida

15) Mfuko gwa karatasi ghuturuka shwa.
'A paper bag gets torn easily'.

16) Kitambaa chirashuka nicha.
'The material tears easily/well'.

Feasability/Potentiality can be expressed in the following examples:

17) Sahani hii yatoboleka.
'This plate can be pierced'.

18) Nguo ile yafulika.
'That dress can be washed'

19) Kanzu hii yararulika.

   'This 'kanzu' can be torn',

Kidawida

20) Sahani ihi ituruka.

   'This plate can be pierced'·

21) .Nguwo ija loghosheka.

   'That dress can be washed'.

22) Kanzu ifuika.

   'This 'kanzu' can be washed'.

Some Stative verbal extensions when combined with the [-me-] tense, and in the case of verbs denoting human activity it means that the Action was well done or easily performed.

Kiswahili

23) Barua hii imesomeka.

   ? 'This letter could be read easily'.

24) Chakula kimepikika vizuri.

   'The food has been cooked well'.

25) Shamba hili limelimika upesi.

   'This field was easily dug'.

The ambiguity between the Potentiality and Process is not so easy to account for.

   Stative extensions are derived by productive

rules that add the morpheme [-ik-] or [-ek-] to
a verb stem.   The predicate-formation rule will,
however, give the appropriate predicate-frames
for each derived predicate as seen below:

i) $Pikika_V(x,:food(x_1)\phi$
        'cookable'

ii) $Pikika_V(x_1:food(x.))PROC$
        'get cooked'

The above predicate-frames show that the
verb pikika has different semantic functions.

4.6 Conversive

Some verbs both in Kiswahili and Kidawida
can add the conversive morpheme [-u-] or [-o-] to
give verbs their opposite meanings. Such, verbs,
however, are very few in both languages[1] It is
important to point out that the opposite meaning
of a verb need not necessarily be arrived at by
the addition of the conversive morpheme.

Kiswahili

	verb	gloss	conversive	gloss
1)	ziba	'stop'	zibua	'unstop'
2)	vaa	'dress'	vua	'undress'
3)	choma	'pierce'	chomoa	'unpierce'
4)	fuma	'stitch'	fumua	'unstitch'
5)	ficha	'hide'	fichua	'disclose'

	verb	gloss	conversive	gloss
6)	kunja	'fold	kunjua	'unfold'
7)	umba	'mould'	umbua	'unmould'

Kidawida

8)	rugha	'close'	rughua	'open'
9)	rwa	'dress'	rua	'undress'
10)	fuma	'stitch'	fumua	'unstitch'
11)	kucha	'fold'	kuchua	'unfold'
12)	ala	'make	alua	'unmake'

Syntactically, the conversive extension does not differ from the verb stem from which it was derived. The number of arguments selected are only two in both the verb stem and the derived form, as we shall see below.

Kiswahili

13) Juma aliziba chupa.

'Juma blocked the bottle'.

14) Juma alizibua chupa.

'Juma unblocked the bottle'.

15) Jane amevaa nguo.

'Jane is dressed',

16) Jane amevua nguo.

'Jane has undressed'.

Kidawida

17) Maria warua nguwo,

'Maria is dressed'.

18) Maria warua nguwo.

'Maria has undressed'.

19) Mao wakucha nguwo.

'Mother has folded clothes'.

20) Mao wakuchua nguwo.

'Mother unfolded clothes'.

The conversive extension does not require
any added Argument. There is always the Agent and
the Goal. In the given examples above (14) 'Juma'
is the Agent while 'chupa' is the Goal. The same
explanation is needed for sentence (13). .

The environment cannot therefore predict
whether to expect a verb or its conversive form.
The rule which forms the conversive extension is
regular as the morpheme [-u-] or [-o-] is always
added to the verb stem, thus the conversive
extension can be treated as a derived predicate
to be formed in the predicate formation component.

The conversive does not always semantically
present the concept of the opposite of the verb,
for example:

Kiswahili

	verb	gloss	opposite meaning	gloss
21)	panda	'climb'	shuka	'descend'
22)	nenda	'go'	kuja	'come'
23)	sema	'speak'	nyamaza	'keep quiet'
24)	lia	'cry'	cheka	'laugh'
25)	lala	'sleep'	amuka	'awake'

Kidawida

	verb	gloss	opposite meaning	gloss
26)	joka	'climb'	sea	'descend'
27)	ghenda	'go'	choo	'come'
28)	deda	'speak'	nyama	'keep quiet'
29)	lila	'cry'	seka	'laugh'
30)	lala	sleep'	wuka	'awake'

In the above examples, the third column gives the opposite meaning of the verbs in column one. We could not in any way get the opposite meaning of the verbs by merely adding the conversive morpheme [-u-] or [-o-].

The following are unacceptable forms of the conversive.

Kiswahili

	verb	gloss	conversive	
31)	panga	'arrange'	*pangua	?
32)	enda	'go'	*endoa'	?
33)	piga	'beat'	*'pigua'	?

Kidawida

verb	gloss	conversive	
34)	panga	'arrange'	*pangua	?
35)	ghenda	'go'	*ghendua	?
36)	kaba	'beat'	*kabua	?

As said earlier (4.6) that the conversive
extension is similar to the verb stem in so far
as the number of Arguments needed for the predicate
is two, that is, the Agent and the Goal. We
therefore get the following predicate-frames:

i) $funga_v(x_1)_{AG}$ $(x_2:)_{GO}$

    'close'

ii) $ziba_v(x_1)_{AG}$ $(x_2:))_{GO}$

    'block'

The derived verbal form will also have similar
predicate frames:

iii) $fungua_v(x_1))_{AG}$ $(x_2:)_{GO}$

    'open'

iv) $zibua_v(x_1)_{AG}$ $(x_2)_{GO}$

    'unblock'

There are, however, some Kidawida verbs which
are already in their conversive although they are

not derived from any verb stem, for example:

37) deghua - 'put down from cooking stones'.

The rule that forms the conversive extension
is regular as it adds the morphemes [-u-] or [-o-]
where it applies.

In this chapter we have attempted to analyse
verbal extensions of Kidawida with similar
statements made with regards to Kiswahili. We
have on many accounts concentrated on the semantic
and syntactic aspects in the use and status of
the verbal extensions in the languages. We saw
that in most cases the verbs functioned according
to their semantic types. It was seen that for
example that, the addition of an extra argument
in the applicative predications is affected by
the semantic type of the verb.

Verbs of Action (transitive) usually added an
Argument with Beneficiary, Location or Direction
function. State verbs (intransitive) tended to
add Arguments with Reason, Purpose, Location
functions while Process verbs (intransitive) added
Arguments with Locative function.

5.0 Conclusions:

In this study it has been shown that, FG can account for the morphology of Kidawida and Kiswahili extended verbs. We have used this model of grammar on principles put forward by Dik such that,

> ...Semantic content of any
> linguistic expression is
> co-determined by functions
> from each of the three
> functional levels.

> Dik (1978:14)

The form and the semantic content of the linguistic expressions will vary depending on the different functional assignments made to the arguments on all the three levels of function.

We have also shown that, most Kidawida and Kiswahili extended verbs can be derived by predicate formation rules; therefore they cannot be entered into the lexicon of the languages as basic predicates.

The Passive is the only extension which can be accounted for by the assignment of syntactic function of subject to the Goal and the Pragmatic function of Focus, see above (4.3).

In the Conversive extension it has been pointed out that, not all verbs can be derived by suffixing

the conversive morphemes [-u-] or [-o-]. There
are very few verbs in Kidawida and Kiswahili which
can be put into the conversive form by adding the
conversive morpheme. The rule that forms the
conversive extension is regular and the morpheme
[-u-] or [-o-] is added to the verbs only where it
applies. The environment cannot predict whether
to expect a verb or its conversive form, therefore,
it is necessary to mark these verbs in the lexicon
of the languages.

In several cases, Action verbs added an Argument
with Beneficiary, Location or Direction function,
while state verbs added Arguments with Reason,
Location or Source function. Normally the verbs
functioned according to their semantic type, thus
determining the function of the added Argument.

From our study, we have found out that, in
most cases the morphemes of the verbal extension are
the same in both Kiswahili and Kidawida, for example
the:

a) Passive morpheme is [-w-]

b) Applicative morpheme is [-i-], [-e-|

c) Causative morpheme is [-ish-], [-esh-],

In Kiswahili there is also a rare causative
morpheme, that is, [-z-] while in Kidawida we also
have a rare one, that is, [-ush-].

d) Reciprocal morpheme is [-an-] in contrary to Ashton's -NA

e) Stative morpheme is [-ik-], [-ek-] .

f) Conversive morpheme is [-o-], [-u-].

These evident similarities lead us to the conclusion, that there is a high degree of relationship between the verbal morphology of Kiswahili and that of Kidawida.

Structuralist grammarians like Ashton (1944) have written on grammars of languages without using any model of grammar. The works of such grammarians are important as far as we consider them sources of data.

Having used FG model as proposed by Dik (1978) to analyse the morphology of Kidawida verbal extensions with comparative statements of the same phenomenon made with respect to Kiswahili in a non-ad-hoc-manner, we are of the opinion that this will encourage other attempts to analyse aspects of grammar using FG model.

We hope that this work contributes to the literature on Kidawida language and studies on African languages in general.

What we consider as future tasks are; the need to have a Kidawida dictionary written. We consider this important, because the young generations will be robbed of the genuine Kidawida vocabulary. Most

young people replace Kidawida words for Kiswahili words for
example the genuine Kidawida word for 'Fish' is
Nguluma but often the Kiswahili word 'Samaki' is
used. The main scientific aspect, however, will
be that, such a dictionary will be helpful to
historical linguists and those people interested in
discussing the level of relationship between Kiswahili
and other Bantu languages, in the context of
comparative studies. There is also a need for
working on the various Kidawida dialects. Apart
from that, this work could encourage intensive
research on Kidawida grammar.

If such literature can be available, then
comparative works between Kiswahili and other African
(Bantu) languages will be done much easier.

Notes

1. Taita   -   Mkangi (1978) defines the word as
                   a Kiswahili version of the local
                   name 'Dawida'. In the colonial
                   maps there are different spellings
                   'Teita'. We consider the genuine
                   name to be Dawida.

2. Dawida   -   (The country). Distinction is made
                   by the local people, thus we have
                   'Dawida' referring to the cool areas
                   on the hills and 'Nyika' the dry
                   low lands.

3. Dabida   -   (as spelt by Möhlig (1980)). The
                   spellings we consider correct are,
                   Dawida. According to the IPA chart
                   the sound /β/ is written /w/ in
                   orthographic symbols, this, however,
                   is the sound in the third letter on
                   the word as realised by Dawida speakers.

4. Table I   -   as provided is our own making otherwise
                   before this work there was no such
                   table in any Kidawida books.

5. Table   -   same explanation as (4).

6. /Ne/ (see 3.24 No:81). This has become the
                   First Person Singular marker, only
                   after being used with Near Past
                   Tense or Remote Past Tense.

7. The symbol * has been used to mark the uncorrect
                   forms.

8. The verb as seen is <u>rwa</u> but in the conversive form the /w/ is deleted and we only have the conversive morpheme [-u-] inserted. The deletion is a result of vowel assimilation NB we did not include this discussion in our paper .

9. In our description we marked [-an-] as the Reciprocal morpheme. This differs with Ashton (1944) who considers -NA as the Reciprocal morpheme.

10. The examples cited are, however, not an exhaustive list.

Abbreviations Used

1. AG   -   Agent
2. GO   -   Goal
3. REC   -   Recipient
4. BEN   -   Beneficiary
5. INSTR -   Instrument
6. LOC   -   Location
7. DIR   -   Direction
8. FO   -   Force
9. ∅   -   Zero function
10. SUBJ -   Subject
11. OBJ -   Object
12. FOC -   Focus
13. TG   -   Transformational Grammar
14. FG   -   Functional Grammar.

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