This dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

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MR. OTH OKOMBO
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:

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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.
Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank sincerely all those people whose contributions have made this work a success.

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Dr. Lucia Omondi and Mr. Okoth-Okombo for the theoretical guidance and the endless support they provided to make sure that I did not go astray.

Many thanks to my husband Bernhard Baier whose constant letters were a source of moral support and inspiration when my spirits were low.

I say thanks a lot to a close friend Emily Chao Mkungo who helped me in collecting and discussing the Kidawida data.

Finally I would like to thank Mrs. Joyce Muthama who carefully typed my work.

Any mistakes are solely my own responsibility.
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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 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 as Mkangi (1978) says is a Kiswahili version of the local name Dawida (Dağida) 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 Kitiweta (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 Kitiweta 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 Dapida³ 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: Burna, Chawia, Ghazi, Kidaya, Kigala, Kigombo, Kipusi, Kishamba, Mbale, Mbaramgondi, Mgambonyi, Mgage, 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 Mühlig (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 Polomi (1967) mentions about fifteen, while Ireri Mbaabu (1978) mentions twenty two and Mühlig (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:

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

Polome (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 in 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 encompassing framework within which semantics and syntax must be studied; semantics is subservient to pragmatics and syntax to semantics; the priorities run from pragmatics via semantics 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 realization 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 1975:24)

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 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

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Kiswahili</th>
<th>Kidawida</th>
<th>'gloss'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ua</td>
<td>bwaga</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
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</table>

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

\( e.g. \ Ua_v (X_1: \text{animate} (X_1) \text{ (human) } X_2: \text{animate} (X_2) \)

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 (animate) (human)

'Juma killed the cow.'
ii) Ng'ombe aliua Juma - ng'ombe (animate)  
Juma (animate)  
(human)  
'The cow killed Juma'.

iii) Kidawida  
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. \( u_a \{X_1\}^{AG} \{X_2\}^{GO} \).

The verb \( u_a \) '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 \( u_a \) - 'kill' would be as follows:

\[ u_a \{X_1: \text{human}(X_1)\}^{AG} \{X_2: \text{animate}(X_2)\}^{GO}. \]

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:

\[ u_a (dx_1: \text{Juma}(x_1))^{AG} (dx_2: \text{cow}(x_2))^{GO} \]
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:—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>State of Affairs</th>
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<tr>
<td>+dynamic</td>
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<tr>
<td>EVENT</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Dynamic</td>
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<tr>
<td>SITUATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Controlled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Controlled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

(Dik 1978:130)

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 especially '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA symbols</th>
<th>Kidawida</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>parua</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bora</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð</td>
<td>baba</td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tima</td>
<td>'try'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>duma</td>
<td>'send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>joka</td>
<td>'climb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ö</td>
<td>chura</td>
<td>'fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>fuwe</td>
<td>'baboon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>vala</td>
<td>'fingers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>suwa</td>
<td>'scratch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>zama</td>
<td>'go bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>mshuru</td>
<td>'a piece of cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>ghora</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hao</td>
<td>'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mao</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nao</td>
<td>'then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>mnyango</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ng'ondi</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mbuwa</td>
<td>'garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ndona</td>
<td>'spring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj</td>
<td>ndala</td>
<td>'famine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ngoru</td>
<td>'scar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lala</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>rogua</td>
<td>'greet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We shall try to show in Table I the consonants according to their manner and place of articulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>t č</td>
<td>t nj</td>
<td>t k g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>š</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td>r l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal compound</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td></td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Figure II.

High i Front Back u

Low
These vowels occur in syllabic forms as seen below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kidawida:</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>'sharp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vindo</td>
<td>'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kora</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruda</td>
<td>'pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enda</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mtu</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>watu</td>
<td>'persons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mti</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>miti</td>
<td>'trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limi</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ulimi</td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have nouns from derived stems such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>derived stem</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gomb-</td>
<td>-gomvi</td>
<td>ugomvi</td>
<td>'quarrels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tumik-</td>
<td>-tumishi</td>
<td>utumishi</td>
<td>'service'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lew-</td>
<td>-levi</td>
<td>ulevi</td>
<td>'drunkardness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Kidawida we have the following examples of nominal stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>mundu</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wandu</td>
<td>'persons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mdi</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>midi</td>
<td>'trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-du</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kidu</td>
<td>'mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-du</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vidu</td>
<td>'mortars'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>marker</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>mundu</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa (βa)</td>
<td>wandu</td>
<td>'persons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mdi</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>midi</td>
<td>'trees'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

Table II

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>pronominal</th>
<th>verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>wa ~ βa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ghu</td>
<td>gwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ghi</td>
<td>gha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>chi</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>Pronominal</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>ghu</td>
<td>gwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>gha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>dwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ando</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>kwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kiswahili concordial affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>zi</td>
<td>zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/10</td>
<td>u - m</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/6</td>
<td>u - y</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun stem</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23) (m) -ka</td>
<td>wuka</td>
<td>'womanhood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24) (m) -kelu</td>
<td>wukelu</td>
<td>'stupidity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25) (mdwa) -womi</td>
<td>wuwomi</td>
<td>'manhood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26) (m) -zuri</td>
<td>wuzuri</td>
<td>'richness/riches'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns of this nature belong to Class 11.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun stem</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27) (m) -sichana</td>
<td>usichana</td>
<td>'girlhood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28) (m) -jinga</td>
<td>ujinga</td>
<td>'stupidity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29) (m) -toto</td>
<td>utoto</td>
<td>'childhood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30) (m) -tu</td>
<td>utu</td>
<td>'selfhood'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31) -bor-</td>
<td>mbori</td>
<td>'singer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32) -logh-</td>
<td>mloghi</td>
<td>'witch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33) -nugh-</td>
<td>mnughi</td>
<td>'follower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34) -dek-</td>
<td>mdeki</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35) -lomb-</td>
<td>mlombi</td>
<td>'beggar'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and in Kiswahili we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36) -lea-</td>
<td>mlezi</td>
<td>'guardian'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37) -lind-</td>
<td>mlinzi</td>
<td>'protector'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38) -jeng-</td>
<td>mjenzi</td>
<td>'builder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39) -lim-</td>
<td>mlimi</td>
<td>'cultivator'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40) -funz-</td>
<td>mfunzi</td>
<td>'teacher'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41) lea</td>
<td>malezi</td>
<td>'upbringing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42) ōngoza</td>
<td>maongozi</td>
<td>'management'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43) tumika</td>
<td>matumishi</td>
<td>'services'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44) pika</td>
<td>mapishi</td>
<td>'cooking'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Kidawida we get such nouns as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45) lela</td>
<td>maleli</td>
<td>'upbringing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46) deka</td>
<td>madeki</td>
<td>'cooking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47) lima</td>
<td>malimi</td>
<td>'cultivation'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If [u-1 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48) -tumik-</td>
<td>utumishi</td>
<td>'services'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49) -ongoz-</td>
<td>wongozi</td>
<td>'leadership'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50) -le-</td>
<td>ulezi</td>
<td>'education'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51) -chuku-</td>
<td>uchukuzi</td>
<td>'transportation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52) -la-</td>
<td>ulafi</td>
<td>'greed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Kidawida we do not have \([w]\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kidawida</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb root</strong></td>
<td><strong>noun</strong></td>
<td><strong>gloss</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53) -lak-</td>
<td>wulaki</td>
<td>'desires'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54) -kal-</td>
<td>wukali</td>
<td>'sharpness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55) -dumik-</td>
<td>wudumiki</td>
<td>'service'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56) tulia</td>
<td>mtulivu</td>
<td>'gentle person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57) potea</td>
<td>mpotevu</td>
<td>'uncaring person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58) tukuka</td>
<td>mtukufu</td>
<td>'exalted person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59) sikia</td>
<td>msikivu</td>
<td>'obedient person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60) angalia</td>
<td>mwangalivu</td>
<td>'careful person'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Kidawida, however, this is not common. We have a limited number for examples...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61)</td>
<td>kela</td>
<td>mkelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'stupid person'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62)</td>
<td>ongoa</td>
<td>mwongofu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'saved person'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Kiswahili**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>63)</td>
<td>tulia</td>
<td>utulivu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'calmness/gentleness'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64)</td>
<td>potea</td>
<td>upotevu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'uncaringness'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65)</td>
<td>tukuka</td>
<td>utukufu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'glory'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kidawida**:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66)</td>
<td>kela</td>
<td>wukelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'stupidity'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67)</td>
<td>ongoa</td>
<td>wuongofu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'savedness'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Kidawida, however, the prefix is [wr] 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 [r-], for example,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiswahili</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>68) funika</td>
<td>kifuniko</td>
<td>'lid (cover)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69) ziba</td>
<td>kizibo</td>
<td>'stopper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70) pima</td>
<td>kipimo</td>
<td>'measure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71) fungua</td>
<td>ufunguo</td>
<td>'key'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72) fagia</td>
<td>ufagio</td>
<td>'broom, brush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73) tega</td>
<td>mtego</td>
<td>'trap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74) sikia</td>
<td>sikio</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75) unda</td>
<td>nyundo</td>
<td>'hammer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kidawida:

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81) sema</td>
<td>msemo</td>
<td>'saying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82) enda</td>
<td>mwendo</td>
<td>'gait'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83) cheza</td>
<td>mchezo</td>
<td>'play'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84) nena</td>
<td>neno</td>
<td>'word'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85) waza</td>
<td>wazo</td>
<td>'thought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86) patana</td>
<td>mapatano</td>
<td>'agreement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87) ota</td>
<td>ndoto</td>
<td>'dream'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88) shinika</td>
<td>shiniko</td>
<td>'wonders'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89) tima</td>
<td>matimo</td>
<td>'trials'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90) tumbulia</td>
<td>matumbulio</td>
<td>'answers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91) kota</td>
<td>makoto</td>
<td>'questions'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 vatu | 'shoemaker'
101) panda | mpanda nilima | '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**

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116) kinaganaga</td>
<td>'openness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117) kizunguzungu</td>
<td>'giddiness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118) kimachomacho</td>
<td>'readiness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tum-</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>'send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb root</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) lew-</td>
<td>lewa</td>
<td>'get drunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) tem-</td>
<td>tema</td>
<td>'cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) pig-</td>
<td>piga</td>
<td>'beat, strike'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) pit-</td>
<td>pita</td>
<td>'pass'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We also have the same pattern in Kidawida:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6) ghcr-</td>
<td>ghora</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) bor</td>
<td>bora</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) lod</td>
<td>loda</td>
<td>'point at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) lal</td>
<td>lala</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) lol</td>
<td>lola</td>
<td>'look for'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11) p-</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) f-</td>
<td>fa</td>
<td>'die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) l-</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kidawida:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14) j-</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Root</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>as in</td>
<td>'take'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(III) V Pattern (Vowel)

**Kiswahili**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>as in</td>
<td>'marry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-</td>
<td>as in</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern however does not exist in Kidawida.

(IV) VC Pattern (Vowel Consonant)

We have the VC pattern in both languages.

**Kiswahili:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>um-</td>
<td>as in</td>
<td>'hurt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ib-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ot-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>'dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ap-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>'swear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>'call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>'bathe'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kidawida**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iwa</td>
<td>as in</td>
<td>'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>od-</td>
<td>as in</td>
<td>'bask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>'pass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Root</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28) al-</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td>'to weed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29) ogh-</td>
<td>ogha</td>
<td>'bathe'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Kiswahili:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30) und-</td>
<td>unda</td>
<td>'mould'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31) end-</td>
<td>enda</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32) imb-</td>
<td>imba</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kidawida:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33) ond-</td>
<td>onda</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34) amb-</td>
<td>amba</td>
<td>'say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35) enj-</td>
<td>enja</td>
<td>'send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36) inj-</td>
<td>inja</td>
<td>'remove'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Kiswahili:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36) mwag-</td>
<td>mwaga</td>
<td>'spill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37) twet-</td>
<td>tweta</td>
<td>'pant'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kidawida:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwany-</td>
<td>kwanya</td>
<td>'gather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwagh-</td>
<td>bwagha</td>
<td>'kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wada-</td>
<td>wada</td>
<td>'take/accept'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(VII) CVNC Pattern (Consonant Vowel Nasal Consonant)

Kiswahili:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vimb-</td>
<td>vimba</td>
<td>'swell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tend-</td>
<td>tenda</td>
<td>'do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fung-</td>
<td>funga</td>
<td>'fasten'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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.  
'This issue is unforgettable'.

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 unforgettable'.

(7) Suffixes
(8) Final
(9) Postfinal.
51) Matunda ndeghiwurue nicha.  
'The fruits are not ready'.

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).  
'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 hai\_takatwa (class 4).
   'The trees will not be cut'.

Kidawida

60) Nyumba nde\_ibongololwagha (class 9).
   'The house will not be destroyed'.

61) Mdi nde\_eghuzoghuagha (class 3).
   'The tree will not grow'.

62) Ighi jajigwa (class 5).
   'The egg has been eaten'.

63) Kidu chakorwa (class 7).
   'The mortar has been burnt'.

64) Ng'ondi yabwagwa (class 9).
   'The sheep is killed'.

3.23 Post-initial:

The post-initial occurs in a negative form.

In Kiswahili the post-initial morpheme is [-si-] as seen in the following sentences:

65) Usimwambie,
   'Do not tell her/him'.

66) Tusie\_nde kwake,
   'Let us not go to his/her place'.

67) Wasie\_nde leo,
   'They should not go today'.


68) Matunda yasiliwe.
    '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)


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 Tense's.

(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) *Neerendieghe* 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) Simple Present

Kiswahili:                      Kidawida:

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) Perfect Aspect (The marker is [-me])

91) Ameenda
   'He has gone'

92) Tumeenda
   'We have gone'

93) Wamekunywa maji
   'They have drunk water'

Kidawida: (The marker is [-gh-])

94) Waghenda
    'He has gone'

95) Daghenda
    'We have gone'

96) Waghiunywa machi
    'They have drunk water'
(iii) **Progressive Aspect**

**Kiswahili** (Marker is [-ki-])

97) *Utawakuta wakila.*

'You will find them eating'.

98) *Tuliwakuta wakipigana.*

'We found them fighting'.

99) *Tutawaona wakiandika.*

'We shall see them writing'.

**Kidawida** (Marker is [-ki-]).

100) *Kuwikuagha wikija.*

'You will find them eating'.

101) *Dewikueghe wikikabana.*

'We found them fighting'.

102) *Diwiwonagha wikiandika.*

'We shall see them writing'.

(iv) **Habitual Aspect**

In Kiswahili the marker is [-hu-].

103) *Mary huenda sokoni.*

'Mary goes to the market'.

104) *Mtoto hulia kila siku.*

'The child cries everyday'.

105) *Sisi hulima 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'.

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

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

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

(113) Nichalima mwaka ghuchagha   
'I will cultivate by next year'.
iii) With Habitual Aspect:

Swahili

115) Nitakuwa nikienda kila siku.

'I will be going every day'.

Kidawida

116) Nichakaia nikienda kila ituku.

'I will be going everyday'.

iv) The Habitual aspect is similar syntactically with the Progressive but not semantically.

Kiswahili

117) Nitakuwa nikienda atakapofika.

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

Kidawida

118) Nichakaia nikienda iji wavika.

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

v) With Perfective

Kiswahili

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)

Kidawida:

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) Expressing Prohibition:

Kiswahili:

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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>152) -bomoa</td>
<td>'pull down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153) -kata</td>
<td>'cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154) -vunja</td>
<td>'break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155) -soma</td>
<td>'read'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156) -andika</td>
<td>'write'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While in Kidawida we have the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>157) -ghenda</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>Applicative Extension</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>161) funga</td>
<td>fungia</td>
<td>'close for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162) tia</td>
<td>tilia</td>
<td>'put in for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163) weka</td>
<td>wekea</td>
<td>'keep for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164) pika</td>
<td>pikia</td>
<td>'cook for'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Form</th>
<th>Applicative Extension</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>165) rugna</td>
<td>rughia</td>
<td>'cook for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166) rede</td>
<td>redia</td>
<td>'bring for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167) chora</td>
<td>choria</td>
<td>'draw for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168) bora</td>
<td>boria</td>
<td>'sing for'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
61

169) *Mary alipikia chakula*.  
'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. 

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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>177) funga</td>
<td>fungisha</td>
<td>'cause to close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178) pika</td>
<td>pikisha</td>
<td>'cause to cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179) kimbia</td>
<td>kimbiza</td>
<td>'cause to run'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kidawida:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>180) rugha</td>
<td>rughisha</td>
<td>'cause to cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181) vina</td>
<td>vinisha</td>
<td>'cause to dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182) deka</td>
<td>dekesha</td>
<td>'cause to cook'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>Passive (simple form)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>188)  -piga</td>
<td>pigwa</td>
<td>'be beaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189)  -funga</td>
<td>fungwa</td>
<td>'be closed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Passive in the extended form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>passive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>190)</td>
<td>-piga</td>
<td>pigia</td>
<td>pigiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191)</td>
<td>-funga</td>
<td>fungia</td>
<td>fungiwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kidawida:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>passive (simple)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>192)</td>
<td>-kaba</td>
<td>kabwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193)</td>
<td>-rugha</td>
<td>rugwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passive in the extended form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>passive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>194)</td>
<td>-kaba</td>
<td>kabia kabilwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195)</td>
<td>-rugha</td>
<td>rughia rughilwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 preceded 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) chezesa - 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 wanasilizana.
    '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>stative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>212) fany-</td>
<td>fanyika</td>
<td>'be done'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213) pig-</td>
<td>pigika</td>
<td>'be beaten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214) pik-</td>
<td>pikika</td>
<td>'be cooked'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kidawida:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>stative</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>215) bony-</td>
<td>bonyeka</td>
<td>'be done'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216) bor-</td>
<td>boreka</td>
<td>'be sang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217) rug-</td>
<td>rughika</td>
<td>'be closed'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>conversive form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zib-</td>
<td>zibua</td>
<td>'unstop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-</td>
<td>vua</td>
<td>'undress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunj-</td>
<td>kunjua</td>
<td>'unfold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chom-</td>
<td>chomoa</td>
<td>'extract'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fum-</td>
<td>fumua</td>
<td>'unstitch'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kidawida:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb root</th>
<th>conversive form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rugh-</td>
<td>rughua</td>
<td>'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rw-</td>
<td>rua</td>
<td>'undress'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, a verb like degua is already in the Conversive form, otherwise the opposite of degua 'put down' is wikiria - 'put on fire'.
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 Polome (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) \( \text{Pikia}_v(x_1: \text{human}(x_1))_{AG} (x_2:\{\text{tea}\} (x_2))_{GO} (x_3: \text{animate} (x_3))_{BEN} \)

Kidawida:

(ii) \( \text{dekiav} (x_1: \text{human}(x_1))_{AG} (x_2: \text{food}(x_2))_{GO} (x_3: \text{animate} (x_3))_{BEN} \)

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:

\( \text{Pika}_v(x_1: \text{human}(x_1))_{AG} (x_2: \text{food}(x_2))_{GO} \)

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\(v(x_1:\text{human}(x_1))_{\Delta \theta}(x_2:\text{thing}(x_2))_{\theta 0}(x_3:\text{thing}(x_3))_{\text{INST}}\)

Below are examples of added arguments with Direction
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 house 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**

   '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 urembo - '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 mdawomi wake nguwo.
'Mary liked the clothes for her husband'.

These sets of sentences (23 and 24) Bwana '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) darasani - 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)'.

27) Mtoto alianguka majini.
  'The child fell down (into the water)'.

28) Mtoto aliangukia majini.
  'The child fell down (into the water)'.

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

   '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) Nilimunulia 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) \( \text{kimbilia}_v (x_1: \text{animate}(x_1))_{AG} (x_2: \text{food}(x_2))_{GO} \)

(v) \( \text{kimbilia}_v (x_1: \text{animate}(x_1))_{AG} (x_2: \text{food}(x_2))_{DIR} \)

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 amelalishwa 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 wameshibiwa.
   '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:

ali*omboisha ukuta - 'He made the wall pull down',

while a transitive verb:

andika - 'write'

allows the causative morpheme so that we can get:

Ali*andikisha barua - 'He had the letter written'.

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

chokesha - 'make tired'

or as the lists below show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiswahili</th>
<th>Kidawida</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34) kondesha</td>
<td>darumisha</td>
<td>'make to loose weight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35) chakaza</td>
<td>ghosesha</td>
<td>'make to fade away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36) poza</td>
<td>horesha</td>
<td>'make to cool down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37) teketeteza</td>
<td>nonesha</td>
<td>'make to destroy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the causative form, usually we have 'double causative'. 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 mwalimu 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) Imbisha\(^1\)(x_1:human(x_1)) \(\rightarrow\) Imbisha\(^2\)(x_2:human(x_2)) \(\rightarrow\) 'cause to sing'(x_3:song(x_3))

\(\text{AG}^1\) = Primary Agent
\(\text{AG}^2\) = Secondary Agent
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 scattered 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 on 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 ngu. 
   '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) mao - '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:

Kiswahili

9) Ali amepika chai.
   'Ali has prepared some tea'.

10) Chai imepikwa na Ali.
    'Tea has been prepared by Ali'.

    'Ali prepared tea for Hamisi'.

12) Chai imepikiwa Hamisi na Ali.
    'Tea has been prepared for Hamisi by Ali'.

Kidawida

13) Ali wadeka chai.
    'Ali has prepared some tea'.

14) Chai chadekwa ni Ali.
    'Tea has been prepared by Ali'.

15) Ali wamdeka 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 **chai** '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
Dik clearly says,

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

(Dik 1978:71)

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 kiraepikwa.
   '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_2))_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
(x_3: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.

\[
\text{v) Lalwa}_v \ (x_1: \text{James}(x_1)) \\
\text{vi) Borwa}_v \ (x_1: \text{Maria}(x_1))
\]

In a sentence like:

\[
\text{29) Kumelalwa nyumbani na James.} \\
\text{(lit. - It has been slept by James in the house')}
\]

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

\[
\text{vii) Lalwa}_v \ (x_1: \text{human}(x_1)) \ (x_3: \text{nyumba}(x_3))
\]

Usually the Agent of the Passive verbal form is preceded by \text{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-] 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' pendezana 'love each other'
11) fikisha - 'reach' fikishana 'reach each other'

**Kidawida**

12) kunda - 'please' kundanisha 'make to love each other'
13) vikisha - 'reach' vikishana 'reach each other'

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

**Kiswahili**

14) shikama - 'be in a state of holding'
    shikamana - 'be in a state of holding together'
15) fungama - 'be in a fixed position'
    fungamana - '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 na - '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 nguuo na Peter.
   'John and Peter exchanged clothes'.

Kidawida

18) Mary wakundane na Juma.
   'Mary and John love each other'.

19) John wabadilishana nguuo 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.
'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$_2$)$_{AG}$ (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 alifungwa 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'.

9) Ukuta wabomoka.

'The wall is falling/is capable of falling easily'

10) Chai yamwagika.

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

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\(_v\)\((x_1:food(x_1))\)  
   'cookable'

ii) Pikika\(_v\)\((x_1:food(x_1))\)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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>conversive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ziba</td>
<td>'stop'</td>
<td>zibua</td>
<td>'unstop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaa</td>
<td>'dress'</td>
<td>vua</td>
<td>'undress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choma</td>
<td>'pierce'</td>
<td>chomoa</td>
<td>'unpierce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuma</td>
<td>'stitch'</td>
<td>fumua</td>
<td>'unstitch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ficha</td>
<td>'hide'</td>
<td>fichua</td>
<td>'disclose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>gloss</td>
<td>conversive</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunja</td>
<td>'fold'</td>
<td>kunjua</td>
<td>'unfold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umba</td>
<td>'mould'</td>
<td>umbua</td>
<td>'unmould'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kidawida**

| 8)  | rughha  | 'close'  | rughua | 'open'  |
| 9)  | rwa      | 'dress'  | rua    | 'undress' |
| 10) | funa     | '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'.

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Kidawida

17) Maria war/ma 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:
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>opposite meaning</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21) panda</td>
<td>'climb'</td>
<td>shuka</td>
<td>'descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22) menda</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>kuja</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23) sema</td>
<td>'speak'</td>
<td>nyamaza</td>
<td>'keep quiet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24) lia</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>cheka</td>
<td>'laugh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25) lala</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>amuka</td>
<td>'awake'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kidawida

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>converse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20) joka</td>
<td>'climb'</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27) ghenda</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>choo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28) deda</td>
<td>'speak'</td>
<td>nyama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29) lila</td>
<td>'cry'</td>
<td>seka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30) lala</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>wuka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>conversive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31) panga</td>
<td>'arrange'</td>
<td>&quot;pangua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32) enda</td>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>&quot;endoa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33) piga</td>
<td>'beat'</td>
<td>*'pigua'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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\(v(x_1)\)\(_{\text{AG}}\) \((x_2)\)\(_{\text{GO}}\) 'close'

ii) ziba\(v(x_1)\) \((x_2)\)\(_{\text{AG}}\) \((x_2)\)\(_{\text{GO}}\) 'block'

The derived verbal form will also have similar predicate frames:

iii) fungua\(v(x_1))\)\(_{\text{AG}}\) \((x_2)\)\(_{\text{GO}}\) 'open'

iv) zibua\(v(x_1)\) \((x_2)\)\(_{\text{AG}}\) \((x_2)\)\(_{\text{GO}}\) '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 rwa but in the convervive form the /w/ is deleted and we only have the convervive 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. φ -  Zero function
10. SUBJ -  Subject
11. OBJ -  Object
12. FOC -  Focus
13. TG -  Transformational Grammar
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