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STRUCTURE OF A SIMPLE SENTENCE
IN THE SWAHILI LANGUAGE
WITHIN THE RANGE
OF THE VERBAL GROUP AND CONGRUENCY

The present article is a continuation of the article published in the IX Vol. of „Folia Orientalia“ under the title: *Structure of a Simple Sentence in the Swahili Language within the Range of a Nominal Predicate and Nominal Group*.

As to symbols and abbreviations concerning patterns and bibliography, some were already used previously in the above mentioned work, others — new ones — have been introduced into the present paper.

LIST OF SYMBOLS

(fragments which occur in the present paper)

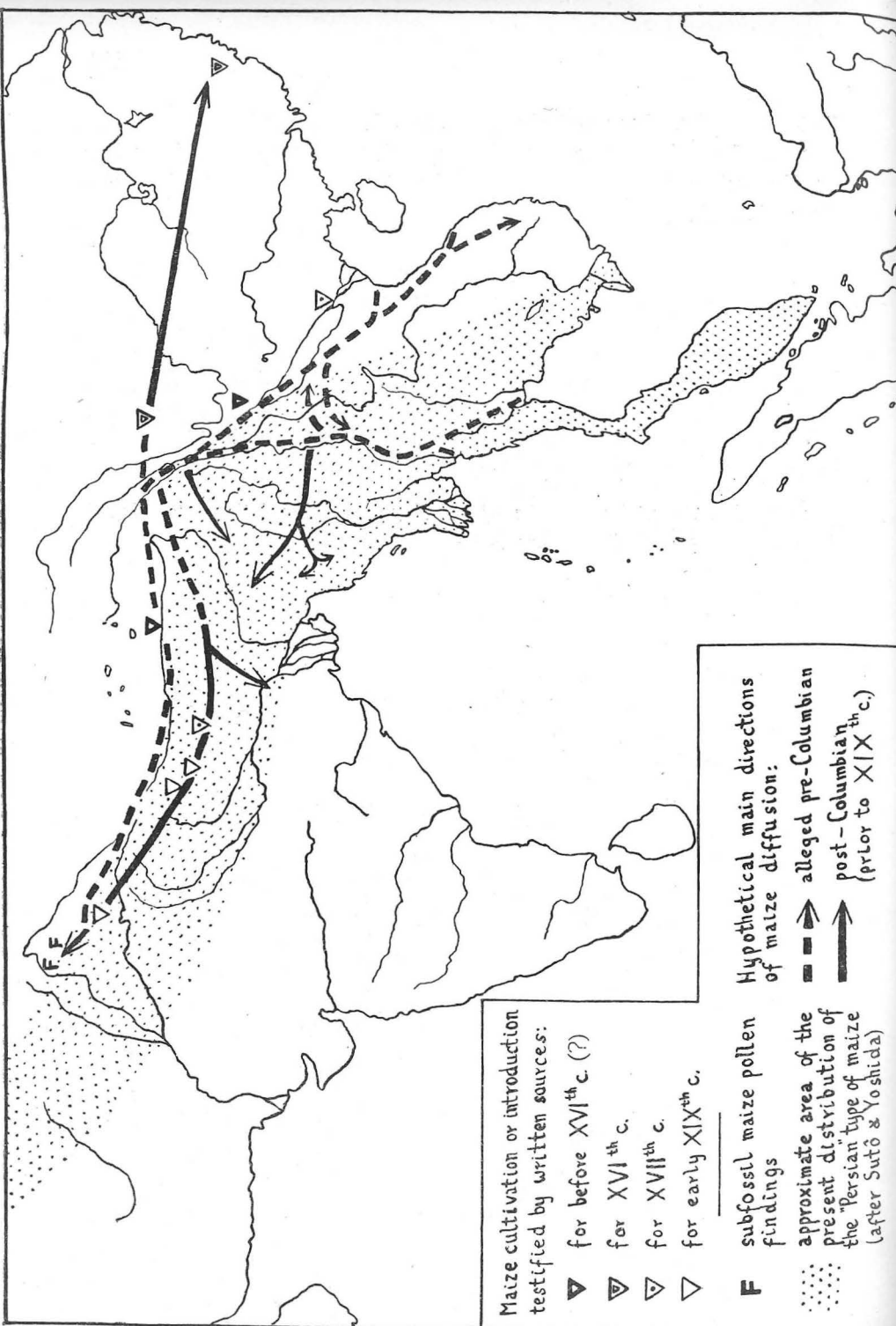
The nomenclature applied in this paper refers both to the general and detailed symbolics. The first one serves to characterize basic, general phenomena and to denotate sentence members which are not the problem under discussion in a particular sentence. A precise analysis by means of detailed symbols, on the other hand, was carried out with reference to the discussed problem or member of a sentence.

Note. The same system has been shown in my previous article about the nominal predicate and nominal group in Swahili (IX Vol. of „Folia Orientalia“).

Verbal Group

Verbal Predicate

P = *Praedicatum* = verbal predicate in general symbolics;



Verbal Predicate in Detailed Symbolics:

 $V = Verbum$ = verbal stem; $t = tempus$ = tense index; $neg.$ = *negativum* = negation (in negated forms); $hu-V$ = *habitualis*; $ku-V$ = infinitive; $ku-$ = prefix of the infinitive occurring also in some irregular grammatical forms of uni- or bisyllabic verbs, preserved in the pattern; $V (aux.) = Verbum auxiliare$ = auxiliary verb; $cons.$ = *consecutivum*; $com.$ = *comitativum*; V^e = subjunctive; V^{ni} = plural imperative; Via or Vea = applicative form; $neg.$ = denotation of a negative element standing by a pronominal subject of a negative verbal complex; $t(neg.)$ = negative index of tense in a negated verbal complex; V^i = negated present tense; $-ja-$ = mark of a negative verbal form 'not yet' preserved in the pattern;

Object

 $O = Obiectum$ = nominal object in general symbolics; $o = obiectum$ = pronominal object;

Object in Detailed Symbolics:

 O = direct nominal object; o = direct pronominal object; O' = indirect nominal object; o' = indirect pronominal object;

Adverbial Modifier

 $A = Adverbium$ = adverbial modifier in general symbolics.

(Adverbial modifiers with a preposition are treated as a symbolic unit i. e. one symbol).

Adverbial Modifier in Detailed Symbolics:

 $A loc. (loci)$ = adverbial modifier of place; $A temp. (temporis)$ = adverbial modifier of time; $A mod. (modi)$ = adverbial modifier of manner; $A instr. (instrumenti)$ = adverbial modifier of instrument;

Congruency

 $\underline{\quad}$ = formal congruency (bilateral); $\underline{\quad}$ = logical congruency (bilateral); $\underline{\quad}, \underline{\quad}$ = logical congruency (unilateral); $\underline{Dtm} + \underline{Dns}$ = congruency within the nominal group; $\underline{S} + \underline{s}$ = congruency between the nominal and verbal groups; $\underline{o} + \underline{O}$ = congruency within the verbal group;

Nominal Group (fragments)

 $Dtm = Determinatum$ = qualified member in general symbolics; $Dns = Determinans$ = qualifying member in general symbolics;

Qualifying Member in Detailed Symbolics:

 $Dns adj. (adjectivum)$ = adjectival qualifying member; $Dns pron. (pronomen)$ = pronominal qualifying member; $Dns gen. (genetivus)$ = genitival qualifying member; $Dns subst. (substantivum)$ = substantival qualifying member;

Subject

 $S = Subiectum$ = nominal subject in general symbolics; $s = subiectum$ = pronominal subject; $(i. c.) = indicium classis$ = index of the substantival (i. e. nominal) class; $(-)$ = lack of *indicium classis* by a nomen; $+$ = break between words; $-$ = break between affixes; $con. (coniunctio)$ = conjunction; $Voc. (Vocativus)$ = exclamation;

compound adverbial modifier = adverbial modifier with a qualifying member;

compound object = object with a qualifying member.

I. VERBAL GROUP

The main members of the verbal group are: the subject and the verbal predicate — which as a rule follows it. The predicate which connotes the subject is the main (constitutive) member of this group. In this case the constitutive member is at the same

time the connoting one, reversely to the nominal group where the constitutive member is the connoted one¹. The verbal group makes a sentence. Two basic types of sentences with a verbal predicate can be distinguished in Swahili: a transitive and intransitive sentence. In the system of syntax patterns they form primary patterns with a number of variants: abbreviated and enlarged.

Primary patterns contain — beside an obligatory verbal predicate — a prefixed pronominal subject, a tense index and in case of a transitive sentence a pronominal object as well. In the first type of the discussed sentences we deal with a predicate expressed by an intransitive verb, in the second one with a transitive one. Thus an intransitive sentence is constituted by two members only: the predicate and the connoted by it grammatical subject. In a transitive sentence, on the other hand, three members are distinguished: predicate, *agens* determining the starting point of the action and *patiens* determining the point of conclusion. The predicate which is a transitive verb connotes two substantives: active and passive².

Note. Tense indexes are placed in the patterns to make them more readable since Swahili verbs possess them; they do not, however, constitute separate members of a sentence.

Both primary patterns in a more developed form, possess a nominal subject too, which is in congruency with the pronominal subject, and in case of a transitive sentence a nominal object which is congruent with the pronominal object.

Abbreviated patterns are characteristic of sentences the verbal complex of which appears in such grammatical forms as *habitualis*, *infinitive* or *imperative* in which the pronominal subject and tense index are missing; (these gaps are filled out by the context) — and the *subjunctive* which does not possess a tense index.

Enlarged patterns are encountered in sentences with a *negative verbal complex* (their pattern is enlarged by the element of negation) or in sentences with irregular verbs (i. e. monosyllabic

and some bisyllabic ones) which maintain the *ku-* prefix in the verbal complex.

Moreover, the patterns can be enlarged in another way: not only by means of additional affixes in the verbal complex but by means of additional members of a sentence (qualifying members) or verbs which are a part of the compound form or even by means of another predicate joined in a specific way with the whole sentence with which it becomes one.

And so in the mentioned cases following sentences are considered: clauses with a compound adverbial modifier occurring in the form of a nominal group, transitive sentences with a compound object, also in the form of a nominal group; further, the compound form of the main predicate represented by an auxiliary verb with a verb in the infinitive, and finally the enlarged main predicate consisting of two verbs (the second one with an infix *-ka-* or *-ki-*).

Each of these possibilities in which the verbal group is revealed in the Swahili language will be discussed separately.

A. PRIMARY PATTERNS

1. An Intransitive Sentence of a primary pattern: *s-t-V*. Symbol *V* stands in this pattern for an intransitive verb; *s-t-V*, on the other hand, for the group of a verbal predicate containing a pronominal subject *s*, tense index *t* and the stem of the verb *V*, e. g.: *a-na-lala* = *s-t-V* = 'he is sleeping'.

wa-li-simama = *s-t-V* = 'they stood'.

u-ta-lia = *s-t-V* = 'you will shout' (or 'cry').

Parts of the verbal complex *s-t-V* are in an obligatory order.

An intransitive sentence can appear in a fuller form with a nominal subject denoted by symbol *S* which is in congruency with the pronominal subject *s*. This variant of a primary pattern of an intransitive sentence is as follows:

m-zungu a-na-lala = *S + s-t-V* = 'a European is sleeping'.

wa-tu wa-li-simama = *S + s-t-V* = 'people stood'.

m-toto a-ta-lia = *S + s-t-V* = 'a child will cry'.

¹ T. Milewski, *Językoznawstwo*, p. 98—99, 102, 230, 235—244.

² T. Milewski, *op. cit.*, p. 235—236, 102.

2. A Transitive Sentence of a primary pattern *s-t-o-V*. This pattern differs from the previous one by the presence of a pronominal object symbolized by *o*. Moreover, the verb *V* is in this case transitive according to the character of the discussed sentence, e. g.: *a-na-m-penda = s-t-o-V = 'he loves him'*.

m-me-ni-saidia = s-t-o-V = 'you helped me'.

tu-li-wa-sikia = s-t-o-V = 'we listened to them'.

As it was the case with an intransitive sentence, parts of the verbal complex in a transitive sentence *s-t-o-V* stand in an obligatory order. Transitive sentences can also appear in a fuller form; here however, more variants of a primary pattern will be found than in an intransitive sentence. It is because — besides completing the pattern with a nominal subject *S* as in an intransitive sentence — the pattern can be developed by means of a nominal object *O*; moreover, there exist possibilities of several combinations of these variants. And this is the fullest variant of a primary pattern of a transitive sentence, e. g.:

mw-izi a-me-m-piga m-toto = S + s-t-o-V + O = 'the thief hit the

child' (literally: 'the thief, he it hit, the child'). In this example we can see a nominal subject congruent with a pronominal subject and a nominal object congruent with a pronominal object. The nominal object is not obligatory as it can be seen from previous shorter patterns. There may occur, however, a nominal and pronominal subject with a pronominal object only, e. g.:

mw-izi a-me-m-piga = S + s-t-o-V = 'the thief hit him' (literally: 'the thief, he hit him').

The pronominal object is not obligatory either; there may, thus, appear a nominal object only beside a nominal and pronominal subject, e. g.: *mw-izi a-me-piga m-toto = S + s-t-V + O = 'the thief hit the child' (literally: 'the thief, he hit the child').*

The same possibilities of combining the pronominal and nominal objects occur with a pronominal subject only, e. g.: *a-me-m-piga m-toto = s-t-o-V + O = 'he hit the child' (literally: 'he it hit, the child').*

As it is seen from the example, both objects — the pronominal and the nominal one — can occur with one pronominal subject.

In a transitive sentence with only a pronominal subject a nominal object alone may also be found, e. g.:

a-me-piga m-toto = s-t-V + O = 'he hit the child'.

And finally the possibility of occurrence of one object: a pronominal one with a pronominal subject only, has already been shown at the beginning. It is the following variant: *a-me-m-piga = s-t-o-V = 'he hit him'.*

B. ABBREVIATED PATTERNS

1. PATTERNS WITHOUT A PRONOMINAL SUBJECT *s*

Patterns of a verbal group must contain a predicate as it is a constitutive member. In this group the predicate is expressed by means of a verb *V* which is obligatory. All other symbols, symbolizing individual parts of a sentence can be — in specific grammatical forms — missed out. Lack of a nominal subject *S* is comparatively frequent; the pronominal subject *s*, within a verbal complex, can sometimes though rarely be omitted too; the tense index *t* does not appear everywhere either. The occurrence of the pronominal subject *s* within the verbal complex is obligatory for the majority of grammatical structures in which this complex is found. Three grammatical forms only lack this pronominal subject and these are: a) *habitualis*, b) *infinitive*, c) *imperative*.

Note. In the mentioned forms both the pronominal subject *s* and the tense index *t* are missing. There are no instances where the tense index without the pronominal prefix would appear, whereas a reverse situation is possible.

a) *Habitualis* is an impersonal form of a verbal predicate expressing a habitual action or activity. It is characterized by a prefix *hu-* which stands in place of a pronominal prefix. It refers to any person, number and tense (which are deduced from the text). This prefix, characteristic of Swahili has been left unchanged in the pattern; thus, a following pattern has been obtained: *hu-V*, e. g.:

Ibrahimu hu-pika = S + hu-V = 'Ibrahim usually cooks, cooked, will cook, is used to cooking', etc.

hu-penda = hu-V = 'she usually loves, he usually loves, they usually loved', etc.

Habitualis is encountered, among others, in Swahili poetry, in proverbs, sayings and arithmetics as well, e. g.:

*haba na haba hu-ja-a ki-baba*³ = $S + con. + S + hu-V + O$ = 'take care of the pennies and the pounds will take care of themselves' (literally: 'a grain resp. a small amount and a grain fill out the gauge').

*mbili na tatu hu-ja tano*⁴ = $S + con. + S + hu-V + O$ = '2 + 3 = 5' i. e. 'two and three make (give the result) five'.

b) Infinitive is another impersonal form of the predicate expressed by means of a verb with a prefix *ku-*. I. P. Yakovleva⁵ says that „The infinitive is largely used in sentences in which only the fact performing an action is important“. There is no reference to tense, person or number. In Swahili the structure of an infinitive is identical with that of a *nomen deverbale* belonging to the VIII nominal class. Both these forms penetrate each other and are even identified both in translation and usage, e. g.: *ku-sali kanisa-ni- ku-zuri*⁶ = $S + A + P$ = 'it is good to pray in church' or: 'prayer in church is good'.

Note. Symbol $P = Praedicatum$, denotes a verbal predicate in general symbolics. $A = Adverbium$ = adverbial modifier in general symbolics. In syntax patterns in which a detailed analysis of the predicate in its infinitive is considered the infinitival prefix *ku-* is left in this paper unchanged, analogous to the form of *habitualis*. It looks as follows: *ku-fanya* = $ku-V$ = 'to do', 'to make'.

ku-taka = $ku-V$ = 'to want', 'to wish'.

ku-piga adui = $ku-V + O$ = 'to beat the enemy'.

ku-andika barua ny-umba-ni = $ku-V + O + A$ = 'to write a letter at home'.

An infinitive serves as well to create a compound form of a predicate which will be discussed separately under the enlarged patterns.

³ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *Elementary Kiswahili Grammar*, p. 16; A. C. Madan, *Swah.-Engl. Dict.*, p. 88.

⁴ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁵ I. P. Yakovleva, *Očerki Sintaksisa*, p. 53.

⁶ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

c) *Imperative* in its purest form is in Swahili language the third verbal form which has no pronominal subject *s* and no tense index *t*. The stem itself of the verb *V* appears in the function of an imperative, e. g.: *piga!* = V = 'beat!' *sema!* = V = 'speak!' *tazama!* = V = 'look!'.

Imperative in plural undergoes a certain change taking the suffix *-ni*, e. g.: *pige-ni!* = V^{ni} = 'beat!' *kamate-ni!* = V^{ni} = 'catch!' The auslaut vowel of the verb undergoes here a certain transformation. In exclamatory sentences the imperative has the same symbol, e. g.: *tafute-ni wa-toro!*⁷ = $V^{ni} + O$ = 'look for the fugitives!' *kamate-ni mw-izi!*⁸ = $V^{ni} + O$ = 'catch the thief!' *kaa chi-ni!* = $V + A$ = 'go down!' *boy, peleka barua kwa posta!* = $Voc. + V + O + A$ = 'boy, take the letter to the post office!'

2. PATTERNS WITHOUT A TENSE INDEX *t*

The variant of an abbreviated verbal group in which only the tense index *t* is missing is a rare phenomenon and actually appears in its pure form in the *subjunctive* only. Its structure is characterized — besides the lack of tense index — by a change of the final vowel of the verb from *-a* into *-e*. The pronominal subject remains unchanged. The subjunctive has been denoted with the pattern: $s-V^e$. It is specially applicable in compound sentences, but in simple ones it also plays a certain role. It is namely used as a milder imperative. It often appears in exclamatory sentences with one subject and two predicates, i. e. when two imperatives follow one another, the second is put into the subjunctive, e. g.: *n-joo u-som-e!*⁹ = $V + s-V^e$ = 'come and read!' (In the above given example the imperative *n-joo* is characterized by an irregular untypical structure being an exception which exists in a certain number in this group in Swahili).

A subjunctive has a fairly large application as a mild imperative occurring in form of a request, wish, polite address expressing

⁷ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁸ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁹ D. V. Perrott, *Teach Yourself Swahili*, p. 47.

respect or elegance, as the opening of a purpose clause, or finally as a simple imperative, e. g.:

*u-rud-ish-e u-panga w-ako ma-hali p-ake!*¹⁰ = $s-V^e + O + Dns$
 $pron. + A + Dns pron.$ = 'give back (put in, hide) your sword
 into its place (hide, please)'.

*ch-akula ki-pat-e m-oto*¹¹ = $S + s-V^e + O$ = 'let the meal get
 warmth' i. e. 'let it be warm'.

A subjunctive expresses possibility, e. g.:

*...leo tu-end-e pa-moja bahari-ni ...*¹² = $A + s-V^e + A + A$ =
 '... today we can go together to the sea...'

A subjunctive also expresses interrogative sentences, e. g.:
*ni-som-e ki-tabu hi-ki?*¹³ = $s-V^e + O + Dns pron.$ = 'may I read
 this book?'

Besides the discussed variant of an abbreviated pattern of the verbal group containing a subjunctive, the following forms can be regarded as forms without a proper tense index and possessing it only in a certain sense: *consecutivum* with an infix *-ka-* and *comitativum* with an infix *-ki-*. Infixes of these forms are not proper tense indexes, though there are some grammar rules which say what tense they usually refer to; they mostly adapt to the tense of the verb with which they appear. These forms will be discussed later on.

C. ENLARGED PATTERNS

1. NEGATIVE

In the verbal group the negative takes the form of a negative verbal complex which in relation to the affirmative one is enlarged by elements of negation. In most cases a following rule is valid: the same parts of the pattern which are present in an affirmative verbal complex appear in the negative one and stand also in obligatory order: pronominal subject, tense index and verbal

stem. Differences in relation to affirmative are seen, firstly in supplementing the verbal complex with a negative element prefixed to the pronominal subject (therefore a negative verbal complex is spoken about as an enlarged variant of the verbal group pattern); secondly, in a negative tense index, put instead of an affirmative one. Thus the following basic pattern of a negative verbal complex is obtained: *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V*. A prefixed element of negation by a pronominal subject is a separate affix; in spite of frequent transformations and combinations with the pronominal prefix it is clearly distinguishable and therefore marked by a separate symbol *neg.* The tense index, on the other hand, which is simply changed into a negative one, even when an identical affix with an affirmative tense index functions in this role, does not get any additional elements of negation; it was marked in the pattern as *t(neg.)* just to make this difference more clear.

All possibilities where the negative verbal complex may appear in the verbal group will be presented successively. And so for imperfect and perfect — i. e. for tenses denoting the past — it looks as follows:

ha-u-ku-piga = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* = 'you did not beat', 'you have not hit'.

ha-tu-ku-piga = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* = 'we did not beat', 'we have not hit'.

ha-tu-ku-lipa = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* = 'we did not pay', 'we have not paid'.

ha-m-ku-fanya = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* = 'you did not do', 'you have not done' (plural).

For future: *si-ta-soma* = *neg.s-t(neg.)-V* = 'I shall not read'.

Note. Because of quite considerable transformations and combinations of the element of negation with the pronominal subject in the first person singular I do not separate individual parts, and so it is *neg.s* instead of *neg.-s*.

ha-a-ta-pika = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* = 'he will not cook'.

ha-wa-ta-penda = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* = 'they will not love'.

Note. The tense index *-ta-* does not undergo any changes in future negative, it plays here a different role.

In such a simple sentences the negative verbal complex looks as follows:

¹⁰ Biblia, *Agano ji-pya*, p. 40.

¹¹ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹² W. Planert, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse d. Suaheli*, p. 56.

¹³ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

*wa-pagazi ha-wa-ku-toroka*¹⁴ = *S* + *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* = 'the porters did not run away'.

*ha-m-ku-sikia ki-tu?*¹⁵ = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* + *O* = 'have you not heard anything?' (plural)

*h-u-ta-soma shule-ni?*¹⁶ = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-V* + *A* = 'will you not learn at school?'

Patterns of negation for the conjugation of irregular verbs i. e. monosyllabic and some bisyllabic ones, obey the same rules which govern these verbs in affirmative form, so they are often enlarged by the *ku-* prefix which in a negative verbal complex is situated after the negative tense index immediately before the verbal root, e. g.: *h-u-ta-ku-ja* = *neg.-s-t(neg.)-ku-V* = 'you will not come'. According to the rules which govern the conjugation of these verbs there exist also patterns without the prefix *ku-*, e. g.: *h-a-j-i* = *neg.-s-Vⁱ* = 'he does not come'.

It can be seen that there is no negative tense index and no other repeated element of negation in forms which in affirmative have no tense index as e. g. in subjunctive, imperative and infinitive, e. g.: Subjunctive — used in prohibition — has only the formant *-si-* as a sign of negation: *u-si-sem-e!* = *s-neg.-V^e* = 'do not say!' *m-si-pik-e!* = *s-neg.-V^e* = 'do not cook!' (plural).

Imperative: *si-som-e!* = *neg.-V^e* = 'do not read!'

si-some-ni! = *neg.-Vⁿⁱ* = 'do not read!' (plural)

Note. In singular of the negated imperative a change in auslaut into *-e* is observed.

Infinitive — makes a negative form by adding an infix *-to-* which is an abbreviated verb *ku-toa* (*toa*) = 'to miss', e. g.:

ku-to-fahamu = *ku-neg.-V* = 'not to understand'.

ku-to-sema = *ku-neg.-V* = 'not to speak'.

In the negated infinitive the prefix *ku-* is often additionally placed just before the root of the verb. In monosyllabic verbs and irregular bisyllabic ones it is even obligatory, e. g.: with a facultative second *ku-*: *ku-to-ku-fahamu* = *ku-neg.-ku-V* = 'not to understand'. *ku-to-ku-sema* = *ku-neg.-ku-V* = 'not to speak'.

¹⁴ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁵ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁶ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

With an obligatory second *ku-* (monosyllabic): *ku-to-ku-la* = *ku-neg.-ku-V* = 'not to eat'. *ku-to-ku-fa* = *ku-neg.-ku-V* = 'not to die'. With an obligatory second *ku-* (irregular bisyllabic): *ku-to-kw-enda* = *ku-neg.-ku-V* = 'not to go'.

The structure of a negative verbal complex of the present tense, characterized by lack of a negative tense index — in spite of the fact that in the affirmative form the tense index *t* exists — is a departure from the normal rule. The separative position of this structure is further emphasized by a change in auslaut: from *-a* into *-i*; and so the pattern *neg.-s-Vⁱ* is obtained and in the first person singular *neg.-s-Vⁱ*, e. g.: *si-pig-i* = *neg.-s-Vⁱ* = 'I do not beat'. *h-u-on-i* = *neg.-s-Vⁱ* = 'you do not see'. *ha-tu-pat-i* = *neg.-s-Vⁱ* = 'we do not get'.

The cause of this somewhat untypical phenomenon lies presumably in the existence of another type of the present tense, the so-called abbreviated present tense. When the first type refers to an action which takes place in the moment of speaking, the abbreviated present tense denotes an action continued in the present. In practice, however, this difference is rather subtle and both tenses can often be equivalent. A difference in structure is characteristic of these tenses: the first, full present tense, has all the features of a full verbal complex which occur in a regular way. The abbreviated present tense, however, according to the name itself, possesses only a part of the tense index: instead of the infix *-na-* the infix *-a-* is used. This apparently small change causes the structural transformations: when prefixing pronouns a contact between their vowels and the vowel of the tense index *-a-* makes it necessary to separate these two vowels with *-w-* (according to the phonetic rules of Swahili).

After transformations it gives an abbreviation and certain changes in individual elements: instead of *ni-na-piga* = 'I am beating' (just now) the form *ni-a-piga* > *n-a-piga* = 'I beat' (sometimes, continually) is obtained; or: *tu-na-soma* = 'we are reading' (just now) gives in the abbreviated present tense: *tu-a-soma* > *tw-a-soma* = 'we read' (sometimes, continually, always). In the third person singular a contraction appears which results in an apparent disappearance of the tense index, e. g. when in the full present tense we have *a-na-pika* = 'he is cooking',

so in the abbreviated one we get *a-a-pika* > *a-pika* = 'he cooks' (for a long time).

Considering all the changes which occur in an abbreviated present tense one is led to suggest that this partial disappearance of the tense index in this grammatical form could have caused its complete lack in the negative of the present tense; in the latter one there is no distinction into two types of the present tense.

In some publications we meet a different opinion on the problem at issue. According to this conception the tense index does not occur at all in the abbreviated present tense but there are only transformed prefixed personal pronouns. Such a viewpoint would explain, as a matter of fact, the lack of the negated tense index in the negative of the present tense (it would be in agreement with the observed rule); in this case, however, transformations of the prefixed pronouns — would appear to be too far going if it were not for the abbreviated tense index. Therefore, we should rather be inclined to support the previously forwarded hypothesis.

To end up the problem of negation the specific negative structure characteristic of Swahili, the so-called *not yet* form — should be mentioned. It is characterized by the infix *-ja-*; it denotes an action not yet performed and therefore it is translated by *not yet*. It has no affirmative equivalent. With regard to its specific role and meaning the infix *-ja-* has been left unchanged and a following pattern has thus been obtained: *neg.-s-ja-V*. As it results from the pattern the verbal complex in which this form appears, prefixes the pronominal subjects together with their corresponding elements of negation (which negated verbs have in the past and future tense), e. g.:

ha-wa-ja-piga = *neg.-s-ja-V* = 'they have not beaten yet', 'they are not beating yet'.

si-ja-pika = *neg.-s-ja-V* = 'I have not cooked yet', 'I am not cooking yet'.

*si-ja-m-kuta bado*¹⁷ = *neg.-s-ja-o-V + A* = 'I have not met him yet'.

¹⁷ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

*Tayari h-a-ja-lipa kodi*¹⁸ = *S + neg.-s-ja-V + O* = 'Tayari has not paid the tax yet'.

*h-u-ja-soma bado barua?*¹⁹ = *neg.-s-ja-V + A + O* = 'have you not read the letter yet?'

2. MONOSYLLABIC AND SOME BISYLLABIC VERBS WHICH MAINTAIN THE *ku-* PREFIX IN THE VERBAL COMPLEX

These are irregular verbs which can be regarded as belonging to the second group of enlarged verbal patterns.

A comparatively small irregularity in their structure which consists in maintaining their infinitival prefix *ku-* in some grammatical forms designs them to be classified to the enlarged patterns. There are very few irregular verbs, ten monosyllabic ones, and among the bisyllabic ones there will be only those in this group which begin with a vowel, e. g. *-enda* = 'to go' (*kw-enda*). In spite of the maintained prefix *ku-*, these verbs are nevertheless shorter than other ones, since even those of the irregular ones which have two syllables — just because of their beginning vowel sound, do not gain anything in their length; although the prefix *ku-* remains, it must, however, change before a vowel into *kw-* which as a result sounds like a bisyllabic verb, e. g.: *kw-isha* = 'to end'.

The present paper takes, however, somewhat other criteria into account. The absolute length of the word is not important here but the number of elements which cause either the shortening or the lengthening of the pattern. In many cases both these elements coincide (it was mostly the case with negative) but not always. In the now elaborated patterns the enlarging of the verbal complex by the element *ku-* is essential and decisive. This element as an additional one remains in the pattern too according to the scheme *s-t-ku-V*, e. g.: *ni-me-ku-ja* = *s-t-ku-V* = 'I have come'. *u-ta-ku-la* = *s-t-ku-V* = 'you will eat'. *wa-li-ku-fa* = *s-t-ku-V* =

¹⁸ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁹ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

'they were dying'. $a-me-kw-isha = s-t-ku-V =$ 'he has finished'.
 $a-me-kw-iba = s-t-ku-V =$ 'he has stolen'.

$a-li-kw-enda\ ny-umba-ni = s-t-ku-V + A =$ 'he was going home'.
 $u-me-ku-m-pa\ ch-akula = s-t-ku-o-V + O =$ 'you gave him food'.

Note. Shortened patterns without tense indexes as e. g. subjunctive or the negated present tense, occur here in an analogical way; these shorter forms do not even maintain the prefix *ku-*, e. g.: $m-j-e = s-V^e =$ 'that you would come'. $ha-tu-j-i = neg.-s-V^i =$ 'we do not come'.

As it has already been mentioned in the preliminary characteristics of the verbal group there are two ways of enlarging its patterns: the first one previously discussed consists in placing additional affixes in the verbal complex, the other one which will be discussed now requires a supplementary member in the verbal group (a qualifying member) or an additional word (another verb). An enlarged pattern of this type is applied in:

3. A SENTENCE WITH A COMPOUND ADVERBIAL MODIFIER OCCURRING IN THE FORM OF A NOMINAL GROUP

a) ADVERBIAL MODIFIER AND ITS TYPES

In the verbal group an adverbial modifier symbolized by *A* (*Adverbium*) occurs as an adverbial non-connoted member besides the object which is a connoted member. In the Swahili language a substantive, substantive with a preposition, substantive with a locative suffix and adverb occur in the function of an adverbial modifier. Following adverbial modifiers can be distinguished: of place, time, manner and instrument. The position of an adverbial modifier in a sentence is a facultative one; the adverbial modifier of place and time can stand both before or after the predicate, whereas, adverbial modifiers of manner and instrument, as referring to the performed action are placed, as a rule, after this action i. e. after the predicate. Substantives can function as adverbial modifiers of place, time and manner. An adverbial modifier of place is marked by a symbol: *A loc.*, that of time: *A temp.*, and of manner: *A mod.* And this is an

adverbial modifier of place expressed by means of a substantive: $a-me-ondo-k-a\ Mombasa = P + A\ loc. =$ 'he left Mombasa'. $jumbe\ Lukwiro\ a-na-kaa\ Merera^{20} = S + Dns\ subst. + P + A\ loc. =$ 'the chief Lukwiro lives in Merera'.

And here is an adverbial modifier of time expressed by means of a substantive: $a-ka-ja\ siku\ y-a\ mvua = P + A\ temp. + Dns\ gen. =$ 'and he came on a rainy day'.

$m-w-aka\ m-zuri\ a-me-ku-fa = A\ temp. + Dns\ adj. + P =$ 'he died in a nice year'.

An adverbial modifier of manner expressed by means of a substantive looks as follows: $a-ka-m-pelek-e-a\ bwana\ simu^{21} = P + O + A\ mod. =$ 'he supplied (news) to the host by telegram' (literally: 'by telegraph').

Substantive with a preposition occurs as an adverbial modifier of place, manner or instrument. Here it is as an adverbial modifier of place:

$a-me-kw-enda\ kwa\ mw-alimu^{22} = P + A\ loc. =$ 'he came to the teacher'.

$wa-toto\ wa-na-andika\ katika\ karatasi^{23} = S + P + A\ loc. =$ 'children write on paper'.

As an adverbial modifier of manner:

$wa-me-ondo-k-a\ kwa\ haraka^{24} = P + A\ mod. =$ 'they left in a hurry'.

$u-ta-kw-enda\ kwa\ mi-guu?^{25} = P + A\ mod. =$ 'will you go on foot?'

As an adverbial modifier of instrument, marked *A instr.*:

$wa-toto\ wa-na-andika\ kwa\ wino^{26} = S + P + A\ instr. =$ 'children write with ink'. $kata\ ny-ama\ kwa\ ki-su^{27} = P + O + A\ instr. =$ 'cut the meat with a knife'.

Substantive with a locative suffix *-ni* plays the part of an adverbial modifier of place which very frequently appears

²⁰ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

²¹ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²² D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

²³ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁴ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁵ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁶ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

²⁷ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

in this form, e. g.: *a-ka-enda mw-itu-ni*²⁸ = *P + A loc.* = 'and he went to the forest'. *wa-me-ingia ny-umba-ni*²⁹ = *P + A loc.* = 'they went home'.

*tu-li-panda ch-ombo-ni*³⁰ = *P + A loc.* = 'we were coming on the ship'.

An adverb occurs as an adverbial modifier of time or manner. As an adverbial modifier of time it looks as follows:

a-me-chekeka alasiri = *P + A temp.* = 'he laughed in the afternoon'.

jana wa-me-pata habari = *A temp. + P + O* = 'yesterday they got news'.

zamani wa-me-kaa wa-tu w-eusi ...³¹ = *A temp. + P + S + Dns adj.* = 'previously there lived black people ...'

Here it is as an adverbial modifier of manner:

*gari l-a m-oshi li-na-kw-enda upesi*³² = *S + Dns gen. + P + A mod.* = 'a steam engine goes fast'.

wa-li-soma pa-moja = *P + A mod.* = 'they read together'. (Past tense).

Sometimes there will be several adverbial modifiers in one sentence simultaneously, e. g.:

leo tu-end-e pa-moja bahari-ni ...³³ = *A temp. + P + A mod. + A loc.* = 'to-day we can go together to the sea ...'

b) COMPOUND ADVERBIAL MODIFIER

A compound adverbial modifier which occurs in the form of a nominal group, has a pattern enlarged by the qualifying member. In the discussion on the types of adverbial modifiers in Swahili a compound adverbial modifier has been several times shown, as well as the range of its use. It has been characterized also in my previous article about the nominal predicate and nominal group in Swahili³⁴. Thus, at present I shall only deal some more light

²⁸ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

²⁹ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

³⁰ A. C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

³¹ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³² C. Velten, *Suaheli Grammatik*, p. 240.

³³ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁴ A. Malecka, *Structure...*, „Folia Orientalia“, Vol. IX.

on the problems of enlarged patterns with a compound adverbial modifier:

m-toto a-ka-fikiri m-oyo-ni mw-ake ...³⁵ = *S + P + A loc. + Dns pron.* = 'the child thought in its heart ...'

siku y-a tatu a-ka-pata n-dege ...³⁶ = *A temp. + Dns gen. + P + O* = 'on the third day he got a bird ...'

4. TRANSITIVE SENTENCE WITH A COMPOUND NOMINAL OBJECT OCCURRING IN THE FORM OF A NOMINAL GROUP

OBJECT AND ITS TYPES

The object, symbol *O* (*Obiectum*), is in Swahili a member connoted by a transitive verb. It can be expressed by a substantive, a substantive with a preposition, an independent pronoun and a numeral. The above mentioned parts of speech occur in the role of a nominal object; there exists, however, a pronominal object, denoted by symbol *o*. The same letter of the alphabet has been chosen deliberately as both these objects are congruent. Sometimes there are two different objects in one sentence: a direct and indirect one; in this case no congruency is observed between them. The problem of distinguishing between a direct and indirect object is, however, still discutable with reference to Swahili. In discussing this problem the following symbols will be used for indirect objects: a nominal indirect object is symbolized by *O'*, whereas a pronominal indirect object gets the symbol *o'*. I am going to deal with all the above mentioned problems concerning the object in Swahili.

a) NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL OBJECT

In a full transitive Swahili sentence with an object, we should have as a rule a *nomen* and an infixed pronoun which express this object. A concomitant appearance of both forms of the object

³⁵ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁶ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

is most probably historically conditioned; the present state of other languages of the *Bantu* in which such a double object occurs as a rule, supports this statement³⁷. It is also frequently encountered in the contemporary Swahili language; it should, however, be stated that an ellipsis referring either to the pronoun or *nomen*, constituting the object in a sentence, is quite a frequent phenomenon. In the system of syntax patterns it has been given some attention in the discussion on transitive sentences.

W. Planert³⁸ explains the existence of a double object in another way. He maintains that a double object appears in case when a determined person or thing is considered, e. g.: *a-na-m-piga m-tu* = 'he beats this man' or: *a-na-u-kata u-le* = 'he cuts this' (tree). Whereas, a single object refers to a person or thing which is not determined, e. g.: *a-na-piga m-tu* = 'he beats a man'. In this matter opinions differ.

Examples of sentences with a pronominal and nominal object have been already discussed on the occasion of a transitive sentence. Thus, the more characteristic ones only will be produced; e. g.: A sentence with two objects, in which the nominal object is expressed with a substantive: *ni-me-mw-ona fisi* = $s-t-o-V + O =$ 'I saw (it) a hyena'. A nominal object expressed by an independent pronoun: *wa-taka ku-ni-la mimi*³⁹ = $s-V (aux.) + ku-o-V + O =$ 'you want (me) to eat me'.

Note. In the above given example a compound form of predicate with an auxiliary verb has been used. These predicates will be described subsequently.

Nominal object expressed by a numeral: *ni-ta-wa-la wa-wili*⁴⁰ = $s-t-o-V + O =$ 'I shall eat two' (literally: 'I shall them eat, two').

Sentences with one object: *ni-ta-leta ch-akula*⁴¹ = $s-t-V + O =$ 'I shall bring food'. *a-li-ni-uliza*⁴² = $s-t-o-V =$ 'he asked me'. The object in Swahili is, as a rule, conditioned by the sentence order. A prono-

³⁷ C. M. Doke, *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar*, p. 39.

³⁸ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁹ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ I. P. Yakovleva, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴¹ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁴² S. Brauner — J. K. Bantu, *Lehrbuch des Swahili*, p. 48.

nominal object is characterized by an obligatory position in the verbal complex, and a nominal object occurs, as a rule, also in a determined position following the predicate. Inversion occurs rarely and is rather an untypical phenomenon.

A subjunctive with an object can also be encountered in a Swahili sentence, e. g.: *wa-geni wa-u-tazam-e m-ji w-etu*⁴³ = $S + s-o-V^e + O + Dns\ pron. =$ 'strangers can see (it) our town'.

b) DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT

As it has already been mentioned in the present paper the existence of a direct and indirect object in Swahili is controversial. It is an unquestionable fact that there are no formal differences in Swahili between the direct and indirect object. On the other hand, however, there are situations where a semantic equivalent of our dative occurs, and in cases of two various objects occurring in one sentence the lack of congruency of one of them with the pronominal object is observed. This could be an indicator and a proof of the existence of a distinguishable indirect object. The prevailing opinion is that an object — which is an equivalent of our dative — is expressed by means of a derivative applicative verbal form. This opinion is presented among others by H. Höftmann⁴⁴. It is also shared by H. Jensen⁴⁵; he, however, in his dissertations has recurrently pointed to the danger (commonly proved in practice) of identifying grammatic forms of the *Bantu* languages with those of the *Indo-European* ones. H. Jensen mentions this problem also in his discussion on objects. He says that this problem is not so simple as it seems and not all verbs which — according to our opinion — require an indirect object must be placed in the applicative form. These are examples of an object formed by means of an applicative form; this form is characterized by endings: *-ia*, *-ea*, which constitute an enlargement of

⁴³ H. Höftmann, S. Mhando, *Suaheli-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 404.

⁴⁴ H. Höftmann, S. Mhando, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

⁴⁵ H. Jensen, ... *Syntax d. Suaheli*, p. 254, 257.

the pattern of verb, e.g.: *ki-swahili hu-tu-let-e-a faida ny-ingi* ⁴⁶ = $S + hu-o'-V^{ea} + O + Dns\ pron.$ = 'Swahili language brings us great (considerable, numerous) profit'. There is no congruency of objects in this sentence: pronominal *-tu-* = 'us', infixed to the applicative verbal form, is an equivalent of dative; the nominal *faida* is an equivalent of accusative and constitutes a direct object. The pronominal indirect object is symbolized, for the sake of distinction, by *o'*.

If there are two nominal objects, a direct and indirect one, only one of them is congruent with the pronominal object, e.g.:

wa-tu wa-ka-m-pelek-e-a khabari sungura ⁴⁷ = $S + s-t-o'-V^{ea} + O + O'$ = 'and people sent to the hare a message' (literally: 'and people sent him a message, the hare').

In the above example both indirect objects: the pronominal and nominal one are in congruency.

The indirect object can also appear in the form of a substantive with a preposition, e.g.: *tu-jeng-e hema kwa jumbe* = $s-V^e + O + O'$ = 'let us build a tent for the chief'.

COMPOUND OBJECT

A compound object appears in form of a nominal group. It belongs to enlarged patterns, as its pattern, expressed in symbols, was enlarged by the qualifying member. In discussing the types of objects as well as in the discussion on the nominal group this form of an object has been encountered several times. Thus, at present only the most characteristic examples will be presented. *ni-me-pata n-guo n-zuri* ⁴⁸ = $s-t-V + O + Dns\ adj.$ = 'I received a beautiful suit'. *a-ka-mw-ita m-toto w-ake* ⁴⁹ = $s-t-o-V + O + Dns\ pron.$ = 'he called his child'.

⁴⁶ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁴⁷ H. Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁴⁸ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁴⁹ W. Planert, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

5. COMPOUND FORM OF PREDICATE

The compound form of predicate consists of two verbs standing in an obligatory order. The first — the auxiliary one — has all the features of a verbal complex in the predicate and is conjugated. It modifies semantically the meaning of the main verb which stands in the second place in the infinitival form. So finally a following verbal complex is obtained in the pattern of a compound predicate: $s-t-V$ (with all variations according to the sentence); next to it there is the other verb, with the pattern of the infinitive: $ku-V$. The first, auxiliary verb is denoted in this pattern with the symbol (*aux.*) — auxiliary, e.g.:

a-na-taka ku-nywa ⁵⁰ = $s-t-V (aux.) + ku-V$ = 'he wants to drink'.

tu-na-weza ku-andika ⁵¹ = $s-t-V (aux.) + ku-V$ = 'we can write'.

Some auxiliary verbs, if they do not act independently in their own meaning, but in a compound form of predicate, are translated in a somewhat different way, e.g. the verb *kw-isha* = 'to end', when used in its auxiliary meaning acquires the meaning 'already', e.g.: *a-me-kw-isha ku-ja* ⁵² = $s-t-ku-V (aux.) + ku-V$ = 'he has already come'.

Note. In the given example the prefix *ku-* occurred also in the verbal complex of the auxiliary verb. It is, however, not connected with the structure of the compound form of predicate but results from the character of the auxiliary verb *kw-isha* which is at the same time an irregular bisyllabic verb beginning with a vowel.

6. ENLARGED PREDICATE

There is still the enlarged predicate to be discussed within the enlarged syntax patterns of the verbal group. I have given this name to a type of predicate which requires two verbs which are not so closely connected with each other as it was the case with the compound form of predicate. They rather express two actions of which one is the consequence or continuation of the other, or is concomitant with it.

⁵⁰ S. Brauner — J. K. Bantu, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵¹ S. Brauner — J. K. Bantu, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵² D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

The form which expresses the sequence of actions is called *consecutivum* and has the infix *-ka-*; the form expressing a concomitant action with the other one is called *comitativum*. It is characterized by the infix *-ki-*. In syntax patterns *consecutivum* is marked with the abbreviation *cons.*, and *comitativum* with *com.*

Because of their character and application, these two forms cannot be regarded either as present or past precisely, though in a sentence they usually refer to these tenses. And that is why they got separate abbreviations in the symbolics of syntax patterns; independent of it in general patterns which do not aim specially to analyse these forms but to indicate another grammatical category, both these infixes are marked with the tense index *t*.

Consecutivum, with an infix *-ka-* does not possess any uniform nomenclature. In some publications it is called conjunctive, while in others the narrative form of the past tense. In most recent papers the term *consecutivum* is prevalent. It has also been chosen for the present paper, as it seems to be most adequate and presents best this form. Each of the mentioned names, however, is justified and characterizes it in a way. *Consecutivum* is in common use, and is mostly applied in sentences with two or more predicates. It occurs, then, in the second or further predicates as a consequence or continuation of an action expressed at the beginning of the sentence. Sometimes it opens a sentence in which it is the only verbal form, but then it is a continuation of a thought expressed in a previous sentence. The specific usage of *consecutivum* makes it occur frequently in talks, stories, etc. And here presumably is the origin of one of its names: *narrativum*. *Consecutivum* usually occurs as a continuation of an action expressed previously in a sentence by means of imperfect or perfect; it may, however, also appear after the verb in the present tense, future and imperative or subjunctive as well. P. ex.: *m-ge-ni a-li-fi-ka a-ka-se-ma ...*⁵³ = *S + s-t-V + s-cons.-V* = 'a stranger (a guest) came and said ...' ('and he said ...')
*wa-to-to wa-li-kw-en-da shule wa-ka-soma vi-tabu vi-pya*⁵⁴ = *S + s-t-ku-V + A loc. + s-cons.-V + O + Dns adj.* = 'children went to school and read (and they read) new books'.

⁵³ S. Brauner — J. K. Bantu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁴ S. Brauner — J. K. Bantu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Here is an example (from a larger context) in which *consecutivum* begins the sentence but is also a continuation of a previous thought:

a-li-ondo-k-a sungura ... = *s-t-V + S* = 'the hare got up ...'

a-ka-rudi m-ji-ni ... = *s-cons.-V + A loc.* = 'and he returned to town ...'

*a-ka-pita m-lango-ni ...*⁵⁵ = *s-cons.-V + A loc.* = 'and came through the door ...' (literally: 'into the door').

The whole example is taken from a tale about a hare and a lion. It begins this tale and at the same time it constitutes three individual sentences in which *consecutivum* plays a characteristic part. A sentence with *consecutivum* and an imperative: *n-joo- ka-ona!*⁵⁶ = *V + cons.-V* = 'come and see!' (*n-joo* is an irregular imperative from *ku-ja*).

A sentence with *consecutivum* and a subjunctive:

*mw-andik-e m-ka-som-e!*⁵⁷ = *s-V^e + s-cons.-V^e* = 'write and read!' (plural).

Here the subjunctive is used as imperative mood.

Comitativum possesses an infix *-ki-* and refers to the present tense. This form is also sometimes called *participium praesentis* or *conditionalis*. These names are justified to a certain extent; some analogy can be often found with the *participium*; the verb with the infix *-ki-* serves also to form the conditional mood. This, however, belongs already to compound sentences. Now, *comitativum* which accompanies another action will be shown, e.g.: *ni-li-mw-ona a-ki-lia*⁵⁸ = *s-t-o-V + s-com.-V* = 'I saw him crying' (literally: 'during crying').

It can be, thus, seen that the main feature of the form in question is expressing a concomitant action.

*a-li-pita a-ki-imba*⁵⁹ = *s-t-V + s-com.-V* = 'he came in during singing'. *ni-li-m-sikia a-ki-se-ma*⁶⁰ = *s-t-o-V + s-com.-V* = 'I heard him speaking'.

⁵⁵ H. Raddatz, *Die Suahili-Sprache*, p. 123.

⁵⁶ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁵⁷ A. Reichart — M. Küsters, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵⁸ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁵⁹ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁶⁰ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

II. CONGRUENCY

Congruency plays a great part in building sentences in the Swahili language. This could be easily observed in previous syntactic considerations. Having it in mind the discussion on one of this most characteristic phenomenon has deliberately been left for the end of the present paper, as it is easier to speak now about a problem which has been previously discussed many times, especially in the article about the nominal predicate and nominal group in Swahili. During observations on the previously described grammatical categories in the Swahili language congruency showed itself in the following situations:

Within the nominal group in which the qualifying and the qualified member are in congruency (congruency $\underline{Dtm + Dns}$);

between the nominal and verbal groups (congruency $\underline{S + s}$);

within the verbal group (congruency $\underline{o + O}$) — limited, however, to the case of congruency of objects.

A. CONGRUENCY WITHIN THE NOMINAL GROUP

Out of these three possibilities in which congruency may occur, the most frequent and the most visible one is: Congruency between the Qualified and Qualifying Member.

The class of the substantive is reflected here in the adjective, numeral and pronoun. With reference to the first two, congruency is expressed by repetition of the class prefixes of the substantive which is determined by the mentioned parts of speech. The pronoun, on the other hand, obtains a pronominal prefix, composed of certain elements of the nominal prefix⁶¹.

Prefixes, which are indexes of the nominal class, have the symbol: (*i. c.*) = *indicium classis*⁶².

Some nominal classes have no *indicium* (it is their specific feature). Sometimes it does not appear in a given word, like in

⁶¹ N. Pilszczikova, *Elementy językoznawstwa afrykańskiego*, p. 60—67.

⁶² J. Marouzeau, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*, p. 54.

case of exception. In such cases instead of a symbol: (*i. c.*) the sign (-) is placed to show that actually a class index should be there. It is necessary the more so as other *nomina* dependent on this substantive possess a suitable index. Nominal classes in Swahili are gender classes and are based upon a system of connotation. T. Milewski says about it: „There are three basic criteria of division of the world available to our consciousness into gender classes, and these are: shape, sex and position in the general hierarchy of created things. The division of all animate and inanimate objects according to their shape is quite distinct in the structure of systems of gender classes in Negro languages of Africa. And so there is a number of classes in the languages of the *Bantu*. The first class comprises people i.e. creatures standing in a vertical position ... The most important criterion in the division of objects into the mentioned classes is their external shape (round objects, elongated, vertical, small, big); though this division is far from being consequent, the objects of each class possess a more or less distinct complex of common positive features which is opposed to similar complexes of features of other classes“⁶³. On another occasion he says: „The function of grammatical gender consists in the fact that within a syntax pattern it joins words of which one connotes the other“⁶⁴.

In Swahili the grammatical gender based upon the criterion of sex does not exist. Gender classes, divided according to shape are in most part, differently prefixed in singular and plural. Lack of any prefix in a number of substantives belonging to the given class is, however, characteristic of some classes. This refers e.g. to the class of foreign words. A loan adjective may appear without a prefix, though the substantive it depends on possesses a prefix.

In connection with the mentioned items some problems in the character of the congruency and its graphical presentation appear when similar situations occur. Following distinctions have been introduced:

1. formal congruency;
2. logical congruency — uni- and bilateral.

⁶³ T. Milewski, *Światopogląd kilku plemion...*, p. 3—4.

⁶⁴ T. Milewski, *Językoznawstwo*, p. 106.

1. FORMAL CONGRUENCY

Formal congruency, which is bilateral, has been presented graphically with a full mark:

This joining sign, expressing congruency of class prefixes (both identical i.e. nominal and transformed, pronominal) refers only to cases where every *nomen* — connoting and connoted has an *indicium*, e.g.:

ki-su ki-dogo = (i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns = 'small knife'.

m-tu m-zuri = (i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns = 'good man'.

ki-tabu ch-angu = (i. c.-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns = 'my book'.

2. LOGICAL CONGRUENCY

a) Unilateral. This name has been given to the type of congruency in which only one of the members — the qualifying or the qualified one has a class prefix, but in spite of it the other member is congruent with it. In such a case the graphical sign of congruency refers only to the *indicium* of the member possessing it, e.g.: , . *bibi m-dogo* = (-) Dtm + (i. c.-) Dns = 'little lady'. *m-zungu maskini* = (i. c.-) Dtm + (-) Dns = 'poor European'.

In the first example the substantive *bibi*, though without a prefix, belongs to the first class: of human beings and this class comprises also all connoting words in the sentence. In the second example the loan adjective *maskini* has no prefix; if, however, there appears a pronoun, it will obtain the prefix of the class of human beings as *m-zungu*; the adjective, on the other hand, will remain without a prefix.

b) Bilateral. Such congruency occurs in case when both the qualified and the qualifying member do not possess any *indicium*. The sign of congruency is then: , e.g.: *shoka kali* = (-) Dtm + (-) Dns = 'a sharp ax'.

B. CONGRUENCY BETWEEN THE NOMINAL AND VERBAL GROUPS

This phenomenon has already been noticed several times in the present paper on the occasion of the discussion on full sentence patterns with a verbal predicate with a nominal subject.

It is known that a Swahili verb conjugates on the grounds of prefixes. The stem of the verb obtains a prefixed pronominal subject of this class to which the substantive which constitutes the nominal subject in a sentence, belongs. Thus, congruency is manifested, e.g.: *n-dege wa-na-ruka* ⁶⁵ = (i. c.-) S + s-t-V = 'birds are flying'.

Note. The word *n-dege* = 'a bird', belongs, as a matter of fact, to the class of foreign words and animals, which has no prefixes or only a relictic *pre-Bantu* prefix *n-*; the verb, on the other hand, obtains the prefix of the I class: of human beings. It is known, however, that animals are often included into class I, thus, the principle in question has been observed.

In the discussed chapter congruency refers to the agreement between the nominal subject and pronominal subject in a sentence, like in following examples: *ki-kombe ki-me-jaa* ⁶⁶ = (i. c.-) S + s-t-V = 'the cup became full' ('was filled'). *m-zungu*

a-me-fika = (i. c.-) S + s-t-V = 'a European came'.

wa-toto wa-li-lala = (i. c.-) S + s-t-V = 'children slept'.

mi-ti i-ta-anguka = (i. c.-) S + s-t-V = 'trees will fall'.

C. CONGRUENCY WITHIN THE VERBAL GROUP

Congruency refers here to the agreement between the pronominal object and the nominal one in a sentence. Its character is thus similar to the previously discussed phenomenon of congruency — also between the *nomen* and the pronominal affix which

⁶⁵ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁶⁶ D. V. Perrott, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

is a constituent part of the verbal complex. The pronominal object is in congruency with the nominal object in such a case when both belong to the same type (i.e. both are either direct or indirect). The problem of congruency will not occur in every sentence with an object because the occurrence of a nominal and pronominal object at the same time (similarly to the subject) — is not obligatory. And these are the examples: *a-li-wa-piga wa-toto* ⁶⁷ = *s-t-o-V + (i. c.-) O* = 'he beat the children' (literally:

'he beat them, the children').

ni-me-mw-ona rafiki y-angu ⁶⁸ = *s-t-o-V + (-) O + Dns pron.* =

'I saw my friend' (literally: 'I saw him, a friend mine'). *wa-tu wa-ka-m-pelek-e-a khabari sungura* ⁶⁹ = *(i. c.-) S + s-t-o'-V_{ea} + (-)O + (-)O'* =

'and people sent the hare a message' (literally: 'and people sent him a message, the hare').

The presented characteristics of the verbal group in Swahili aims to analyse a simple Swahili sentence with regard to its typical features by means of syntax patterns. These patterns make it possible to differentiate grammatical forms, both the typical and exceptional ones; they also are helpful in the practical study of the Swahili language.

Congruency, on the other hand, — as one of the most characteristic phenomena in Swahili could be only presented fully after the verbal and nominal group have been discussed, since it refers to both these groups and plays a great rôle in each.

The verbal group has been discussed only in the present paper — the nominal one having been the subject of the previous article.

ABBREVIATIONS

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⁶⁷ S. Brauner — J. K. Bantu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶⁸ S. Brauner — J. K. Bantu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶⁹ H. Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

2. Brauner S. — Bantu J. K., *Lehrbuch des Swahili* = Brauner S. und Bantu J. K., *Lehrbuch des Swahili*, Leipzig 1964.

3. Doke C. M., *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar* = Doke C. M., *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar*, Second Edition, London—New York—Toronto 1931.

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5. Jensen H., ... *Syntax d. Suaheli* = Jensen H., *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Syntax des Suaheli*, „Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen“, Band XIII — 1922/23, p. 241—259.

6. Madan A. C., *Swah.-Engl. Dict.* = Madan A. C., *Swahili-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1903.

7. Małecka A., *Structure ...* = Małecka A., *Structure of a Simple Sentence in the Swahili Language within the Range of a Nominal Predicate and Nominal Group*, „Folia Orientalia“, Vol. IX, 1968.

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13. Planert W., *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse d. Suaheli* = Planert W., *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Suaheli*, Glückstadt 1907.

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15. Reichart A. — Küsters M., *Elementary Kiswahili Grammar* = Reichart A. and Küsters M., *Elementary Kiswahili Grammar*, London—Heidelberg 1926.

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