(1) Swahili-ki-tabu-ki-me-anguka ‘The book has fallen down’

ki tabu ki me anguka
CL7 book CL 7 perfect fallen
in cwadi i wele phansi
CL9 has down fallen

(2) ‘It (the book) has fallen down’

ki me anguka
CL 7 perfect fallen
i si wele
CL9 already fallen

(3) ‘The child is reading the book’

m toto a na soma ki tabu
CL 1 child CL 1 present read CL 7 book
um ntwana u funda in cwadi

(4) ‘The mother loves the child.’

mama a na m penda m toto
mother CL 1 present CL 1 love CL 1 child
Umama u ya (m) thanda um ntwana

(5) ‘The child is reading the book.’

m toto a na ki soma ki tabu
CL 1 child 1 present CL 7 read CL 7 book
um ntwana u ya yi funda in cwadi

(6) ‘The child is reading it.’

m toto a na ki soma
CL 1 child 1 present CL 7 read
um ntwana u ya yi funda

(7) ‘I want to marry.’

na taka ku oa
present want inf-
CL 15 marry

ngi funa uku shada
‘I’ want CL15 marry

(8) ‘I want to marry her.’

na taka ku mw oa
present want inf-
CL 1 marry

ngi funa uku m shada
‘I’ want CL15 CL1 marry
(9) ‘Mother gave the child a book.’

mama a li m pa m toto ki tabu
mother CL 1 past CL 1 give CL 1 child CL 7 book

Umama w a yi pha in gane in cwadi

(10) ‘Mother gave it (the book) to the child.’

mama a li m pa m toto
mother CL 1 past CL 1 give CL 1 child
Umama w a yi pha in gane

(11) ‘Mother gave the book to a/the child’

mama a li m pa ki tabu m toto
mother CL 1 past CL 1 give CL 7 book CL 1 child
Umama w a yi pha in cwadi in gane

(12) ‘She (mother) gave (it, the book) to him (the child)’

mama a li m pa
mother CL 1 past CL 1 give
umama w a yi pha

(13) ‘Mother gave the child quickly the book at home today.’

mama a li m pa m toto kwa upesi nyumbani leo
mother CL 1 past 1 give CL 1 child with speed at home today
Umama w a yi pha in gane ngo kushesha ekhaya namuhle

(14) ‘Hamisi went inside the house.’

Hamisi a li ku ingia ndani ya nyumba
Hamisi CL 1 past Loc-OM enter inside of house

Hamisi u a ngena ngapha kathi endlini

(15) ‘The child brought the book.’

m toto a me leta ki tabu
CL 1 child CL 1 perfect bring CL 7 book
in gane y a letha in cwadi
(16) ‘The child brought him a/the book.’

m toto a me m let e a ki tabu
CL 1 child CL 1 perfect CL 1 bring benefactive-final CL 7 book
in gane y a m leth el a incwadi

(17) ‘Strangers have come.’

wa geni wa me ku j a
CL 2 foreigner CL 2 perfect (filler-inf./15) come final vowel
Izi hambi se zi fik ile
CL 8 traveler (prefix) CL 8 arrive already

(18) Strangers have come to visit father.

wa geni wa me m j i a baba
CL 2 foreigner CL 2 perfect CL 1 come benefactive-final father
2 izi hambi zi fik el a ubaba
subject object applicative final father
vowel

(19) Kinya-rwanda The woman is giving food to the dog for the man

umu goré a ra he er a umu gabo imba ibiryo
CL 1 woman CL 1 present-give applicative final CL 8 man dog food
1 (like Zulu – ya-)
um fazi u nik ez el a indoda inja ukudla

(20) The woman is giving it to it [the dog] for him.

umu goré a ra bi yi mu he er a
CL 1 woman CL 8 CL 9 CL 1 give applicative final
1 focuw (like Zulu – ya-)

umu fazi u nikezela yona yena
vowel to it for
(21) Xhosa: I am giving a child to the woman.

(22) Xhosa: Sandile called it a dance.

a. Sandile called it a dance.

b. called Sandile a dance.

c. Sandile a dance called.

d. A dance called Sandile.

e. called a dance Sandile.

f. A dance Sandile called.

(23) Xhosa: The man invited the girl.
(24) Makua: Hin-Sepete saw Ararima
HinSepete a hoon a Araarima
(name) CL1 see final (name) vowel

Subject postposing in Swahili and Xhosa
(25) Swahili “Ali arrived yesterday”
Ali a li fika jana
(name) CL1 past arrive yesterday

(26) Swahili “Who came yesterday?”
Jana a li fika nani?
yesterday CL1 past arrive who?

(27) Swahili “Yesterday arrived Ali”
Jana a li fika Ali
yesterday CL1 past arrive (name)

(28) Xhosa “The men work, not the woman”
ku sebenza ama doda hayi aba fazi
CL17 work CL6 man not CL2 woman

(29) … (30)…(41)
(42) Swahili “The child brought the book”
m toto a me let a ki tabu
CL1 child CL1 perfect bring final CL7 book vowel

(43) Swahili “The book was brought by the child”
ki tabu ki me let w a na m toto
CL7 book CL7 perfect bring passive final preposition CL1 child vowel

(44) Swahili “Mother gave the child money”
Mama a li m pa m toto pesa
Mother CL1 past CL1 give CL1 child money
(45) Swahili “The child was given money (by mother)”
\[\text{m toto a li p ew a (na mama)}\]
CL1 child CL1 past give passive final by mother

(46) Swahili “The money was given to the child”
\[*\text{pesa zi li p ew a m toto}\]
money CL10 past give passive final CL1 child

(47) Swahili “The child was given money”
\[*\text{m toto a li zi p ew a pesa}\]
CL1 child CL1 past CL10 give passive final money

(48) Chaga: “The wife is having someone eat the food” (roughly)
\[\text{m ka n a i lyi i o k elya}\]
CL1 wife focus CL1 present eat applicative passive CL7 food

(49) “The food is being eaten for/on the wife”
\[\text{k elya k i lyi i o m ka}\]
CL7 food CL7 present eat applicative passive CL1 wife

(50) Lingala
...

(53) Rwanda “The teacher is writing lessons on the blackboard with chalk”
\[\text{umw alimu a ra andik a ku ki baho n’ ingwa}\]
CL1 teacher CL1 present write final “on” CL7 blackboard “with” chalk

(54) Rwanda “The blackboard is being written lessons on by the teacher” Described as
“Shifting the locative expression to subject position”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ku</th>
<th>ki</th>
<th>baho</th>
<th>ha</th>
<th>ra</th>
<th>andik</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ama</th>
<th>somo</th>
<th>n’</th>
<th>umw</th>
<th>alimu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>CL7</td>
<td>blackboard LOC subject marker</td>
<td>present focus</td>
<td>write</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>FV</td>
<td>CL6</td>
<td>lesson</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>CL1</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(55) Two step process: first ‘objectivization’ then subjectivization of the locative
\[\text{umw alimu a ra andik a ho iki baho ama somo}\]
7. Inversion

(61) Chichewa ‘Those visitors came to the village.’

\[ \text{a lendo wo } \text{a na bwera ku mu dzi} \]

CL2 visitor those(2) CL2 past COME CL17 CL village

(62) locative “inversion” ‘To the village came those visitors.’

\[ \text{ku mu dzi } \text{ku na bwera a lendo wo} \]

CL17 CL3 village CL17 past come CL2 visitor those(2)

(63)

(65) Rwanda “the boy is reading the book”

\[ \text{umu hungu a ra soma igi tabo} \]

CL1 boy CL1 present read CL7 book

(66) “The book is reading the boy”

\[ \text{igi tabo cyi ra soma umu hungu} \]

CL7 book CL7 present read CL1 boy

(67) Swahili “the man climbed the mountain”

\[ \text{m lima u li panda m tu} \]

CL3 mountain CL3 past climb CL1 person
Doke Chapter 19

(1) Normal agreement

“the cattle are pulling the wagon”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Noun prefix</th>
<th>Subject marker</th>
<th>Object marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>mu ba</td>
<td>u ba</td>
<td>mu ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a 2a</td>
<td>u o</td>
<td>u ba</td>
<td>mu ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 4</td>
<td>mu mi</td>
<td>u i</td>
<td>wu yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 6</td>
<td>(li) ma li</td>
<td>a li</td>
<td>li wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 8</td>
<td>si zi</td>
<td>si zi</td>
<td>si zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 10</td>
<td>in izin yi</td>
<td>yi zi</td>
<td>yi zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

izin komo zi ya yi donsa inqola
CL10 cattle CL10 Present CL9 pull wagon

(2) Similar: “They do not want those books”

bona a ba fun i le zo zin cwadi
they_CL2 neg CL2 want final vowel that CL10 CL10 book

(3) Impersonal: subject may follow, with ku SM: “There are dogs in all countries”

ku khona izin ja ema zweni onke
CL17 be CL10 dog CL6? country all

(4) impersonal: “There are now dead all the people”

se ku file aba ntu bonke
aspect CL17 dead CL2 person all

(5) “Let there come forth him who is sick”

Ma ku phume yena ogulayo
CL17 come forth CL1 who is sick

(6) CL 17 (ku-) Subject Marker (SM) with mixed coordination of subject classes  “The women and girls, old men and youths are walking along the path there”

aba -fazi n- izin tombi n- ama xegu n- CL2 woman CONJ CL10 girl CONJ CL6 old man CONJ

izin sizwa ku ya hamba endleleni lapho
CL10 youth CL17 present walk path there

(7) In a conjunction: use the class of the nearest conjunct  “Some tribes and some people do not worry about their souls”
Izi zwe ezi-nye n aba ntu aba nye
CL8 tribe? CL8-some CONJ CL2 person CL2 some

*a ba khathaleli* imi phefumulo yabo
neg CL2 worry? CL3 soul their-CL2
(8) Verb comes first (VS, VSO): “The people and the cattle will perish”

*ku yo ku bhubha* aba ntu n ezin komo
CL17 future CL2 person CONJ CL10 cattle
(9) Object markers: “normal position for the object is after the verb” “I see a person”

*ngi bon a* umu ntu
‘I’ see final vowel CL1 person
(10) “I see the person”

*Ngì ya bon a* umu ntu
‘I’ present see final vowel CL1 person
(11)

**Buell: Chapter 1**

Preprefix (augment): “Bare nouns function primarily as negative polarity items” (p. 8)

Example 7: “I don’t want any books.” Gretta prefers this *with* the OM.

*a ngi fun i* zin cwadi
neg ‘I’ want final vowel CL10 book
Example (10) ‘The little boys will buy the big books.’
aba fana a ba ncane ba zo zi theng a
CL2 boy augment CL2 little CL2 future CL10 buy final vowel

i zin cwadi e zin kulu
augment CL10 book augment CL10 big


cul-a cul-w-a cul-el-a cul-el-an-a cul-el-w-a cul-is-a cul-is-w-a
sing be sung sing to/for/at sing to each be sung to make sing be made to sing other

(14) “I will see you.”
Mina *ngi zo ku bon a*
‘I’ 1st sg SM future 2nd sg OM see final vowel
At most one OM in Zulu. Reflexive OM: -zi-
mina *ng(i) a zi bon a*
‘I’ 1st sg SM past reflexive see final vowel

(16) Final suffix:
-a ‘I see.’
ngi ya bon a

-i ‘I don’t see’ (negative)
a ngi bon i

-e subjunctive: ‘in order for me to see’
uba ngi bon e
in order that ‘I’ see subjunctive
-ile past/perfect?
ngi bon ile
‘I’ see perfect

Applied/Applicative: Doke #353.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ukuthunga ingubo</th>
<th>to sew a dress</th>
<th>ukumthungela unina ingubo</th>
<th>to sew for her mother a dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bamba</td>
<td>hold</td>
<td>bambela</td>
<td>hold for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dlula</td>
<td>pass</td>
<td>dlulela phambili</td>
<td>pass towards the front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suka</td>
<td>go out</td>
<td>sukela. Ngiyamsukela. Uyangisukela!</td>
<td>go out against, attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamba</td>
<td>travel</td>
<td>hambela. Ngamhambela.</td>
<td>visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fika</td>
<td>arrive</td>
<td>fikela. Ngafikela ubaba. Ngifikela imbizo. ‘I have a come for a meeting.’</td>
<td>visit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-akha
Ngakha imoto.
Ngiyakha imoto.

hlala | wait | hlalela. | wait for |
| vula  | Vula emnyango  
|       | ‘Open that door!’ | open |
| vuleka | Umnyango  
|       | uyavuleka. ‘The  
|       | door is opening.’ | come open |
| ngenisa | bring in |
| buzisisa | enquire carefully |