

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

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

(2) 'It (the book) has fallen down'

		<b>ki</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>anguka</b>
		CL 7	perfect	fallen
		<b>i</b>	<b>si</b>	<b>wele</b>
		CL9	already	fallen

(3) 'The child is reading the book'

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

(4) 'The mother loves the child.'

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

(5) 'The child is reading the book.'

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

(6) 'The child is reading it.'

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

(7) 'I want to marry.'

<b>na</b>	<b>taka</b>	ku	oa
present	want	inf-	marry
		CL 15	
<b>ngi</b>	<b>funa</b>	uku	shada
'I'	want	CL15	marry

(8) 'I want to marry her.'

<b>na</b>	<b>taka</b>	ku	mw	oa
present	want	inf-	CL 1	marry
		CL 15		
<b>ngi</b>	<b>funa</b>	uku	m	shada
'I'	want	CL15	CL1	marry
			OM	

(9) 'Mother gave the child a book.'

mama	<i>a</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>pa</i>	m	toto	ki	tabu
mother	CL 1	past	CL 1	give	CL 1	child	CL 7	book
			OM		obj			
Umama	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>pha</i>	in	gane	in	cwadi
			CL9		CL9	child	CL9	book

(10) 'Mother gave it ( the book) to the child.'

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

(11) 'Mother gave the book to a/the child'

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

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

mama	<i>a</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>pa</i>
mother	CL 1	past	CL 1	give
umama	<i>w</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>pha</i>

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

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

(14) 'Hamisi went inside the house.'

Hamisi	<i>a</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ingia</i>	ndani	ya	nyumba
Hamisi	CL 1	past	Loc-OM	enter	inside	of	house
Hamisi	<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>ngena</i>	ngapha	kathi	endlini

(15) 'The child brought the book.'

m	toto	<i>a</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>leta</i>	ki	tabu
CL 1	child	CL 1	perfect	bring	CL 7	book
in	gane	<i>y</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>letha</i>	in	cwadi

(16) 'The child brought him a/the book.'

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

(17) 'Strangers have come.'

wa	geni	<i>wa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>a</i>
CL 2	foreigner	CL 2	perfect	(filler- inf./15)	come	final vowel
Izi	hambi	<i>se</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>fik</i>	<i>ile</i>	
CL8	traveler	(prefix)	CL8	arrive	already	

(18) Strangers have come to visit father.

wa	geni	<i>wa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	baba
CL	foreigner	CL 2	perfect	CL 1	come	benefactive- <i>applicative</i>	final vowel	father
2		subject		object				
izi	hambi	<i>zi</i>	<i>fik</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>a</i>	ubaba		
CL8	traveler	CL8	come	applicative	final vowel	father		

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

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

um	fazi	<i>u</i>	<i>nik</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>nja</i>	<i>uku</i>	<i>dla</i>
CL1	woman	CL1	give	final vowel	CL9	dog	CL15	food

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

umu	goré	<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>a</i>
CL	woman	CL	present- focuw	CL 8	CL 9	CL 1	give	applicative	final vowel
1		1	(like Zulu – <i>ya-</i> )						
umu	fazi	<i>u</i>		<i>nikezela</i>	yona	yena			
					to it	for			

him

(21) Xhosa I am giving a child to the woman

<b>ndi</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>ika</b>	um	fazi	um	ntwana
1st	?	?	CL 1	woman	CL1	child
person						

(22) Xhosa: Sandile called it a dance

a.

u	Sandile	<b>u</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>wu</b>	<b>mema</b>	um	dudo
CL1a	(name)	CL1	past	CL3	call	CL3	dance

b. called Sandile a dance.

<b>w</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>wu</b>	<b>mema</b>	u	Sandile	umu	dudo
CL1	past	CL3	call	CL1a	(name)	CL3	dance

c. Sandile a dance called.

u	Sandile	um	dudo	<b>u</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>wu</b>	<b>mema</b>
CL1a	(name)	CL3	dance	CL1	past	CL3	call

d. A dance called Sandile.

um	dudo	<b>u</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>wu</b>	<b>mema</b>	u	Sandile
CL3	dance	CL1	past	CL3	call	CL1a	(name)

e. called a dance Sandile.

<b>w</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>wu</b>	<b>mema</b>	um	dudo	u	Sandile
CL1	past	CL3	call	CL3	dance	CL1a	(name)

f. A dance Sandile called.

um	dudo	u	Sandile	<b>u</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>wu</b>	<b>mema</b>
CL3	dance	CL1a	(name)	CL1	past	CL3	call

(23) Xhosa: The man invited the girl.

in	doda	<b>y</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>yi</b>	<b>mema</b>	in	tombi
CL9	man	CL9	past	CL9	invite	CL9	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)”

m toto *a li p ew a* (na mama)  
 CL1 child CL1 past give passive final by mother  
 vowels

(46) Swahili “The money was given to the child”

\*pesa *zi li p ew a* m toto  
 money CL10 past give passive final CL1 child  
 vowel

(47) Swahili “The child was given money”

\*m toto *a li zi p ew a* pesa  
 CL1 child CL1 past CL10 give passive final money  
 vowel

(48) Chaga: “The wife is having someone eat the food” (roughly)

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”

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”

umw alimu *a ra andik a* ku ki baho n’ ingwa  
 CL1 teacher CL1 present focus write final “on” CL7 blackboard “with” chalk  
 vowel

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

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

(55) Two step process: first ‘objectivization’ then subjectivization of the locative

umw	alimu	<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>andik</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ho</i>	iki	baho	ama	somo
-----	-------	----------	-----------	--------------	----------	-----------	-----	------	-----	------

CL1	teacher	CL1	present	write	FV	Loc enclitic	CL7	blackboard	CL6	lesson

...

## 7. Inversion

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

a lendo wo *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.’

ku mu dzi *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”

umu hungu *a ra soma* igi tabo  
 CL1 boy CL1 present read CL7 book

(66) “The book is reading the boy”

igi tabo *cyi ra soma* umu hungu  
 CL7 book CL7 present read CL1 boy

(67) Swahili “the man climbed the mountain”

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”

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

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- ezin tombi n- ama xegu n-  
 CL2 woman CONJ CL10 girl CONJ CL6 old man CONJ

ezin 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”

*Ngi 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

**Verb stem:** Root + extensions + final suffix. Extensions: *-w-* ‘passive’, *-el-* ‘applicative’, *-is-* ‘causative’, *-an-* ‘reciprocal’.

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 other	be sung to	make sing	be made to sing

(14) “I will see you.”

Mina *ngi zo ku bon a*  
 ‘I’ 1<sup>st</sup> sg SM future 2<sup>nd</sup> sg OM see final vowel

At most one OM in Zulu. Reflexive OM: *-zi-*

mina *ng(i) a zi bon a*

'I' 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

ukuthunga ingubo	to sew a dress	ukumthungela unina ingubo	to sew for her mother a dress
bamba	hold	bambela	hold for
dlula	pass	dlulela phambili	pass towards the front
suka	go out	sukela. Ngiyamsukela. Uyangisukela!	go out against, attack
hamba	travel	hambela. Ngamhambela.	visit
fika	arrive	fikela Ngafikela ubaba. Ngifikela imbizo. 'I have a come for a meeting.'	visit
-akha Ngakha imoto. Ngiyakha imoto.	build	-akhela Ngakhela umzukulu imoto. ( 'grandchild' )	build for
hlala	wait	hlalela.	wait for

		Ngihlalela lapha! 'Wait-for-me here!'	
vula Vula emnyango 'Open that door!'	open		
vuleka Umnyango uyavuleka. 'The door is opening.'	come open	vulekela Vulekela ngaseNyakatho 'Open it facing north!'	
ngenisa	bring in	ngenisela	
buzisisa	enquire carefully	buzisisela	