This is an outline of the major characteristics of sentences like "Ali alikuwa mwalimu" (Ali was a teacher), "Ali ni mwalimu" (Ali is a teacher), and the numerous pattern variations demonstrated by such sentences. Constructions of this kind are traditionally called copula constructions, and have been classified in terms of (1) predication with a verb, and (2) predication without a verb. The purpose of this study is primarily to investigate whether the elements mentioned under (2) are in fact sufficient to account for copula constructions without the morpheme "-w-" and what combinations of elements are possible. The second part of this outline discusses the structure of and restrictions on nominal expressions in copula sentences. The third part deals with word order, and the fourth with intonation patterns. (AMM)
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SOME COPULA PATTERNS IN STANDARD SWAHILI

by

Elizabeth Closs, Ali Kondo and Salma Mbaye

The following is an outline of the major characteristics of sentences like *Ali alikiwa mwalimu* 'Ali was a teacher', *Ali ni mwalimu* 'Ali is a teacher', and the numerous pattern variations demonstrated by such sentences. Constructions of this kind are traditionally called copula constructions. Mrs. Ashton among others has classified them in terms of (a) 'predication with a verb'; in these sentences *-w-* 'be' is present as in the first quotation above; and (b) 'predication without a verb'; no *-w-* is present, but there is an optional 'invariable copula ni' (*Ali ni mwalimu*), or a free verb prefix (*Ali yu mwalimu*) or a copula *ndi-* requiring the 'enclitic O of reference' (*Ali ndiye mwalimu*). The purpose of this study is primarily to investigate whether the elements mentioned under (b) are in fact sufficient to account for copula constructions without *-w-*, and what combinations of elements are possible. The second part will go on to discuss the structure of and restrictions on nominal expressions in copula sentences; the third part will be devoted to word order, and the fourth to intonation patterns. It is hoped that the material will be useful to teachers of Swahili as well as to linguists and that it will stimulate further research into copula constructions.

The functional relations between all the sentences under discussion is the same: Subject—Copula—Predicate—Predicate Nominal. This set of functions is expressed, or 'realized', by several different structural categories, and it is these categories and their combinations that must be investigated. They include:

(a) nominal expressions (symbolized by N(oun) P(hrase); NP in turn includes the categories of N and various modifiers like Demonstrative;

(b) copula expressions (Cop); for the present stage of the discussion, Cop has as its members an optional *-w-* and optional *ni*, *ndi-* Verb Prefix (VPf);3

(c) adverbial expressions (Adv), which include subcategories such as negative adverb (*Neg*).

Other classes will be introduced during the course of discussion.

A distinction is made between 'underlying' and 'surface' structures. The difference here is between basic patterns and overtly observable patterns; in some cases underlying and surface structures are different; e.g. *Chiriku huyu ni wangu* 'This finch is mine', can be considered as the pattern underlying *Wangu ni chiriku huyu* 'Mine, that's what this finch is' since the relationship between the items remains the same, although the emphasis is different. On the other hand, *Dar es Salaam ni mji mkubwa* 'Dar es Salaam is a/the large city' is not considered the base from which *Mji mkubwa ni Dar es Salaam* 'The big city is Dar es Salaam' is derived. This is because in the first sentence *mji* can be specific or non-specific; in the second sentence *mji* can only be specific, and the relationship between the two sentences is therefore not the same. Furthermore the first sentence, as a complete utterance, can occur discourse-initially as well as discourse-medially, while the second is limited to discourse-medial position. Both sentences are therefore realizations of different underlying structures, although they happen to share the same lexical items in different order; here underlying and surface structure coincide. For ease of reference it will sometimes be convenient to use subscript numerals for the two NPs in the patterns under discussion. These numerals will refer to underlying structures unless otherwise specified.

In any study which is concerned with the productivity of language and with accounting not only for sentences in the data but also for other possible sentences with the same structure, it is necessary to consider impossible as well as possible constructions. Only in this way can the limitations of grammatical versus ungrammatical sentences be fully stated. Ungrammatical sentences are preceded by *; those of marginal acceptability by ?. 
Two other notational devices have been used to simplify description. Parentheses indicate that the item or items enclosed in them are optional, e.g. $NP_1 (Neg) (Cop) NP_2$ reads: first noun phrase, followed by optional negative adverb, followed by optional copula expression, followed by second noun phrase. $\{ \{ ni \} \{ Vpf \} \} NP$ reads: either $ni$ or $Vpf$, followed by noun phrase.

PART I: THE STRUCTURE OF 'COPULA EXPRESSIONS'

PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF $-w-$:

Most sentences of the type $NP_1 (Neg) (Cop) NP_2$ permit $-w-$ as one of the realizations of $Cop$. Obligatory absence of $-w-$ is characteristic only of certain constructions where a semantic relationship of member to class pertains between certain lexical realizations of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$.4

$-w-$ may co-occur with any other member of $Cop$, although this is rare. It may also co-occur with all tense-markers available in Swahili (subject to the usual restrictions on sequences of clauses etc.). Tense + $-w-$ contrasts with absence of $-w-$; the following illustrate the contrast between three 'present tenses' + $-w-$ and absence of $-w-$:5

1. *Baba awa baharla* 'Father is becoming a sailor' (he has just started; he intends to become a sailor).
2. *Baba anakuwa baharla* 'Father is becoming a sailor' (and started some time back; he is improving).
3. *Baba huwa baharla* 'Father is at times a sailor.'
4. *Baba baharla* 'Father is a sailor.'

Certain restrictions on the choice of tense are dictated by Adverbs and clause-sequence. Others are apparently dictated by external factors only. For example, while it is possible to say 3, or *Wageni wakijana dada huwa mpishi* 'When visitors come, sister is the cook (instead of the usual one)', it is considered contextually incongruous to say *Baba huwa Juma* 'My father is at times Juma'. Similarly, while *Hamisi huwa mwamume* 'Hamisi is at times a man' can be used (abusively), the following is not permitted: *Hamisi huwa mume wangu* 'Hamisi is at times my husband'. These restrictions are semantic, not grammatical.

An auxiliary $-w-$ is permissible, though rare, before main verb $-w-$, as before any other main verb;

5. *Ali akawa anakuwa mtoto mzuri* 'Ali was becoming a good child'.
6. *Yasili akawa anekuwa mkalimani* 'Yasili had become a translator'.

As in other auxiliary + main verb constructions, $Neg$ may combine with either auxiliary or main verb. In either case the meaning appears to be identical:

7. *Ali hakwatu anakuwa mtoto mzuri* 'Ali was not becoming a good boy' (e.g. despite efforts to make him so).

PATTERNS WITH $ni$:

The formative $ni$ (negative $si$) is optional, but permissible in all copula constructions.4 Its function is specification of the copula relationship.7

9. *Baba ni baharla* 'Father is a sailor' (precisely a sailor).
10. Hamisi anakuwa ni msemaji 'Hamisi is becoming (exactly) a talkative person'.

11. Ali alikuwa ni mwaliimu 'Ali was (exactly) a teacher'.

12. Kutaja kidani kulikuwa ni bahati nasibu 'Mentioning the necklace was just a gamble'.

If -w- and ni co-occur, ni always follows; where Neg, -w-, and ni all co-occur, Neg is supported by either -w- or ni, apparently without contrast in meaning:

13. Baba alikuwa ni baharia 'Father was not a sailor'.

14. Baba hakuwa ni baharia Ibid.

The two formatives, -w- and ni, may not always be in close proximity to each other; for example, an Adv may be shifted from its usual position after NP2 to position between -w- and ni for stylistic effect:

15a. Ulikuwa ni usingizi siku hiyo 'It was just sleep that day' (i.e. there was nothing but sleep that day).

b. Ulikuwa siku hiyo ni usingizi 'It was that day just sleep.'

PATTERNS WITH VERB PREFIX:
This element is not used by all speakers of Standard Swahili except in fixed aphorisms or expressions like Yu tayar 'He/she is ready'. In a random sample of educated Coastal Swahili speakers, mostly university students, two out of twelve rejected the use of any kind of Vpf in productive constructions; some others felt it was archaic or 'substandard', but used it in their own speech. It is very rarely found in the written language.

Vpf is mutually exclusive with ni, and like ni specifies copula relationship. In addition, it implies the relationship has persisted over some period of time and that it will continue to do so. It is often used to express 'X is Y by profession'.

16. Baba yu baharia 'Father is (has been, and will for some time be) a sailor' (by profession).

17. Kuchimba ku kazi 'Cultivation is (always has been and will be) hard work'.

18. Mtambua ndwele yu mganga 'One who diagnoses an illness is (always) a doctor'.

Contrast with ni can clearly be seen in:

19. Yeye yu mume wangu 'He is (has been and will be) my husband' (can be used only by someone still married).

20. Yeye ni mume wangu 'He is my husband' (can be used by someone married, or by a widow, e.g. in pointing to a picture).

Often, however, the Vpf/ni distinction is neutralized. Wewe ni mtoto mbaya and Wewe u mtoto mbaya 'You are a naughty child', for example, alternate freely except when the speaker wishes to imply the child is bad only in this one instance; if so, only ni is possible, but even then the sentence Wewe ni mtoto mbaya is ambiguous.

Occasionally Vpf may co-occur with -w-, but this construction is primarily limited to sentences with adverb bado 'still'. Then Vpf implies continuation through the period referred to:

21. Mwaka jana Fatuma alikuwa yu mwanafunzi bado 'Last year Fatuma was still a student'.

22. John alikuwa yu mume wangu bado 'John was still my husband'.


When -w- and Vpf co-occur, Vpf must follow (note the parallel with ni). Neg may also be supported by either -w- or Vpf; Neg + -w- + Vpf sequences are, however, extremely rare; K in fact does not accept them:

23. *Baba hakuna yu baharia bado* 'My father was not a sailor yet' (by profession).
24. *Sisi tulikuwa hatu baharia bado* 'We were not sailors yet'.

The negative form of Vpf is actually very uncommon in any sentence except in constructions like:

25. *Hatu wapishi* 'We are not cooks'.
26. *Ham wanafunzi* 'You are not students'.

The third person singular negative form:

27. *Hayu mpishi* 'He is not a cook'.

is considered archaic, and the third person plural hawa is not accepted at all, probably because it could be ambiguous with Demonstrative Pronoun + NP2 (e.g. *Hawa walimu* 'These are teachers', *Hawa walimu* 'They are not teachers').

Vpf may not co-occur with ndio to be discussed below. Further restrictions on Vpf, if it is used at all, depend on certain NP1 . . . NP2 co-occurrences (q.v. Part II, 87), or are imposed by idiolect, style, and the semantic domain of 'continuity'. Vpf is not restricted to first and second persons in identification copulas (those with Predicate Nominal) as Mrs. Ashton suggests, except in the negative. She would allow *Tu wapishi* 'We are cooks', *U mpishi* 'You are a cook', but not *Yu mpishi* 'He is a cook'. The latter and several other similar constructions are, however, acceptable. Vpf is also not restricted to those verb prefixes which have the same morphological shape as the prefix of the nominal with which they are in concord, as Loogman suggests: if dialectally acceptable at all, all forms of Vpf are permitted, other than the negatives discussed above, and any Vpf in concord with the plural of the m/wa and j/jma classes (since they are ambiguous with the genitive formants in concord with these classes).

**PATTERNS WITH NDI-, NDIO-, NDIO:**

Textbooks on Swahili usually discuss a copulative ndi- (negative si-) which takes the 'O of reference'; they do not, however, mention two other formatives which also occur in NP1 . . . NP2 position: ndio (negative si), which is another specifier, and ndiyio (negative siyo). The latter is not to be confused with the well-known homonymous sentence Adverb ndiyio (negative siyo) 'It is (not) so'. The three formants appear to be morphologically related; they share the syntactic characteristics of occurrence in copula sentences, and they are mutually exclusive. They must, however, be treated as separate elements since they have contrasting functions and have markedly different co-occurrence restrictions:

28. *Moto ndiye kiumbe* 'The child (referred to) is a creature'; ambiguous with 'The child is the creature (referred to)'.
29. *Moto ndiya kiumbe* 'A child is (as you say) a creature' (used almost exclusively with high stress and high intonation on ndiya, q.v. Part IV, 1P II x; limited to statements).
30. *Moto ndio kiumbe* 'A child is (defined as) a creature' (usually without stress on ndio; used in questions and statements).

(A) **NDI-**:

Mrs. Ashton says of this formative:

The 'O of reference, preceded by the appropriate concord, forms a pronominal or adverbial complement of the copula except in the Singular Personal Class.

Note the replacement of ni by ndi-, which takes the word stress. (ni as copula is never stressed).
These forms are often spoken of as the "Emphatic" forms of the copula ni-(sic). They are used to define more sharply the nominal, pronominal or adverbial antecedent to which they refer. The following points may be noted:

(a) Ndi - does not replace ni, it occurs with it (even if only rarely).

(b) Ni is frequently stressed (cf. its use with IP II:x, Part IV).

(c) While -O may function as a pronominal or adverbial complement, this is by no means the only function available to it. It may form a subject pronominal as in Ndiye ni msichana 'That one (referred to) is a girl'; or it may be used in a limited appositional construction, as in 28. Furthermore, it is not restricted to copula constructions, although it is most frequently found there: Mtu ndiye alkwenda sokoni 'That man (referred to) went to the market'.

When ndi- + -O is used as an optional limiter of a nominal it may occur only once in any one main clause pattern. We therefore find either:

NP₁ (Neg) (ndi- + -O) (...-w-...) (\{ni \} \{V pf̓\}) NP₂

where -O is preceded by concord with NP₁ or:

NP₁ (Neg) (...-w-...) (\{ni \} \{V pf̓\}) (ndi- + -O) NP₂

where -O is preceded by concord with NP₂. In either case the nominal expression with which ndi- + -O is in concord may not be expanded by the modifier Demonstrative:

31. *Mt hu yu n diye ni mganga 'That man referred to is a doctor'.

but:

32. Mt hu yu n diye ni mganga 'That man is the doctor referred to'.

where ndi- + -O limits NP₂.

Sentences with ...-w-... ndi- + -O + NP₂ are quite common. On the other hand the sequence ...ni + ndi- + -O + NP₂ is only marginally acceptable in simple sentences; but it is fully acceptable if a relative clause modifies NP₂:

33. Kipawa chake ndicho kifani (a) 'His talent referred to is a match'.

(b) 'His talent is the match referred to'.

34. Kipawa chake ndicho (kilikuwa) ni kifani 'His talent referred to is/(was) exactly a match'.

35. Kipawa chake kilikuwa ndicho kifani 'His talent was the match referred to'.

36. Mtoto ni ndicho kiumbe tulichokuwa tukikizungumza 'A/the child is exactly the creature we were talking about'.

Intonational grouping is the same whether ndi- + -O is in concord with NP₁ or NP₂; i.e. ndi- ... occurs in the intonational group of the Cop. In this and its failure to co-occur with itself in a simple sentence, and in its ability to support Neg, it contrasts with Demonstrative and other expansions of NP (these participate in the NP intonational group):

37. Mvulana huyu mtoto wangu 'This boy is my child'.

38. Mvulana ndiye mtoto wangu 'The boy referred to is my child'.

On the other hand, in its association with the pronominal -O of reference and in its ability to be directly dominated by NP in Subject, Predicate Nominal and Adverb functions, it is unlike the specifying formants of Cop. Some speakers associate certain
occurrences of ndi- + -0 with ni + appositive Personal Pronoun. E.g. Chiriku ndiye ndenge 'The finch referred to is a bird', is thought of as connected with Chiriku ni yeye ndenge 'A finch, specifically it referred to, is a bird'; Ali hakuwa ndiye mpishi wake? 'Was Ali not that cook of his?' is connected with Ali hakuwa ni yeye mpishi wake? 'Was Ali, specifically he whom we have referred to, not his cook?'

At this stage, when the pronominal and adverbial systems of Swahili have not been adequately investigated, only a tentative analysis can be given. Pending further study, ndi- + -0 can be considered as an appositional referential pronoun which has strict restrictions on occurrence with nominal modifiers.

(B) NDIYO:

Another formative which is part of the referential system of Swahili discourse in ndlyo2. It occurs optionally in strings of the type:

\[ \text{NP}_1 \; (\text{Neg}) \; (\text{ndiy}o2) \; (\ldots \quad w \quad \ldots) \quad \left( \begin{array}{c} \text{ni} \\ \text{Vpf} \end{array} \right) \; \text{NP}_2 \]

where it is mostly accompanied by IP II:x or IP II:ii:a (q.v. Part IV). When Neg is present it is always attached to ndiy02, not to -w-, ni, or Vpf (cf. 41).

Ndlyo2 is used in answers to truth questions to affirm or negate the (Cop) NP2 proposition of the question. Very rarely it may be used to affirm or negate VP, also in answer to a truth question (cf. 44). NP1 is frequently not repeated in the answer (cf. 42), or the word order of the answer may be shifted (cf. 43).

39 Q. Saimon ni mwanafunzi? 'Is Saimon a student?'
A. (a) Saimon ndiy0 ni mwanafunzi 'Saimon is a student'. (i.e. Saimon, certainly = a student).
(b) Saimon siyo ni mwanafunzi 'Saimon is not a student' (i.e. Saimon, certainly not = a student).

40 Q. Saimon si mwanafunzi? 'Is Saimon not a student?'
A. (a) Saimon ndiy0 ni mwanafunzi 'Saimon is a student' (i.e. Saimon, certainly = student).
(b) Saimon siyo ni mwanafunzi 'Saimon is not a student' (i.e. Saimon, certainly not = a student).

41 Q. Baba ali kuwa si baharia? 'Was father not a sailor?'
A. (a) Baba ndiy0 ali kuwa si baharia 'Father was a sailor'.
(b) Baba siyo ali kuwa ni baharia 'Father was not a sailor'. (N.B. no alternation with *Baba ndiy0 hakuwa ni baharia or *Baba ndiy0 ali kuwa si baharia).

42 Q. Kipawa chake kilikuwa kifani? 'Was his talent a match?'
A. Ndiyo kilikuwa kifani 'It was a match'.

43 Q. Kipawa chake kifani? 'Is his talent a match?'
A. Ndiyo kifani kipawa chake 'It was a match, his talent'.

44 Q. Saimon ndiy0 alikwenda sokoni? 'Did Saimon go to the market?' (i.e. Is it true: we:it to the market?).
A. *Ndiyo alikwenda sokoni* 'He certainly went to the market'.

The –*yo* of this formant may be considered pronominal. The question arises whether *ndiyo₂* should be considered a specialized form of the appositive *ndi-* + *–O* discussed above, or whether it should be treated separately. In the interests of simplicity of description and explanation of the partial similarity in function and behaviour between *ndiyo₂* and the Sentence Adverb *ndiyo₁* to be discussed below, *ndiyo₂* is here classified together with *Neg* as a Preverbal Adverb. As such, its domain is 
(Cop) NP₂ and occasionally the verb phrase. Decision as to the status of –*yo* is left for further investigation of pronominals.

As a formative of the referential system, *ndiyo₂* has a double function. In the answer, *ndiyo₂* affirms Predicate relationship, or (supported by *Neg*) negates it. But whether the formative affirms or negates the proposition of the previous question depends on whether the question did or did not contain *Neg*. *Ndiyo₂* in A. affirms (Cop) NP₂ in Q. if Q. was affirmative; it negates it if Q. was negative. Conversely, *Neg ndiyo₂* in A. negates (Cop) NP₂ in Q. only if Q. was affirmative; it affirms it if Q. was negative. Table I is provided as an abstraction of 39–41 to demonstrate the gross features of *ndiyo₂* structures discussed in this section:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39 Q.</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>ni Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>a. X</td>
<td><em>ndiyo</em> ni Y (affirms Q.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. X Neg</td>
<td><em>ndiyo</em> ni Y (negates Q.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40 Q.</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>ni Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>a. X</td>
<td><em>ndiyo</em> ni Y (negates Q.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>b. X Neg</td>
<td><em>ndiyo</em> ni Y (affirms Q.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>41 Q.</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>-w-</th>
<th>ni Y*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>a. X</td>
<td><em>ndiyo</em> -w- ni Y (negates Q.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. X Neg</td>
<td><em>ndiyo</em> -w- ni Y (affirms Q.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE I: ND1102 CONSTRUCTIONS**

*Ndiyo₂* contrasts with the Sentence Adverb (*Neg*) *ndiyo₁* which occurs sentence-initially in statements and sentence-finally in questions. This Sentence Adverb has its own mid-level intonation group, separated by comma pause from the rest of the utterance (contrast *ndiyo₂* in 39–44 which occurs in the same intonation pattern as the following NP). This Sentence Adverb is also part of the referential system, but has as its domain the whole previous sentence; hence (*Neg*) *ndiyo₁* may co-occur with e.g. ...(*Neg*) ni...

*Ndiyo₁* is not used primarily in copula constructions; it imposes no context-restrictions on the sentence with which it is in construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>45 Q.</th>
<th><em>Kodi nihumhu</em>? 'Is tax a “must”?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>(a) <em>Ndiyo, kodi nihumhu</em> 'That is the case, tax is a “must”'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) <em>Siyo, kodi nihumhu</em> 'That is not the case, tax is not a “must”'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>46 Q.</th>
<th><em>Kodi si humhu</em>? 'Is tax not essential?’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>(a) <em>Ndiyo, si humhu</em> 'That is the case, it is not essential'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) <em>Siyo, ni humhu</em> 'That is not the case, it is essential'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>47 Q.</th>
<th><em>Saimon si mwanafunzi tukiyemzungunza</em>? 'Is Saimon not the student we were talking about?’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
A. *Siyo, ndiya mwanafunz! 'That is not so, he is indeed the student'.

It is interesting to note that in truth questions, to which it may be added as a tag, a combination of *ndiya* and a preceding affirmative sentence is often taken to be sarcastic, as is an affirmative tag question after an affirmative statement in English:

48. *Mume stara, ndiya? 'A husband is a protection, is that the case?' (dubious, sarcastic, cf. English A husband is a protection, is he?).

49. *Mume stara, siyo? 'A husband is a protection is that not the case?'

(C) **NDIO:**

The formative *ndio* is mutually exclusive with *ni* and *Vpf*. Like them it is a specifier of copula relationship (specifically definition); but unlike them it may occur before or after *-w-*. 

Most commonly *ndio* is used in answers to content questions:

50 Q. *Mtoto ni nini? 'What is a child?'

A. (a) *Mtoto ndio kiumbe 'A child is defined as a creature'.

(b) *Mtoto ni kiumbe 'A child is a creature'.

51 Q. *Chiriku ni nini? 'What is a finch?'

A. *Chiriku ndio ndege 'A finch is defined as a bird'.

50a expresses definition, while 50b implies *mtoto* is an example of *kiumbe*, or is a member of the class *kiumbe*.

The construction may also be used in truth questions to enquire about definition.

52. *Samaki ndio nini? 'What does “fish” mean?’, or “What is “fish”?'

53. *Kuiba ndio nini? 'What is the meaning of “stealing”?'

In both instances *Neg* is very rarely found.

A related usage is in corrections, negative responses to truth questions and in echo questions. Here negative is frequently used. In a situation where someone states that *Jiwe ni kiumbe ‘A stone is a living creature’ or else asks whether it is one, the correction or answer might be:

54. *Jiwe do kiumbe ‘A stone is not (defined as) a living creature’.

An incredulous echo might be:

55. *Jiwe ndio kiumbe? ‘A stone is defined as a creature?!’

When *ndio* co-occurs with *-w-* it may, as mentioned above, occur before or after it, apparently with no difference of meaning:

56. *Chiriku hakuwa ndio jiwe in free variation with Chiriku ndio hakuwa jiwe ‘The bird was not defined as a stone’.

**ABSENCE OF COPULA:**

*Cop, with its members *-w- and the specifiers *ni, Vpf, ndio*, is optional for all sentences having copula function, with three restrictions:

(a) If *Neg* is the only realization of Preverbal Adverb, then at least one member of *Cop* must be present to support it.

(b) When *Cop* is not chosen, and *ndiov2* is also not, the construction may not undergo a word order shift such that *NP2 + Pred -> Pred + NP1*. This is presumably because *NP2 + NP1* would be ambiguous with *NP1 + NP2*. Therefore, while *Baba ni baharia ‘My father is a sailor’* may be shifted to
Ni baharia baba 'A sailor, that's what my father is', Beba baharia may not be shifted to Baharia baba. The latter utterance occurs, but only meaning 'The sailor is my father', never 'A sailor, that's what my father is' (q.v. Part III).

(c) When Cop is not selected, then the only intonation patterns available are those with a break between NP1 and NP2 (q.v. Part IV, Types II:i and II:ii). Because of this restriction there is no ambiguity in the spoken language between sentences and phrases. In writing, however, such an ambiguity does arise, cf.

57. All mwalimu (a) 'Ali is a teacher'.
(b) 'Ali, the teacher'.

It is particularly common when Predicate Adjective rather than Predicate Nominal is present:

58. Mtono mchafu (a) 'The child is dirty'.
(b) 'The dirty child'.

In writing, therefore, copula sentences without Cop are avoided.

CONCORD:
The general rule for concord is that main verbs, auxiliaries, verb prefixes, modifiers and limiters of NP all agree (if present) in number and class membership with the noun realizing NP1 (the Subject). Limiters and modifiers of NP2 are the only items which show concord with NP2.

Sentences which show concord between Cop and NP1, are statistically actually rather few, since ni alone is by far the most common realization of Cop. Among those sentences investigated in which concord was marked in Cop, a few were found which countered the general rule outlined above; in these concord was dictated by NP2. For example, beside the expected:

59a. Kilimo hiki likikuwa kazi 'This digging was work'.

there is also:

b. Kilimo hiki iliikuwa kazi 'This digging was work'.

with concord between Verb Prefix and NP2. Concord with NP1 in (a) emphasizes NP1, concord with NP2 in (b) emphasizes NP2. Furthermore, M feels that concord with NP1 implies the speaker assumes the predicate relationship is known, but that if concord is with NP2 then the speaker assumes the predicate relationship is unknown and that he is providing the listener with new information. Therefore (b) would be used perhaps in response to someone who did not know what work was, or who thought cultivation was a soft option, but (a) would be a redundant remark, used perhaps when coming home tired from the field. It is not possible to derive (b) as an inversion of some sentence like Kazi iliikuwa kilimo hiki 'The work was this digging' since kazi is semantically specific in this sentence, while kazi in 59b can have specific or non-specific reference.

Other examples are:

60a. Kusaidiana ku uungwana 'To help one another is humanity'.
b. Kusaidiana u uungwana 'To help one another is humanity'.

61a. Mtono yu ki kiumbe 'A child is a living being'.
b. Mtono ki kiumbe 'A child is a living being'.
c. Yu kiumbe mtono 'A living being, that's what a child is'.
d. Ki kiumbe mtono 'A living being, that's what a child is'.
Where both NP1 and NP2 belong to the same morphological class, the sentence is ambiguous. The tendency to associate first position in the sentence with emphasis, however, causes most such ambiguous sentences to be interpreted as of type (a).

There is a wide disagreement among users of Vpf as to where concord with NP2 is permissible, except in the following set of sentences:

62 a. *Biriani i chakula* 'Biriani is a food'.
   b. *Biriani ki chakula* 'Biriani is a food'.

Six out of the ten speakers who accepted Vpf at all rejected 62a and claimed only 62b was possible. Perhaps this special concord relationship is attributable to the fact that biriani is a loan word (and also a loan dish). Native foods do not appear to allow concord with chakula so readily. For example, some of the speakers who insist on 62b also insist on the (a) form, if Vpf is to be used at all, in:

63 a. *Walilugalimuho u chakula* 'Cooked rice/porridge/cassava is a food'.
   b. *Walilugalimuho ki chakula* 'Cooked rice/porridge/cassava is a food'.

64 a. *Samaki yu chakula* 'Fish is a food'.
   b. *Samaki ki chakula* 'Fish is a food'.

M does, however, allow all the (b) forms as well as the (a).

**SUMMARY OF PATTERNS:**
This survey suggests that at least the underlying structural patterns charted in Table II must be established for the simple copula sentence in Swahili.

![Diagram of Sentence Structure]

**TABLE II: UNDERLYING STRUCTURES**

The table shows the structural groupings of categories in the copula pattern 'Sentence' consists of optional Sentence Adverb + Noun Phrase + Predication; the Predication consists of optional Preverbal Adverb + optional Copula + Noun Phrase, etc. Not included in the table are other possible choices not discussed in this paper, such as Adjective or Adverb instead of NP2, or the choice of Verb Phrase instead of (Cop) NP2. Furthermore, the table does not include the concord relations, nor various restrictions on Negative Adverb, etc., the optional position of ndio before -w-, nor the optional appositional ndi- + -O, since these may all be regarded as obligatory or optional operations on the basic structure outlined here.
PART II: THE STRUCTURE OF ‘NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS’

So far it has been assumed that NP can be realized as any N(oun) in copula constructions. Certain gross restrictions must, however, be made on the realizations of NP and also on the co-occurrence of such realizations across Cop.

In broadest terms, NP may be realized as any N with its class-number prefix, and optionally any one or more of a series of modifiers including Demonstrative, Adjective, Possessive, etc. Otherwise it may be realized as a pronominal form such as Demostrative-Pro(noun), Pers(onal)-Pro(noun), Inter rogative)-Pro(noun). A third possibility is that a verbal expression may function as an NP, i.e. NP may be realized by a nominalization. This nominalization takes the form of kwamba or kuwa + Sentence, or of an infinitive construction kuM(ain) V(erb).

More specifically, however, various restrictions pertain between realizations of NP as follows:

BOTH NPs ARE REALIZED AS ...N...:

When both NPs are realized as ...N... , both are usually members of the same sub-category of N, e.g. both will be animate or inanimate or abstract nouns. How far further generalization is possible within terms of the syntactic structure of the language is, however, unclear. For example, that Mchicha ni mboga ‘Spinach is a vegetable’ is acceptable while Mchicha ni mt1 ‘Spinach is a tree’ is considered marginal, appears to be semantic, not syntactic.

Two exceptions to the generalization may be noted. Any ...N... in NP position may co-occur with kitu ‘thing’ in NP2 position (this kind of sentence is usually interrogative):

65. Mwallimu ni kitu gani? ‘What kind of a thing is a teacher?’
66. Ali ni kitu gani? ‘What kind of thing is Ali?’

When across (Cop) from Nanimate kitu is usually pejorative, and so may be considered a special deviant usage. The other exception is also deviant. There is a set of sentences in which any sub-category of N may occur with any other:

67. Mama ni kero ‘Mother is a nuisance’.
68. Ujinga ni nyumba ya goza ‘Ignorance is a house of darkness’.

These constructions are almost all proverbial or metaphorical and so part of a special style and linguistic environment.

In most cases number remains constant across (Cop); some singular mass nouns such as chakula ‘food’ may, however, co-occur with plurals:

69 a. Vlazi ni chakula ‘Potatoes are food’.
b. *Vlazi ni vyakula ‘Potatoes are foods’.

ONE OR MORE NPs ARE REALIZED BY PRONOUNS:

Pronouns are unlike Ns in that most of them are restricted in position and co-occur with only a few modifiers. If only one NP is realized as Pers—Pro or Dem—Pro, then it must be NP:

70. Yeye ni mlevi ‘He is a drunkard’.
71. Huyu ni ndege ‘This is a bird’.

On the other hand, if only one NP is realized as Poss—Pro, then it must be NPs:

72. Ndege ni wangu ‘The bird is mine’.
Forms like Mlevi ni ye ye and Wangu ni ndege do occur, but they are special emphatic versions of 70 and 71, or else they occur as embeddings in complex sentences such as Nyumba yako nturi, yangu nturi sana ‘Your house is good, mine especially good’; in either case this order cannot be considered part of the underlying structure (q.v. Part III).

Nani ‘who’ and nini ‘what’ are the only Inter-Pro forms investigated here. Nani occurs as an interrogative pronounal for any N ‘human’:

73 Q. Nani ni mwalimu? ‘Who is the teacher?’
A. e.g. Bw. Mwakatoga ‘Mr. Mwakatoga’, or Huyu ‘This man’.

74 Q. Mwalimu ni nani? ‘The teacher is who?’
A. e.g. Ibid.

75 Q. Nani ni mume? ‘Who (which of you) is a husband?’
A. e.g. Mimi ‘I am’.

Nini is commonly used as the Inter-Pro form of N ‘non-animate’ or of a nominalization (e.g. infinitive or kwambo/kwasa nominalizations). It is restricted to NP₂ position when only one NP is realized by an interrogative:

76 Q. Hasira ni nini? ‘Anger is what?’
A. Hasara ‘Loss’.

77 Q. Kazi ni nini? ‘Work is what?’
A. Ni kulea mwana, kuchimba na . . . ‘It is to bring up children, to cultivate and . . .’

The form of Inter-Pro is chosen not according to concord relationship across Cop, but according to the expectation of syntactic subcategory in the answer. The syntactic sub-categorization of prime relevance is the distinction human vs. non-human; animate vs. non-animate is of no relevance here, although elsewhere in the system (e.g. concord with Adjectives, Demonstratives, Vps) an N which is animate and non-human takes on the human concords (m–lwa–class). For example:

78 Q. Samaki ni nini? ‘Fish is what?’
A. Chakula (non-human, non-animate N) ‘Food’.

79 Q. Samaki ni nini? ‘Fish is what?’
A. Mnyama (non-human, animate N) ‘An animal’.

80 Q. Samaki ni nani? ‘Fish is who?’ (i.e. ‘Who is playing the part of Fish?’).
A. Salma (human, animate N) ‘Salma’.

NOMINALIZATIONS:

Infinitive nominalizations of the type kuMV are common. Either or both NPs may be realized by such a nominalization; if only one is, then the other must be realized by an N belonging to a class including:

- kazi ‘work’
- haki ‘justice’
- wajibu ‘necessity’
- jembo ‘matter’
- desturi ‘habit’
- kawaida ‘habit’
- shabaha ‘aim, intention’
- madhumuni ‘aim, intention’
Nani

A special subset of kuMV nominalizations is that in which both NP₁ and NP₂ dominate a ku-nominalization such that MV is in both cases realized as -(a)n NP 'be with NP'.¹⁷ In such sentences both kuwa na may be deleted, or else just the kuwa na dominated by NP₁:

87 a. Kwa na mume ni kuwa na shoga 'Having a husband is having a friend/ A husband is a friend'.

b. Mume ni kuwa na shoga Ibid.

c. Mume ni shoga Ibid.

Since the NPs are derived from nominalized sentences, there is no restriction on the subclass of N selected across (Cop) in 87 b and c. Of particular interest is the fact that when either or both kuwa na are present, then Vpf may not occur; when neither is present, however, Vpf is permissible:

87 d. Mume yu shoga 'Having a husband is having a friend/A husband is a friend'.

e. *Kuwa na mume ku shoga

Nominalizations with kwamba/kuwa + Sentence occur as realizations of NP₂ only. They appear across (Cop) from any member of the class of Ns outlined at the beginning of this section. Usually this N is modified by an Adj such as muhimu 'important' or by a genitive phrase (a NP).

Copulas with kwamba/kuwa nominalizations require special study. Kwamba is intuitively related to definiteness and necessity; a sequence of co-ordinate verb phrases is expected within the nominalization, or at least Verb Phrase + Adverb of Manner. Kuwa is intuitively connected with indefiniteness and lack of necessity; a single verb phrase is expected. Both subordinators can introduce an indicative or a subjunctive sentence. Since the subjunctive often implies necessity, there is a problem in the analysis of kwamba sentences with subjunctives in the dependant clause. Note, however, that 88 b and c both have subjunctive dependant clauses, but only the one introduced by kwamba signals obligation.

A set of contrasting sentences, including contrast with a kuMV nominalization is provided by:

88 a. Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kutengeneza madirisha 'A very important matter is to fix the windows' (generalization).
b. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kwamba watengeneza madirisha na watomee ukuta* 'A very important matter is that they should fix the windows and plaster the walls' (expresses obligation).

c. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kuwa watengeneza madirisha* Ibid. (except used as suggestion only; 'they' may choose not to fix the windows).

89. *Haja yetu ni kwambatajanye jambo la maana* 'Our need is to do something useful' (and we are obligated to do it).

90. *Jibu lake ni kuwa haji* 'His reply is that he (probably) won't come'.

*Kwamba* and *kuwa* may themselves introduce a *kuMV* nominalization. Here *kwamba* and *kuwa* appear to be introducers of appositive sentences, perhaps translatable as 'NP is as follows: Sentence'. It is noticeable that, like sentences with *kuMV* (cf. 88a) but no *kwamba/kuwa*, they are generalizations related to people in general, not to people in particular (contrast 88b, c where *watengeneze* specifies particular known persons). While *kwamba* introduces an appositive regarded as a necessity or obligation, *kuwa* introduces an appositive regarded as a likely act; *kwamba* is associated with repeated actions, *kuwa* with single, unrepeated ones:

91 a. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kwamba kutengeneza madirisha no kutomea ukuta* 'A very important matter is the following: that people should fix the windows and plaster the walls' (in general).

b. *Jambo muhimu kabisa ni kuwa kutengeneza madirisha kesho* 'A very important matter is the following: that someone should fix the windows tomorrow' (a single action, important, but the speaker recognizes that it may not be carried out).

92. *Wajibu wao ni kwamba kujua kanuni za Tanu, kudumisha uhuru, no kuongeza uchumi wa nchi* 'Their duty is the following: that everyone should know the rules of Tanu, should perpetuate freedom, and further the economy of the nation'.

**PART III: WORD ORDER**

The word order patterns of *NP1 (Prev. Adv) (Cop) NP2* constructions are of three types: (i) basic order: *NP + Predication*; (ii) inverted order: *NP2 (Prev. Adv) (Cop) NP1* restricted to sentences where *NP* is realized as *Pers-Pro, Poss-Pro, Dem-Pro* or a *kwamba/kuwa + Sentence* nominalization; (iii) shifted order: *Predication + NP [shift of (i)] or (Prev. Adv) (Cop) NP1+NP2 (shift of (iii)).

**BASIC ORDER:**

As indicated in Part II, strict grammatical restrictions on word order apply only in special cases of Pronominal forms and *kwamba/kuwa + sentence* nominalizations. Normal, i.e. unemphatic, order is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{N (Modifier)} \} \\
(\text{Prev. Adv}) (\text{Cop}) & \{ \text{N (Modifier)} \} \\
\text{kuMV} & \text{kuMV} \\
nani & nani \\
\text{Pers-Pro} & \text{Poss-Pro} \\
\text{Dem-Pro} & \text{kwamba} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{N (Modifier)} \} \\
(\text{Prev. Adv}) (\text{Cop}) & \{ \text{N (Modifier)} \} \\
\text{kwamba} & \text{kuwa} \\
\text{Sentence} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

where any member of 1 may co-occur with any member of 2, subject to the context-restrictions on subclassification outlined in Parts I and II.
INVERSION:

Inversion occurs only in those sentences where there is restriction on the realization of NP, i.e. in sentences with Pro-forms (excluding, however, nani) and kwamba/kwena + Sentence. Elsewhere inversion is only apparent. No particular emphasis is, for example, signalled by either of the sentences Kucheka ni kufurah 'To laugh is to be happy' and Kufurah ni kucheka 'To be happy is to laugh' and neither can be taken as the base of the other. On the other hand, we have the following sets:

93 a. Wewe ni mwaliimu 'You are a teacher'.
   b. Mwaliimu ni wewe 'A teacher, that's what you are'.

94 a. Hayo si mwisho 'This is not the end'.
   b. Mwisho si hayo 'The end, that's not what this is'.

95 a. Kitabu ni changu 'The book is mine'.
   b. Changu ni kitabu 'Mine, that's what the book is'.

96 a. Jambo la ajabu ni kwamba hakuna giza 'A matter of wonder is that there is no darkness'.
   b. Kwamba hakuna giza ni jambo la ajabu 'That there is no darkness, that is a matter of wonder'.

Sentences like 96b are rare as there is a tendency to avoid complex constructions in sentence-initial position. 97b is barely acceptable not because of subclass or semantic incompatibility, but because of the length of the initial NP construction, especially when compared to the length of the NP following Cop:

97 a. Hili ni ombo langu kubwa sana ambalo ninalomba 'This is the very great prayer that I pray'.
   b. °ombo langu kubwa sana ambalo ninalomba ni hili.

SHIFT:

Any acceptable basic sentence or inverted sentence may undergo shift. Where a particular NP + Predication construction is not permissible, whether on clearly grammatical or on semantic grounds, its shift is also not permissible.

93 c. Ni mwaliimu wewe 'A teacher, you are' (shift of 93a).
   d. Ni wewe mwaliimu 'It's you who are a teacher' (shift of 93b).

94 c. Si mwisho hayo 'Not the end, is this'.
   d. Si hayo mwisho 'Not this, is the end'.

96 c. Ni kwamba hakuna giza jambo la ajabu 'It's that there is no darkness that is a matter of wonder'.

98 a. Kuiba ni kuasi 'To steal is to commit a crime'.
   c. Ni kuasi kuiba 'To commit a crime, that is to steal'.

99 a. °kuasi ni kuiba 'To commit a crime is to steal' (unacceptable to M and K since kuasi to them requires enumeration, as kuasi refers semantically to an activity more general than that referred to in kuiba).

The translations, introducing as they do many pronominal forms, are not entirely satisfactory. It is the position of the emphasis in combination with word order that counts.
The tendency of Swahili speakers to avoid complex constructions at the beginning of the sentence accounts for the fact that while 96a, d are common, 96b, c are rare. Relative frequency or infrequency of a certain base form may have no bearing on the relative frequency or infrequency of an inverted or shifted form; the criterion is whether the base is acceptable at all, and whether or not any complex realization of NP is at the beginning in the surface structure.

Shifts must always be accompanied by an intonation break after Pred (or after (Preverbal Adv) (Cop) NP1 in the case of shifted inversions), and also by ndiyon2 or some realization of Cop (presumably to avoid ambiguity with NP1 + NP2 constructions). Only question-word copulas with nini permit absence of any realization of Cop:

100 a. Meza (Cop) nini? 'What is a table?'
b. *(Nini (Cop) meza? 
c. (Cop) nini meza? 'It's what, a table?' (shift of 100a).
d. *(Cop) meza nini? (shift of 100b).

Since 100b is impossible as the question-word is invariably a realization of NP2 if it is the only nini in the sentence, Nini meza? is unambiguously derived by shift from Meza nini? and cannot be the inversion *Nini (Cop) meza?.

PART IV: INTONATION PATTERNS

Intonation patterns are the same for underlying sentences and their inversions. They are also the same for shifts and shifted inversions: the rules in this section are therefore specified for the overt Noun Phrase + Predication structures, not for the underlying structures.

The main IPs associated with copula constructions have the following features: (i) they are continuous or else broken by brief pause; (ii) they end in a fall or a rise; (iii) these rises and falls are themselves of two types: staccato or non-staccato rise, and fall from a mid or from a high point; (iv) non-continuous IPs begin level or non-level.

\[
\text{IP} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{continuous} \\
\text{non-continuous} \\
\text{fall} \\
\text{rise} 
\end{cases}
\]

\text{fall} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{high fall} \\
\text{mid fall} 
\end{cases}

\text{rise} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{staccato rise} \\
\text{non-staccato rise} 
\end{cases}

\text{continuous} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{level} \\
\text{non-level} 
\end{cases}

(Square Brackets indicate simultaneous categories; the arrow indicates 'realized as'.)

Continuous IPs (IP Type I) are those spread without interruption over surface structure Noun Phrase + Predication. They are limited to unshifted sentences and to those in which at least one member of (Preverbal Adv) (Cop) is present. Non-continuous IPs (Type II) consist of two parts with predictable domains (a special pattern with three parts will be discussed separately). The domains are the surface structure:
Noun Phrase + Predication and Predication + Noun Phrase.

All sentences in which both Prev. Adv and Cop are absent must be non-continuous.

IPs with a level beginning (IP Type i) are common. The intonation is mid level from the beginning of the utterance at least through NP1, or in the case of shifts, through Predication. Non-level patterns (Type ii) begin at mid level and rise on the stresseu syllable of the N of the first NP. If the first NP starts with a stressable syllable, the intonation naturally starts high.

Mid falls (Type a) are associated with statements and content-word questions; high falls (Type b) with 'truth-questions' when asked for the first time. All falling patterns, whether they start from a mid or high point, have free variants in which the fall occurs either during the penultimate (stressed) syllable, or else as a step down from stressed to final (unstressed) syllable.

Non-staccato rises (Type c) are characterized by smooth rises and slight stress on the final (usually unstressed) syllable; they are associated with rhetorical questions and echo-questions. Staccato rises (Type d) are characterized by markedly staccato, slightly stressed, final syllables, the staccato often accompanied by phonetic glottalization; they are associated with questions asked a second time or in anxious, animated etc. debate. All rises begin on the final fully stressed syllable of the utterance; there may be a slight drop in pitch before the final syllable, but the final syllable starts at approximately the same pitch as the high point of the previous syllable and fades upwards.

All possible combinations of the types mentioned above occur. Different sets of combinations are used to signal different attitudes.

IP TYPE I:

Continuous IPs are usually used in casual, 'light' conversation; in certain contexts they may imply dismissal of a worthless topic, unconcern, petulance, even rudeness. Only in answers constructed with ndio is the unbroken IP used for careful, deliberate speech.

I.a. Kazí yetu ni kuchimbá, in free variation with Kazí yetu ni kuchimbá ‘Our job is to dig’ (might be used as a disgruntled reply).

Pambo ndlo mezá ‘A decoration is what a/the table is’ (answer to e.g. Meza ni nin? ‘What is a/the table?’).

Mume ni nini? ‘What is a husband?’ (implication that speaker is bored).

I.b. Kazí yetu ni kuchimbá, in free variation with Kazí yetu ni kuchimbá ‘Is our job to dig?’ (casual question, or question asked for the first time).

I.c. Mume ni stark, in free variation with Mume ni stark ‘A husband is a protection’ (echo).

I.d. Mume ni stark, in free variation with Mume ni stark ‘A husband is a protection?’ (consonant, or asked a second time, or used in anxious, lively discussion).

IP TYPE II:ii

Non-continuous IPs with level beginnings are the most common; they are used in deliberate, thoughtful speech, usually without overtones of disregard, annoyance, etc.:
IP TYPE II:i.

These patterns are rare; they are used to emphasize the quality of NP1 in respect of NP2. NP1 (Prev. Adv) (Cop) NP2 constructions with this IP combination may be roughly translated as: NP1 is the greatest of NP2 where 'greatest' implies quality, not quantity.

II:i:a. *Kazi yetu ni kuchimbá 'Our job is to dig'.

*Nani ni mwallimu 'Who is the teacher?'

II:i:b. *Mume ni stara 'Is a husband a protection?' (serious question asked for the first time)

II:i:c. *Fatuma ni mwallimu 'Fatuma is a teacher?' (echo)

II:i:d. *Mume ni stara 'Is a husband a protection?' (second time).

OTHER INTONATION PATTERNS

There are two other IPs, one continuous, the other non-continuous, but otherwise outside of the patterns described above.

The continuous IP starts high and falls throughout the pattern. It is used exclusively in content-word questions, sometimes pejoratively:

I:x. *Mume ni nini 'What is a husband of all things?'

*Nani ni mumé 'Who amongst you is a husband?'

The non-continuous pattern has the distinctive feature of high stress on Cop, and division into two or three predictable parts. It starts level and the fall is from mid. If either the formatives ndiyo or ndi- + -O occurs, or -w-, then there are two parts, high stress occurring on ndi... or else the stressable syllable of -w-; when only Vpf or ni are present then there are three parts, the specifiers receiving high stress followed by pause. All sentences with ndiyo have either this pattern (II.x) or else II:i:a. IP II:x is usually associated with emphatic speech and signals emphasis on NP2; it is not usually used with ndiño.

II:x. *Kuchimbá ndiyo kazi yetú 'Digging, that is our job'.

*Ndiyo kulikuwa ni kazi yetú kuchimbá 'It was exactly digging that was our job'.

*Kuchimbá ni kazi yetú 'Digging is our job'.

ADDENDA

Two limited constructions may be noted which do not appear to belong to the system sketched above. They are of considerable interest for study of the syntactic scope of Neg.

(A) There is a set of sentences with the surface structure of *si + NP + Dem-Pro* and a broken rising intonation similar to *IP II:iiia*, but not the same since there are two steps from a low beginning, rather than one from a mid beginning. Despite the negative *si*, these sentences are interpreted as affirmative, and despite the staccato rise at the end they are interpreted as exclamations or statements, not as questions:

- *Si chakula hicho* ‘This is food’ (to someone who does not know what ‘this’ is, e.g. to someone who sees an object and asks whether it is a decoration, or admonishing a child).
- *Si Hamisi yule* ‘This is Hamisi’ (not e.g. Saimon).
- *Si shamba hilo* ‘This is a field’.

There is no associated *Hicho si chakula* with the same meaning; these sentences can therefore not be regarded as shifts.

(B) Another set of constructions is associated with the same categories and formatives: *si-NP+Dem-Pro*, but used exclusively with a variant of *IP II:iiia*. In this variant the rise on *NP* is approximately the rise of two steps, not one. When heard in discourse, the pattern is mid, very high, mid falling, rather than low, high, low falling, with expressive lengthening of the stressed high syllable. Sentences with this intonation are exclamatory, expressing amazement at the size or quantity of *NP*:

- *Si chakula micho* ‘That’s an enormous quantity of food’ (implying disbelief at the quantity).
- *Si shamba hilo* ‘That’s a huge field’ (disbelief again).

Such sentences should be examined in connection with other exclamations such as *Nzuri vilaya* ‘Very good’ (lit. ‘Good badly’) where lexical items usually semantically negative or pejorative are used to signal strong positive approval.

FOOTNOTES:

1. This is a modified version of a more theoretical paper: Elizabeth Closs, ‘Some copula constructions in Swahili’, *Journal of African Languages* (forthcoming).

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This is often called the Subject Prefix; that term has been abandoned here since concord is occasionally shown with the Predicate Nominal, not the Subject, cf. the discussion of sentences 59-64.

4. At this stage it is impossible to establish clear grammatical criteria for 'class-member' sentences such as Majua ni unganjwa 'A cold is a disease', Kilimo ni kazi 'Cultivation is work'. These sentences are all generalizations which do not permit the use of -w- or the expansion of NP by specifying modifiers (e.g. demonstrative, possessive); they are all ambiguous with sentences expressing equivalence or definition, where -w- is possible and also expansion of the NP by specifying modifiers: Kilimo (hiki) ni kazi 'This cultivation is work', Kilimo kilikikwa kazi 'The cultivation was work'. The ambiguity is hard to account for on grammatical grounds without a clear framework of contextual restrictions (e.g. position within discourse; familiarity of the speakers and hearers with the topic of discussion). It may, however, be noted that many (though not all) the class-member type sentences allow expansion by the frame: Noun Sg + ni + moja + kaita + Noun Pl, e.g. Mato ni kiumbe 'A child is a creature' may undergo paraphrase expansion to Mato ni mmoja kaita viumbi 'A child is a creature/ A childi one of the (class of) creatures'.

5. The apparent contrast between 'be' in 3 and 'become' in 1, 2 is one of translation and semantics only. No structural distinction is made that would justify setting up two grammatically discrete verbs.

6. Ashton, Swahili grammar, p.92, claims that 'when the complement identifies the subject' Vpf must be used for 1st and 2nd persons, ni for the 3rd. No sentences have been found in the dialect here under discussion where NP1 ni NP2 was considered unacceptable. In fact Wewe ni mtoto 'You are a child', Sisi ni wapishi 'We are cooks', Sisi ni watu dhaifa 'We are weak mortals' are preferred to the corresponding Vpf types.

7. It also occurs in a few non-copula constructions; in these it also emphasizes or specifies the relationship to the Predication of the particular NP with which it occurs: Momela Farm ni imefanywa National Park 'Momela Farm (specifically) was made into a National Park', Momela Farm imefanywa ni National Park 'Momela Farm was made (specifically) into a National Park', Mama amefanywa (kuwa) ni muuguzi 'My mother has become (exactly) a nurse.'

8. The two were from Zanzibar. This might seem to agree with the entry under yu in F. Johnson, ed., A standard Swahili-English dictionary, O.U.P., 1939, that Vpf is not usual in Zanzibar and adjacent coastal regions; on the other hand two of those who accepted Vpf are from Zanzibar, including M who accepts Vpf perhaps more readily than any of the other speakers consulted.

9. Ashton, Swahili grammar, p.92. See also ft.6.


11. Ambiguity is due to the fact that both NPs are realized by members of the noun class taking mwe class prefixes; ndi + -O could therefore be in concord relation to either NP.


13. In colloquial speech an invariable ndiyo seems to be gaining ground, cf. Hiki ndicho kitabu? freely varying with Hiki ndiyo kitabu? 'Is this a book?' This ndiyo does not have the same function as either ndiyoi or ndiyo2.

14. For a detailed study of the structure of NP cf. Judith Olinick, University of Wisconsin Diss. (in progress). She postulates a maximal or near-maximal string containing the following adjectival types with watoto 'children' as the nominal head: hawa watoto watoto watoto wa wewe we wewe gani watato 'which five other of these very good children of mine', i.e. Demonstrative—Noun—Possessive—Adjective (including relatives)—Intensifier—Quantifier—Quantifier—Interrogative Adjective—Numeral. In the phrase cited the Demonstrative hawa has been moved to prenominal position; in short nominal groups, however, it is often post-nominal.

15. This sentence, which is an excellent example of embedded kumV nominalizations, occurs in the Parliamentary Debates, 1964, p.19. It is a counter-example to the tendency for avoiding complex NPs in initial position; see discussion of sentences 96, 97.

17. Most constructions of this ‘copula of association’ type can be optionally expanded by *kama* ‘like’ immediately preceding *NP*: *(Kuwa na) mama (ni) (kama) (kuwa na) shoga* ‘Having a husband is like having a friend’. In practice, however, *kama* is rare in the absence of *kuwa na* except in proverbs and other sayings of a different stylistic mode. *Kama* is, therefore, unexpected in productive derived sentences like: *Ufarisi wao ni faraja yetu* ‘Their success is our happiness’, *Utumi si haja* ‘Beauty does not count’, but is readily acceptable in the *kuwa na* forms of these sentences. On the other hand, *kama* is quite often heard in sayings like: *Mke-mwensi ni (kama) adii* ‘A co-wife is an enemy’, *Misao wa nyoka ni (kama) nyoka* ‘Like mother, like daughter’ (lit. Being with the child of a snake is like being with a snake), *Mapenzi ni (kama) futa* ‘Love is fat’. In proverbs *NP* may also be realized as any *kuwa*; this is, however, not characteristic of productive usage: *Kujibu ni (kama) (kuwa na) dhahabu* ‘Getting a reply is (like) getting gold’.

Several of these constructions are further related by paraphrase to causatives. The causative verbs most often associated with these constructions are -*let-‘bring’ and -sababish- ‘cause’; cf. *Dada alikuwa kero* ‘My sister was nuisance’ and the paraphrases *Kuwa na dada kulikwa (kama) kero*, *Kuwa na dada kulileta kero*. There is a further possible paraphrase *Dada ana kero* (lit. My sister is with a nuisance). All these constructions pose problems which need further study.

18. No attempt is made at detailed characterization or phonemicization; only the essential outlines are provided. The *IP* numbers do not correspond to Mrs. Ashton’s. For a phonemicization of Swahili intonation, see M. H. Watkins, ‘Swahili phonology, with special emphasis on intonation patterns’, *Monograph series on language and linguistics, Georgetown, 11:25-42* (1958).

19. The Swahili word (except in the case of a few loans) is characterized by stress on the penultimate syllable, none on the final syllable.