

PP Arguments in Kiswahili Bantu and their Implications for Transitivity Theory*

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Amidu, Assibi A. 2012. PP Arguments in Kiswahili Bantu and their Implications for Transitivity Theory. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*. 20(1). 1-30. Descriptions of predication-sentences (Pn-Ss) recognize that a verb-noun relation is transitive. If the verb has more than one object it is a ditransitive verb. In this study, we illustrate that a PP that allegedly is oblique can function as a core constituent in transitive and ditransitive constructions. In addition, we draw attention to the existence of both autonomous and dependent but self-standing PP subjects and PP objects. They have core functions in transitive and ditransitive Pn-Ss. Thus unlike other languages, Kiswahili Bantu PP patterns are not non-core or non-canonical categories. We confirm, thereby, that PPs function as adjuncts in Kiswahili Bantu only when they are not arguments. Many traditional and modern linguists do not recognize PP, \pm oblique, core categories in transitivity even though evidence in languages, such as Kiswahili Bantu, reveal that they exist. We conclude that PP core functions in Bantu add to the diversity of core functions in linguistics.

Key Words: Kiswahili, transitivity, PP argument, oblique argument

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1. Introduction

Crystal (2003, p. 232) defines an indirect object, *inter alia*, as follows:

(1) A term in grammatical description to refer to one of the two types of object element which can function in clause structure, the other being labelled direct; traditionally considered a dative function. Indirect objects (IO) in English usually appear before the direct object (e.g. *the woman gave the boy a book*), but may also follow it (e.g. *the woman gave a book to the boy*). This traditional use of the term applies to the 'recipient' noun phrase in ditransitive constructions regardless of its position. By contrast, generative grammar (especially relational grammar), uses the term in a more restricted way, only for the complement of the preposition (usually *to*), as in *The woman gave a book to the boy*. In relational grammar, the indirect object can be promoted and become the direct object, while the original direct object becomes a *chômeur*. (See also Crystal, 2003, p. 322)

Bresnan (2001, p. 96) also writes concerning objects that,

Among objects typologists have made several classifications, distinguishing direct and indirect objects on the one hand, and primary and secondary objects on the other (Dryer, 1986). Researchers in LFG have generally adopted the latter classification, using the names "obj" and "obj_θ" for primary and secondary objects, respectively.

The subject and object are the core functions associated with the central participants of the eventuality expressed by the verb. They are usually formally distinguished from noncore functions, such as obliques (designated *obl_θ* and indexed to their thematic role), predicate complements (the latter of which we will designate by "compI" for now), and adjuncts, which are not argument functions at all.

Katamba (1993, p. 263) defines an oblique NP as "Finally, any argument of the verb that is realized by a prepositional phrase is an oblique NP (Obl): *David put the baby in the cot*." In Katamba's example, the subject (S) is *David*, and the

VP is *put the baby in the cot*. The VP consists of a V, a DO *the baby* and an Obl *in the cot*. The clause is ditransitive. In this model, *in the cot* is not an adjunct. Chomsky (1995, p. 110) also writes that,

In line with our general approach, we assume that Case is always present abstractly. In nominative/accusative languages, the subject of a finite clause is assigned *nominative* Case; the object of a transitive verb is assigned *accusative* Case [...]; and the object of a pre- or postposition is assigned oblique Case (again with substantial variation).

In addition, Chomsky (1995, p. 30) writes that,

Of particular interest in this discussion are the s(-emantic) selection and thematic properties of lexical heads: verbs, nouns, adjectives, and pre- or postpositions. These specify the "argument structure" of a head, including how many arguments the head licenses and what semantic role each receives. For example, the verb *give* must be specified as assigning an agent role, a theme role, and a goal/recipient role. In (5) *John*, *a book*, and *Mary* have these respective thematic (Θ -) roles.

(5) *John gave a book to Mary.*

Chomsky (1995, p. 31) adds that, "But now note that subcategorization follows almost entirely from Θ -role specification. A verb with no Θ -role to assign to a complement will not be able to take a complement." Since an adjunct is not an argument, according to Bresnan above, we do not expect a verb to assign it a theta role, which in Bantu may also be signalled by agreement marking in V or the predicate constituent (PC). Marantz (1984, p. 13, p. 19) treats objects headed by prepositions as indirect arguments. Katamba (1993, p. 263) further recognizes first object and second object, the first being the one that follows the predicate verb.

In this study, an indirect object is one that has a goal/recipient role, whether or not it is a complement of a preposition and whether or not it has a dative pattern.

This study demonstrates that the distinctions above do not account for the

P-nP or PP subject and the P-nP or PP object in Kiswahili Bantu (Amidu, 1980, 1997, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, for discussions).¹⁾ Likewise, distinctions such as oblique object or oblique argument versus indirect object (IO) and primary object versus secondary object do not account adequately for Kiswahili Bantu internal patterns. For example, in what way has an oblique a non-core function, as Bresnan (2001) claims, if it is linked to its PC in the same way as a core object or subject? We will emphasize that in a transitive construction of Kiswahili Bantu, an oblique may function as a direct object (DO) or direct subject (DS) of its PC. A P-nP/PP argument, therefore, always has a core function. As a result, a P-nP/PP functions as an adjunct when it is not an argument in its Pn-S (Amidu, 2001). European PPs are core (e.g. IO), or non-core (e.g. oblique) or adjunct types (Landau, 2010, pp. 37-49). On ditransitive, Crystal (2003, p. 473) writes, "For example, verbs which take two objects are sometimes called ditransitive (as opposed to monotransitive), [...]" Ditransitive is, therefore, not always about goal/recipient and theme roles. Other theta roles count, too.

2. A Note on Kiswahili as a Bantu Noun Class Language

Kiswahili is a Bantu language and a member of the Niger-Congo family of languages of Africa and it is governed by a noun class system (Childs, 2003, pp. 23-27). Nouns are grouped into 16 classes and each class has its class marker and agreement concords. In theory, classes are not interchangeable (Amidu, 1997). Some Bantu languages have up to 26 noun classes (Amidu, 1997, 2010; Maho, 1999).

1) In this study, we call a preposition (P) that takes and/or generates agreement concords or has potential to do so an endocentric nominal (or adnominal) predicate (P-n) or a nominal copula (COP-n). A P-n may take a concord of its external N head or internal N head, or both. In such a case, class concord is specified, otherwise it is not. Its phrase is called a nominal predication (P-nP), traditionally a prepositional phrase (PP). We use both P-nP and PP interchangeably.

modifiers of *mtoto* and *watoto* are P-nPs/PPs, namely *wa Juma* 'of Juma' and *wenye upara* 'with/having baldness'. The P-nP/PP *wa Juma* is headed by the adnominal predicate (P-n) *wa* 'of', which agrees with its N head *mtoto*. The complement of the P-n or P *wa* is *Juma*, an endocentric item and a proper name in class 1 MU1. It can generate its possessor OM {ke} into its P-n or P to give *wake* 'lit. it-of-his'. The adnominal predicate (P-n) *wenye* 'with, having' is head of P-nP/PP *wenye upara*.² It agrees with its N head *watoto*. Its complement *upara* 'baldness' is from class 14 U2, but its P-n or P does not take OMs. Only a predicate can take SM and/or OM. The noun class system licences PCs or Vs that take canonical core arguments of Pn-Ss. However, the copular PC or V *ni* 'be' never exhibits overt agreement, and so, it can take CP as S or C and some adverbs as C but not as S.

To support our claims, two tests of objecthood will be used. These are object relativization test and passivization test. The relative marker (RM) in Kiswahili Bantu consists of the coalescence of the concord marker of subject or object plus the 'O' particle of reference, traditionally called the 'O' of Reference (Ashton, 1947, p. 19, p. 110). The 'O' particle also licences all concords of subject or object not located in their primary slots in predicates. Ashton (1947, p. 110) writes that, "The -O of Reference functions as a relative particle when used with a verb or with *amba* [...]" The word *amba* 'say' is a copula. The RM is suffixed to it instead of occurring in the tensed PC or V. On the in-verb RM, Ashton writes, on page 111, that, "(i) The relative particle always follows the tense prefix. (ii) The Object Prefix, when used, stands next to the verb and follows the relative particle." An object relative marker (ORM) is called a secondary object marker (SOM). A subject relative marker (SRM) is called a secondary subject marker (SSM). Double quotation marks stand for direct quotes and single quotation marks for translations. Quoted works use them for special terms.

2) A P-n or P root {a} is called the 'A' of relationship but P-n or P root {enye} has no specific name (Ashton, 1947, pp. 54-58, p. 63, pp. 145-148). Both are endocentric roots because they take agreement concords. They are not exocentric predicates or prepositions. A class-by-class list of the inflectional forms of {a} and {enye} is given in Amidu (2006, pp. 184-188).

3. Interchangeability of Oblique and Non-oblique Objects

All our Pn-Ss contain basic verbs. We do not mix basic verb with derived verb, except passive, to avoid skewing their transitivity relations. On oblique objects in Pn-Ss, consider (3)-(4) below (Amidu, 2001, pp. 88-102, pp. 132-135, pp. 310-311).

- (3) *Mtw-alimu* *a-li-u-fung-a*
 Cl. 1-teacher Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 3 OM-tie-MOD
m-zigo. *kwa* *kamba*
 Cl. 3-load P-n with Cl. 9-rope
 'The teacher tied the load with a rope.'
- (4) *Mtw-alimu* *a-li-u-fung-a*
 Cl. 1-teacher Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 3 OM-tie-MOD
m-zigo *kamba.*
 Cl. 3-load Cl. 10-rope
 'The teacher tied the load (with) a rope.'

(3)-(4) are ditransitives, as we will illustrate shortly. They also illustrate a choice without changing meaning. The subject NP is *mwalimu* in (3)-(4). The PC is *aliufunga* 'he tied it'. The DO is *mzigo* 'load' of class 3 MU2. Observe that, within traditional and modern grammars, the P-nP/PP *kwa kamba* 'with a rope' in (3) is described as a non-core oblique object or indirect argument. It is not an IO. In (4), on the other hand, the NP *kamba* 'rope' of class 9 NI1 functions as a second object (Katamba, 1993). Syntactically, it is not an oblique object or indirect object or even an indirect argument because it is not the complement of a preposition (Marantz, 1984; Chomsky, 1995; Crystal, 2003). It is also not a dative object and does not have a goal/recipient role. Semantically, however, both P-nP/PP *kwa kamba* and NP *kamba* convey the same communication intention and semantic role. That is, *kamba* 'rope' is the INSTRUMENT with which the teacher ties *mzigo* 'load', the PATIENT, whether or not P-n or P precedes it. In this pattern, it is the DO *mzigo* that generates the primary OM {u} into the PC. The so-called oblique object (OBL) does not generate the primary OM. (5)-(7) confirm our analysis.

- (5) *Kwa* *kamba*
 P-n with Cl. 9-rope
a-li-yo-u-fung-a *m-zigo*
 Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 9 SOM-Cl. 3 OM-tie-MOD Cl. 3-load
mw-alimu, *a-li-m-fung-a*
 Cl. 1-teacher Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 1 OM-tie-MOD
mw-izi *kwa-yo.*
 Cl. 1-thief P-n with-Cl. 9 OM
 'With the rope which the teacher tied the load, he tied the thief with it.'
- (6) *Kamba* *a-li-yo-u-fung-a*
 Cl. 9-rope Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 9 SOM-Cl. 3 OM-tie-MOD
m-zigo *kwa-yo* *mw-alimu*
 Cl. 3-load P-n with-Cl. 9 OM Cl. 1-teacher
i-li-ku-w-a *m-pya.*
 Cl. 9 SM-PAST-STRESS AFX-be-MOD Cl. 9-new
 'The rope, which the teacher tied the load with, lit. with-it, was new.'
- (7) *Kamba* *a-li-yo-u-fung-a*
 Cl. 9-rope Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 9 SOM-Cl. 3 OM-tie-MOD
m-zigo *mw-alimu*
 Cl. 3-load Cl. 1-teacher
i-li-ku-w-a *m-pya.*
 Cl. 9 SM-PAST-STRESS AFX-be-MOD Cl. 9-new
 'The rope which the teacher tied the load (with) was new.'

(5)-(6) represent two patterns of the object relativization of the INSTRUMENT argument *kamba* in (3). (7) represents the object relativization of INSTRUMENT argument *kamba* in (4). Our native speakers say (7) is widely used today than (6). The object relative operation in (5)-(7) is signalled by NP *kamba*'s ability to generate an SOM {yo} of its class 9 NI1 into PC *aliyoufunga* 'which he tied it'. The RM in PC uses the in-verb marking strategy. Simultaneously, the subject NP *mw-alimu* 'teacher' demotes to the postverbal position of PC. Thus when an object NP relativizes, it moves to the preverbal position and the subject NP, optionally, demotes to the postverbal position. (5)-(7) have two clauses each, namely a relative clause and a main clause. We

are interested in the relative clauses. In (5), the complement *kamba* of PP *kwa kamba* in (3) moves with its P-n or P *kwa* 'with' and still generates SOM {yo} into the PC (Amidu, 2001). The oblique object of main clause *alimfunga mwozi kwayo* 'lit. he-PAST-him-tie-MOD thief with-it' in (5) is identical with the oblique object of the relative clause. To avoid repetition, NP *kamba* of the main clause is deleted, but only after it leaves its concord (also called OM) suffixed to P-n or P. This gives us *kwayo* 'with it' in the main clause, and shows that P-n is endocentric. In (6), NP *kamba* again leaves its concord in the P-n or P before it moves under relativization. This gives us another *kwayo* 'with it'. The agreement {yo} in *kwayo* marks the normal word order position of *kamba* in the Pn-Ss and, in the case of relativization, tracks its N head to ensure that it is interpreted as an oblique object of its subordinate clause's PC. The main clause in (6)-(7) is *ilikuwa mpya* 'lit. it-PAST-STRESS AFX-be-MOD new'. Its subject is identical with the object *kamba* of the subordinate relative clause. What matters is that relativization in Kiswahili Bantu is diagnostic of either a subject or object function. Furthermore, the class system requires relativized Ns to agree with predicates per RMs, and so, adverbial relatives do not exist in Bantu (Keenan, 1985; Amidu, 2001, 2010). Recall that the complement *kamba* \pm P-n or \pm P *kwa* is assigned a theta role of INSTRUMENT. The DO and PATIENT *mzigo* can be relativized, too, as *mzigo alioufunga (kwa) kamba mwalimu* 'lit. load he-PAST-which-it-tie-MOD (with) rope teacher'. The DO has OM {u} in its PC. Next, it relativizes and has its SOM {o} in the PC. Recall that according to Chomsky (1995, p. 31), "A verb with no Θ -role to assign to a complement will not be able to take a complement." (3)-(7) are ditransitives because each Pn-S has two internal arguments. Consider (8).

- (8) *Mw-alimu* *a-li-zi-pelek-a*
 Cl. 1-teacher Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 10 OM-send-MOD
barua *kw-a* *w-anafunzi.*
 Cl. 10-letter Cl. 17b/26b-to Cl. 2-pupil
 'The teacher sent (the) letters to the pupils.'

(8) is also ditransitive but it has no alternative pattern in which the P-n or P *kwa* is dropped. The subject NP is *mwalimu*. The PC is *alizipeleka* 'he sent them'.

The DO is *barua* 'letters' of class 10 NI2. Within modern grammars, the directional P-nP/PP *kwa wanafunzi* 'to pupils' has a core function in the Pn-S and its complement is an IO rather than an oblique object. This is because *wanafunzi* 'pupils' functions as the GOAL argument. Here too, the THEME cum DO *barua* generates the OM {zi} of class 10 NI2 into the PC. The IO in (8) is non-dative in form. The difficulty is that, on the one hand, the IO in (8) cannot be distinguished from the oblique objects in (3) and (9) in terms of syntactic representation. On the other hand, IO *wanafunzi* differs from *kamba* in (3) and *meli* in (9) in terms of theta role. It follows, therefore, that without the GOAL role in (8), one term, 'oblique' or 'indirect', would be redundant and of little use in Bantu descriptions. We will return to this topic below. Compare (8) with (9).

- (9) *Mw-alimu* *a-li-zi-pelek-a*
 Cl. 1-teacher Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 10 OM-send-MOD
Barua *kwa* *meli.*
 Cl. 10-letter P-n by Cl. 9-ship
 'The teacher sent (the) letters by ship.'

(9) is like (3) except that it has no alternative similar to (4). It also differs from (8) only in the semantic role of its oblique phrase. Namely the NP *meli* of class 9 NI1 in *kwa meli* 'by ship' has the INSTRUMENT role. It is possible to combine both goal and instrument into a single Pn-S such as *mw-alimu alizipeleka barua kwa wanafunzi kwa meli* 'the teacher sent the letters to the pupils by ship.' The complements of *kwa* in (8)-(9) can be relativized.

- (10) *W-anafunzi* *amba-o* *mw-alimu*
 Cl. 2-pupil COP-say-Cl. 2 SOM Cl. 1-teacher
a-li-zi-pelek-a *barua*
 Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 10 OM-send-MOD Cl. 10-letter
kw-a-o
 Cl. 17b/26b-to-PossProCl. 2/3 OM
wa-me-ham-a.
 Cl. 2 SM-RECENT PAST-move out-MOD
 'The pupils, whom the teacher sent letters to, lit. to-them, have moved out.'

(11) *Meli*

Cl. 9-ship
a-li-yo-zi-pelek-a *barua*
 Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 9 SOM-Cl. 10 OM-send-MOD Cl. 10-letter
kwa-yo *mw-alimu*
 P-n by-Cl. 9 OM Cl. 1-teacher
i-me-zam-a.
 Cl. 9 SM-RECENT PAST-sink-MOD
 'The ship, which the teacher sent the letters by, lit. by-it, has sunk.'

(10)-(11) have two clauses each, namely a relative clause and a main clause. The main clauses are a) *wamehama* 'they have moved out', i.e. *wanafunzi* 'pupils' and b) *imezama* 'it has sunk', i.e. *meli* 'ship'. Observe that the subject of each main clause is identical with the relativized object of its subordinate construction. The NPs *wanafunzi* and *meli* of P-n or P *kwa* signal relativization in (10)-(11) through their SOMs {o} of class 2 WA and {yo} of class 9 NI1. The SOM {o} in (10) is affixed to the copula *amba* 'say' instead of the tensed PC. Our native speakers prefer this strategy for (10). The RMs suggest that the NPs *wanafunzi* and *meli*, whether preceded or not by a P-n or P, and irrespective of their theta roles, are subcategorized as objects. Note that the NPs *kamba*, *wanafunzi* and *meli* in (3)-(11) do not generate primary OMs into their PCs. This is because the primary OMs of the DOs *mzigo* and *barua* already occupy the OM-slot in each PC. Observe that each NP *wanafunzi* or *meli*, headed by *kwa* 'with, by, to', generates its 'O' marked concord, also called OM, {o} or {yo}, into its P-n or P before it moves to the preverbal position of its subordinate clause under relativization. This gives us *kwao* 'to-them' in (10) and *kwayo* 'with-it, by-it' in (11). The forms *kwao* and *kwayo* are endocentric. They reveal that any P, endocentric or exocentric, is normally transitive in Bantu (see footnote 2).

From the evidence, it is difficult to see why and how a difference in theta role leads us to assign, in effect, different syntactic descriptions, namely IO versus OBL object, to patterns, such as (8)-(9), with the same syntactic representation.

- (12) **Mw-alimu* *a-li-m-p-a*
 Cl. 1-teacher Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 1 OM-give-MOD
m-toto *kwa* *fimbo*.
 Cl. 1-child P-n with Cl. 9-whip
 'The teacher gave the child with a/the whip.'
- (13) *Mw-alimu* *a-li-m-p-a*
 Cl. 1-teacher Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 1 OM-give-MOD
m-toto *fimbo*.
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 9-whip
 'The teacher gave the child a/the whip.'

(12)-(13) are ditransitive constructions, but they do not express the same communication intention. To begin with, (12) is ungrammatical. The subject NP is *mwalimu* in (12)-(13). The PC is *alimpa* 'he gave him'. The verb is a basic verb. Within traditional and modern theories, the IO or first object NP is *mtoto* 'child' in (12)-(13). It functions as the GOAL (recipient) argument. Observe, however, that within the same grammars, *kwa fimbo* 'with whip' in (12) is an oblique object or indirect argument but not an IO, the IO being *mtoto*. Paradoxically, since *mtoto* is the IO or first object, *kwa fimbo* ought to be the DO. However, since (12) is ungrammatical, it cannot confirm that there is a grammatical DO that is oblique in the language. We will return to this issue in § 4.

In (13), *mtoto* is still the GOAL and indirect or first object. *Fimbo* 'whip' functions as the second object (Katamba, 1993). Syntactically, it is not an oblique object, as in (9), or a P-nP/PP IO, as in (8), because it is not the complement of a P-n or P. In addition, *mtoto* cannot be headed by a P-n or P, such as *kwa*. That is, there is no datum **mwalimu aliipa fimbo kwa mtoto* 'lit. teacher he-PAST-it-give-MOD whip to child' in Kiswahili Bantu. It follows that, in (13), *mtoto* is the IO or first object and *fimbo* is the DO. Semantically, however, both P-nP/PP *kwa fimbo* and NP *fimbo* in (12)-(13) ought to be able convey the same semantic sense of instrument given to a/the child. Nevertheless, the P-nP/PP is disallowed in (12) while the NP is licenced in (13). The instrument *fimbo* formally has a THEME role in (13) since the AGENT transfers it to the GOAL (recipient) (Amidu, 2001, p. 165, p. 198-201). Observe also that while both oblique objects and P-nP/PP IOs in (3)-(11) do not generate the primary OM of

the PC, the IO *mtoto* 'child' generates the primary OM {m} into its PC. This change in the pattern of object marking appears to signal that (13) does not allow a syntactic P-nP/PP pattern *kwa mtoto* 'to the child' because its IO must generate the primary OM into PC. In this regard, *mtoto* in (12)-(13) is a dative type. So far, we have come across two patterns of contrast. Firstly, IO is not expressed as a P-nP/PP for the verb *-pa* 'give' in Kiswahili Bantu. Thus a dative NP, although an IO, is not expressed as a P-nP/PP with *-pa* in PC (Chomsky, 1995, p. 30, above). Secondly, we have not yet found a sequence dative IO followed by a DO expressed as a P-nP/PP. Given (12), however, the type cannot be ruled out. (14)-(15) are object relative patterns based on (12)-(13).

- (14) **Fimbo* *a-li-yo-m-p-a*
 Cl. 9-whip Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 9 SOM-Cl. 1 OM-give-MOD
m-toto *kwa-yo* *mw-alimu*
 Cl. 1-child P-n with-Cl. 9 OM Cl. 1-teacher
i-li-ku-w-a *kubwa.*
 Cl. 9 SM-PAST-STRESS AFX-be-MOD Cl. 9-big
 'A/the whip which the teacher gave the child with, lit. with-it, was big.'
- (15) *Fimbo* *a-li-yo-m-p-a*
 Cl. 9-whip Cl. 1 SM_i-PAST-Cl. 9 SOM-Cl. 1 OM-give-MOD
m-toto *mw-alimu*
 Cl. 1-child Cl. 1-teacher;
i-li-ku-w-a *kubwa.*
 Cl. 9 SM-PAST-STRESS AFX-be-MOD Cl. 9-big
 'A/the whip which the teacher gave the child was big.'

In (14)-(15), the SOM of *fimbo* is {yo} of class 9 NII. (14) is ungrammatical because its target (12) is ungrammatical. The dative IO *mtoto* can be relativized, too, as *mtoto aliyempa fimbo mwalimu* 'the child whom the teacher gave a/the whip, lit. child_i he_i-PAST-whom_j-him_j-give-MOD teacher_i whip'. IO *mtoto* generates both the primary OM {m} and the SOM {ye} in its PC. Thus, contrary to Bresnan (2001, p. 96), Bantu oblique objects often share the same core features with non-oblique objects when it comes to relativization.

We have seen that *wanafunzi* of the P-nP/PP in (8) and (10) is a GOAL argument like *mtoto* in (13), but even if we eliminate (13), we still find that the term oblique object of the type P-nP/PP overlaps with IO of the type P-nP/PP syntactically. Given the evidence, i.e. complements, \pm oblique, relativize into PC or its associated copula, it is hard to justify a description that says that the dative IO in (13) and (15) as well as P-nP/PP IO in (8) and (10) have core functions, on the one hand, while it says that the oblique objects in (3)-(7), (9) and (11) have non-core functions, per Bresnan (2001) above, on the other hand. A single term, IO or oblique, but not both, can account adequately for the P-nP/PP functions in Kiswahili Bantu. It is, therefore, not surprising that Crystal (2003) does not refer at all, in his dictionary, to oblique object.

At this juncture, a linguist may point out that *kwa kamba* and *kamba* in (3)-(4) are also like the contrast between P-nP/PP IO and its dative form found in patterns of *give* in English, e.g. in Crystal's pair of example in § 1. above. This type of correlation is misleading. English uses word order contrast. Kiswahili Bantu uses flexible word order. That is, stylistically, *mzigo* in (3)-(4) can be placed after *kwa kamba*, or *kamba*; *barua* in (8)-(9) can be placed after *kwa wanafunzi* or *kwa meli*; and *mtoto* in (13) can be placed after *finbo*. Each variation leaves the OM in the PC and each Pn-S remains grammatical and conveys the same meaning.

Another significant difference between the English and Kiswahili Bantu patterns is that, in the latter, the difference between the forms of IO (i.e. dative versus P-nP/PP) is not signalled by a contrast in word order or case inflection in a pair of affiliated construction containing the same verb, as found in Crystal (2003) above. Firstly, in Kiswahili Bantu, the only inflectional relation or difference between NPs in a pair of affiliated clause is one of class membership. In (3)-(4), the PCs have the same basic verb, while their argument NPs come from distinct classes, namely classes 1, 3 and 9. In theory, all the NPs could come from the same class. Secondly, if *kamba* in (4) were a dative type, we would expect it to function as a first object, with OM in PC, on the analogy of *mtoto* in (13) rather than as a second object similar to the IO in (8). In view of this, the difference between (3) and (4) comes down to a choice between a P-nP/PP oblique object and a non-oblique object. It is not a contrastive choice like the English dative IO versus P-nP/PP IO above. Our analysis reveals that

an oblique object is introduced in a P-nP/PP and may display a choice with a non-oblique in an affiliated pair of clause. One type of IO is also introduced by a P-nP/PP that may contrast with a dative IO alternate, except that the two do not form an affiliated pair of clause. That is, only one member of the following pair is grammatical: *mwalimu alizipeleka barua kwa wanafunzi* 'lit. teacher he-PAST-them-send-MOD letters to the pupils/**mwalimu aliwapeleka wanafunzi barua* 'lit. teacher he-PAST-them-send-MOD pupils letters'. Recall also *mwalimu alimpa mtoto fimbo* 'lit. teacher he-PAST-him-give-MOD child whip'/**mwalimu aliipa fimbo kwa mtoto* 'lit. teacher he-PAST-it-give-MOD whip to child'. We do not claim that the grammar has no pairs of affiliated clauses with dative IO versus P-nP/PP IO contrast, but their overlapping implications with oblique have not been addressed. It appears also that dative IO versus P-nP/PP IO contrast in affiliated clauses is not a common pattern.

Another linguist may point out that (3)-(4) also differ from (12)-(13) in terms of theta role. That is, *fimbo* in (13) has a dominant THEME role, i.e. "the object in motion or being located" (Jackendoff, 1990, p. 46). Let us assume that P-n or P does not head theme NPs. If this is true, then *kamba* in (3)-(4) optionally has a P-n or P head because it is not a THEME. This explains how both *kwa kamba* and *kamba* are acceptable in (3)-(4). Theme constraint would also explain the grammaticality of (13) but not (12). Jackendoff's definition confirms *barua* in (8)-(9) as a THEME. Note that the THEMES *barua* in (8)-(9) and *fimbo* in (13) are distinct types. The latter is a theme that cannot generate its primary OM into its PC. The former is a theme that a P-n or P cannot head. We note further that the theme constraint does not alter the overlap between P-n or P headed oblique NP, e.g. *kwa meli* (9) and P-n or P headed IO, e.g. *kwa wanafunzi* (8). Let us look at passivization.

- (16) a. *Kamba* *i-li-fung-w-a*
 Cl. 9-rope Cl. 9 SM-PAST-tie-PASS-MOD
 m-zigo *kwa-yo* *na*
 Cl. 3-load P-n with-Cl. 9 OM P-n by
 mw-alimu.
 Cl. 1-teacher
 'The rope was tied around the load (with it) by the teacher.'

- b. **Kwa* *kamba* *i-li-fung-w-a*
 P-n with Cl. 9-rope Cl. 9 SM-PAST-tie-PASS-MOD
m-zigo *na* *mw-alimu.*
 Cl. 3-load P-n by Cl. 1-teacher
 ‘With the rope was tied the load by the teacher.’
- (17) *Kamba* *i-li-fung-w-a* *m-zigo*
 Cl. 9-rope Cl. 9 SM-PAST-tie-PASS-MOD Cl. 3-load
na *mw-alimu.*
 P-n by Cl. 1-teacher
 ‘The rope was tied around the load by the teacher.’

Our native speakers accept (16a) and (17). NP *finbo* functions as subject of the passive PC in (16a) and (17). P-nP/PP *kwa finbo* cannot function as subject, as shown in (16b). Thus a P-nP/PP containing an instrument role cannot be promoted as subject of its passive PC, as in (16b), but its oblique NP may be promoted as subject, per (16a). DO *mzigo* also passivizes as *mzigo ulifungwa kamba/kwa kamba na mwalimu* ‘lit. load it-PAST-tie-PASS-MOD rope/with rope by teacher’. (18)-(19) below are ungrammatical.

- (18) **Kwa* *w-anafunzi*
 Cl. 17b/26b-to Cl. 2-pupil
wa-li-pelek-w-a *barua*
 Cl. 2 SM-PAST-send-PASS-MOD Cl. 10-letter
na *mw-alimu.*
 P-n by Cl. 1-teacher
 ‘To pupils were sent letters by the teacher.’
- (19) **Kwa* *meli* *i-li-pelek-w-a*
 Cl. 0-by Cl. 9-ship Cl. 9 SM it-PAST-send-PASS-MOD
barua *na* *mw-alimu.*
 Cl. 10-letter P-n by Cl. 1-teacher
 ‘By ship was sent letters by the teacher.’

Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, p.c., says variants, similar to (16a), exist. Thus *wanafunzi walipelekwa barua kwao na mwalimu* ‘lit. pupils they-PAST-send-PASS-MOD letters

P-n by Cl. 1-teacher
 'A/the whip was given the child by the teacher.'

P-nP/PP *kwa fimbo* does not function as the subject of (20) because (12) is ungrammatical. NP *fimbo* in (13) does not also function as the subject of passive (21) in Standard Kiswahili. Under passivization, therefore, THEME NP does not behave differently from most obliques with INSTRUMENT NPs and P-nP/PP IOs with GOAL NPs. By contrast, the dative with GOAL (recipient) NP *mtoto* generates the OM {m} in the PC and can be relativized. It can also undergo passive syntax, e.g. *mtoto alipewa fimbo na mwalimu* 'lit. child he-PAST-give-PASS-MOD whip by teacher'. It follows that P-nP/PP *kwa wanafunzi* and NP *mtoto* are, perhaps, different variants of IO. This may explain why their phrases do not form a word order contrast. Note also that THEME *barua* can passivize but THEME *fimbo* cannot, at least, in Standard Kiswahili. Thus not every THEME, per Jackendoff (1990), passivizes and not every GOAL (\pm recipient) passivizes. But significantly, all objects, oblique and non-oblique, have core Pn-S functions, e.g. (16a) and (17). In addition, the choices and constraints on the basic verbs *-fungua*, *-peleka* and *-pa* are, more or less, the same.

4. The Oblique Subject and Oblique Object of Kiswahili Bantu

Unlike (12), there are complements of P-nPs/PPs that can function as direct objects in active clauses and direct subjects in their passive clauses, as in (22)-(23).

- (22) *Kwa* *ki-vazi*
 P-n from/with Cl. 7-dress
wa-li-cho-ku-w-a
 Cl. 2 SM-PAST-CI. 7 SOM-STRESS AFX-be-MOD
wa-me-ki-va-a
 Cl. 2 SM-RECENT PAST-CI. 7 OM-wear-MOD
ha-ku-ku-w-a
 NEG-CI. 17b/26b SM-PAST NEG-be-MOD

<i>na</i>	<i>a-li-ye-wez-a</i>
Cl. 17b/26b \emptyset -be with	Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 1 SOM-can-MOD
<i>ku-wa-tambu-a</i>	<i>kwamba</i>
INF-Cl 2 OM-recognize-MOD	COMPL-that
<i>wa-li-ku-w-a</i>	<i>askari.</i>
Cl. 2 SM-PAST-STRESS AFX-be-MOD	Cl. 9/1-policeman

'From the attire they had worn no one could discern that they were policemen, lit. from the attire which they had worn there was no one who could recognize them that they were policemen.'

- (23) a. *Kwa* *ki-vazi_i*
 P-n from/with Cl. 7-dress
wa-li-cho-ku-w-a
 Cl. 2 SM-PAST-Cl. 7 SOM-STRESS AFX-be-MOD
wa-me-ki-va-a t_i [...]
 Cl. 2 SM they-RECENT PAST-Cl. 7 OM it-wear-MOD
 'From the attire, which they had worn (it) [...]'
- b. *Kwa* *ki-vazi_i*
 P-n from/with Cl. 7-dress
ki-li-cho-ku-w-a
 Cl. 7 SM-PAST-Cl. 7 SSM-STRESS AFX-be-MOD
ki-me-va-liw-a
 Cl. 7 SM-RECENT PAST-wear-PASS-MOD
na-o t_i [...]
 P-n by-Cl. 2 OM
 'From the attire, which had been worn by them [...]'

(22) is from Amidu (2001, p. 339) and is based on Jamaadar (1978, p. 4). The portion that interests us is (23a). In (23a), the subject NP of the serial PC *walichokuwa wamekivaa* 'which they had worn it' is not stated, but the SM is {wa} of class 2 WA in V1 and V2 of the PC. (22) tells us that the NP of the SM {wa} is exactly identical with *askari* 'policemen' in the text. We indicate the place of the omitted NP through the indexed trace symbol t_i in (23a). The object of the PC in (23a) is *kivazi* 'attire'. When it is relativized, it is headed by the P-n or P *kwa* 'from, with', a clause initial unit. The clause is an oblique object relativized

clause. If one omits P-n or P *kwa*, the reading in (23a) becomes awkward. Thus *kivazi*, as complement of P-n or P *kwa*, is the oblique object of (23a). It first generates its primary OM {ki} of class 7 KI into V2 of the PC before it is relativized. It signals relativization by the SOM {cho} of class 7 KI in V1. What matters is that it is *kivazi* that relativizes and it is made oblique by P-n or P *kwa*. In this way, the oblique object has a core category function in (23a). (23b) is the passive of (23a). Subject *kivazi* generates the SM {ki} into V1 and V2 of the PC *kilichokuwa kimevaliwa* 'which had been worn'. It relativizes by generating its SSM {cho} into V1.⁴ The P-n *kwa* heads the NP of a subject relativized Pn-S. The subject is thus a core oblique NP.⁵ V2 *kimevaliwa* takes the passive morpheme {liw} plus the logical agentive *nao* 'by-them'. The omitted agentive *askari* marks P-n or P *na* 'by' with its OM {o} of class 2 WA before it deletes. In summary, (23a) has an oblique DO and is active and (23b) has an oblique DS and is passive.

5. P-nP/PP Argument: a Challenge to Transitivity Theory

There are P-nP/PP subjects and P-nP/PP objects that one cannot describe, strictly, as oblique/indirect categories (Amidu, 2001, 2007, 2010). Compare, for example, (22)-(23) with (24)-(40). Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, p.c., verified the data below.

4) Observe that, apart from class 1 MU1, SM and OM of each class are identical in form. RMs of each class are also identical in form.

5) Amidu (2001) treats *kwa kivazi* as a phrasal unit, and so, P-n *kwa* is not treated as a clause initial item. Generative linguists will say that (23a) and (23b) are like the English "[For him to attack him] would be surprising" and "For Poirot to abandon the investigation would be regrettable" discussed by Haegeman (1994, pp. 165-171, pp. 255-261). Firstly, (23b) cannot be analyzed like the English *For him to attack him* via exceptional case marking (ECM). ECM would say that, in (23b), CP head P-n or P *kwa* assigns an accusative case to its complement *kivazi* 'attire', but it cannot explain how its noun-verb is under nominative government. The ECM approach cannot also reconcile (23b) with (23a) where the verb-noun has accusative case. Secondly, one cannot use a PRO strategy in (23a) because its PC is finite and passivizes as (23b). It is not like the English non-finite subordinate clause. Note that although (22)-(23) have core subject and object functions, the clauses may or may not function as arguments of matrix PCs.

- (24) **M-gema* *a-me-kwe-a*.
 Cl. 1-tapster Cl. 1 SM-RECENT PAST-climb-MOD
 'The palm wine tapster has climbed.'
- (25) *M-gema* *a-me-kwe-a*
 Cl. 1-tapster Cl. 1 SM-RECENT PAST-climb-MOD
m-nazi.
 Cl. 3-coconut
 'The palm wine tapster has climbed a/the coconut tree.'
- (26) *M-gema* *a-me-kwe-a*
 Cl. 1-tapster Cl. 1 SM-RECENT PAST-climb-MOD
mnazi-ni.
 coconut tree-Cl. 17/26
 'The palm wine tapster has climbed up the coconut tree.'
- (27) *M-gema* *a-me-kwe-a*
 Cl. 1-tapster Cl. 1 SM-RECENT PAST-climb-MOD
katika *m-nazi*.
 Cl. 17/26-up Cl. 3-coconut tree
 'The palm wine tapster has climbed up the coconut tree.'
- (28) *M-gema* *a-me-kwe-a*
 Cl. 1-tapster Cl. 1 SM-RECENT PAST-climb-MOD
p-enye *m-nazi*.
 Cl. 17a/26a-having Cl. 3-coconut tree
 'The palm wine tapster has climbed up the coconut tree.'
- (29) *M-gema* *a-me-kwe-a*
 Cl. 1-tapster Cl. 1 SM-RECENT PAST-climb-MOD
kw-enye *m-nazi*.
 Cl. 17b/26b-having Cl. 3-coconut tree
 'The palm wine tapster has climbed up the coconut tree.'

(24)-(29) have the same subject *mgema* 'palm wine tapster' and the same PC *amekwea* 'he has climbed'. (24) is not grammatical because the predicate verb *-kwea* 'climb' in the PC requires a complement to complete its syntax (Lyons, 1968; Fowler, 1971, on complements). (24) would be grammatical if its complement were given information in a preceding context or co-text (Amidu, 2006, ch. 6).⁶⁾ (25)-(29) are grammatical. (25)-(26) have NP complements. (27)-(29)

have endocentric P-nP/PP complements. The P-nPs/PPs function as autonomous phrases and each has a locative denoting P-n or P *katika*, or *penye*, or *kwenye* of locative class 17/26 NI3 (traditionally classes 16-18). Each P-n or P is grammaticalized and does not require an N head to form its self-standing phrase. Does this affect transitiveness in the P-nSs? The answer is in the negative. Thus NPs *mnazi* of class 3 MU2, *mnazini* of locative class 17/26 NI3 and P-nPs/PPs *katika mnazi* 'up/on coconut tree', *penye mnazi* 'up/on coconut tree' and *kwenye mnazi* 'up/on coconut tree' are DOs because each PC must have a complement to be grammatical (Amidu, 2007). Robins (1971, p. 240) and Fowler (1971, pp. 29-30, pp. 50-54) claim that objects passivize while complements do not.⁷⁾ (30)-(34) test their claims.

- (30) *M-nazi* *u-me-kwe-lew-a*
 Cl. 3-coconut Cl. 3 SM-RECENT PAST-climb-PASS-MOD
na *m-gema.*
 P-n by Cl. 1-tapster
 'A/the coconut tree has been climbed by the palm wine tapster.'
- (31) *Mnazi-ni*
 Coconut tree-Cl. 17/26
ku-me-kwe-lew-a
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-RECENT PAST-climb-PASS-MOD
na *m-gema.*
 P-n by Cl. 1-tapster
 'Up a/the coconut tree has been climbed by the palm wine tapster.'
- (32) *Katika* *m-nazi*
 Cl. 17/26-up Cl. 3-coconut tree
ku-me-kwe-lew-a
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-RECENT PAST-climb-PASS-MOD

6) For example, if (24) were a response to a question of the form *Je, mgema aneukwea mnazi?* 'lit. I say, palm wine tapster he-RECENT PAST-it-climb-MOD coconut tree?', it would be grammatical because the complement *mnazi* would be understood as given information in the WH co-text.

7) Passive as a criterion for object status fails in languages without passive (Amidu, 2001, 2010). Passiveless languages also have objects, if they have transitive and ditransitive constructions.

- na m-gema.*
 P-n by Cl. 1-tapster
 'Up a/the coconut tree has been climbed by the palm wine tapster.'
- (33) *P-enye m-nazi*
 Cl. 17a/26a-having Cl. 3-coconut tree
pa-me-kwe-lew-a
 Cl. 17a/26a SM-RECENT PAST-climb-PASS-MOD
na m-gema.
 P-n by Cl. 1-tapster
 'Up a/the coconut tree has been climbed by the palm wine tapster.'
- (34) *Kw-enye m-nazi*
 Cl. 17b/26b-having Cl. 3-coconut tree
ku-me-kwe-lew-a
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-RECENT PAST-climb-PASS-MOD
na m-gema.
 P-n by Cl. 1-tapster
 'Up a/the coconut tree has been climbed by the palm wine tapster.'

(25)-(29) passivize as (30)-(34). The passive morpheme is {lew} in *-kwelewa* 'be climbed', according to sound harmony. (25)-(29) have non-oblique DOs and (30)-(34) have non-oblique DSs. Both NPs and P-nPs/PPs function as core arguments in the data.

Bearth (2003, p. 137) writes that, "Rwanda is particularly suited for demonstrating the extent to which almost any complement including locatives, instruments and expressions of manner, may be passivized in at least some Bantu languages." Next he states that, "[...] adjuncts, contrary to core arguments [...] tend to be encoded as prepositional phrases." He cites, from Kimenyi (1980, 1988), (35)-(36).

- (35) *Umwálimu a-ra-andika amasómo*
 Teacher he-PRES-write-FV lessons
ku kítáaho n'ín-gwa.
 on blackboard with chalk
 'The teacher is writing lessons on the blackboard with chalk.'

- (36) *Ku kíbááho ha-ra-andik-w-a amasómo*
 On blackboard LOC-PRES-write-PASS-FV lessons
n'umwáalimu.
 by teacher
 'The blackboard is being written lessons on by the teacher.'

According to Bearth, *ku kíbááho* 'lit. there blackboard' in (35) is a PP that becomes the adjunct subject of (36). He adds that, "The subject marker *ha-* agrees with the locative class feature of the prepositional phrase introduced by *ku* 'on'." Bearth (2003) misunderstood a) Bresnan (1994) and b) adjunct as a unit. In Bresnan (1994), Chichewa locatives are NPs with core functions (Landau, 2010, p. 124). In Bantu syntax, adjuncts do not agree with S, V, or O in clauses. Bresnan (2001, p. 96) also says that adjuncts are not arguments. Thus, in passive (36), locative P *ku* of class 17 KU is the nominal head of its S phrase. Bearth (2003) misunderstood these principles. A good morphological gloss would have helped him. (35)-(36) from Kinyarwanda support our analysis as well as rule (41) below. Keenan (1985, p. 281), also basing himself on Kimenyi (1980), notes that,

Thus to say 'the knife with which John killed the chicken', we must construe the subordinate clause as one on which *knife* is either a subject or an object; it cannot directly be relativized as an oblique NP. So again, major syntactic operations depend on the existence of ways of forming derived objects and subjects in a way quite unlike English.

6. On the Dependent P–nP/PP as DO or DS

DOs and DSs may be dependent pro-nominal P-nPs/PPs with possible N heads.

- (37) *M-gema hu-ki-l-a*
 Cl. 1-tapster Cl. 1 SM \emptyset -HABITUAL-Cl. 7 OM-eat-MOD
ch-a m-levi.
 Cl. 7-of Cl. 1-drunkard
 'The palm wine tapster eats up (the fortune) of the drunkard.'

(39) passivizes as (40). Their P-nPs/PPs are core DOs and DSs and are not oblique arguments. (1) only accidentally implies (39) because, subject to number inflection, the N head of each P-nP/PP could be any animate N in classes 1-16 that takes concords of classes 1/2. Context of usage and a shared knowledge are relevant to the interpretation of the Pn-Ss. Rule (41) accounts for all our P-nP/PP patterns.

- (41) An endocentric P-nP/PP functions as a core subject or object constituent of its Pn-S or clause in Kiswahili Bantu when its P-n or P generates into its PC an SM \pm its allomorph SSM, or an OM or its allomorph SOM, or both. Its complement is oblique when the phrase allows it to generate the SM, \pm SSM, or OM, \pm SOM, of its PC. If its theta role is a recipient/goal, it is called a P-nP/PP IO. Each operation of agreement marking between P-nP/PP or its complement and its PC defines a core argument function.

7. Conclusion

Firstly, we have shown that there are NP subjects and P-nP/PP subjects, and also NP objects and P-nP/PP objects in Kiswahili Bantu. Secondly, Kiswahili Bantu's obliques are distinct from the non-core oblique types in other languages. They are core types that can relativize and passivize. See also Amidu (2001, pp. 310-315, pp. 329-358). P-n or P headed IOs can also relativize and passivize. Theoretically, acceptance of core P-nP/PP arguments may shield the non-core obliques in current works, e.g. Bresnan (2001, p. 96), from refutation-in-principle, which can be done easily by pointing to Bantu core types. Thirdly, we have shown that, syntactically, oblique O overlaps with P-nP/PP IO. Thus, although, theoretically, an oblique NP is a non-recipient/goal NP of P-n or P, the distinction is problematic in Bantu. In addition, word order contrast between dative IO and P-nP/PP IO in pairs of affiliated Pn-Ss with the same verb is not very common. Fourthly, clause function determines whether or not the complement in a P-nP/PP is O or S. Thus unlike Indo-European syntax, the Bantu oblique is not just about objects. Fifthly, P-nP/PP subjects and P-nP/PP

objects, \pm oblique, partake in the transitivity of Pn-Ss. Sixthly, unlike languages such as Icelandic, Bantu P-nP/PP and oblique arguments are not quirky and/or non-canonical. In Kiswahili Bantu, core Ss and Os assign canonical agreement markers to PCs or Vs and receive theta roles from them. In addition, agreement-taking PCs take core arguments and, per Chomsky (1995), a PC or V assigns Θ -role only to a complement. Seventhly, the oblique/non-oblique choice, P-nP/PP versus NP, could be attributed to P-incorporation into P's complement. This would account for the grammatical function change +OBL => -OBL. Eighthly, Bantu P-nP/PP Ss and Os, \pm oblique, add to diversity in linguistics.

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List of Abbreviations

'A'	-A of relationship, also referred to as adnominal or nominal P-n or P, commonly translated as genitive <i>of</i> or <i>'s</i> in English
AFX	affix
Cl.	class
COP	copula, either verbal or nominal
COP-n	nominal copula (also referred to as P-n)
FV	final vowel (see MOD below for alternative)
HABITUAL	habitual tense
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
MOD	mood marker, modalic marker (see FV above for alternative)
NEG	negation marker
O	object
OM	object marker
ORM	object relative marker (see also SOM below)
P-n	nominal predicate, adnominal predicate or preposition
P-nP	nominal predicate phrase, nominal predication (see PP)
PASS	passive morpheme
PAST	past tense
PAST NEG	negative marker of past tense
PC	predicate constituent or P-constituent (also referred to as V)
Pn-S	predication sentence, also written predication-sentence
PossProCl.	possessive pronoun class (1/1 = in Cl. 1, 1 st person, 1/2 = in Cl. 1, 2 nd person, 1/3 = in Cl. 1, 3 rd person, 2/3 = in Cl. 2, 1 st person, 2/2 = in Cl. 2, 2 nd person, and 2/3 = in Cl. 2, 3 rd person)
PP	prepositional phrase (also called P-nP, if endocentric)
PRES,	
PRESENT	present tense
ProCl.	pronoun class (1/1 = in Cl. 1, 1 st person, 1/2 = in Cl. 1, 2 nd person, 1/3 = in Cl. 1, 3 rd person, 2/3 = in Cl. 2, 1 st person, 2/2 = in Cl. 2, 2 nd person, and 2/3 = in Cl. 2, 3 rd person)
RECENT PAST	recent past tense

RM	relative marker
S, s	subject (with big S), plural of abbreviation (with small s), e.g. IOs, Os, Ss, etc.
SM	subject marker
SOM	secondary object marker (also called ORM)
SRM	subject relative marker (see also SSM below)
SSM	secondary subject marker (also called SRM)
Θ	thematic or theta role; also type of object, e.g. OBJ _Θ , OBL _Θ
∅-	unrealized element

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