

A Study of Non-colonial Prepositions in Kiswahili*

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Amidu, Assibi A. (2014). A Study of Non-colonial Prepositions in Kiswahili. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 22(2), 27-59. Christian missionaries of the 19th century were the first to write a grammar of Kiswahili. Their efforts paved the way for Standard Kiswahili, which is a product of British colonial language policies in East Africa. In this study, we point out that missionary and colonial descriptive methods have left footprints in the language. For example, a group of nouns and noun phrases are widely described as prepositions and prepositional phrases to this day. We call these so-called prepositions 'colonial' prepositions and adverbs. There may be Bantu languages that genuinely cannot distinguish NP from PP, e.g. in the locative classes. Kiswahili is not one of them. We conclude that colonial prepositions and prepositional phrases should be re-analyzed as nouns and noun phrases. Until this is done, the description of the language will remain inadequate.

Key Words: preposition, adverb, predicate, Kiswahili, Bantu, descriptive adequacy

1. Introduction

Kiswahili is a Bantu language. It is classified as belonging to zone G40 "and is coded G42." (Maho, 1999, p. 27). Bantu is a language family with about 250

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languages. The languages in the group are known as agglutinating noun class languages. Matthews (2007, p. 269) defines noun class as follows:

Usually in reference to systems in which a class to which a noun is assigned is reflected in the forms that are taken by other elements syntactically related to it. Thus the system of *gender (1) in many European languages: e.g. in German *das Mädchen* 'the girl', the form of the article ('the-NEUT') reflects the membership of *Mädchen* 'girl' in the class of neuter nouns. [...].

In Bantu, every noun belongs to a noun class where it has a class prefix and each of its modifying forms, including verbs, agree with it by attaching an allomorph of the class prefix to its stem. A verb takes one or two prefixes, i.e. SM and/or OM. An example from Kiswahili is *ki-ti ki-le ki-zuri ki-me-pote-a* 'Cl. 7-chair Cl. 7-that Cl. 7-fine Cl. 7 SM-RECENT PAST-be lost-MOD, i.e. that fine chair is lost.' The prefix {ki} of the noun is generated into all its modifiers *kile* 'that', *kizuri* 'fine' and the verb *kimepotea* 'it is lost.' A root or stem cannot stand on its own as a word in syntax, hence **ki ti ki le ki zuri ki mepotea* is not well formed. Prefixes, as a rule, attach to or agglutinate with roots or stems to form words. Languages with noun classes are called class languages. Kiswahili shares with other Bantu languages similar features of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexical material. This study is primarily interested in the patterns of a group of words and their phrases called prepositions, which, in our estimation, are nouns and noun phrases. We designate nouns and noun phrases described as prepositions and prepositional phrases as 'colonial prepositions.' This is important because the grammar already has the categories N/NP and P/PP.

2. Definitions of Some Terms

In this study, we use the term endocentric and exocentric in the senses defined by Crystal (2003). Crystal (2003, p. 161) defines endocentric as follows:

A term used in GRAMMATICAL analysis as part of a two-way classification of SYNTACTIC constructions using DISTRIBUTIONAL criteria: it refers to a group of syntactically related WORDS where one of the words is FUNCTIONALLY equivalent to the group as a whole (i.e. the definable 'centre' or HEAD inside the group, which has the same distribution as the whole); it is opposed to EXOCENTRIC. Constructions which display **endocentricity** include NOUN PHRASES and VERB phrases (as traditionally defined), where the CONSTITUENT items are SUBORDINATE to the head, e.g. *the big **house**, the **cake** with icing, will be **going***, and also (in certain analyses) some types of COORDINATION, e.g. *boys and girls*.

We define endocentricity as the situation in which a phrase has a "definable 'centre' or HEAD." Crystal (2003, p. 170) defines exocentric as follows:

A term used in GRAMMATICAL analyses as part of a two-way classification of SYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS using DISTRIBUTIONAL criteria: it refers to a group of syntactically related WORDS where none of the words is FUNCTIONALLY equivalent to the group as a whole (i.e. there is no definable 'centre' or HEAD inside the group); it is opposed to ENDOCENTRIC. Thus the English basic SENTENCE structure of SUBJECT + PREDICATE displays exocentricity, [...] as neither part can substitute for the sentence structure as a whole, e.g. *the man fell* cannot be replaced by either *the man* or *by fell* alone. Other types include 'DIRECTIVE constructions', such as PREPOSITION + NOUN PHRASE sequences (e.g. *on the table*), where the adverbial function of the whole is not equivalent to any of the parts; VERB + OBJECT sequences (e.g. *kick the ball*); and 'CONNECTIVE constructions', where a connector ELEMENT is followed by an ATTRIBUTIVE element (e.g. *seemed angry*).

The definitions are good for English but do not always work for noun class languages. In Kiswahili, subject + verb is often an endocentric relationship, i.e. given *mtu alianguka* 'a/the man fell', *V alianguka* 'he fell' can replace the clause because it answers the question *Mtu alianguka?* 'did a/the man fall?'

Substitution is possible because the subject marker {a} in V agrees with and refers to its N head *mtu* 'man.' Likewise verb + object is often endocentric, e.g. *Upige mpira* 'kick the ball' versus *Upige* 'kick it.' V has the object marker {u} of its N head *mpira* 'ball' of class 3 MU₂.

Crystal (2003, p. 17) defines agreement as follows:

A traditional term used in GRAMMATICAL theory and description to refer to a formal relationship between elements, whereby a FORM of one WORD requires a corresponding form of another (i.e. the forms agree). [...].

Matthews (2007, p. 13) also defines agreement as follows:

Syntactic relation between words and phrases which are compatible, in a given construction, by virtue of inflections carried by at least one of them. E.g. *these* and *carrots* are compatible, in the construction of *these carrots*, because both are inflected as plural. Likewise, in the Italian sentence *Maria e Luisa sono arrivate* 'Mary and Louise have arrived', *sono* (lit. 'be-3PL') agrees in respect of plural number with *arrivate* ('arrived-FEM.PL') and both, or *sono arrivate* as a whole, agree with a subject, *Maria e Luisa*, which refers to more than one woman. [...].

Both Crystal (2003) and Matthews (2007) are of the view that agreement was and is also called concord in traditional grammars. Thus given the words *ndani* 'interior' and *kwa* 'of' or 'with, by, from', the former is a noun and the latter is a nominal preposition (P-n) or nominal predicate (P-n). That is to say *ndani* agrees with a nominal modifier or a verb, or both, e.g. as entity denoting N in *ndani i-li-pak-w-a rangi* 'Cl. 9-interior Cl. 9 SM-PAST-paint-PASS-MOD Cl. 9-paint, i.e. the interior was painted (with) paint', or as locative denoting N in *ndani ku-li-pak-w-a rangi* 'interior-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17b/26b SM-PAST-paint-PASS-MOD Cl. 9-paint, i.e. in/at the interior was painted (with) paint.' The agreement-taking preposition *kwa* 'of', by itself, cannot agree with a modifier or a verb, or both. It is intransitive and Bantu

has no intransitive P. To be transitive, it requires a following complement/object to form a PP or requires the agreement marker of its complement/object to licence it to be self-standing. Thus **kw-a ku-li-pak-w-a rangi* 'Cl. 17b/26b SM COP-n of Cl. 17b/26b SM-PAST-paint-PASS-MOD Cl. 9-paint, i.e. in/at-of was painted with paint' is ungrammatical because an intransitive P or P-n cannot function as a subject or object of a verb. *Ndani; kw-i-a ndani;* 'in/at/to interior of interior' and *kw-i-a ndani;* '(t_i) of interior' are grammatical constituents that could agree with a verb. For example, *ndani; kw-i-a ndani; ku-i-na dhahabu* 'interior-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of interior-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-v be with Cl. 9-gold, i.e. deep in the interior there is gold' is grammatical. The indexing between the elements shows that *ndani;* agrees with its endocentric P or P-n *kwa* 'of' and its verb *kuna* 'there is'. It is an N and head of the subject phrase of V, too. N *chini* 'bottom' or *juu* 'top', etc., belongs to the same noun class as *ndani*. Thus one could substitute *ndani* 'interior' with any of them without changing the agreement {ku} in *kwa* 'of' or V. The tree diagrams in §§ 4-5. confirm the relationship and difference between N and P in modern linguistics.

Cyrstal (2003, pp. 473-474) defines transitivity as follows:

A category used in the GRAMMATICAL analysis of CLAUSES/SENTENCE CONSTRUCTIONS, with particular reference to the VERB's relationship to DEPENDENT elements of structure. The main members of this category are **transitive (tr, trans)**, referring to a verb which can take a direct OBJECT (as in *he saw the dogs*), and **intransitive (intr, intrans)**, where it cannot (as in **he arrived a ball*). [...] More complex relationships between a verb and the elements dependent upon it are usually classified separately. For example, verbs which take two objects are sometimes called **ditransitive** (as opposed to **monotransitive**), as in *she gave me a pencil*. [...] Some grammarians also talk about (in)transitive PREPOSITIONS. For example, *with* is a transitive preposition, as it must always be accompanied by a NOUN phrase COMPLEMENT (object), and *along* can be transitive or intransitive: cf. *She arrived with a dog v. *She arrived with and She was walking along the river v. She was walking along*.

Writing about 'heads in grammatical theory', Fraser, Corbett and McGlashan (1993, p. 1) refer to Zwicky's (1985) "eight candidate criteria for the identification of a constituent as a syntactic head." Fraser, Corbett and McGlashan (1993, p. 2) conclude that, "[...] for example, in the construction NP + VP, VP is the morphosyntactic locus, the governor, and the obligatory constituent, but NP is the semantic argument and the determinant of concord." This means that while VP is the constituent head of NP, NP is the argument head of VP. In Bantu, an external head is the NP of NP + VP, which is the "semantic argument and determinant of concord", commonly called subject. Likewise, an internal head is the NP of V + NP, which is the "semantic argument and determinant of concord", commonly called object or complement. In Bantu NP syntax, an external head is the NP, which is the syntactic 'subject' and determinant of concord in any agreement-taking modifier including PP. Similarly, the internal head is the NP of P + NP, which is the syntactic 'object' or 'complement' of P and a possible determinant of concord in P. Adverb phrases, which lack agreements, are like logical syntax of the type $x + y + z$. If y is the predicate, then x is the external head of y and z is the internal head of y , even if y is "the governor, and the obligatory constituent" head of x and z (Fraser, et al., 1993, p. 2).

3. Prepositions in Linguistic Theory and in Bantu

Crystal (2003, p. 368) defines a preposition as follows:

A term used in the grammatical classification of words, referring to the set of items which typically precede noun phrases (often single nouns or pronouns), to form a single constituent of structure. The resulting **prepositional phrase (PP)** (or **prepositional group**) can then be described in terms of distribution (e.g. their use following a noun, as in *the man in the corner*), or semantically (e.g. the expression of possession, direction, place). Prepositional sequences of the type illustrated by *in accordance with* are often called **complex prepositions**. [...].

Crystal (2003, p. 368) continues as follows:

Many linguists subscribe to a broader view of prepositions. To form a prepositional phrase, prepositions can combine not only with an NP but also a PP (e.g. *since before breakfast*), a clause (e.g. *since they finished their breakfast*) or nothing (e.g. *I haven't seen him since*). In this account, it is possible to talk of 'transitive' and 'intransitive' prepositions.

Matthews (2007, pp. 315-316) also defines the preposition as follows:

A word or other syntactic element of a class whose members typically come before a noun phrase and which is characterized by ones which basically indicate spatial relations: e.g. *on* in *on the mat*, *behind* in *behind the sofa*, *throughout* in *throughout Asia*. Also *on* in e.g. *on Saturday*, *on receipt*, or *on my honour*, where the temporal or other senses are secondary. Also e.g. *during* in *during August*, although the temporal sense is basic.

Matthews (2007, p. 316) defines the prepositional phrase (PP) as follows:

A phrase consisting of a preposition or sequence of prepositions followed by a noun phrase or the equivalent: e.g. *by Monday*, *out of the kitchen*. In most recent accounts, the preposition is the *head of the phrase, and the noun etc. its *complement or *object.

The precise application of this term depends on what is classed as preposition and what as the equivalent of a noun phrase. E.g. *after breakfast* is a prepositional phrase; so, in some accounts, are *after eating breakfast*, *since eating breakfast*, or *after I had eaten breakfast*. Alternatively, the last in particular is a clause introduced by *after* in the role of a conjunction.

See Amidu (1980, 1997, pp. 343-361, 2001, pp. 264-269) for Kiswahili examples. A preposition, then, is a predicate. It may occur as a single P or a sequence of Ps. Recall that P (as a single unit or a sequence of units) takes a

complement/object to be transitive, whether or not it also has an external NP. When it does not take a complement/object, it is intransitive (see Amidu, 2001, chapters 2-5, for details). Kiswahili does not have intransitive P (see (3b) below). Within discussions of the DP-hypothesis, noun phrases, e.g. possessive NPs, have subjects and objects just like clauses (Coene and D'hulst, 2003, pp. 1-33). A complement/object is an internal NP. An external NP is a subject. We note that nouns, adjectives and prepositions have argument structure (Haegeman, 1994, pp. 44-48, pp. 98-99). "The arguments are the participants minimally involved in the activity or state expressed by the predicate." (Haegeman, 1994, p. 44). Haegeman (1994, p. 68) also observes that,

The formal differences between main verbs on the one hand and auxiliaries and the copula *be* on the other are matched by a semantic property: neither auxiliaries nor the copula *be* assign thematic roles.

In *The cook is a thief*, *the cook* is the external NP of *V is* and *a thief* is the internal NP of *V*. Neither *the cook* nor *a thief* is an argument. Thus an external NP of *V* is a subject and an internal NP of *V* is an object/complement, but neither is or must be an argument in theory or principle. As a result, many of our examples will have external and/or internal NPs that do not imply argument structure.

The definitions of Crystal (2003) and Matthews (2007) of the preposition do not take into account Bantu specific types and patterns of preposition. For example, they do not mention that, in languages such as Kiswahili, a preposition does not just precede a noun. It may, in addition, require an external NP to be in a class agreement relationship with it, explicitly or implicitly. A preposition that agrees with an external N is a dependent modifier of its N head, but it is not an adjective. It is merely adjectival in function. We call it a nominal preposition or predicate (P-n). In this regard, it is not like the prepositions of many Indo-European and other languages.

Amidu (1980) points out that there are two types of preposition in Kiswahili and Bantu. These are a) autonomous prepositions and b) dependent prepositions (see also Amidu, 1997, 2001, 2004, 2010, 2011a, b, 2012). Some autonomous prepositions are endocentric predicates of the type P-n/COP-n,

e.g. *katika* 'in, on, at' in (1)-(2).

- (1) *Wa-tu* *wa-ko*
 Cl. 2-man Cl. 2 SM-(COP-v be)-Cl. 17b/26b OM
katika *ny-umba* *hi-i*.
 Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 9-house this-Cl. 9
 'People are in this house.'
- (2) *Katika* *ny-umba* *hi-i*
 Cl. 17/26 P-n in Cl. 9-house this-Cl. 9
ku-na *wa-tu*.
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-v be with Cl. 2-man
 'In this house there are people, lit. in this house are people.'

P *katika* generates the OM {ko} into its copula verb *wako* 'they-are-there' in (1) and the SM {ku} into its copula verb *kuna* 'there-is with/have' in (2). It is, therefore, a P-n and its phrase is a P-nP/PP. Other autonomous prepositions are exocentric predicates. We label the type an adverbial predicate/preposition (P-a/COP-a), e.g. *tangu* 'since' in (3). A P-a/COP-a does not take an agreement marker of any kind.

- (3) a. *Wa-toto* *wa-me-lal-a*
 Cl. 2-child Cl. 2 SM-RECENT PAST-sleep-MOD
tangu *m-chana*.
 Cl. 0-since Cl. 3-daylight
 'The children have slept since daylight.'
- *b. *Wa-toto* *wa-me-lal-a*
 Cl. 2-child Cl. 2 SM-RECENT PAST-sleep-MOD
tangu.
 Cl. 0-since
 'The children have slept since.'

(3a, b) are intransitive clauses. (3a) has a subject *watoto* 'children', a PC *wamelala* 'they have slept' and an adjunct phrase *tangu mchana* 'since daylight.' The head of the adjunct phrase is *tangu* 'since.' It has no realized or potential agreement with its PC/V or S or any nominal item. It is an exocentric P,

hence a P-a. (3b) is ungrammatical because its P cannot function without a complement/object. Kiswahili, therefore, does not have the equivalent of Crystal's (2003) *I haven't seen him since*.

A P in Kiswahili or Bantu may, therefore, be either a P-n or P-a and a PP may be either a nominal predicate phrase (P-nP) or an adverbial predicate phrase (P-aP).¹⁾

In other Bantu languages, locative class markers, namely class 16 *pa* 'at, by, near', class 17 *ku* 'to, from, around', and class 18 *mu* 'in, within' are regularly described and called prepositions. These morphemes look like autonomous prepositions only when they are used like words or when they are incorrectly written separately from their word stems. Walusimbi (1996, pp. 29-30), writing about Luganda, has the examples (41a, b, c, d) and (43a, b), which we renumber (4)-(5).

- (4) a. *Entebe e-li-ko ebitabo.*
 Chair Ag-be-on books
 'The chair has books on it.'
- b. *Entebe n-yonjo.*
 Chair Ag-clean
 'The chair is clean.'
- c. *Ku ntebe ku-li-ko ebitabo.*
 On chair Ag-be-on books
 'There are books on the chair.'
- d. *Ku ntebe ku-yonjo.*
 On chair Ag-clean
 'It is clean on the chair.'

The data, their glosses and translations belong to Walusimbi (1996). (4a, b)

1) P and PP are vague in Kiswahili. We, therefore, use P-n for nominal predicate/preposition. It is also a nominal copula (COP-n) in the gloss. P-n/COP-n imply the same type of P. We use P-a for adverbial predicate/preposition. It is also an adverbial copula (COP-a) in the gloss. P-a/COP-a are the same type of P. P-nP is a nominal predicate/prepositional phrase and P-aP is an adverbial predicate/prepositional phrase. P-nP and P-aP are specific PPs found in Kiswahili, the first of which may not be found in all languages.

are his (41a, b) and (4c, d) are his (41c, d). Walusimbi (1996, p. 29) writes that, In (41c) and (41d) the verb *-li* 'be' and the adjective *-yonjo* 'clean' obligatorily take the prepositional agreement *ku*. The noun *entebe* 'chair' in (41d) does not control the subject agreement as it does in (41a) and (41b).

Firstly, Walusimbi (1996) says "The noun *entebe* 'chair' in (41d) does not control the subject agreement as it does in (41a) and (41b)." A look at his (41c, d), renumbered (4c, d) above, reveals that the noun is not *entebe* but '*ku ntebe*'. Secondly, by self-evident implication, he distinguishes *entebe* as a noun of class 9 N from '*ku ntebe*', a possible noun or phrase of class 17 KU. Thirdly, he indicates that the latter controls the subject agreement {ku} in (4c, d), and implies that it is different from the subject agreements {e} and {n} controlled by *entebe* in his (41a, b) or (4a, b) above.

Observe how, in (4c, d), Walusimbi (1996) writes the prefix {ku} of class 17 KU of his noun separately from its stem {ntebe}, hence *ku ntebe*, believing that the stem is the same as the noun *entebe* 'a/the chair' of class 9 N. Note that he does not, by analogy, write N *entebe* as *e ntebe*. Walusimbi (1996) does not take into account the fact that his string in (4c, d) is *ku ntebe* 'on chair' and not **ku entebe* or **kuentebe*. He does not also take into account the fact that *entebe* 'chair' in (4a, b) is an entity-denoting noun while his *ku ntebe* 'on chair' in (4c, d) is a locative denoting N or phrase. His writing convention also leads him to align the prefix {ku} with his English translation 'on' and the stem {ntebe} with his English translation 'the chair.' It produces a PP in Luganda, as his glossing shows, even though the string *ku ntebe* functions as the subject of its verbs just like *entebe* in (4a, b) functions as the subject of its verbs. Consider (43a, b) in Walusimbi (1996, p. 30), renumbered (5a, b) below.

- (5) a. *Tuula* *ku-ntebe* *ku-e* *n-daba* *ebitaba*.
 sit on-chair on-which I-see books
 'Sit on the chair on which I see books.'
- b. *Tuula* *ku-ntebe* *gi-e* *n-daba-ko* *ebitabo*.
 sit on-chair which I-see on books
 'Sit on the chair on which I see books.'

Walusimbi (1996, p. 30) writes concerning his (43a, b), i.e. (5a, b), that,

Givón (1972a) further notices that in Chibemba all the embedded modifiers following a prepositional head may agree with either the noun gender or the prepositional gender, and "the alternation makes a consistent *semantic* difference". This does not hold for Luganda. [...] in Luganda, the sentences (43a) and (43b) are semantically identical.

Firstly, (5) contains the same sequence of elements {ku} and {ntebe} found in (4c, d). Observe however that, while it is written as a PP in (4c, d) and glossed as 'on chair', it is written as a syntactic N *ku-ntebe* in (5) and glossed as 'on-chair.' One of the two descriptions and glosses cannot be a motivated description of the same string in the same noun class. One of the anonymous referees of this paper suggests that, "when a morpheme is given in front of a noun as in 'ku ntebe' or 'kuntebe' it would be impossible to tell whether it is a prefix or stem of a separate word without knowing it." The suggestion is good only if we wish to assert that Luganda and many Bantu languages cannot distinguish between NP and PP, especially in the locative classes. That is, a sequence of units like {ku} and {ntebe} or alleged nouns like *ntebe* derive PP *ku ntebe* and NP *kuntebe*, both of which have the same meaning and agree with the same modifiers and verbs. If we endorse the status quo, we endorse a circular writing convention, too. The circularity arises from $PP \rightarrow NP$ and $NP \rightarrow PP$ and it is evidence of a grammar with some indiscernible category distinctions. This may well be the case in some Bantu languages. It is not the case in Kiswahili. Thus, if NP and PP are indiscernible in these languages, it supports our claim that colonial Ps like *ku* make it impossible to distinguish between the two categories NP and PP in some Bantu grammars. Secondly, observe that *ku ntebe kuliko* is glossed as 'on chair Ag-be-on', *ku ntebe ku-yonjo* is glossed as 'on chair Ag-clean' and *ku-ntebe ku-e* as 'on-chair on-which.' Note that the strings consist of nouns followed by dependent modifiers, namely verb or adjective or relative unit. The constructions are said to be P strings such that a modifier "obligatorily takes the prepositional agreement *ku*", while the other is the prepositional head and gender NP. Thus a syntactic N allegedly has a prepositional marker *ku* (Walusimbi 1996, p. 29). Alternatively,

says Walusimbi (1996, p. 30), “all the embedded modifiers following a prepositional head may agree [...] with [...] the prepositional gender, [...]” In his description, prepositional noun genders are prepositional heads. The embedded modifiers of his prepositional heads presumably agree with prepositional noun genders and have prepositional agreement markers. The series of preposition words in his data above have little in common with the definitions of preposition given by Crystal (2003) and Matthews (2007).

A prepositional (P) head, by definition, is a constituent head. It is followed by a complement/object, which is an internal syntactic N or clause, or another PP or P. In our view, therefore, prepositional heads are not syntactic Ns that are modified by prepositional adjectives, prepositional demonstratives, prepositional relative units, prepositional verbs, and so on, as Walusimbi (1996) and Givón (1972) claim. A consequence of Walusimbi’s (1996) study is that two so-called prepositional elements can and do agree via their external prefixes, e.g. *ku-ntebe ku-e*, glossed as ‘on-chair on-which’, where {ku} of *ku-e* agrees with {ku} of *ku-ntebe* in class, gender, person and nominative case. This type of agreement (agr) pattern, i.e. agr_r-P1 + agr_r-P2, between so-called sequences of prepositional unit is ungrammatical except when P1 functions as the S-structure head of P2 in the absence of their common N head (see (13)-(14) and (26)). In Walusimbi (1996), however, prefixes are called prepositions, nouns are called prepositional heads and their modifiers are also called prepositional modifiers. The result produces so-called prepositional constructions that are prepositional NPs or prepositional clauses, a situation not found in any other language. The practice also makes it impossible to distinguish prefix prepositions in nouns, e.g. *ku-ntebe* ‘on-chair’, from lexical prepositions in alleged PPs, e.g. *ku* ‘on’ of P *ku* + N *ntebe*, and agreement prepositions in modifiers of nouns, e.g. *ku-yonjo* ‘Ag-clean’ and *ku-e* ‘on-which’, etc. Observe also how Walusimbi (1996) is unable to gloss *ku-yonjo* as ‘on-clean’ because it would be meaningless in English. He, however, glosses the relative modifier *ku-e* as ‘on-which’ because it is meaningful in English to do so. Is ‘Ag’ in the gloss of *ku-yonjo* equivalent to ‘on’ in the gloss of *ku-e*, since “[...] all the embedded modifiers following a prepositional head may agree with [...] the prepositional gender” (Walusimbi, 1996, p. 29)? It is also clear from (4)-(5) that all the elements in the same noun class 17 KU have the

same morphological marker {ku}, which is further called a 'preposition prefix.' In our view, it is particularly unhelpful to call morphological class prefixes prepositions in the same way as syntactic prepositions. We are not aware that any language of the world allows sub-lexical morphemes to be written as or like independent lexical words, e.g. **bak ed* for *baked*, **sing ing* for *singing*, **king dom* for *kingdom*, **pre dominant* for *predominant*, etc. The failure to distinguish between units of syntax and sub-lexical morphemes leads to a situation in which NPs and clauses are also PPs in Luganda and Chibemba. It gives rise to 'colonial' prepositions in Bantu and confusion, too. This may be a direct consequence of transferring English categories in translations into Bantu syntax. Let us consider (6)-(10) from Kiswahili.

- (6) *Pete na ki-dole.*
 Cl. 9-ring Cl. 0 COP-n with/and Cl. 7-finger
 'A ring and its finger, lit. ring with finger.'
- (7) *Pete na-cho ki-dole.*
 Cl. 9-ring Cl. 0 COP-n with/and-Cl. 7 OM Cl. 7-finger
 'A ring and its finger, lit. ring with-it finger.'
- (8) *Wa-toto kwa wa-zee.*
 Cl. 2-child Cl. 0 COP-n with/and Cl. 2-old person
 'Children and old people.'
- (9) *Wa-toto kwa-o wa-zee.*
 Cl. 2-child Cl. 0 COP-n with/and-Cl. 2 OM Cl. 2-old person
 'Children and old people, lit. children with-them old people.'
- (10) *Tena na tena.*
 Cl. 0-again Cl. 0 COP-a with/and Cl. 0-again
 'Again and again.'

(6)-(10) illustrate that a P may be used as a conjunction. In (6)-(9), P *na* 'with, by, and' and P *kwa* 'with, for, by, and' are semi-transparent lexical words because they cannot take external agreement markers of their N heads. They can, however, take internal agreement markers of their internal N heads, as shown in (7) and (9). The optional agreement markers {cho} and {o} signal the endocentric function of each P. The units *na* and *kwa*, as Ps or

conjunctions, can also function as exocentric P-a items, as in (10), where the external and internal heads of *na* 'with, and' are the adverb *tena* 'again.' Adverbs cannot agree with *na* or with any P or conjunction or modifier or PC/V or S or O. The words *na* and *kwa* satisfy the definitions for being prepositions.

In Kiswahili, two prepositional roots, namely *-a* 'of' and *-enye* 'having, with', obligatorily agree with external N heads via agreement markers. The former, but not the latter, can also agree with an internal N head that is a personal pronoun (or its apposition NP) (Amidu, 2009). See (11)-(14) below. Both *-a* and *-enye* P-roots derive transparent endocentric P lexical words. There are no postpositions in the language.

Recall that, in Bantu, two sequential Ps cannot display agreement (*agr*) of the form $agr_i\text{-}P1 + agr_i\text{-}P2$, unless one P heads and controls the other P's *agr* at S-structure on behalf of their common underlying N head (see (13)-14), (26) and diagram 3). Amidu (2001, pp. 268-269) suggests that double Ps may display agreement between them. This refers only to $P1\text{-}agr_i + agr_i\text{-}P2$, i.e. internal agreeing prefix of P1 with the external agreeing prefix of a P2 in a following PP whose P-root is *-a* or *-enye*.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (11) | <i>M-pishi</i>
Cl. 1-cook
<i>na-ye_i</i>
Cl. 0 COP-n by-ProCl. 1/3 OM
<i>n-devu</i> .
Cl. 10-beard
'The cook was hit by (man) with a beard, lit. [...] by-him;
he _i -with beard.' | <i>a-li-pig-w-a</i>
Cl. 1 SM-PAST-hit-PASS-MOD
<i>mw_i-enye</i>
Cl. 1 SM-COP-n with |
|------|---|--|

In (11), agr {*ye*} of P1 *naye* 'by-him' agrees with P2 *mwenye* 'he-with' of P-nP/PP *mwenye ndevu* via agr {*mw*} because the P-nP/PP functions as governor of P1 on behalf of their common N head *mtu* 'man' at S-structure. To block $P1\text{-}agr_i + agr_i\text{-}P2$, the N head or its trace must be inserted into the description. (12) is similar to (11).

- (12) *M-pishi a-li-ka-a* (*t_i*)
 Cl. 1-cook Cl. 1 SM-PAST-stay-MOD (*t*)
kw_i-a-ke_j *w_i-a*
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of-PossProCl. 1/3 OM Cl. 1 SM-COP-n of
kw-anza.
 Cl. 15-first
 'The cook stayed at the first's home, lit. cook stayed at_i-of-his_j
 he_j-of first.'

P1 *kw_i-a-ke_j* 'there/at-of-his' and P2 *w_i-a* 'he-of' of the P-nP/PP *wa kwanza* agree via agr {ke} and agr {w} at S-structure and their common underlying NP is *mtu* 'man.'

Note that two sequential endocentric P-nPs/PPs, i.e. PP1 and PP2, could agree with each other, if the first is a vicarious N head that functions in place of the unrealized N head of both P-nPs/PPs and, thus, governs PP2, as in (13)-(14).

- (13) *Mw_i-enye n-devu w_i-a*
 Cl. 1 SM-COP-n with Cl. 10-beard Cl. 1 SM-COP-n of
Kariokoo a-na-imb-a.
 Kariokoo-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 1 SM-PRESENT-sing-MOD
 '(The man) with a beard from Kariokoo is singing, lit. he_i-with
 beard he_i-of Kariokoo he-sings.'
- (14) *W_i-a kw-anza mw_i-enye*
 Cl. 1 SM-COP-n of Cl. 15-first Cl. 1 SM-COP-n with
n-devu a-na-imb-a.
 Cl. 10-beard Cl. 1 SM-PRESENT-sing-MOD
 'The first (man) with a/the beard is singing, lit. he_i-of first
 he_i-with beard he-sings.'

Thus P-nPs/PPs with the P-roots *-a* 'of' and *-enye* 'with' agree with each other at S-structure when their external N head is not overt, as in (13)-(14). Note, however, that in a sequence such as P1 *wa* 'of' + P2 *mwenye* 'with', P2 does not agree with P1 at S-structure. Thus (*m_i-toto*) *w_i-a mw_j-enye ndevu*, 'lit.

(Cl. 1-child) Cl. 1 SM-COP-n of Cl. 1 SM-COP-n with Cl. 10-beard' derives from an NP like (m_i -toto) w_i -a (m_j -pishi) mw_j -enye $ndevu$ '(child_i) of (cook_j) with beard' (see diagram 3). From (3), (10) and (13)-(14), we learn that if a P of a PP has no actual or potential agreement with an NP and with V, it is an exocentric P, i.e. a P-a/COP-a (Amidu, 2010, 2011a, 2012). Dictionaries do not distinguish endocentric Ps from exocentric Ps.

4. 'Colonial' Prepositions in Kiswahili

On prepositions in Kiswahili, Ashton (1947, p. 195) writes that,

In Swahili there are no Bantu words which are basically prepositions, but there are a few words based on the -A of Relationship which may be termed so. These are:

kwa by means of, by, with, through, for, to, at, from
na with, by
 P.C. + **-a** of, for.

To begin with, the claim to the effect that "In Swahili there are no Bantu words which are basically prepositions [...]" is false because, as we have seen above, the P-roots *-a* 'of' and *-enye* 'with' derive P words. Ashton (1947, p. 195) further states that,

There are also numerous phrases, i.e. compound prepositions, based on **kwa**, **na** and **-a**.

kwa habari ya	about, concerning	chini ya	below
kwa sababu ya	because of	juu ya	on, over
kwa ajili ya	for the sake of	kabla ya	before (time)
karibu na	near	mbele ya	before (place)
mbali na	far from	baada ya	after (time)
pamoja na	together with	nyuma ya	after (place)

mahali pa instead of

ndani ya inside

nje ya outside

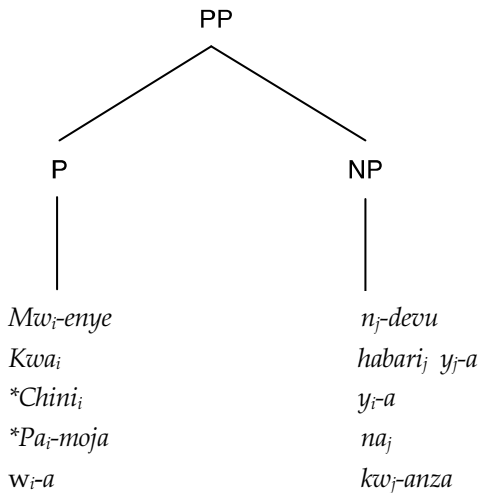
katikati ya among

kati ya between

zaidi ya more than.

Using diagram 1, we discover that *mwenye ndevu* and *wa kwanza* in (13)-(14) are PPs. In addition, *kwa habari ya* 'lit. from news of', *kwa sababu ya* 'lit. from cause of', and *kwa ajili ya* 'lit. on account of' in Ashton's (1947) list are compound P-nPs/PPs.

Diagram 1: A simple PP structure.



Ashton's (1947) other examples are ungrammatical under diagram 1. For example, *chini* 'lower part, bottom, under' agrees with P-root *-a* 'of', which we have seen above must agree with an external NP explicitly, hence *chini_i y_i-a x* 'bottom of x'. The P *ya* 'of' cannot, therefore, be the NP, while *chini* its external NP is a P. Indeed the agreement {i} in *ya* 'of' together with the coindexes of *chini* and *ya* suggest that *chini* falsely appears under the P node in diagram 1 as a P. In addition, a P-item does not generate agreement into a following P that requires a complement *x*, e.g. *gari* 'car', to complete its syntax, as in *chini_i*

yi-a gari, 'lit. under/bottom of car.' Only an N can generate an agreement into the external position of a P item. Thus apart from three phrases, Ashton's (1947) data are not compound PPs. They are incomplete NPs (Crystal, 2003, p. 368, Amidu, 2004, Mkude, 2005, p. 153). Recall that, given a common underlying N head, as in (13)-(14), a PP2 can agree with a PP1.

Finally, observe that *wa kwanza* 'of first' fits under diagram 1 as a PP. That is, the unit *wa* 'of' is a P and *kwanza* 'first' is its object NP. Paradoxically, diagram 1 reveals that the P items *wa* 'of' and *ya* 'of' receive different structural descriptions in traditional models, namely while *wa* 'of' appears as a P, *ya* 'of' appears as an NP. The contradictory function of the same P-root *-a* 'of' reveals how inadequate traditional models are. Ashton (1947) overlooks P *ya* 'of', when she aligns NPs with PPs or Ps in her translated output, e.g. *chini ya* = 'below', *gari* = 'the car' → 'below the car.' She translates both *chini* and *chini ya* as 'below, under' on p. 127, a practice still *en vogue*. Recall that if *chini ya* is a PP and *chini* is a P, the latter would not generate an agreement {i} into its P complement *ya* 'of' because *agr_r-P + *agr_r-P does not exist in Kiswahili and Bantu. Ashton (1947) calls NPs, such as *chini ya x*, *juu ya x*, *kabla ya x*, etc., PPs because of her English translations. Ashton (1947, p. 195) further writes that,

Note that **na** is followed by personal pronouns, while **kwa** and **-a** are followed by possessive forms, in the Personal Classes.

Pamoja nami. Together with me.

Chini yangu. Under me.

Mbali nasi. Far from us.

Mahali petu. Instead of us.

Kwake. Through him.

The descriptions in the quotation are inaccurate because each P-n or P, e.g. *na* 'with', is preceded by an NP, which makes each phrase an NP rather than a P-nP/PP. For example *pamoja nami (mimi)* 'lit. it-one (place) with-me (me)' does not fit under diagram 1 because the external item *pamoja* 'one' is an adjective of class 16/25 PA or MA₂. Its underlying N head is *mahali* 'place/s' (see diagram 2 and (20)). In addition, P *na* is assigned the first person singular pronoun agreement {mi} 'me' by its implicit first person singular pronoun

complement *mimi* 'I, me.' A phrase that has external and internal Ns is not a compound PP. Ashton (1947, pp. 195-196) also states that,

In addition a few Bantu noun and verb forms are used as prepositions and some are words borrowed from Arabic.

mpaka	till, as far as	hata	till
kutoka, toka, tokea	from	bila	without
		kama	like

Some forms such as **na**, **hata**, **kama**, are also used as conjunctions.

Ashton's (1947, p. 195) statement to the effect that "In addition a few Bantu noun and verb forms are used as prepositions [...]" is not accurate in modern linguistic descriptions. This is because, theoretically, no noun or verb can be used as P unless it changes its form class. It follows that an item in the form class of N or V must change to the form class of P before it can function as a P. Thus P-a *mpaka* 'until' evolved from the noun *mpaka* 'boundary' of class 3 MU₂ but, as P, it is not the noun *mpaka*. Likewise, P *kutoka* 'from' evolved from the infinitive verb *kutoka* 'to come/go out' or the infinitive noun *kutoka* 'coming/going out' of class 15 KU but, as P, it is neither the verb nor the noun *kutoka* due to its form class (Amidu, 1980, 1997, p. 83, pp. 145-151). Change of form class without change of form often gives rise to homophonic lexical items, e.g. a noun *mpaka* 'boundary' and a preposition *mpaka* 'up to, until.'

4.1. Modern Kiswahili scholars and 'colonial' prepositions

The 'colonial' legacy of describing nouns as prepositions continues in modern works, such as Polomé (1967, pp. 126-130), Maw (1969), Heine and Reh (1984, p. 101), Abdulaziz (1996), Mkude (2005, pp. 152-153), Buell (2007), to name just a few. The works referred to above do not take into account the fact that *-a* 'of' and *-enye* 'with, having' generally derive Ps and conjunctions that must agree with external NPs. In contexts where the external agreement

slot of a P becomes opaque or has a fossilized form, an external NP, if overt, cannot assign its class agreement marker to the P. In (6)-(9), *pete* of class 9 NI₁ and *watu* of class 2 WA do not have their class agreement markers {i} and {wa} in *na* 'with, by' and *kwa* 'for, with, by.' In contrast, the internal NPs of *na* and *kwa* in (7) and (9) easily assign their agreement markers {yo} and {o}. This gives us *nayo*, 'lit. with-it' and *kwa-o* 'lit. with-them.' Ashton (1947) does not mention the P-root *-enye* 'with, having' in her list of prepositions above. It appears, however, on page 63 of Ashton (1947) (Schadeberg, 1992, p. 19).

Abdulaziz (1996, p. 82) contains the datum and translation in (15).

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| (15) | <i>Hamisi</i> | <i>a-li-ku-ingi-a</i> | |
| | Cl. 1-Hamisi | Cl. 1 SM-PAST-Cl. 17b/26b | OM-enter-MOD |
| | <i>ndani</i> | <i>y-a</i> | <i>ny-umba.</i> |
| | Cl. 9-interior | Cl. 9 SM-COP-n of | Cl. 9-house |
| | 'Hamisi went into (it) the house.' | | |

The parsing and literal glosses are mine. Our glosses reveal that the complement *ndani ya nyumba* 'interior of house' belongs to class 9 NI₁. As a result, it is an NP. It generates a locative OM {ku} into its PC/V. Thus it is used as a locative denoting NP rather than an entity denoting NP. Abdulaziz (1996), however, writes, on the same page, that, "[...] *ndani ya nyumba* (a prepositional phrase meaning 'in the house') [...]." We see that, even though the phrase is not a PP that is represented by diagram 1, Abdulaziz (1996) describes it as a PP based on his English translation 'in the house.' He ignores, thereby, its Bantu internal syntax 'interior of house' in favour of the translation model inherited from Ashton (1947) and others. He overlooks the fact that *-ingia* 'go in, enter (into)' is transitive and takes an OM {ku} of an object NP *ndani ya nyumba* in (15), where *ya* 'of' agrees with N *ndani*. Mkude (2005, p. 153) states that,

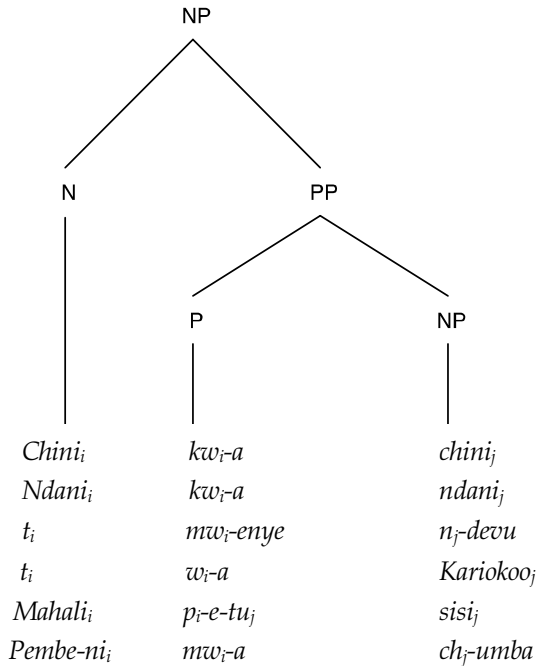
The most commonly used simple prepositions are 'katika', 'kwa' which can be glossed as 'in' and 'to' respectively. Most complex prepositions in use are formations from either verbs or nouns. They include 'kutoka/toka' (from), mpaka/hadi (till/until), mbele ya (in front of),

nyuma/kabla ya (before), juu ya (on top of), chini ya (under), kushoto (left), kulia (right), pembeni (on the side), etc. Such prepositions can be used for both animate as well as inanimate nouns.

Mkude (2005) adopts the colonial model that turns NPs into PPs. This is because he describes NP structures, e.g. *chini ya* 'under', *juu ya* 'on top of', etc., as complex Ps formed from nouns. He also asserts that Ns, such as *pembeni* '(on) the side', form complex PPs (see (22)). Modern dictionaries, such as TUKI (2004), Kiango, Lodhi, Ipara and Nassir (2007) and BAKIZA (2010), also describe Ns as Ps and NPs as PPs.

5. Towards a Modern Grammar without its Colonial Prepositions

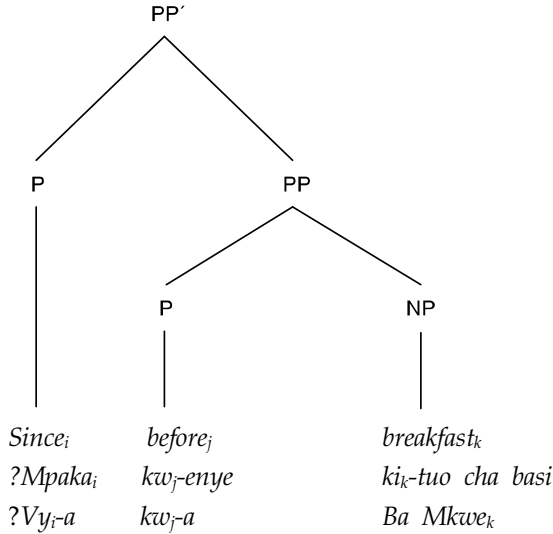
Diagram 2: A complex NP structure.



An NP of the form 'x of y' always has the structural representation in diagram 2.

- (16) *Juu_i* *kw_i-a* *juu_j*.
Overhead-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of overhead-Cl. 17/26
'Way overhead, very high above, lit. top of top.'
- (17) *Baada_i* *y_i-a* *kazi_j*.
Cl. 9-posterior Cl. 9 SM-COP-n of Cl. 9-work
'After work, lit. posterior of work.'
- (18) (*t_i*) *p_i-enye* *u_j-rembo*.
(*t*) Cl. 16/25 SM-COP-n with Cl. 14-beauty
'(Place) with/having beauty, i.e. a place of beauty.'
- (19) *M_i-toto* *w_i-a* *m_j-pishi*.
Cl. 1-child Cl. 1 COP-n of Cl. 1-cook
'The/a child of the/a cook; the/a cook's child.'
- (20) *Ma_i-hali* *p_i-e-tu_j*
Cl. 16/25-place Cl. 16/25 SM-COP-n of-PossProCl. 2/1 OM
sis_j.
ProCl. 2/1 us
'Our place, or (in) our place, lit. place it-of-our us.'
- (21) *Miongo-ni_i* *mw_i-a* *wa_j-tu*.
Midst-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17c/16c SM-COP-n of Cl. 2-person/man
'(In) the midst of people.'
- (22) *Pembe-ni_i* *mw_i-a* *ch_i-umba*.
Corner-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17c/16c SM-COP-n of Cl. 7-room
'(In) the corner/side of the room.'

Diagram 3: A complex PP structure with a sequence of P.



A complex PP, in which P precedes a PP, has the structural representation in diagram 3, whether its data come from Kiswahili or English. *Since before breakfast* is from Crystal (2003, p. 368). *Vya kwa Ba Mkwe* 'lit. they-of there-of Ba Mkwe' is from Shafi (2003, p. 21). In diagram 3 and in (23)-(25), we see how two sequential Ps have *i* and *j* indexes and, therefore, cannot have an agreement relation $agr_i\text{-P} + agr_j\text{-P}$.

- (23) (Vi_i-tuko) vy_i-a (t_j)
 (Cl. 8-horror) Cl. 8 SM-COP-n of (t)
 kw_j-a Ba Mkwe_k.
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of Cl. 9-Ba Mkwe
 'The horrors at Ba Mkwe, lit. (horrors) of at Ba Mkwe.'
- (24) Mpaka_i (t_j) kw_j-enye ki_k-tuo
 Cl. 0 COP-a up to (t) Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n with Cl. 7-stop
 ch_k-a basi_p.
 Cl. 7 SM-COP-n of Cl. 5-bus
 'Up to the bus stop, lit. till (place) with stop of bus.'

- (25) *Bila_i hata_j wasiwasi_k.*
 Cl. 0 COP-a without Cl. 0 COP-a even Cl. 14-worry
 ‘Without any worries, lit. without even a worry.’
- (26) (*t_i*) *mw_i-enye (agr_i)-na sigara_j.*
 (*t*) Cl. 1 SM-COP-n with Cl. 0 COP-n with Cl. 10-cigarette
 ‘(The man) with/having cigarettes, lit. having/with with cigarettes.’

(13)-(14) would not fit under diagram 3 because when two PPs agree with each other at S-structure, i.e. *agr_i-PP1 + agr_i-PP2*, they do not have sequential Ps. In addition, (13)-(14) belong under diagram 2 or under a more complex diagram with the structure [NP, PP [P, NP’]] because *mw_i-enye* ‘having/with’ or *wa* ‘of’ has an underlying N head, e.g. *mtu* ‘man.’ When we look at (23)-(26), we see that they have sequences of P, but only (25)-(26) have genuine sequences of P. In (23)-(25), the sequences of P do not agree because P1 and P2 have non-agreeing heads. This type of P-sequence is a ‘pseudo-sequence.’ Thus *vya* ‘of’ and *kwa* ‘at’ (23) have different N heads, namely *vituko* ‘horrors’ and *nyumbani* ‘at the residence.’ In (24), *mpaka* ‘up to’ is a P-a while *kwenye* is a P-n. They cannot agree with each other. P *mpaka* ‘up to’ has no external NP while P *kwenye* has an unrealized external NP, e.g. *mahali* ‘place.’ Another type of P-sequence, e.g. (26), has an overt common N head or its trace at S-structure but P1 and P2 agree independently with their N head but not with each other. In (26), P2 has no overt agreeing prefix because the external agreement slot of *na* ‘with’ is opaque (see (6)-(7)). Strictly speaking, (23) and (26) are best captured by different kinds of complex NP projections, such as [NP, PP’[P, NP’[NP, PP’[P, NP]]]] and [NP, PP’[P, PP[P, NP]]].

We have shown in (11) that two sequences of P, e.g. *na-ye mw_i-enye* ‘by-him_i he_i-with’, can display internal agreement and external agreement of the same implicit NP. (26) suggests and confirms that two sequential Ps can agree with each other only if their N head or its trace is not present at S-structure. It follows that, strictly speaking, apart from (26), sequences of P items that appear under diagram 3 do not have co-indexes *i...i* in Kiswahili grammar. In (26), the trace of NP does not allow *mw_i-enye* ‘with/having’ and *na* ‘with’ to operate *agr_i-P1 + agr_i-P2*. If *mw_i-enye* functions as the S-structure syntactic head governing the complement P-nP/PP *na sigara* ‘with cigarettes’ and represents

their common N head or trace, then P-nP/PP *na sigara* would agree with it. The difficulty with this P-sequence is that the agreement marker on P *na* would be implicit and would not percolate to S-structure. This particular implicit agreement is problematic because, within a class system, it is hard to demonstrate the form of the external class agreement of *na*, **mna/*ana/*yuna* 'he-with', in U-structure before it fails to percolate to S-structure. This pattern, if accepted, is a rare example of $\text{agr}_i\text{-P1} + \text{agr}_i\text{-P2}$. Others might treat it as a non-genuine $\text{agr}_i\text{-P1} + \text{agr}_i\text{-P2}$ type.

Diagram 3 further reveals that when phrases such as *chini_i kw_i-a chini_j* 'lit. at the bottom of bottom', *m_i-bele y_i-a wa_j-tu* 'lit. (in) front of people' and *miongo-ni_i mw_i-a wa_j-tu* 'lit. (in) midst of people' appear under it, the results are strange because an alleged non-adnominal P1, e.g. *chini* 'under', would generate an agreement marker into a P2, e.g. *ya* 'of' or *kwa* 'of' and into a verb, as in (28), when it has no NP head in the grammar to motivate $\text{agr}_i\text{-P1} + \text{agr}_i\text{-P2}$. There is no grammar in the world with this type of relationship between alleged sequential Ps and with a V (see (28)). Indeed, P-sequences that agree with each other must share a common external NP. Alleged P-sequences like *chini kwa chini* 'at bottom of bottom' have neither a common external NP nor an object to licence them. They are neither simple nor complex PPs. Finally, any claim to the effect that, for example, *mbele ya watu* '(in) front of people' consists of two PPs, namely PP1 *mbele ya* 'before' (i.e. P1 *mbele* 'front' plus P2 *ya* 'of') (see §§ 4.4.1.) and PP2 *ya watu* 'of people' (i.e. P *ya* 'of' plus complement *watu* 'people') is untenable because, as any linguist knows, both claims cannot be adequate descriptions of the same phrase *mbele ya watu*. We reject, therefore, descriptions that treat *juu* 'up', *chini* 'under', *mbele* 'in front', and so on, as non-adnominal Ps. They are nouns.

5.1. The open-ended character of colonial PPs

This section illustrates just how impracticable the use of translations in Indo-European languages to categorize Ns/NPs as Ps/PPs is in Kiswahili.

- (27) *M-kaguzi* *a-li-kagu-a* *n-jia*
 Cl. 1-surveyor Cl. 1 SM-PAST-survey-MOD Cl. 10-road
z-a *chini*
 Cl. 10 SM-COP-n of bottom-Cl. 17/26
kw-a *chini* *z-a*
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of bottom-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 10 SM-COP-n of
London.
 Cl. 9-London
 'The surveyor inspected the roads in the underground of London.'
- (28) *Chini* *kw-a* *chini*
 Bottom-Cl. 17/26 Cl. 17b/26 SM-COP-n of bottom-Cl. 17/26
kw-a *ndani* *y-a*
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of Cl. 9-inside Cl. 9 SM-COP-n of
mi-godi *ku-na* *dhahabu*
 Cl. 4-mine Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-v be with Cl. 9-gold
ny-ingi.
 Cl. 9-much
 'In the underground of the inside of the mines there is a lot of gold.'

(27)-(28) contain the phrases *za chini kwa chini za* 'lit. of the bottom of bottom of' and *chini kwa chini kwa ndani ya* 'bottom of bottom of interior of.' They are described in Kiswahili grammar as compound or complex PPs. If these PP claims are allowed to stand, (27) would have 5 P-sequences and (28) would have 6 P-sequences. If *pembeni* '(in/on) the corner/side' forms a complex PP, as Mkude (2005, p. 153) asserts above, then the P-sequences in (27)-(28) can be extended, as follows:

- (29) *M-kaguzi* *a-li-kagu-a* *n-jia*
 Cl. 1-surveyor Cl. 1 SM-PAST-survey-MOD Cl. 10-road
z-a *chini*
 Cl. 10 SM-COP-n of bottom-Cl. 17/26
kw-a *chini*
 Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of bottom-Cl. 17/26
kw-a *ndani* *y-a*

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of | Cl. 9-inside | Cl. 9 SM-COP-n of |
| <i>pembe-ni</i> | <i>mw-a</i> | <i>mi-godi.</i> |
| side-Cl. 17/26 | Cl. 17c/26c SM-COP-n of | Cl. 4-mine |
| 'The surveyor inspected the roads in the underground of the inside of the corners/sides of the mines.' | | |
| (30) <i>M-kaguzi</i> | <i>a-li-shuk-a</i> | |
| Cl. 1-surveyor | Cl. 1 SM-PAST-descend-MOD | |
| <i>chini</i> | <i>kw-a</i> | <i>chini</i> |
| bottom-Cl. 17/26 | Cl. 17b/26 SM-COP-n of | bottom-Cl. 17/26 |
| <i>kw-a</i> | <i>ndani</i> | <i>y-a</i> |
| Cl. 17b/26b SM-COP-n of | Cl. 9-inside | Cl. 9 SM-COP-n of |
| <i>pembe-ni</i> | <i>mw-a</i> | <i>mbele</i> |
| side-Cl. 17/26 | Cl. 17c/26c SM-COP-n of | Cl. 9-front |
| <i>y-a</i> | <i>mi-godi.</i> | |
| Cl. 9 SM-COP-n of | Cl. 4-mine | |
| ''The surveyor descended to the underground of the inside of the front corners/sides of the mines.' | | |

Firstly, observe that the so-called complex PP in (27) has been extended from 5 to 9 P-sequences in (29) via the colonial grammar approach, i.e. as *za chini kwa chini kwa ndani ya pembeni mwa* 'lit. of bottom of bottom of inside of in/on side/corner of.'

Secondly, observe that the so-called complex PP in (28) has also been extended from 6 to 10 P-sequences in (30), i.e. as *chini kwa chini kwa ndani ya pembeni mwa mbele ya* 'lit. bottom of bottom of inside of in/on side/corner of front of.'

The colonial method of categorizing prepositions leads to an untenable open-ended series of prepositional sequences. As far as we know, there is no language that has such long heavy sequences of P. Within modern phrase structure, only the phrases *za chini kwa chini za* in (27) and *za chini kwa chini kwa ndani ya pembeni mwa* in (29) are complex PPs, albeit structurally incomplete. They are complex because the initial P *za* 'of' functions as the head of each phrase, i.e. if we overlook, for a moment, the N head *njia* 'roads' of P *za* 'of', which is the generator of the agreement {zi} into the P-root *-a* 'of',

hence {zi} + {a} → *za* 'of.' Each last P, i.e. *ya* 'of', or *mwa* 'of' requires its object, *London* or *migodi* 'mines', to complete its PP structure.

Turning to *chini kwa chini kwa ndani ya* in (28) and *chini kwa chini kwa ndani ya pembeni mwa mbele ya* in (30), we discover they are NPs, albeit structurally incomplete. They are NPs because N *chini* 'bottom' functions as the head of each phrase and, in (28), agrees with its V *kuna* 'there is.' The last P, i.e. *ya* 'of' of each phrase requires its object *migodi* 'mines' to complete its NP structure. In (27)-(30), N *chini* functions as a locative N and generates agreement {ku} into P-root *-a* to give *kwa* 'of', while the embedded N *ndani* 'interior' functions like an entity denoting N and generates the agreement {i} into the P-root *-a* in (15) and (28)-(30), to give us *ya* 'of.'

Recall that, in diagram 3, we came across genuine-PP and pseudo-PP compounds or complexes. For example, a PP' has two sequential Ps. Further complex PPs, with the structure PP'' consisting of three P-sequences, can be found in the grammar. For example, at S-structure, one finds *kwa -enye na* 'lit. for/to with/having with', and other sequences (Amidu, 2001, pp. 264-283). A depth of three sequential Ps is often the maximum one can get. Heavy sequential Ps do not exist in Kiswahili.

6. Conclusion

The tradition of the pioneers of Kiswahili grammatical description is embodied in Standard Kiswahili, which has been disseminated at home and abroad. It has many followers, who still attempt to turn Ns into Ps and NPs into PPs. Over 50 years after independence, we continue to use the old method known as 'translation equivalent in a former colonial language' to describe P-categories. This has turned Ns into Ps and NPs into PPs. The time has come to replace the old approach and method with modern ones that adequately reflect the syntax of Kiswahili and Bantu phrases.

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List of some abbreviations

AFX	affix
Agr, agr	agreement
Cl.	class
Cl. 16/25 MA ₂	<i>Mahali/pahali</i> class, with agreement marker <i>pa-</i> for sg./pl.; traditionally class 16
Cl. 17/26 NI ₃	locative class, with three allomorphic agreement markers (a) <i>pa-</i> , (b) <i>ku-</i> , (c) <i>mu-</i> ; traditionally classes 16-18 PA-, KU- and MU-
COP-a	adverbial copula (also called P-a)
COP-n	nominal copula (also called P-n)
COP-v	copula verb
MOD	mood marker, modalic marker
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OM	object marker
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
P-a	adverbial predicate, adverbial preposition (also called COP-a)
P-aP	adverbial predicate phrase, adverbial prepositional phrase (see PP)
P-n	nominal/adnominal predicate, nominal preposition (see COP-n)
P-nP	nominal predicate phrase, nominal prepositional phrase (see PP)
P.C.	pronominal concord (Ashton, 1947, p. 54), also called agreement
PC	predicate constituent, equivalent to verb (see V below)
PRESENT	present tense
ProCl.	personal pronoun class (1/1 = in Cl. 1, 1st person, 1/2 = in Cl. 1, 2nd person, 1/3 = in Cl. 1, 3rd person; 2/1 = in Cl. 2, 1st person, 2/2 = in Cl. 2, 2nd person, 2/3 =

	in Cl. 2, 3rd person)
PossProCl.	possessive pronoun class (1/1 = in Cl. 1, 1st person, 1/2 = in Cl. 1, 2nd person, 1/3 = in Cl. 1, 3rd person; 2/1 = in Cl. 2, 1st person, 2/2 = in Cl. 2, 2nd person, 2/3 = in Cl. 2, 3rd person)
PP	prepositional phrase (with subtypes P-nP and P-aP)
S	subject
SM	subject marker
<i>t</i>	trace symbol standing for the unrealized N head of a modifier
V	verb, equivalent to predicate constituent (see PC above)

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